Images of the Experiential: The Petroleum Roots of the Phenomenology of Religion and

Architectural Phenomenology, 1945–1967

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Abstract

This dissertation, titled "Images of the Experiential: Petroleum Roots of Architectural Phenomenology and the Phenomenology of Religion (1945–1967)," exposes the petrocultural philanthropy that funded imperialist knowledge production and gave rise to the phenomenology of religion and architectural phenomenology. To that end, this dissertation focuses specifically on the post-Second World War era from 1945 to 1967, to re-contextualize the works of two phenomenologists of religion, Romanian Mircea Eliade (1907–1986) and French Henry Corbin (1903–1978), and two scholars of architectural phenomenology, Polish-born British Joseph Rykwert (b. 1926), and U.S citizen Vincent Scully (1920–2017). It considers the way their work intersects with a set of images collected by Dutch amateur artist and art historian Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn (1988–1962) that circulated during this period across a set of Western countries including most notably the United States, Switzerland, Germany, and Britain.

This dissertation project attends to the clear links that have not yet been drawn between Eliade, Corbin, Rykwert and Scully, who were all funded by the Bollingen Foundation, and the highly influential esoteric study group, Eranos, headed by Fröbe-Kapteyn, who was likewise funded by Bollingen. My central argument is that the genesis of architectural and religious phenomenology was fueled almost exclusively through Bollingen's petro-dollars and the support of this handful of scholars, whose interconnectivity has not previously been articulated. Working seemingly independently, their work was only made possible by the Bollingen Foundation, and collectively the aforementioned scholars had a notable impact on North American Religious History and Architectural Phenomenology. While religious scholars have moved away from these phenomenological approaches due to the colonial and supremacist foundations of the field of study, architects and architectural scholars have not. In fact, even now, a quarter of a century

into the new millennium (2023), architectural phenomenology is still quite popular in North American architecture schools and its design concepts shape some of the current perceptions of Western architectural beauty. This dissertation exposes the ways oil money, in this one instance, has normalized imperialist informed modern aesthetics and the architectural reading of spaces that are the infrastructures that shape daily petrocultural lives in North America, in particular, but also that shape the aspirations of people around the globe.

This project explores the interplay of geo-political power relations and cultural specificities among the Abrahamic traditions of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. Specifically, it investigates how these traditions informed each other in the domains of Religious History and Architectural Theory and History in the post-Second World War United States. The research delves into the role of a particular collection of images that were collected and curated by Fröbe-Kapteyn and financed by Bollingen. It demonstrates how it informed and was informed by the thinking and thinkers that became pillars of the discipline of phenomenological theory in shaping knowledge production that is sanctioned by institutions and financed by corporations, all within the framework of petro-capitalist interests. As such, the study has far-reaching implications for global understandings of cultural imperialism and international relations. The dissertation ends with an explicit call to decolonize our thinking and our spaces, as we extract ourselves from modern petrocultural life as a necessary response to climate change.

Preface

This dissertation is an original work by Banafsheh Mohammadi. No part of this dissertation has been previously published.

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This dissertation owes so much to so many people. I am humbled to have been trained by a most exceptional group of female scholars whom I deeply admire and remain indebted and grateful to. Above all, I owe much of my own critical thinking and research to Professor Joan Greer. Joan was not only my mentor in every aspect of my academic life, but also a beacon of light in my times of despair. I am deeply grateful to my supervisor, Professor Sheena Wilson for having taught me how to be a critical, caring, committed, and forceful feminist. She taught me how to be a good human before and above being a good academic. My sincere thanks to Professor Betsy Boone for having had trust in me and my abilities from the day I joined the University of Alberta, and for the invaluable gift of teaching me how to become a methodical and thorough researcher. My academic journey would not have been made possible without the incredible patience of Professor Denise Costanzo who, for the past seven years and ever since she was my supervisor in Penn State, has taught me how to be an architectural historian. I would also like to thank Professors Katy Campbell and Jasmine Rault for their invaluable and constructive comments on my work.

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During the five years that I spent writing this dissertation, my only sibling and my father were taken away from me. I lost my brother, Ali, in the spring of 2020 and my father, Massoud, in the fall of 2022. I was away, in Edmonton, working on my dissertation on both occasions. I often wonder if a dissertation is worth so much pain and so much despair. I ask, was it worth it after all, and every time I reach for Marshall Berman's fantastic preface to his *Experience of Modernity*. He writes, "[the daily routine] of shopping and eating and cleaning up, of ordinary hugs and kisses, may not be only infinitely joyous and beautiful but also infinitely precarious and fragile; that it may take desperate and heroic struggles to sustain this life, and sometimes we

lose." I dedicate this dissertation to the two people in my life that keep me from giving up and

losing: Sajad and Shahla. I love you.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Overview

This dissertation interrogates how images were understood as "the locus of meaning" by phenomenologists of religion Mircea Eliade and Henry Corbin and by architectural phenomenologists Vincent Scully and Joseph Rykwert.[1] It considers the historical evidence that reveals all of these scholars had right-wing and conservative political tendencies and their works were funded, in crucial moments of their careers, by oil money from the Gulf Oil Corporation and from the personal funds of its owner who not only had obvious ties to the oil industrial complex, but who was a former CIA agent, closely allied with certain key players in the administrations of U.S. Presidents Truman and Eisenhower.

This research project conjoins three intellectual interests: architecture and the ways in which architectural meaning is created, my fascination with the scholarship produced by historians of religions such as Corbin after whom a street is named in my city, Tehran, Iran, and a longstanding interest in how phenomenology has been adopted as a methodology by scholars who have been preoccupied with "meaning."[2] Attempting to understand meaning in architecture and history of religions as academic fields leads to phenomenological methodologies, one in the field of architecture, and the other in the field of the history of religions. My research reveals that the phenomenology of religion and architectural phenomenology have more in common than one might imagine. First, both areas of study imbue images with the power to communicate

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[1] I am attentive that "meaning" does not denote a universally understandable definition. I use "locus of meaning" to refer to the tautegorical location of meaning(s) as understood by the phenomenologists of religion and architectural phenomenologists.

[2] It must be noted that I do not adopt a phenomenological methodology to investigate the two fields. As will be thoroughly discussed in the theoretical framework of this chapter (chapter one), this research is situated in de-colonial practices and remains informed by theories of postcolonialism. The ahistoricity of phenomenology, in other words, is dealt with historically.

foundational and primary meanings. Second, the literature produced by the first generation of architectural phenomenologists, such as Rykwert and Scully, relies in part on the literature produced by phenomenologists of religion such as Eliade. Third, both the phenomenology of religion and architectural phenomenology emerged in an Anglo-American academic microcosm during the same period, from 1930 onwards and reached a peak during the postwar years, 1940s–1970s. Fourth, during this peak, both benefitted from the same source of financial support in the Bollingen Foundation (1945–1967).

Writing this dissertation in an art history program, I anchor my main argument in the first point of affinity between the two main areas of study, that is, in images as the attributed primary and irreducible locus of meaning. The second argument of my study is geared towards the source of funding of architectural phenomenology and the phenomenology of religion, the petroleum-funded Bollingen Foundation. By tracing the oil money, I intend to reveal how current perceptions of ancient myths and religions as well as some of the criteria twentieth and twenty-first centuries' architectural beauty (such as sanitized monochromatic large spaces) has been constructed and normalized by oil industry funding. These conceptions of beauty demand petroleum intensive infrastructures and modes of being and living in the world that have exacerbated the current catastrophic climate crisis. And as Matthew Huber argues, "It turns out these ideals are much harder to shake than the built environment of petroleum-fired suburbanization."[3] The petroleum industry, in other words, undergirds not only some of the contemporary conceptions of architectural beauty but also the construction of ideologies that have shaped those conceptions in the first place.

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[3] Matthew T. Huber, *Lifeblood: Oil, Freedom, and the Forces of Capital* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013): xi.

The overarching theoretical framework for this study is postcolonialism. In Eranos and Bollingen as institutions, in the collecting practices of the founder of Eranos, Fröbe-Kapteyn, and in the scholarship produced by the phenomenologists of religion and architectural phenomenologists, there exists a clear ethnic and racial hierarchical system. In this structure, visual, architectural, and conceptual "evidence" of the existence of universal archetypes is collected from the Global South for the benefit of the "Western man."[4] Such colonial agendas work hand in hand with imperial resource extraction by the Mellon family (the founders of Bollingen) and warrant a critical framework of study that is provided by postcolonialist discourse. Theories of postcolonialism that support my analysis are discussed later in this chapter.

Petro-Epistemologies at the intersections of Oil, Architecture and Religious Phenomenology

The main argument and research contribution of this thesis is analysis of a twenty-four year span, from 1943 to1967, during which three hundred and thirty-three U.S. and European humanities' scholars received five-year-long fellowships from the petroleum-funded Bollingen Foundation to work on topics varying from religion to philosophy, mythology, psychology, anthropology, art history, and literature–which has had a shaping influence on multiple disciplines through the

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[4] Influenced by Jung's theories, archetypes, as understood by the scholars investigated in this study, refer to the assumedly universally-valid mental visual patterns—called patterns of collective unconscious— by virtue of which humans are able to organize *things* thus understand the world around them. The Eranos archive was an iconographical archive documenting pictorial manifestations of the patterns of the collective unconscious; The Global South refers to the world's subalterns. The term was introduced to question the neoliberal master narrative of globalization. See Alfred J. Lopez, "Introduction: The (Post) Global South." *The Global South* 1, no. 1 (2007): 1–11. Accessed March 9, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40339224

research of such scholars as Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961)and Eliade.[5] The focus of this thesis is the influence this funding had on the epistemological foundations of the disciplines of religious phenomenology and architectural phenomenology. These have had significant impact on Western conceptions of the metaphysical and built world. Of specific interest to me is how these thinkers have influenced Western (Europe and its colonies) architectural standards; oil money producing the very aesthetic standards of and relationships to spaces that are in and of themselves energy-intensive and thus through the reproduction of these now normalized aesthetic standards, sustain the oil-industrial complex. Now, in a time of climate crisis, these accepted norms need to be de-naturalized. But how did they come to be in the first place? To answer this, I followed the money spent on its fellowship program and publishing incorporation, the Bollingen Foundation (1945–1967), which supported the production of a curious mixture of scholarly writings sharing one central theme: that of locating "universal patterns" or archetypes visible in the histories of humankind and manifest in images. [6]

This line of thinking, supported by the Bollingen Foundation, united phenomenologists of religion and architectural phenomenologists through institutional support and intellectual affinity. Mircea Eliade and Henry Corbin were the two most renowned phenomenologists of religion who became Bollingen Fellows in 1951 and 1959, respectively. Vincent Scully and

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[5] These fellowships guaranteed a five-year stipend only through 1944. Afterwards each fellow had to ask for the fellowship to be renewed annually (and more often than not they were). See William McGuire, *Bollingen: An Adventure in Collecting the Past* (Princeton: Princeton University Press): 79.
[6] Tellingly, in late 1945, Egyptologist Natacha Rambova (1897–1966), wrote to Mary Mellon (1904–1946) the founder of Bollingen, a letter in which she wrote: "It is so necessary that gradually people be given the realization of a universal pattern of purpose and human growth." See McGuire, *Bollingen*, 94; The Bollingen Foundation was incorporated in the State of New York in 1942 and its president was Mary Mellon, Paul Mellon's first wife. In 1967, the Bollingen Series was transferred to Princeton University. In the chapter on Bollingen, issues surrounding the constant establishment and dissolution of Bollingen, hence the discrepancy in dates, will be discussed. See McGuire. *Bollingen,* 45, 285.

Joseph Rykwert were the only two architectural phenomenologists who were Bollingen Fellows, in 1957 and 1966 respectively. Through Bollingen fellowships, the phenomenologists of religion, Eliade and Corbin, examined "Philosophy, Mythology, and Comparative Religion (1951)," and "the Phenomenology of Iranian Religious Consciousness (1959)," respectively. Through these same fellowships, architectural phenomenologist Scully worked on "The Meaning Embodied in the Planning of Archaic and Classic Greek Temples (1957)" and Rykwert on "Roman and Etruscan Town Plans in Relation to their Foundation Rituals (1966)."

Central to the scholarship of these four figures was the belief that patterns of similitude across cross-cultural and transhistorical images revealed the existence of "universal patterns" or archetypes in architecture and religion. For the phenomenologists of religion, "images" mostly referred to those stored in the image-archetype archive collected by the amateur art historian and artist, and founder of the Eranos annual concomitant conferences and exhibitions (est. 1933), Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn. Her image-archetype archive, a collection she began in 1934 and donated to the Warburg Institute in 1954, was collected from across European and American collections and museums to be exhibited annually with the Eranos conferences (figure 1.1). [7] Architectural phenomenologists, for whom "images" mostly meant visual representations of the built environment such as sketch maps and photographs, consulted the Warburg Institute at a time when it already housed the Eranos Archive.[8] This archive included, in large part, photographic reproductions[9] of cross cultural and transhistorical objects, paintings, drawings, and book

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[7] This archive is available online at ARAS.org; Unfortunately, due to the poor quality of the remaining photograph seen in figure 1, I could not create a list of the images presented in this 1939 exhibition; but a search of the archetype "rebirth" (the theme of that conference) in the Eranos archive yields 787 results. These results vary from engraved bones, to vases, to paintings, and much more.
[8] Hereon the Eranos Archive and Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn's image-archive are used interchangeably.
[9] It is interesting to note the medium here: photography. Even though photographs used by the phenomenologists of religion and architectural phenomenologists functioned as strictly documentary, as

illustrations that could be interpreted by their collector as depicting "universal patterns" or archetypes as diverse as, for instance, the Fall, the Swan, the Great Mother, Fighting the Dragon, and the Temple (a photo and a plan belonging to the Temple as an archetype can be seen in figures 1.2 and 1.3). In other words, Eranos scholars believed analyzing cross-cultural and transhistorical archetypal images belonging mostly to the cultures of the Global South through an Orientalist lens held valuable historical insights.[10] Researchers who adhered to this school of thought saw these images as a key to the past, to a more basic and primitive time, an Orientalist perspective that saw European man as further along on the imagined linear trajectory of human evolution. The belief was that these images could provide valuable insight into the history of mankind. And this assumedly valuable evolutionary and supremacist insight, which was never clearly defined by participants of Eranos, as this dissertation shows, was to help the Eranos scholars or the Western man discern the "right" way forward for humanity. It is precisely

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a medium, photography establishes a direct, unmediated record of the external world. Simultaneously, photography as a mechanical means to produce images, has always been constructed by a specific human's ideologies, desires, and fears. Emphasizing the latter, postcolonial scholars have paid particular attention to photography and its assumed "objectivity" as a tool of racial superiority. More recently, scholars have explored photography's civic and liberatory potentials. In this dissertation, I have been attentive to materiality of photographs. Further details about the size, material, and display of Fröbe-Kapteyn's image-archive can be found in chapter two. For a brief art historical review of photography see Jae Emerling, "Photography Theory," *Grove Art Online*. 11 Feb. 2013; Accessed 2 Jun. 2021.
For further discussions of photography see W. J. T. Mitchell, *The Reconfigured Eye: Visual Truth in the Post-Photographic Era* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1992); Martin Lister, ed., *The Photographic Image in Digital Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995); Geoffrey Batchen, *Burning with Desire: The Conception of Photography* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1999); Geoffrey Batchen, *Apparitions: Photography and Dissemination* (Sydney: Power Publications, 2018); Geoffrey Batchen, *Negative/Positive: A History of Photography* (London and New York: Routledge, 2020).
[10] Throughout this dissertation I will distinguish between "scholars of Eranos" and "Eranos scholars." By scholars of Eranos I refer to those scholars who study Eranos as the subject of their research. By Eranos scholars, on the other hand, I refer to those scholars who have been participating in the Eranos conferences and have intellectually contributed to its project.

because of such a redemptive and salvific approach that Eranos is understood by some scholars to belong to mystic traditions.[11]

My focus, first and foremost, is the examination of the way in which a specific set of images in the Eranos archive were chosen and collected by Fröbe-Kapteyn, and interpreted later by both phenomenologists of religion Eliade and Corbin, and by architectural phenomenologists Scully and Rykwert. The examination of image interpretation by these phenomenologists of religion and of architecture entails establishing more clearly what phenomenology meant for these scholars and how it enabled the scholars to frame their supremacist ideologies as scientific, and how images as vessels of meaning functioned centrally in the formation and communication of their conservative white supremacist ideas. This investigation, which focuses on the years 1945–1967, is situated within the cultural, social, and political context of the Cold War (1946–1991), mostly in Switzerland, Germany, and the United States. More specific to my investigation is the Bollingen Foundation as an agent functioning within that context. I will thus be able to query the petroleum-funded Bollingen Foundation's role and agenda, as a U.S enterprise, in

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[11] "Redemptive" and "salvific," like "redemption" and "salvation," have specific religious meanings. Redemption, while being common to many religions, is a dominantly Christian doctrine according to which the death of Christ has delivered humankind from evil. Salvation, also common to many religions, is Christianity's main goal which is providing non-human guidance to the human in order to have them saved from dire circumstances of worldly life. In this dissertation, however, I am using the terms redemption, redemptive, salvation, and salvific, in their broad definitions and not as belonging to any specific religion. I do, nevertheless, want to draw attention to the fact that the doctrines are dominantly Christian, and that such religious vocabulary has often been used by Eranos scholars; By mystic traditions, I am referring to the many different practices of Mysticism (by those who are initiated into the mysteries). Broadly understood, Mystic traditions refer to many texts, images, practices, and institutions that aim at transforming the human and the society through mystical experiences. Mystical experiences, again broadly understood, are experiences of supersensory realities that grant the experiencer insight into the nature of all things. For a broad overview of Mysticism, see "Mysticism." *Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia*, 6th Edition (March 2021) 1–2; see also Philip C Almond., *Mystical Experience and Religious Doctrine* (Berlin: Mouton Press, 1982); Bruno Borchert, *Mysticism, Its History and Challenge* (York Beach, Maine: Samuel Weiser, 1994).

supporting the phenomenology of religion and architectural phenomenology during the Cold

War, and the implications thereof.

Contextually, the scholarship produced by these American and European scholars is

directly related to the "East."[12] That the "East" was the source of "lost origins" at the heart of the

phenomenology of religion has been established by contemporary scholars of religion such as

Timothy Fitzgerald.[13] The scholarship produced by architectural phenomenologists is also linked

to the "East." The architectural phenomenologists examined here were specifically concerned

with "religious" architectural spaces, as can be discerned by the titles of their research projects in

Bollingen.

The concept of religion and our understanding of it, as established by postcolonial

scholars of religion such as Talal Asad and Robert Orsi, are fraught with colonial endeavors of

distinguishing the Christian world from the "primitive East."[14] This dissertation, likewise,

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[12] It must be noted at the outset that my critique of "westerners" studying "east" is targeted towards their generalizations, simplifications, essentializations, and lack of awareness of the fundamental power divide inherent in such studies.

[13] In "Critical Religion: 'Religion' is not a Stand-Alone Category," Fitzgerald notes that religions, much like nation-states or societies, are imaginary ways to organize the world and they are not actual objects out there in the world that can be compared and analyzed based on statistics. This way of imagining the world, he continues, "has emerged in a particular historical context of Christian European imperialism," and has been rhetorically transformed to seem like the natural order of things." Therefore, any essentialization of "religion," the hallmark of the phenomenology of religion, as the opposite of "secular" has to be understood as adaptable to the dominant narrative of secular modernity which is historically implicated with "European colonialism," and adaptable to the power interests in banking, trading, manufacturing, and commodification of human beings. See Timothy Fitzgerald, "Introduction," in *Religion and the Secular: Historical and Colonial Formation* (London: Equinox Publishing Ltd., 2007): 1–24.

[14] The history of the making of "religion" as the object of reflection and inquiry, writes prominent scholar of religious studies Robert Orsi, began in the sixteenth century and was, from the outset, entangled with the Colonial expansion of Europe. Early scholarship on the topic of "religion," Orsi writes, was predominantly written by Christians who sought to reinforce their own social and religious identities by comparing their own beliefs and worship practices with those of the "other." The European Enlightenment scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with their insistence on the epistemological limits of rationality, established "norms" for the practice of religions according to which other "deviant religions" of the past or present, regardless of their geographical specificity, were

explores the role of religion, and specifically a Western interpretation of non-Western religions particularly Iranian Sufism, in the development of Jungian psychoanalysis, as well as religious phenomenology and architectural phenomenology. Sixty years after Bollingen stopped funding and publishing scholarship, this colonial extractive organization needs another re-visitation, given the rapacious petro-capitalist vision of the world that undergirded it, as well as the way that these scholars still influence architectural standards that are highly energy intensive and unsuited to futures that will be exponentially challenged by climate change, unless we begin decarbonizing our built environments. This starts by shifting what we value.[15] Religious phenomenology is already out of favour. However, architectural phenomenology still informs how we define "beautiful" spaces and how we have affectively been trained to respond to them. By tracing the petro-dollars that have funded how we arrived at this moment, and why, my argument will lay bare why the Western architectural, engineering, construction, and art world must make a transition away from petro-normative architectural standards. Architects have an important role to play in climate action. While this thesis will not explore how to proceed, this

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measured and deemed "irrational" and "primitive." This was the foundation that shaped "the modern notion of religion" during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; according to the modern narrative of religion, "primitive religions" were either destined to disappear or to evolve into modern European models of "religion." During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, empirical study of religions parted ways from theology in European and American research universities and sought to engage with "the physical and social sciences and the humanities." Thus, Orsi argues, studying the legacy of "Christian theological assumptions," which serve as the normative notion of modern religion is the bedrock of the discipline of religious studies. Current debates in the discipline of religious studies attempt at recognizing its "ambiguous historical legacy" and engaging with current theoretical tendencies. See Robert Orsi, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge Companion to Religious Studies* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017): 3–8; See also Talal Asad, "Thinking about Religion, Belief, and Politics," in *The Cambridge Companion to Religious Studies*, 36–57.

[15] Sheena Wilson has, for a long time, been arguing that in order to address the climate change, we need to change what and how we value, that the shift needs to be cultural not technological. See for instance, Sheena Wilson, "Trafficking in the Petronormativities: At the Intersections of Petrofeminism, Petrocolonialism, and Petrocapitilasim," In Prorokova-Konrad, Tatiana, ed. *Transportation and the Culture of Climate Change: Accelerating Ride to Global Crisis*. Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2020, 227–259.

historical tracing is a first step toward creating a critical conceptual framework for why we value

what we do and how those values were constructed and can therefore be de-constructed.

Finally, another backdrop for my research is the study of *Petrocultures*, or the socio-

economic and cultural impact of oil and the oil industry. The link to the petroleum industry is

established through the Bollingen Foundation. Bollingen was a tax-exempt foundation

established, run, and financed by Paul Mellon, the main proprietor of the Texas-based Gulf Oil

Company (1907–1984), one of the seven prominent Anglo-American oil companies that

controlled the global petroleum industry from 1940s through to the 1970s.[16] The Bollingen

Foundation's annual deficits were paid by Paul Mellon through Gulf Oil shares.[17]

By supporting research on the natural-resource-full-countries of the Global South such as

Iran, Mellon/Gulf was able to gain favour with the ruling elites of those countries, which then

paved the way for Gulf Oil to have greater access to the region's oil reserves. The perception of

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[16] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 280; One of the seven prominent Anglo-American oil companies. "[This] group was made up of seven American and British firms Anglo Persian Oil Company (today's British Petroleum), Gulf Oil (most of which became part of British Petroleum and the other parts which joined Chevron), Standard Oil of California or SoCal (today's Chevron), Texaco (later a part of Chevron in a merger), London headquartered Royal Dutch Shell, Standard Oil Company of New Jersey (Esso which became Exxon), and Standard Oil Company of New York or Socony (Mobil, which merged with Exxon to become ExxonMobil)." See https://www.financial-dictionary.info/terms/seven-sisters-oil-companies/ See also William S. Hoffman, *Paul Mellon: Portrait of an Oil Baron* (Chicago: Follett Publishing Company, 1974): 92.
It is important to notice that Paul Mellon had inherited many other enterprises such as a substantial share of Alcoa and a banking business from his father. Whether he invested any part of his income from Alcoa or the bank in his cultural enterprises needs further investigation.
[17] Paul Mellon decided to establish a new financial foundation to support Bollingen. As such, "the Bollingen Foundation was incorporated in the Commonwealth of Virginia on December 14, 1945." "Paul Mellon made a gift to the foundation comprising 1,250 shares of capital stock of the Gulf Oil Corporation, valued at $75,718.75, and $25,000 in cash." He also personally doubled the Foundation's budget annually "until in 1958 it exceeded 1 million dollars." Moreover, "during 1963, twenty years after the publication of Bollingen Series I, the foundation's expenditures exceeded for the third consecutive year 1 million; 1,420, 263 (less $131,800 income from the Series). Mellon donated funds as necessary to make up the annual deficit—usually United States Government obligations and Gulf Oil stock." It is important to note that Paul Mellon's major investments were cultural and the Bollingen project was his most substantial one. See Ibid., 99, 122, 276, 277.

philanthropy was, with sixty years of hindsight, actually the exploitation of culture in the Global South. It went hand in glove with the exploitation of the land and resources.

Timeframe

The main period of study in this project, as already indicated, is 1945–1967. This timeframe marks the twenty-two-year official existence of the Bollingen Foundation, the period during which it supported humanist scholarship through grants, fellowships, and publications.[18] This period also marks the heyday of the Eranos annual meetings and exhibitions frequented by celebrated scholars of religious and art history, among others, including those sponsored by Bollingen.

Geographical Frame

As this research project deals with the collection and circulation of images and the ways in which they have been interpreted, its geography is global and expansive. While the Eranos conferences were held in a precise location, Ascona, Switzerland, scholars from many different countries in Europe, North America, and Asia participated. The Bollingen Foundation, on the other hand, was an exclusively U.S. enterprise sustained by the resources of oil-rich countries. To an important extent, this study is thus anchored in two precise locations, the U.S. and Switzerland. The four scholars whose works I investigate, however, are from four different countries. Scully was a U.S citizen. Rykwert was a British citizen of Polish origins. Eliade was Romanian, and Corbin was French. Each of these scholars had specific research and institutional affinities with countries other than their motherlands. Corbin, for instance, spent six months of each year in Iran, until his

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[18] Please note that the specific fields of knowledge, number of scholars from each field, and their research titles are chronologically classified in the appendix.

death. Additionally, the Bollingen Foundation was financially supported by the Gulf Oil Corporation. Gulf Oil had its own interests across oil-rich countries in South America, Africa, and the Middle East such as Iran and Angola. The geography of images in the Eranos collection—mostly from countries that were not represented by any native scholars—is telling too: places were appropriated by way of those images and their interpretation. As is evident from these examples, the geographical context of this project is broad but can be, nevertheless, best defined as focused on Switzerland, Germany, England, and the United States. It is, however, more fruitful to see this project as transnational as it engages with the ways in which images are collected, circulated, and interpreted across and for different cultures.

Literature Review

As I have briefly developed so far, in my doctoral dissertation, I explore the affiliations between the realms of images, ideas (the phenomenology of religion and architectural phenomenology), and their dissemination, their important and long-lasting material implications, and the world of oil, state and politics. Historical writings have not considered the phenomenology of religion and architectural phenomenology together; those that have dealt with each field, have done so in isolation. The important interconnections between the scholarship produced by the proponents of the two fields have remained unexplored, as have these scholars' affiliations with each other, and with oil magnate Paul Mellon. My research will bridge these nodes. What follows is a review of the literature on phenomenology, the phenomenology of religion, architectural phenomenology, the common grounds of the phenomenology of religion and architectural phenomenology, and a review of the sources on Eranos, Paul Mellon, the Bollingen Foundation, Gulf Oil, and the CIA.

1) **Phenomenology**

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The philosophical movement known as phenomenology was formally introduced by its founder,

Moravian philosopher Edmund Husserl (1859–1938), in *Logische Untersuchungen* (*Logical*

Investigations, 1900–1901), as a theory of knowledge, and *a priori* science that is concerned

with expressing the "experiences intuitively seizable and analyzable."[19] Having studied

mathematics and philosophy, Husserl began teaching as an associate professor at the University

of Göttingen in 1901. In 1916, he moved to Freiburg as a full professor where he met Martin

Heidegger, one of his students. By the later years of the first decade of the twentieth century,

phenomenology was a much-discussed topic in academic circles in Germany, particularly in

Göttingen, where a group of Husserl's students (the Göttingen circle) gathered to study

Husserlian phenomenology from 1905 onwards.[20] In 1910, this group became a formal

philosophical society.[21]

How Heidegger and subsequently phenomenology were received in France, as historian

Ethan Kleinberg posits, is not the story of a single interpretation, but one of multiple distinct

understandings.[22] In France, Husserl was relatively unknown until 1931 when Lithuanian-born

French philosopher Emmanuel Levinas (1905–1995) in collaboration with Gabrielle Peiffer

translated Husserl's *Méditations cartésiennes: Introduction à la phénoménologie.[23]* It was in

1925 that Levinas formally studied Husserl's philosophy through the courses of an Alsatian

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[19] Edmund Husserl, "Introduction," in *Logical Investigations*, 2 vols. Translated by J. N. Findlay. (New York: Humanities Press, 1970): 249.

[20] Its initial members included German students such as Adolf Reinach (1883–1917), Johannes Daubert (1887–1947), Moritz Geiger (1880-1937), Theodor Conrad (1907), Hedwig Conrad-Martius (1888–1966), Max Scheler (1874–1928), Hans Lipps (1989–1941), and Edith Stein (1891–1942) and foreign students, Roman Ingarden (1893–1970, from Poland), Alexandre Koyré (1892–1964, from Russia), and Jean Hering (1890–1960, from Strasbourg).

[21] Ethan Kleinberg. *Generation Existential* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005): 27.

[22] Kleinberg. *Generation Existential,* 10.

[23] Prior to this, Husserl had only given his Sorbonne lectures of 1929 (translated into French by Levinas as the Cartesian Meditations); *Generation Existential*, 27–28. The book was first published in French. It was never published in German during Husserl's lifetime.

philosopher, pastor, and member of the Göttingen circle, Jean Hering (1890–1960) at the Faculty of Protestant Theology in Strasbourg.[24] Moreover, phenomenology in France was introduced through George Gurvitch's (1894–1965) lectures at Sorbonne, from 1928 to 1930, on "the tendencies of German philosophy." Gurvitch introduced phenomenology mostly through the works of Heidegger.[25] It was, however, primarily through Levinas, and especially through the translations of his work by phenomenologist Henry Corbin, that the French learnt about Heidegger.[26]

It was an influx of foreign émigrés after WWI that brought Heidegger's philosophy to France.[27] During the 1920s and 1930s, however, the academic atmosphere in France was dominated by positivist philosophies in opposition to which stood Bergsonian Spiritualism.[28] The rise of spiritualism pioneered by the French philosopher Henri Bergson (1859–1941) was a direct response to the "materialist/rationalist" and secularist philosophies championed by the academies of the Third Republic (1870–1940);[29] by confirming rationalist ideas and scientific methods of the Enlightenment, the Third Republic was, in fact, validating itself and its own values. As Kleinberg writes, Bergson's Spiritualism was precisely in opposition to what he saw as an "overemphasis on science and reason."[30] Bergson argued that the progress of science and determinism came at the expense of the "freedom of human thought."[31] Indeed, Kleinberg

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[24] *Generation Existential*, 27–28.
[25] Ibid., 28.
[26] Dermot Moran, "Phenomenology in France," in *Introduction to Phenomenology* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999): 18.
[27] Ibid., 8.
[28] Ibid., 5–7. Briefly put, spiritualism, as opposed to materialism, is the belief in a spiritual principle at the basis of the world.
[29] Ibid., 6.
[30] Ibid., 6.
[31] Ibid., 6.

explains that "at the apogee of Bergson's popularity before World War I, it seemed the Bergsonian revolution had freed philosophy from the empirical chains of positivism and moved beyond the methodical rationalism of French neo-Kantianism."[32] But, Kleinberg concludes that the freedom of individuality and thought that Bergson sought to bring about also furthered an optimism, one that seemed all too naïve and too inadequate to the generation of thinkers who embraced phenomenology during the chaotic years between the two World Wars.[33]

Phenomenology was received with enthusiasm across much of continental Europe.[34] In Britain and the United States, however, phenomenology never reached the prominence of other philosophical movements, such as that enjoyed by the Analytic philosophy of Empiricists like Sir Francis Bacon (1561–1626), John Locke (1632–1704), and David Hume (1711–1776).[35] The main universities that taught phenomenology in the United States were the University of Buffalo and the New School of Social Research (both in the state of New York), by the likes of Marvin Farber (1901–1980), teaching at the University of Buffalo (1927–1961 and 1964–1974), Dorion Cairns (1901–1973), teaching at the New School 1954–1969), Aron Gurwitsch (1901–1972, teaching at the New School 1959–1972), and Alfred Schutz (1899–1959, teaching at the New School 1939–1959), all of whom pursued a Husserlian stream of phenomenology.

2) The Phenomenology of Religion

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[32] Ibid., 7.
[33] Ibid., 7.
[34] Herbert Spiegelberg. *The Phenomenological Movement* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2010): 623; See also Dermot Moran, "Introduction," in *Introduction to Phenomenology*. Moran writes, "…through his [Husserl's] subsequent efforts and those of his students, phenomenology gradually developed to become the most important current of European thought throughout the century as a whole" (2).
[35] Spiegelberg. *The Phenomenological Movement*, 626–627.

According to J. Cox, a leading scholar of religious studies, two distinct disciplines—the history

of religion and the phenomenology of religion—came together to become a single field.

Originally known as the comparative study of religions, today the discipline is most often

referred to as religious studies.[36] The phenomenology of religion, however, emerged in

twentieth-century Europe as a kind of reaction against the social sciences' "reductive approach"

towards the study of religions.[37] Phenomenologists of religion, under the influence of Husserl,

developed their distinct methodology to study religion on its own terms, that is, to evaluate

religion based on the criteria established by religion itself (thus Comparative Religion) and not

the social sciences or anthropology.[38] The phenomenology of religion, however, has a short

history. The following is a review of this history.

The term "phenomenology of religion" was first used in *Lehrbuch der*

Religionsgeschichte (1887–1889; translated to English as *Manual of the Science of Religion* in

1891) by Dutch theologian and philosopher, Pierre Daniël Chantepie de la Saussaye (1848–

1920) to refer to the methodology suitable for the comparative study of religions as distinct from

the history of religions and philosophy of religions.[39] However, the Dutch theologian and

historian of religions Gerardus van der Leeuw (1890–1950) was the first scholar to apply

"Husserl's epistemological analysis directly to a methodology for the study of religion," in his

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[36] James, L. Cox. "The Phenomenology of Religion," in *Religion, Theory, Critique* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017): 401.

[37] James Cox understands reductionism as "the practice of finding explanations for any subject of investigation by reference to a single causative factor" (34). Reductionism of social sciences takes the form of understanding religious behaviors as fulfilling certain social functions. Theological reductionism would interpret, and study "other" religions based on criteria established by one of the "primary" religions (for instance studying Islam based on criteria established by Christianity).

[38] Ibid., 33–34.

[39] Ibid., 402.

Phänomenologie der Religion (1933; English 1938 as *Religion as Essence and Manifestation*).[40]

C. P. Tiele (1830–1902), Dutch theologian and scholar of ancient Egyptian religions, and his student Norwegian scholar W. Brede Kristensen (1867–1953) were among the founding pioneers of the phenomenology of religion that sought to understand and compare religious beliefs and practices.[41] The one whose name has become most closely associated with the phenomenology of religion, however, and is a focus of this dissertation, is the Romanian scholar with fascist sympathies, Mircea Eliade, who taught the history of religions at the University of Chicago from 1956 until his retirement in 1983, and on whose scholarship the disciplines of architectural phenomenology and Jungian psychoanalysis rely so heavily.[42] In the manifesto of his journal, *History of Religions* (1961), Eliade maintains that the role of a phenomenologist of religions is to make it possible for "modern man" to understand the full meaning of religious documents.[43] He argues that this can be achieved only through transcending both history and phenomenology per se in order to comprehend the meaning of a religion as a totality from within itself, implying a sage-like status of possessing divine knowledge.[44] Eliade's phenomenology was formative in the shaping of Jung's theory of archetypes – archetypes being the primordial and mythological images that humans as a species carry in their collective unconscious and use as an organizing principle to make sense of the world around them.[45] Jung, in turn and through Eranos, introduced

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[40] Ibid., 401; In 1949 and at the request of Jung and Dutch phenomenologist of religion Gerard van der Leeuw (1890–1950), who wanted to commemorate the fifteenth anniversary of Eranos, the sculpture of Genio loci ignoto by Swiss sculptor Paul Speck (1896–1966) and seen in figure 2.13 was installed in the garden of Casa Gabriella.

[41] Ibid., 402–403.

[42] On Eliade and fascism see chapter four.

[43] Mircea Eliade, "History of Religions and a New Humanism," 2.

[44] Ibid., 7, 8.

[45] For a brief overview of Jung and his theories see C. George Boeree, "Carl Jung," *Personality's Theories*, 2006 https://webspace.ship.edu/cgboer/jung.html

With Jung one enters the domain of analytical psychology and deep psychology. It must be noted, at the outset, that this dissertation is situated in the domain of history of art, design, and visual culture and deals

his theory of archetypes—at the time little known in Europe—to the U.S. audiences as early as 1938. Together Eliade and Jung's ideas were pivotal to the rise of image-obsessed and subjective modes of interpreting the world under the aegis of phenomenology. Precisely because of such loose and affective methodology, they proved lucrative knowledges to be co-opted and supported by Gulf Oil funded Bollingen which had business interests in the countries in the Global South on whose cultures the phenomenological knowledge-making depended.

Phenomenologists of religion, according to Cox, refer to those scholars of religion who seek to utilize phenomenology as a suitable and effective methodology for the study of religion. Phenomenology as such is the method needed to interpret the singularly religious elements in social and historical contexts independently, meaning not as functions of their socio-historical contexts, but as independent entities.[46] Importantly, this is a study of phenomenologists as historical figures, not one that deploys phenomenological methods. Rather I am concerned with those phenomenologists of religion who lectured regularly at the annual Eranos conferences from 1949 to 1967 because they are considered the first and the most prominent phenomenologists of religion, they focused on Orientalist and colonial ways of interpreting archetypes and myths from the Global South, and they were funded and published by the petroleum-funded Bollingen that, as this dissertation shows, was also invested in the creation of petrocultural and imperial economics and politics.[47]

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with Jung and his theories only insofar as they shed light on the main themes being discussed, namely Eranos, Bollingen, and the works of Eliade, Corbin, Scully, and Rykwert. The intersection of art and psychology has been studied. See, for instance, Louis Rose, *The Survival of Images: Art Historians, Psychoanalysts, and the Ancients* (Kritik, German Literary Theory and Cultural Studies: Wayne State University Press, 2011).

[46] Cox. "The Phenomenology of Religion," 401.

[47] 1949–1976 is considered the heyday of the Eranos conference during which the most distinguished phenomenologists of religion, Henry Corbin and Mircea Eliade, lectured regularly. This is discussed more fully in the following chapter.

Eranos was a meeting point for the dissemination of such colonial and Orientalist

knowledges. Initially an annual conference mostly pertaining to religion, Eranos was founded in

1933 by pseudo-Theosophist Fröbe-Kapteyn.[48] Under the influence of her friend, German writer

Ludwig Derleth (1870–1948), she nurtured dreams of establishing a utopian community "based

on idealistic Christian and occultist principles."[49] Fröbe-Kapteyn inaugurated the annual Eranos

meetings at her own expense in August of 1933 at her house in Ascona. Its annual thematic

subjects were dedicated to exploring humanity's meta-history or "the origin of origins,"

universal prototypes of existence, and the universal origins of religions and mythologies.[50]

Subsequently, conference proceedings were published in annual yearbooks (the *Eranos

Jahrbücher*). Eventually, selected papers were chosen by Fröbe-Kapteyn and translated by U.S.

translator Ralph Manheim (1907–1992) and British translator R. F. C. Hull (1913–1974) from

their original languages of German, French, and Italian into English, and printed in the United

States by the Bollingen Foundation.[51] There were five Bollingen volumes of *Papers from the

Eranos Yearbooks*: Eranos 1: *Spirit and Nature* (1954); Eranos 2: *The Mysteries* (1955); Eranos

3: *Man and Time* (1957); Eranos 4: *Spiritual Disciplines* (1960); Eranos 5: *Man and*

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[48] Theosophy is discussed in Chapter Two.

[49] McGuire, *Bollingen,* 22–23. Little is known about the details of Fröbe-Kapteyn and Derleth's friendship. For a brief review of the historical information available see Greorg Doerr, "Archetyp und Geschichte oder München - Ascona: Typologische und menschliche Nähe," in Barone & Riedl & Tischel (ed.) Pioniere, Poeten, Professoren. *Eranos und der Monte Verità in der Zivilisationsgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2004, vol. 11): 155–173.

[50] Henry Corbin defines the metahistory of phenomenologists of religion as that which "takes place at the origin of origins, anterior to all those events recorded or recordable in our chronicles." See Steven Wasserstrom, *Religion after Religion: Gershom Scholem, Mircea Eliade, and Henry Corbin at Eranos* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999): 111; See Wasserstrom, *Religion after Religion*, 103; see also Hans Thomas Hakl, *Eranos: An Alternative Intellectual History of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2014): 2; and Martin Green, *Mountain of Truth*: *The Counterculture Begins Ascona, 1900–1920* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, for Tufts University Press, Medford, Mass, 1986): 154.

[51] *Bollingen Foundation, Twentieth Anniversary Report*, 130–131.

Transformation (1964). Published in hardcover books of approximately five hundred pages, each volume had about twelve essays. All five volumes had the same cover design consisting of a plain textured cotton cloth of light warm grey color stretched over the hardcover. Book titles were typed in gold over a dark green cloth that stretched over the books' spines. On the top and bottom of the title rested the logo of Bollingen, again in gold. The same golden logo was sealed onto the front cover of all volumes. All volumes were printed in black and white and came with illustrations, also in black and white.

Eranos (since 1938) and Bollingen (since 1943), both funded by U.S. oil magnate Paul Mellon, provided these scholars with a continuous opportunity to share, develop, and publish their research. Those who lectured at Eranos were mostly scholars of religion who emerged as university professors during the 1920s and 1930s in Europe and the United States.[52] As such, Eranos scholars gained international popularity between the 1940s and 1960s.[53] The collective impact of their scholarship was so substantial that it shaped the discipline we now know as history of religions in the 1960s.[54] "The turn East, the turn inward, and the turn to myth," as scholar of religions Steven Wasserstrom writes, characterizes the scholarship produced by the "Eranians" who sought to take a flight from the present towards some primordial past.[55]

Two of the most prominent scholars who frequented Eranos were historians of religion Corbin and Eliade. Corbin was interested in Islam and ancient Iranian philosophy. Eliade focused on mythologies and the comparison of religions. Both were trained as "Orientalists" and

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[52] Wasserstrom, "On Symbols and Symbolizing," in *Religion after Religion*, 3.
[53] Ibid., 3–4.
[54] Ibid., 8.
[55] Eranian is a term used to refer to Eranos scholars or those who lecture(d) at Eranos; Ibid., 103; See also Hakl, *Eranos,* 1.

by the 1950s, proclaiming themselves as phenomenologists of religion, were the leading scholars of the field. In my dissertation, I will focus on Corbin and Eliade, both of whom were phenomenologists of religion and Bollingen Fellows; Eliade was the most influential scholar of the phenomenology of religion and Corbin, the scholar most directly linked to Mellon's petro-capital and the imperialist politics of the time.[56] Eliade was a fellow in 1950, doing research and writing on "philosophy, mythology, and comparative religion," and Corbin was a Bollingen Fellow in 1959, studying "the phenomenology of Iranian religious consciousness."[57] My main archive of primary sources written by the two includes *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital* (1960), *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn Arabi* (1969), *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth: From Mazdean Iran to Shi'ite Iran* (1977) by Corbin, and *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return* (1954, Bollingen), *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom* (1958, Bollingen), *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, (1958), and "History of Religions and a New Humanism" (1961) by Eliade.[58]

For these phenomenologists of religion, the phenomenological turn was a way to view history holistically, transcending its specifications and gaining broad perspectives to reveal the tautegorical (self-referential and absolutely primary) intention of religious realities.[59] It is important to notice that phenomenologists of religion were not interested in the mere

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[56] Cox. "The Phenomenology of Religion," 401; Wasserstrom, *Religion after Religion*, 63–66.
[57] McGuire, *Bollingen, 314,* 315.
[58] I am aware that one of the primary sources written by Corbin that I have included in my archive in terms of the year of its publication does not appear, at first glance, to fit within the timeframe of my study. It has been chosen, however, because *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth: From Mazdean Iran to Shi'ite Iran* (1977) is considered a seminal work of Corbin which is the result of many years of research and a key source in the understanding of his thought.
[59] Wasserstrom, *Religion after Religion*, 26–30.
Gershom Scholem, German phenomenologist of religion and Eranos scholar, for instance, referred to "the phenomenological aptitude for seeing things as a whole" (26), and Corbin spoke of phenomenology as "kashf al-mahjub, kashf al-asrar" (26) which means a revealing of that which is hidden, an unveiling of the veiled.

understanding of historical events; they rather wanted to see what lies beyond historical realities, that is, the *Urphänomen*—a Goethean concept, the absolutely irreducible image-archetype that is inherent in all phenomena.[60] This Urphänomen was the singular beyond-human beginning.[61] The Urphänomen, a symbol which was "empty of intrinsic content, universal in origin," was derived from the German Romantic tradition of philosophers such as Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829) and Johann Georg Hamann (1730–1788).[62] The Eranos way of defining phenomenology, in hindsight, proved to be colonialist and Orientalist as it sweepingly generalized the cultures of the Global South to reaffirm Western interpretations and knowledges.

In this section, I briefly introduced the phenomenology of religion, Eranos, its history and the phenomenologists of religion who frequented the Eranos conferences. It serves as a short introduction enabling me to introduce the two phenomenologists of religion and Bollingen fellows that I wish to study, Corbin and Eliade, and their writings that are part of my archive. I will now briefly introduce and discuss the literature on architectural phenomenology.

3) Architectural Phenomenology

Architectural phenomenology was an offspring of the "crisis of meaning" in modern architecture that was brought to the surface in 1966 with the publication of Robert Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* which took the Western architecture world by storm.[63] Architectural phenomenology was also prompted, as scholar of architecture Kate Nesbitt writes, by the translation of the works by Heidegger and French philosopher Gaston Bachelard (1882–

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[60] Ibid., 28.
[61] Beyond-human because they deemed this origin as transcendent yet apprehensible, even if only vaguely pointed at. See Ibid., 5.
[62] Ibid., 54–56.
[63] See Martino Stierli, "In the Academy's Garden: Robert Venturi, the Grand Tour and the Revision of Modern Architecture," *AA Files*, no. 56 (2010), 43.

1962) from the 1950s onwards.[64] Phenomenology thus became an interdisciplinary tool for

architects by virtue of which they could emphasize the experiential aspect of architecture and the

body's interactions with the environment.[65] While there is little agreement among contemporary

scholars on what "architectural phenomenology" is, I will provide an overview of different

interpretations of the phrase in the following paragraphs.

Reza M. Shirazi provides a helpful summary of phenomenological tendencies in

architecture in *Towards an Articulated Phenomenological Interpretation of Architecture* (2014).

Shirazi notices that it is hard to speak of a systemic group of architectural phenomenologists or a

school of architectural phenomenology because, as is also the case with philosophers,

phenomenology is more often than not an individualistic method of inquiry.[66] He believes it is

precisely the potentiality of phenomenology as a "practice rather than method" that has always

appealed to architects because they could use it as a point of departure that leads to new ways of

architectural understanding.[67] Because of this, the term "architectural phenomenologist" can be

used to refer to many architects in different time spans who employ phenomenology as a mode

of architectural inquiry.

In *Architecture's Historical Turn: Phenomenology and the Rise of the Postmodern*

(2010), Jorge Otero-Pailos argues that architectural phenomenology emerged in the 1960s in the

academic world of the United States. He uses architectural phenomenology to refer to a group of

transnational architect-theorist/historians who, emerging after WWII and having lost their faith

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[64] Kate Nesbitt, "Introduction," in *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architectural Theory* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1996): 28.
[65] Ibid., 28–29.
[66] Reza M. Shirazi, *Towards an Articulated Phenomenological Interpretation of Architecture* (New York: Routledge, 2014): 2.
[67] Ibid., 3.

in technology and progress, sought to ground architectural meaning in the direct experience of

places.[68] The four figures whose thoughts most helped shape the contours of this area of study,

according to Otero-Pailos, are Jean Labatut (1899–1986), Charles Moore (1925–1993), Christian

Norberg-Schulz (1926–2000), and Kenneth Frampton (b. 1930).[69] Otero-Pailos posits that to

enhance the credibility of their claims, architectural phenomenologists appealed to the assumed

affirming power of philosophy, and in particular, that of phenomenology.[70] This account has

been criticized by other scholars, such as Mexican theorist and historian of architecture Juan

Manuel Heredia, for defining phenomenology too loosely.[71]

Canadian architectural theorist Graham Livesey and Nesbitt agree that for architecture

audiences of the 1960s and 1970s, Norwegian architect Norberg-Schulz was the chief interpreter

of phenomenology, and of Heidegger in particular.[72] Norberg-Schulz understood architecture as

the incarnation of the *genius loci* or the spirit of place.[73] Nesbitt writes that Norberg-Schulz

borrowed the concept of dwelling from Heidegger and interpreted it as "being at peace in a

protected place."[74] She notes that Mexican-born architectural historian and phenomenologist,

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[68] Jorge Otero-Pailos. *Architecture's Historical Turn*., xi.
[69] Note that Otero-Pailos considers Norberg-Schulz to have emerged in the United States. Norberg-Schulz, however, was educated at the ETH in Zurich, Harvard University in the United States, and the Norwegian Institute of Technology in Norway. Norberg-Schulz's career began in Yale, but flourished when he took on the role of the dean of the Oslo School of Architecture and Design from 1966 to 1992.
[70] Ibid., 13.
[71] See Juan Manuel Heredia, "Review of *Architecture's Historical Turn*," *Journal of Architectural Education* (64:2, 2011): 182–184,
[72] See Graham Livesey, "Changing Histories and Theories of Postmodern Architecture," *Building Research & Information* (39:1, 2011): 93–96; see also See Elie Haddad, "Christian Norberg-Schulz's Phenomenological Project in Architecture," Architectural Theory Review (15:1, 2010): 88–101.
[73] Jorge Otero-Pailos, *Architecture's Historical Turn: Phenomenology and the Rise of the Postmodern* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010): 146.
[74] Nesbitt, *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture Theory*, 412.

Alberto Perez-Gomez (b. 1949), took the concept of dwelling further and argued for an "authentic" architecture with a "metaphysical dimension."[75]

If Norberg-Schulz consistently appealed to Heidegger, Otero-Pailos writes, the British-born architect Kenneth Frampton (b. 1930), arrived at phenomenology by way of the French Protestant phenomenologist Paul Ricoeur (1913–2005), and then Heidegger. Phenomenology as a philosophical discourse "made it possible to argue that architecture was based on a timeless sensual 'language' of immediate experiences that architects could intuit across the spans of time."[76] This "timeless" language of architectural spaces that was assumedly available to any "sensitive" architect, was in turn communicated visually through images.

Norberg-Schulz is usually credited as the first architectural phenomenologist who, under the influence of Heidegger, wrote *Intentions in Architecture* (1965), and *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (1980).[77] Norberg-Schulz believed that the original task of architecture was to create meaningful places out of profane spaces. Heidegger's "Building Dwelling Thinking" of 1954 led Norberg-Schulz to conceive of architectural phenomenology as a means of returning to the *things* themselves, meaning the methodology of "assimilating" the essence of places and re-presenting them through architecture.[78] It is significant to note that as early as 1971, Norberg-Schulz appealed to Eliade in order to make a case for "existential spaces"— conceived of as being made of "centers" and "paths"—in his book *Existence, Space and Architecture*.[79]

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[75] Ibid., 30.
[76] Otero-Pailos. *Architecture's Historical Turn*, 11.
[77] See Christophe Van Gerrewey, "Architecture Protected by Phenomenology," *Environment, Space, Place* (4:1, 2012): 29–47.
[78] Christian Norberg-Schulz, "Heidegger's Thinking on Architecture," *Perspecta* (vol. 20, 1983): 61–68.
[79] Haddad, "Christian Norberg-Schulz's Phenomenological Project in Architecture," 90.

It was the prominent Italian architect Ernesto Rogers (1909–1969), however, who in his 1963 article "The Phenomenology of European Architecture," first employed the term "phenomenology" to understand the task of architecture as that of interpreting the ethos or the spirit of one's contemporary period. Rogers argued, albeit in historically loose terms, that the modern movement had been at its early intellectual and practical phase when the two world wars broke out; the wars, he continued, interrupted the historical evolution of European architecture and turned the modern movement into a mere style.[80] The way out of this dead end for European architects of that time, Rogers asserted, was to "assimilate the essence of Europe" by experiencing its historical works of architecture and expressing that essence in their designs.[81] This assumes a process that is phenomenological in nature, since it is concerned with understanding the structures of consciousness as perceived from a first-person's point of view.[82]

This study will focus on two architectural historians who are not consistently considered phenomenologists in existing scholarship. In doing so, however, I follow the approach taken by architectural historian and theorist Michael Hays and Canadian architectural theorist Gregory Caicco, who use the term "the Essex school" to refer to Rykwert, Vesley, and others who mobilized phenomenology as a critical method of inquiry suitable for investigating architectural practices. Hays further observes that among architectural phenomenologists, an insistence on

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[80] Rogers, "The Phenomenology of European Architecture," 424–439.

[81] Ibid., 433–434.

[82] Rogers in his 1954 essay "The Responsibilities towards Tradition," as architectural historian Martino Stierli writes, called for a departure from "modernist dogma," and referred to the modernist formalism as a threat because it no more was willing to make compromises when facing contextual challenges (49). Rogers's remarks need to be understood against a backdrop of post-WWII Italy in which discussions of large housing projects within historical cities were having a momentum. See *AA files*, no. 56 (2010), 49.

individuals' "authentic" lived and situated experience was meant to disclose some "mystery" that transcends time and place to become ahistorical and universal.

Rykwert founded the History and Theory of Architecture course at the University of Essex in 1968.[83] Prior to that, in 1966 and as a Bollingen Fellow, he had spent time in Italy, studying Roman cities and their spatial organization patterns. Moreover, in 1963 his other manuscript *The Idea of a Town* first appeared as a special issue of the Dutch review *Forum*. In the introduction to the 1988 paperback edition of this book, he stated his motives for undertaking such a study in the 1950s, emphasizing the need for architects to review the history of architecture and city planning as a necessary step to be able to move beyond the "positivist ideology of industrial building and technical improvement."[84] Rykwert believed that phenomenology was "the only intellectual framework capable of guiding the architect's search for authentic experience."[85] Rykwert is also known for his interpretations of the meaning of archetypal architectural places with religious and ritualistic significance; for example the house of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden stands as the symbol of first human dwellings. His 1972 magnum opus, *On Adam's House in Paradise* (Museum of Modern Art, 1972), which emphasized the significance of the "primitive hut" as an exemplar of architectural meaning for all buildings, was in fact the second and the last volume in the series of Museum of Modern Art Papers on Architecture (the first being *Complexity and Contradiction* by Robert Venturi). Rykwert was thus one of the prominent voices responding to architecture's perceived crisis of

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[83] Rykwert was born in Warsaw in 1926, but moved to England in 1939. He moved to the United States in 1988.
[84] Joseph Rykwert, "Introduction," *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976): 21.
[85] Livesey, "Changing histories and theories of postmodern architecture," 216. It is worth noting that architecture, for architectural phenomenologists, is understood primarily as experienced by the architect and not by the people who live inside and with those architectural works.

meaning by emphasizing the relevance of seeing patterns across history and focusing on an experiential understanding of "primitive" architecture.

While Rykwert is more readily associated with architectural phenomenology, Scully, who wrote introductions to Robert Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* in 1966 and 1977, is more often than not teamed up with "postmodernists" such as Venturi himself.[86] That however, presupposes a narrow understanding of Scully's long and prolific career.[87] In 1962, Scully wrote *The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods* (as well as *Louis I. Kahn*) which gave primacy to the first-person experience of architectural places, in this case of Greece. In the same book, as the British classicist Michael H. Jameson writes in his review, Scully emphasized his own aesthetic perceptions to make "a series of assumptions about the religious symbolism of Greeks," and to come up with systemic symbolisms of shapes.[88] This methodology, which is visually strengthened in Scully's book through the use of photographs, bears close resemblance to the approach of the phenomenologists of religion who, based on their own understandings of religious realities, made assumptions about the symbolism of different religions (a parallel case would be Corbin's phenomenological study of Iranian religions funded by Bollingen). Scully's *The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods* of 1962 was the result of his sojourn in Greece in the

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[86] According to Otero-Pailos, Scully is perceived as a father figure against whom Charles Moore, the phenomenologist architect, rebelled when he sought the legitimizing affirmation of phenomenology to emphasize the primacy of experience. Otero-Pailos further argues that Moore was trying to put an end to the long reign of art historians' assumed methodology of learning from history theoretically and not visually; a methodology he replaced with his "image bank" which was an attempt at gathering and teaching history through images of buildings: visual historiography. See *Architecture's Historical Turn*, 314–317. Note that Robert Venturi's method in *Complexity and Contradiction* is precisely one of "visual historiography" as well, informed by Townscape and only distinct from phenomenology in its exclusive emphasis on visual poetics over the haptic.

[87] For a review of Scully's diverse scholarly achievements that frequently included a re-visiting of his older writings and negating his previous assumptions, see Neil Levine, "Introduction," *Modern Architecture and Other Essays* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003): 8–12

[88] Michael H. Jameson, "Reviewed Work: The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods by Vincent Scully," *Classical Philology* (60:3, 1965): 210–214.

1950s, which was made possible through his Bollingen Fellowship. Scully's interest in archetypal spaces such as temples and in religious concepts such as Gods was recurrent; it was manifest in *The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods* as well as his 1975 *Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance*. In his introduction to an edited volume of Scully's twenty essays, British architectural historian Neil Levine refers to Scully's method as that of revealing "universal patterns" through the study of history and asserts that at the heart of Scully's scholarship rests the primacy of experience—a method closely linked to the method employed by phenomenologists of both architecture and religion.[89] Such close affinities between Scully's approach and phenomenology as the methodology of experiencing the structures of consciousness from a first-person's point of view, as well as his emphasis on expression of experiences through images and photographs, qualify Scully for inclusion among architectural phenomenologists and warrant a close examination of his works in this new light.

To further strengthen my position, I need only highlight the close affinities between Scully's scholarship and Heidegger's then popular mythopoetic essays "The Origin of the Work of Art" (1935), "The Question Concerning Technology" (1949), and specifically "Building Dwelling Thinking" (1952), in which Heidegger speaks of the Greek temple as the place where gods reveal themselves. That Scully could be studied as an architectural phenomenologist is pointed out by architectural historian and theorist Gregory Caicco.[90] In his analysis of architectural phenomenology, Caicco distinguishes between Scully and Rykwert by understanding Scully's engagement with phenomenology as traditionalist and uncritical, and

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[89] Levine, "Introduction," 10.
[90] Gregory Caicco, "Introduction," in *Architecture, Ethics, and the Personhood of Place* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 2007): 1–41, 14.

Rykwert's as critical.[91] Moving beyond the specific contours of Caicco's study of Rykwert and Scully, I argue that both scholars' works should be considered examples of architectural phenomenology, and that analysis as such can lead to a better understanding of the context within which these two seemingly different architectural historians turned to phenomenology as an instrument for their work.

By approaching Scully as an architectural phenomenologist alongside Rykwert, therefore, I am building on the already existing arguments by scholars such as Caicco. In choosing Rykwert and Scully as the two architectural phenomenologists, I foreground and investigate the similarities between their thoughts and the common roots of their ideas; I am interested in examining their understanding and employment of phenomenology as well as the role of myths and archetypes in their works. In doing so I think through "phenomenology" as both a methodology and philosophical enquiry for architects to experience architectural spaces or "meanings" and paradoxically communicate their experiences through images. Finally, I also briefly interpret the physical and intellectual implications of such processes for the architecture of our current world.

The architectural phenomenologists whose works I study, Rykwert and Scully, as has been pointed out earlier, were both Bollingen scholars. Scully was a fellow at the Bollingen Foundation in 1957, working on "[a] study of the meaning embodied in the planning of archaic and classic Greek temples." Rykwert was a Bollingen Fellow in 1966, working on "A study of the Roman and Etruscan town plans in relation to their foundation rituals." Apart from these two studies, the other main primary textual corpora by these architectural historians that I will

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[91] Ibid., 15.

examine are *Church Building* (1966), and *On Adam's House in Paradise* (1972) by Joseph

Rykwert, and *The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods* (1962), *Louis I. Kahn* (*Makers of*

Contemporary Architecture series (1962); *Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance* (1975) and the

Introduction to *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (1966; second introduction to

second edition, 1977) by Scully. My visual and physical corpora for this section include all the

photographs, sketches, studies, and real spaces analyzed by Rykwert and Scully in the selected

works.

So far, in the section on architectural phenomenology, I have reviewed current literature

on architectural phenomenology. Then I moved on to introduce the group of architectural

phenomenologists and Bollingen Fellows who form the focus of my inquiry, the criteria for such

selection as well as the corpora I will investigate. Now, I will introduce the common grounds of

the phenomenology of religion and architectural phenomenology.

4) Common Grounds of the Phenomenology of Religion and Architectural Phenomenology

Architectural phenomenologists and phenomenologists of religion were both concerned with the

"essences" or the "meanings" of architecture and/or of religions.[92] They argued that such

essences were manifest in certain "ideal archetypes" that were at once timeless and universal.[93]

Architectural phenomenologists sought these archetypal origins in the immediate experiences of

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[92] Seeking grounding essences was a central theme of the twentieth-century art and architecture which itself must be understood in relation to the two world wars that broke out during the century and to their long-lasting trauma. This looking for the essence could take the shape of Neo-Plasticism's search for the objective essence of reality through primary forms, as art historian Maarten Doorman writes (88), or it could take the shape of Christian Norberg-Schulz's nostalgic seeking of the essence of humanity that was supposedly lost but could be redeemed through architecture's orienting function, as architectural historian Hilde Heynen argues (18). Objective like De Stijl or deeply subjective like Norberg-Schulz's phenomenology, looking for essences was present throughout much of the century.
[93] Ibid., 26.

architectural spaces that were represented in mnemonic images—meaning that even though direct personal experience had primacy, images were a way to convey this empirical understanding to others.[94] Phenomenologists of religion found the essence of religions manifest in symbols or image-archetypes.[95] Thus, for architectural phenomenologists and the phenomenologists of religion, images assumed the visual-communicatory role of symbols whose immediate intelligibility was supposed to render them ahistorical and universal.[96] The visual, therefore, became a way to circumvent language's referential system of signifier/signified. No longer referring to anything outside of themselves and thus solely tautegorical, "archetypal" images were understood as visualizations of some ineffable universal meaning that could be immediately intuited. Images as such were indices of that ineffable universal meaning rather than being its symbols. Tautegorical or mnemonic, images are at the heart of architectural phenomenology and the phenomenology of religion.[97]

Another common denominator that in this project brings together architectural phenomenology and the phenomenology of religion—the first being their insistence on the

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[94] Otero-Pailos. *Architecture's Historical Turn*, 11. Mnemonic needs to be understood not just as evoking a personal memory but a historical memory of the invisible thread of meaning architectural phenomenologists sought to argue for.

[95] Wasserstrom, *Religion after Religion*, 85–99.

[96] For a discussion of the phenomenologists of religions' understanding of symbols see Wasserstrom, "On Symbols and Symbolizing," in *Religion after Religion*, 85–99. For a discussion of the architectural phenomenologists understanding of symbols as introduced by Otero-Pailos see *Architecture's Historical Turn*, 23–24.

[97] In Peircean terminology, in an indexical relationship, there is some existential or physical connection between the sign and its object. For a brief review of Peirce's theory of signs see Albert Atkin, "Peirce's Theory of Signs," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2013 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2013/entries/peirce-semiotics/>.

primacy of the visual manifest in universal archetypes—is the support of the Bollingen Foundation.[98]

Interestingly, the Bollingen Foundation funded and published research into universal archetypes which was drawn from temporally and geographically narrow histories all in the name of phenomenology—which in turn implied universality—at a moment in history when phenomenology was not yet a dominant discourse in the United States. While, as Paul Mellon claimed in 1965, Bollingen was mainly established to translate and publish the works of Jung, its agenda broadened in the years to include not only psychoanalysis but also the study of religions, archaeology, mythology, anthropology, literature, and philosophy.[99] The central theme binding together the scholarship supported by the Bollingen foundation, much influenced by Jung's theory of archetypes (1934), was the concept of archetype as the container of some primordial meaning.[100] If the books published by Bollingen, especially those by Jung, were the textual expositions of the existence of this world of archetypes, Fröbe-Kapteyn's archive of "image-archetypes," was its visual counterpart.[101] Her body of work makes an important contribution to phenomenology (regardless of my critique of the field), and it is noteworthy that during her own lifetime and into the present, her contributions were largely overwritten in the patriarchal accounting/recounting of this history. This is another gap that this dissertation addresses.

Since 1935, Fröbe-Kapteyn, self-motivated and encouraged by Jung, had set upon the task of systematically compiling an exhaustive archive of image-archetypes that would

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[98] I am not suggesting that Paul Mellon only funded phenomenological approaches. That is certainly the case with Bollingen and Eranos, but its other instances are to be studied further.
[99] *Bollingen Foundation, Twentieth Anniversary Report*, vii.
[100] Wasserstrom, *Religion after Religion*, 85–99.
[101] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 29.

complement Jung's theories.[102] Throughout the postwar years (1946–1976), funding for her trips to museums, galleries, and archives around the world in order to collect these images came from the Mellon foundations. Many of the images she collected served as important primary material for the scholarship produced by the Bollingen and Eranos fellows including the four scholars I study, especially for the phenomenologists of religion, who had to rely more on images than architects who could actually experience places.[103] The Eranos image archive was made to be a focus and template for their work, so these images established a common agenda that had their sponsor's imprimatur. It is this image-archetype archive that serves as the primary visual source of my dissertation alongside the sketches and photographs produced by Rykwert and Scully.

5) Eranos

Current literature that specifically addresses Eranos is limited to three volumes: Hans Thomas Hakl's *Eranos: An Alternative Intellectual History of 20th Century* (2001 in German and 2013 in English by McGill-Queen's University Press) is by far the most comprehensive study of Eranos and its participants; *Spring: A Journal of Archetype and Culture*'s special 2015 issue on Eranos, and psychoanalyst scholar of Eranos Riccardo Bernardini's *Jung A Eranos. Il Progetto Della Psicologia Complessa* (2011, Italian and forthcoming in English by Routledge).

Hakl devoted over twenty years to the compilation of archival material for the writing of *Eranos: An Alternative Intellectual History of the 20th Century*. Hakl, while holding a doctorate in Law, is an established scholar of esotericism and owns a publishing house, Ansata-Verlag, as

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[102] Examples of the archetypal representations Olga had in mind, based on her letters to Mary Mellon, include the "Crucifixion, the Baptism, the Descent into Hell, the Resurrection, the fight with the Dragon." Ibid., 28–30.
[103] Ibid., 29–30.

well as a large private library on esotericism and history of religions. Therefore, his book is an internal study, written from the point of view of someone from within the community of esoterics. Hakl takes up the useful and important task of compiling all those who contributed to the Eranos conferences from their inception in 1933 until the time of the publication of the book (2001). As such, the book is encyclopedic, if also challenging to navigate because of its scope. While thorough in many respects, Hakl's study does not include any material from the Eranos archive in Ascona, a significant lacuna.

Hakl begins with Fröbe-Kapteyn's biography and ends by answering what he calls "difficult" questions about Eranos, which he defines as its fundamentalism, its esoteric traditions, and accusations of lack of scholarly value in its (then still-recent) conferences. In between, there are over 250 pages of biographical and historical information about the people who came into Eranos throughout the years. While some conference themes are mentioned, images and exhibitions are absent from the book. The book is a most important source of information on Eranos.

Hakl also contributed to *Spring: A Journal of Archetype and Culture* by writing a chapter that is itself a summary of his book on Eranos. *Spring*'s special Spring 2015 issue on Eranos provides a more academically rigorous overview of Eranos than Hakl's own manuscript. The issue is a collection of essays by current scholars of Eranos such as Hakl and Bernardini. It also includes reprints of older essays by previous Eranos scholars such as Eliade and Corbin. *Spring* is divided into five main sections that investigate Eranos as a historical phenomenon, explore its relationship with psychological traditions, discuss the relationship between Eranos and the idea of the sacred, review philosophical perspectives on Eranos, and comment on Eranos and the unity of psyche and matter. Moreover, the edition includes a number of never-before-seen

photographs from the Eranos meetings, most of which were taken from the early 1930s to the mid-1950s by Austrian photographer Margarita Marianne Fellerer (1886–1961). The guest editor of *Spring*'s special edition is Riccardo Bernardini.

An Italian psychoanalyst, Bernardini, the current scientific secretary of the Eranos Foundation, has been studying Eranos and contributing to its conferences from the standpoint of a psychologist since 2011, when he wrote his doctoral dissertation on Jung at Eranos. His dissertation was published as a book in Italian. *Jung at Eranos* was the first manuscript on Eranos that made use of the archive (mostly notes, books, journals, and photographs) available at Casa Gabriella. The book focuses on Jung, his life, and his theories especially during the period he was involved with Eranos. It says little about Fröbe-Kapteyn and her image-archive.

Other than the above-mentioned works by Hakl and Bernardini, a number of other studies deal with Eranos tangentially. A critically rigorous study of Eranos as pertaining to Corbin, Eliade, and Scholem, was written by scholar of religious studies Steven Wasserstrom. In his *Religion after Religion* (Princeton University Press, 1999), Wasserstrom compares the thought systems of Eliade, Corbin, and Scholem, and analyzes their contributions to Eranos conferences from the standpoint of religious studies. Wasserstrom's analysis is critical in the sense that it does not try to defend Eranos scholars, as insiders Hakl and Bernardini do, but rather explores the implications of esotericism evident in the works of the three scholars. Wasserstrom also fails to discuss the image-archive.

From a historical standpoint, William McGuire's *Bollingen: An Adventure in Collecting the Past* (Princeton University Press, 1982) is of particular importance in re-constructing the sequence of events that interweave the Bollingen and Eranos Foundations. McGuire had been an

editor at the Bollingen Foundation from 1948 to 1967 and provides valuable information about the way in which Bollingen came into existence, and how its history was closely associated with that of Eranos. Unfortunately, however, the book is written by someone from within the Bollingen circle, and as such lacks critical distance. Here, the reader once again witnesses a downplaying of Fröbe-Kapteyn's role.

More recently, a number of collections of letters and biographies of scholars, who at one point in their lives came to be associated with Eranos, have been published. These studies can be informative in any study of Eranos. Among the most recent ones are Gunnar Deker's *Hesse: The Wanderer and His Shadow* (Brill, 2018), Amir Engel's *Gershom Scholem: An Intellectual Biography* (University of Chicago Press, 2017), *Analytical Psychology in Exile: The Correspondence of C. G. Jung and Erich Neumann* (Princeton University Press, 2015), and Sonu Shamdasani's *Jung and the Making of Modern Psychology: The Dream of a Science* (Cambridge University Press, 2003). Moreover, there exist autobiographical publications of Eranos scholars that can be useful for historical studies of Eranos. The most substantial of these autobiographies belongs to Eliade. A recent publication of Eliade's *The Portugal Journal* (SUNY Press, 2010) translated from Romanian and edited by Professor emeritus of religion (Louisburg College, North Carolina) Mac Linscott Ricketts, is illuminating because of Ricketts' critically informed introduction.

No research, however, has focused on the function of images within the Eranos project. The only book which contains a number of Eranos images (800 from over 1800) categorized under designated archetypes is *The Book of Symbols: Reflections on Archetypal Images* (Taschen, 2010), by curators of ARAS, Ami Ronnberg and Kathleen Martin's. This book is a coffee-table collection of the images available in the Archive for Research in Archetypal

Symbolism (ARAS). Images in this book are categorized according to 350 archetypes. Each

archetype is accompanied by a short essay that explains the archetype displayed and its spiritual

significance. The book is addressed to the general public and the essays do not bear the name of

the authors. In the introduction, however, the reader is told that the essays are written by scholars

of religion, psychology, literature, and art. An example of these entries can help the reader: under

the category of "red" as an archetype, there are three images—reproduced in chapter two as

figures 2.14 and 2.15—identified as such: "Chaim Soutine, *Side of Beef and Calf's Head*, oil on

canvas, ca. 1925, France; Mark Rothko*, Red No. 5*, oil painting, 1961, United States"; and "a

Tibetan ritual dance mask from Mongolia that was worn by one of eight Sword Bearers in the

retinue of Begtse, the war god who became the guardian of the Dalai Lama, Papier-mâché, 19th

century." The four-page entry on red as an archetype is accompanied by six short paragraphs

that, with extensive reference to Adolf Portmann's 1972 *Color Symbolism* (initially an Eranos

lecture), define red as the color of life and interpret it as "bringing spiritual realization into

fullblooded reality, lived out fully in everyday life."[104] It is noteworthy that all the images

printed in the book are available online through the archive's website.

Other than books, multiple exhibitions have been held about Eranos, too. The earliest

exhibition was the 1978 "Monte Verità—The Breasts of Truth," curated by Swiss art historian

Harald Szeeman (1933–2005) at Casa Anatta in Ascona. The exhibition comprised sixteen

stations that took viewers on a journey of the specific culture of dissent that had emerged in

Ascona from 1870 to 1970.[105] Another exhibition was "Carl Gustav Jung at Eranos, 1933–1953"

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[104] Ami Ronnberg and Kathleen Martin, *The Book of Symbols: Reflections on Archetypal Images* (New York: Taschen, 2010): 638–641.
[105] The exhibition later traveled to other locations such as Zurich and Berlin. No known catalogue of the exhibition exists. In 1981, it was partially reinstalled at Casa Anatta. Casa Anatta opened to public as a museum in the same year. Harald Szeeman's archive is currently held at the Harald Szeeman Archive and

held at the Turin University's Faculty of Psychology for the occasion of the its tenth anniversary in 2007. This exhibition included a number of photographs and documents from the Eranos Archive in Ascona and was co-organized by Bernardini. The most recent exhibition related to Eranos, was "The Great Mother" curated by Massimiliano Gioni and Roberta Tenconi and organized by the Trussardi Foundation, a non-profit institution for the promotion of contemporary art, and the City of Milan at the Royal Palace of Milan in 2015, in conjunction with that year's World Exhibition (Milan Expo). Six paintings by Fröbe-Kapteyn were shown at the "Elles font l'abstraction. Une autre histoire de l'abstraction au 20e siècle" exhibition, curated by Christine Macel, in the Centre Pompidou in Paris from May 5–August 23, 2021, and the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao on October 22, 2021–February 27, 2022.[106]

As seen, existing sources on Eranos emphasize the role of Jung and analytical psychology, but are generally written by insiders, and have not fully addressed Fröbe-Kapteyn, her image archive, or the important role of images in the interdisciplinary work brought together by the Eranos conferences. Moving forward, I discuss the literature on the Bollingen Foundation, which partially funded Eranos and the scholarship produced by its scholars.

6) Paul Mellon, the Bollingen Foundation, Gulf Oil, and the CIA

The Bollingen Foundation, which partially funded and published the research of Eranos scholars (and will be fully investigated in chapter three), was established by Paul Mellon, the son of

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Library in the Getty Research Institute as the largest single archival collection ever acquired by the Getty Research Institute. It seems to me that the archive is of immense potential and remains understudied. In 2007, Springer published a compilation of all the catalogues of Szeeman's exhibitions. For exhibition catalogues see Tobia Bezzola and Roman Kurzmeyer (ed.), *Harald Szeemann: with, by, through, because, towards, despite* (Zurich and New York: Springer, 2007).

[106] Riccardo Bernardini, and Fabio Merlini, "Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn (1881–1962): A Woman's Individuation Process through Images at the Origins of the Eranos Conferences," *ARAS Connections* (issue 4, 2020): 1–18.

Andrew Mellon, the oil magnate who served as the United States Secretary of Treasury from 1921–1932. In *Paul Mellon: Portrait of an Oil Baron*, William S. Hoffman gives his readers a biography of three generations of the Mellon family. Important in this book is the list of Mellon family members' assets and their political and religious affiliations. The foreword to *Bollingen Foundation, Twentieth Anniversary Report of Its Activities from December 14, 1945 through December 31, 1965* is written by Paul Mellon himself, describing twenty years of the operations of the foundation. The latter, thus, is one of my primary sources. Written by the last managing editor of the Bollingen Series, William McGuire, *Bollingen and Adventure in Collecting the Past* gives a chronological history of the Bollingen Foundation as it was founded in 1945 by Paul and Mary Mellon. The significance of this book resides in its detail about the books and authors, including the four scholars studied in this dissertation, published by the series, its fellows, as well as the source of capital needed for the undertakings and the events that led to its establishment and termination in 1969.

My other sources, *Mellon: An American Life* by David Cannadine, *The Brothers: John Foster Dulles, Allen Dulles, and Their Secret World War* (2006) by Stephen Kinzer, and *Gentleman Spy: The Life of Allen Dulles* (1996) by Peter Grose explore the affiliations between Mellon, the CIA, and the intermingling of the former's capital with the latter's political activities. The sources explain how Paul Mellon was drafted as a CIA agent and how the CIA was involved with money laundering for the Nazis in the United States and across Europe. Another important source on Bollingen is Paul Mellon's autobiography, *Reflections in a Silver Spoon* (1992).

The petroleum-funded Bollingen project, including all its strands, served as the locus within which the Eranos encounters of different linguistic, cultural, and epistemic systems

materialized. The Bollingen Foundation, in other words, employed multiple support mechanisms

to realize a very specific flow of knowledge and ideas that ran countercurrent to the mainstream

scientific and Enlightened modes of knowledge production of its time.[107] Indeed, if one situates

Eranos as a latecomer to the European countercultural turn towards the Occult of 1880–1930,

then Bollingen's immense investment in the Eranos project seems curious at least.[108] What

further complicates this system of intellectual traffic and cultural hybridity is the closely

traceable role of politics and petroleum capital. In the larger context of the Cold War, this

amalgam makes for a stimulating historical investigation that would be a revealing picture of the

cultural landscape of the early years of the Cold War era closely linked to its petroleum

geopolitics. The Bollingen project, as such, brings together petropolitics, art, and religion.

While Mary Mellon was particularly enthusiastic about the Bollingen project, Paul

Mellon's retrospective memories of the twenty-seven years of involvement with the project are

exceptionally tepid. Of the over-four-hundred pages of his memoir, *Reflections in a Silver Spoon*,

only a twenty-five-page chapter is committed to "C. G. Jung, Zurich, and the Bollingen

Foundation." More pages are allotted to foxhunting and horse-racing. Mellon's voice is

apologetic, and the narrative reads as a dismissal of Mary Mellon as a "neurotic" in search of

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[107] Bernstein aptly summarizes the role of philanthropy in the formation of ideas after WWII as she writes "As the focus of foundation giving shifted from providing benefits that might directly affect the standards of living of individuals (such as health care programs) toward public policy, social science, and educational issues, the foundations began exerting a substantial influence over the cultures, economies, and governments of areas in which they provided grants. *Their influences did not come from supplying arms for revolutionaries or by supporting American government intervention, but rather came more subtly in the form of educational aid, conferences, and studies that directed the intellectual climate of nations and that influenced their leadership.*" Alison R. Bernstein, Funding the Future: Philanthropy's Influence on American Higher Education (New York and Toronto: R&L Education, 2014): 68.

[108] On the history of Occult see Nile Green, "The Global Occult, an Introduction," in *The History of Religions*, vol. 54, no. 4 (May 2015): 383–393; Lydia Willsky, "The (Un)Plain Bible: New Religious Movements and Alternative Scriptures in Nineteenth-century America," in *Nova Religio: The Journal of Alternative and Emergent Religions*, vol. 17, no. 4 (May 2014): 13–36.

healing powers, and of Jung as a socialite rather than a scholar. On the occasion of Mary

Mellon's interest in Jung, he writes for instance, that "Mary suspected that there could be a

psychological problem aggravating her illness," therefore she started the Jungian psychological

therapy sessions.[109] He further refers to these therapy sessions as "a complete waste of time" and

elsewhere emphasizes that "I was not getting anywhere and Mary was not making any headways

against her enemy, asthma."[110] About Jung, Mellon writes that "there was a good deal of the

peasant about him, and he was very direct. He also had a very good sense of humor."[111] Mellon

then writes of a memory he had had of a conversation with Jung at the end of World War II in

which the psychoanalyst referred to the atomic bomb as "a worldwide unconscious impulse to

limit the surge of and growth of populations throughout the world."[112] These couple of short

dismissive pages end with a summary of his experience with Jungian analysis as "generally of

slight assistance to the neurotic personality and perhaps only helpful to those with personalities

of a deeply religious nature or with mystic feelings and intuitions," adding that he (Mellon) only

found answers to the questions he was looking for, in Freudian analysis.[113]

Paul Mellon's lukewarm 1992 account of the Bollingen period compared to Mary Mellon

and Fröbe-Kapteyn's enthusiastic formation of countercurrent establishments of Bollingen and

Eranos must be read not as a discrepancy but as an attempt at dissociating himself from a kind of

establishment that was under attack from multiple directions for being Orientalist and colonialist.

The third chapter of this dissertation seeks to do the exact reverse of Mellon's chapter in his

memoir: I am particularly interested in contextualizing Bollingen in the geopolitics of its period

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[109] Mellon and Baskett, *Reflections*, 158.
[110] Ibid., 158, 166.
[111] Ibid., 166.
[112] Ibid., 170.
[113] Ibid., 170–171.

and unweaving the merely philanthropic blanket wreathed around it. In other words, I will demonstrate how Bollingen was an imperial knowledge producing institution. The kinds of knowledges that it produced helped to paint Mellon and Gulf Oil's adventures–exploiting culture and resources–as merely philanthropic rather than colonizing.

7) In Conclusion

It is established, thus far, that during 1945–1967, a transnational network of architectural phenomenologists and phenomenologists of religion including Rykwert, Scully, Eliade, and Corbin came together under the aegis of not just phenomenology but also at specific events, the Eranos conferences, all operating under the sponsorship of the oil-funded Bollingen Foundation. They are also tied together by the reliance, in part, of their scholarship on the Eranos image-archive, itself a product of Bollingen support. Through the financial and intellectual support programs of Bollingen, these four scholars took a step towards establishing themselves as renowned scholars in their fields. They also put forth phenomenology in their respective fields as an ahistorical and universal means of articulating cultural meaning. By exploring the affinities between architectural phenomenology and the phenomenology of religion I suggest that there is room for, and indeed there is a necessity for, an exploration of the roots of these affinities, problematizing the politics of their knowledge production, and querying its implications for the history of architecture and religion which still has purchase over how architecture is taught and practiced up to the present moment, as well as how religions and myths are interpreted by the public. These histories of thought also continue to define North American conceptions of architectural beauty and inform how and where the parameters of myths versus religions are drawn.

In my doctoral dissertation, through a close examination of works produced by these four scholars during 1945–1967, specifically those funded and published by the Bollingen foundation, and Fröbe-Kapteyn's visual archive of image-archetypes that served as a foundation for Eranos and Bollingen scholars, I investigate two specific links between architecture and religion: the role of Mellon's foundations, and the emphasis on visual-archetypes. Keeping in mind that Mellon's source of capital was in large part supplied by the Gulf Oil Corporation, which was exploiting the oil resources of countries such as Iran, Venezuela, and Angola, I would like to propose that my explorations would situate the phenomenology of religion and architectural phenomenology found within the works of the four scholars in the petrocultural and colonial context of their time in order to render visible the generally hidden mechanisms and affiliations of power and knowledge production in a significant era of history commonly referred to as the Cold War (1945–1991).

The peak years of the Cold War era, 1945–1970, as observed by architectural historian Ines Weizman, with its interwoven network of espionage, diplomacy, and propaganda that recruited architecture and design, is now, given our historical distance, a great "toolbox of anecdotes and artifacts."[114] Kenny Cupers, architectural historian and theorist, also emphasizes the importance of examining the "global circulation shaping modern architecture in the postwar period."[115] There is also a key gap in the scholarly literature about the relationship between religion and architecture in the twentieth century and specifically during the Cold War. This gap is emphasized by art historian Sally M. Promey, who asserts that the stories we tell and histories

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[114] Ines Weizman, "Architecture's Political Spectacles: Revolutionary Reenactment and the Urban Arms Race in Cold War Berlin," *AA Files* (59, 2009): 60.
[115] Kenny Cupers, "The Cultural Center: Architecture as Cultural Policy in Postwar Europe," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* (74: 4, 2015): 465.

we invest in overlook this formative period of modern aesthetics in which the religious and the political are "virtually inseparable."[116] In an era when art and architecture as modern aesthetics are implicated in the political, the relationship between the religious and the architectural set of values that played a key part of powerful actors' motivation thus needs to be studied. My own research helps fill that gap by investigating the phenomenology of religion and architectural phenomenology in the petroleum geopolitics of the era between 1945 and 1967. This project fits within the larger overarching level of inquiry that conceptualizes the transnational network of ideas, scholars, and buildings/images which were co-opted at the service of petroleum and capital.

Theoretical Framework

I see myself as a postcolonial scholar of Iranian origins working in Canada in a time of global environmental crisis. My main concern as a historian is to investigate "the coloniality of knowledge," to borrow a term from Walter Mignolo, by investigating the ways in which religious and architectural knowledge and understanding were created, transformed, and instilled in the twentieth century.[117] To be specific, I am concerned with the petroleum roots of the coloniality of knowledge during the outlined time frame and its consequences for the two areas of study, the phenomenology of religion and architectural phenomenology. Ultimately, my goal is to demonstrate that phenomenology of religion and architectural phenomenology, in large part, emerged through the support of the petroleum industry, namely the Gulf Oil Corporation, and

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[116] Sally M. Promey. "The 'Return' of Religion in the Scholarship of American Art," *The Art Bulletin* (vol. 85, no. 3, 2003): 581.
[117] Walter Mignolo, "On Pluriversality and Multipolar World Order: Decoloniality after Decolonization; Dewesternization after the Cold War." In *Constructing the Pluriverse: The Geopolitics of Knowledge* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2018): 95.

that the kinds of knowledge that they produced were colonialist and Orientalist. This knowledge

has, in turn, conditioned and shaped our perception of architectural beauty and of what

constitutes religion or myth. As each chapter of this dissertation deals with its own specific topic,

in each case theoretical frameworks have been engendered by the chapter's topic. The larger

theoretical framework, one that gives structure to the whole project and guides my own thinking

remains postcolonialism. My research is, in particular, informed by works of Edward Said, Talal

Assad, Hamid Dabashi, and more recently of Walter Mignolo.

As indicated earlier, my theoretical framework incorporates a number of approaches in

order to accommodate the many different yet interconnected aspects of my research project. As

such, this section has been divided into the categories of art historical theory, architectural

theory, theory of religion, postcolonial theory that itself includes discussions of Orientalism and

Primitivism, and petrocultures. Each section includes the most relevant and significant theories

of its genre that will help me in the framing and investigation of my research topic.

a) Art Historical Theory

Iconography is the study and interpretation of the subject matter of a work of art. Iconography, as

art historian Colum Hourihane writes, was first used in the late medieval period but was later

developed by twentieth-century German art historians Aby Warburg (1966–1922) and Erwin

Panofsky (1892–1968). Hourihane continues that iconography involves the process of reading

images and finding suitable words to describe their content. Iconography is thus reading,

understanding, and documenting what images are and mean.[118] Influenced by Warburg, art

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[118] Colum Hourihane, "Iconography in the Western World," in *Oxford Bibliographies*, DOI: 10.1093/OBO/9780199920105-0044

historian Horst Bredekamp, in *Image Acts: A Systematic Approach to Visual Agency* (2007),

argues that images do not merely represent, they "construct" and "bring forth" that which they

show.[119] Bredekamp, reviewing the history of "the power of images," writes that until the

Enlightenment the understanding that images had an inherent power was a given, and it was only

after the Enlightenment that the power of images became associated with "magical thinking" and

"religious occultism."[120] The power to move but also to harm, latent in images, Bredekamp

continues, was retrieved by Warburg and is in current literature at the heart of the

"phenomenology of image act."[121] By image act he means any "visually perceptible material

form," within which lies an energy, power, or force that solicits a response from the beholder.[122]

Bredekamp thus argues that images are active and not passive, that images bring into life many

different experiences.

While attentive to traditional iconographical approaches such as those introduced by

Warburg and developed by Erwin Panofsky, and the phenomenology of image act built upon

them by Bredekamp, for the current project, I am interested in situating such theories historically

and understanding them as belonging within the larger body of primary sources I consider.[123]

Indeed Warburg (discussed in chapter two) and Panofsky were among the scholars who were

actively implicated in the milieu of this study. Panofsky, when he was a professor at the Institute

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[119] Horst Bredekamp, "introduction," in *Image Acts: A Systematic Approach to Visual Agency* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021): vi.
[120] Ibid., 7.
[121] Ibid., 8.
[122] Ibid., vii.
This can, in turn, be relevant to theories of affect. Theories of affect, heralded in the late 1990s by Brian Massumi, Eve Sedgwick, and Adam Frank, and continued more recently by Sara Ahmed and Laurent Berland, follow philosophical implications of Deleuze and Spinoza, and investigate embodiments, entanglements, assemblages, and movements. For an introduction see Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth, *The Affect Theory Reader* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010).
[123] See pages 98–100 of this document.

for Advanced Study in Princeton (beginning in 1935), "came into the Bollingen orbit as an occasional adviser."[124] His book on early Netherlandish painting was published through a grant Bollingen provided to the Harvard University Press. His and Dora Panofsky's book on archetypes, *Pandora's Box: The Changing Aspects of a Mythical Symbol*, was published by Bollingen in 1956.[125] Although Warburg precedes the timeframe of this study historically, his institute was a major source of archetypal imagery for Fröbe-Kapteyn and she donated her archive of images to the Warburg Institute in 1954. Additionally, Warburg's own archive was organized by art historian Gertrude Bing (1892–1964), Warburg's secretary, through a Bollingen grant. Additional grants were given to other Warburg Fellows to fund their studies. As can be seen from these examples, Panofsky and Warburg, therefore, belong to the network of scholars that this dissertation investigates.

My theoretical framework pertaining to visual images is in large part informed by Janet Wolff's "After Cultural Theory: The Power of Images, the Lure of Immediacy" (2012). In this article, Wolff is concerned with "the apparent evaporation of the social in cultural studies and critical theory,"[126] and the relatively new insistence in academia on the power and agency of images. The point that Wolff makes, and I adopt in my research, is that powers are not inherent in images but given to them through social, political, and cultural constructs.[127] Meanings in other words are created by humans, she writes, and they are only projected onto images.[128] Wolff goes on to critique the hostility to language demonstrated on the part of those scholars who argue

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[124] William McGuire, *Bollingen*, 170–171.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Janet Wolff, "After cultural theory: The power of images, the lure of immediacy," *Journal of Visual Culture*, 11(1): 4.
[127] Ibid., 6.
[128] Ibid., 7.

for experiencing the gripping "presence" in a work of art, that cannot be expressed in words, as its main mode of encounter.[129] This insistence on "presence" is what renders such understanding phenomenological, that is, based on a first-person point of view experience of the work. Wolff's theory hand in hand with its counterpart, T. J. Mitchell's "What do images want?" are part of the theories I consult in investigating my visual archive.

In the contemporary world saturated with talk of the social and psychological power of images, to which Mitchell refers as "the reigning cliché of contemporary culture," demystifying and decoding images seems to be the normative way of encountering them.[130] According to Mitchell, it is precisely this approach that grants images an assumed power they may not possess, or at least one that can be questioned. Hence, he sets forth to "scale down" the power given to images by shifting the question of what images do to that of what they desire. This shift would inevitably change the role of an image from a dominant to a subaltern. Once images are positioned in a weaker status, Mitchell concludes, it is revealed that images desire what they lack: to be heard, to be given a voice, to be asked what they want.[131] Mitchell believes that all images do want something from the beholder; abstract art only pretends not to want anything of the beholder. Appealing to Lacan, Mitchell argues that even pretending not to desire, is after all, a desire.[132] So what is it that pictures want? Mitchell answers that they can desire nothing. Images that do not want anything from the beholder become self-sufficient.[133] While Mitchell's theory is helpful in questioning and studying my visual archive, Wolff's theory is instrumental in

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[129] Ibid., 7-11.
[130] W. T. J. Mitchell, "What do Pictures Want," in *What do Pictures Want* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005): 32.
[131] Ibid., 37.
[132] Ibid., 39.
[133] Ibid., 50.

furthering the query to ask how images have been accorded their power, meaning what social, historical, and political context has sanctioned their power in any specific timeframe.

b) Architectural Theory

My theoretical framework pertaining to architecture is shaped, above all, by the architectural theories of Hilde Heynen because of her strong emphasis on materiality and anti-essentialism. I will briefly review Heynen's theory as laid out in her 1999 book, *Architecture and Modernity: A Critique*. This book contributes to the theory of architecture by examining the relationship between modernity, dwelling, and architecture. After defining modernity as "the typical features of the modern times," she takes up a dialectical approach to differentiate between pastoral and counter-pastoral views toward modernity, the latter having faith in the progress entailed by modernization, and the former rejecting that faith and calling for a return to pre-modern worldviews. Heynen crafts her chapters to include examples of architects and critical theorists to establish a link between the two disciplines. In the final chapter, having discussed the thesis and the antithesis, she comes to the synthesis that a valid architecture for our time would have to leave room for both pastoral and counter-pastoral views of modernity. Heynen's understanding of architectural movements of the century from a historical materialism standpoint helps me in thinking through the situation of architectural phenomenology with its claim on universality and transcendentalism.

c) Theory of Religion

Studying the phenomenologists of religion with their call for interpreting religion "on its own grounds," beyond the application of postcolonial theories requires, another theoretical framework that understands the religious as that whose other half is the secular, one that also seeks to query

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this black and white dichotomy of religious/secular and critically assess the study of religion as

shaped by historians of religion or phenomenologists of religion. The leading scholar of this

voice is theoretician of religion Timothy Fitzgerald. Fitzgerald, in "Playing Language Games and

Performing Rituals: Religious Studies as Ideological State Apparatus" (2003), theoretically

examines the assumption of religion as an ideological category.[134] Fitzgerald here is concerned

with the loose boundaries that distinguish religion from non-religion in different contexts, an

issue that renders religion prone to being used as an ideological tool in the hands of the state. I

also benefit from Fitzgerald's edited volume of 2014, *Religion and the Secular: Historical and

Colonial Formations,* which is crucial in understanding the colonial implications of the

formation of religious studies in general and the phenomenology of religion in particular.

d) Postcolonial Theory

As already mentioned, the overarching theoretical framework of my dissertation is

postcolonialism. Postcolonialism, as a discourse and in large part, was harbingered by Edward

Said's *Orientalism* (Pantheon, 1978). Following Said, literary theorists Homi Bhabha (b. 1949)

and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (b. 1942) laid the foundational work for the emergence of a

theoretical discourse that placed imperialism and colonial rule at the heart of all critical

investigations of history.[135] The prefix "post" in postcolonialism does not imply that we are,

collectively, past the era of colonialism, but rather looks at the complex cultural conditions that

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[134] Timothy Fitzgerald, "Playing Language Games and Performing Rituals: Religious Studies as Ideological State Apparatus," *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion*, 15(3): 210.

[135] It is important to distinguish between colonialism and imperialism. Colonialism understood as the conquest and direct control of other people's land, is a particular phase in the history of imperialism, "which is now best understood as the globalisation of the capitalist mode of production, its penetration of previously noncapitalist regions of the world, and destruction of pre- or non-capitalist forms of social organization." See Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, "Introduction," in *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013): 2.

mark the wake of colonial domination. While far from a unified field, postcolonial theory

investigates the mutual implication of power and knowledge, and looks for the variety of

culturally sedimented forms in which the West has produced and codified knowledge about the

peoples and cultures of the Global South.

In *Orientalism*, Said employed colonial discourse analysis to show how the imperial

power of the West has led to the production of knowledge about other countries and their

cultures. This knowledge, in turn, has fed into further deployment of Western powers in and over

those countries. Orientalism, in other words, can be defined as an enormous appetite or will for

all forms of knowledge that stereotype, other, and dominate. Said also brings the question of

interpretation into the mix. In "Opponents, Audiences, Constituencies and Community" (1982),

Said is concerned with the politics of interpretation which can be revealed only when the

critic/writer asks three fundamental questions: "Who writes? For whom is the writing being

done? In what circumstances?"[136] In this article, Said argues that those who formulate

generalized systems that point to a single origin for everything, either level differences and

heterogeneities to prove a point or they merely disregard those details.[137] Built on Said's

arguments and methodologies, postcolonial theory employs the same methodology to critique all

processes of knowledge production about the Other.

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[136] Edward Said, "Opponents, Audiences, Constituencies, and Community," *Critical Inquiry* (vol. 9, no. 1,1982): 135.

[137] In my research, I want to investigate whether the scholarship produced by those phenomenologists of religions who insist on archetypes, could be understood as one such instance of a totalizing line of enquiry. In my dissertation, I benefit from Said's argument that ideas/knowledge are only produced for a specific audience in a particular socio-geographical context, funded by a particular institution with specific agendas to query into the knowledge curation aspect of my project. I am interested in affiliations between state powers, economic powers, their network of insiders, and the scholarship and expertise that they made possible.

Following the same path of critique, Indian-born, United States-based critic Homi Bhabha in "Remembering Fanon: Self, Psyche, and the Colonial Condition" (1986), deconstructs the colonizer/colonized polarity and argues that the analysis of colonial subjectivity is always hybrid and never irreducible to any single theoretical paradigm.[138] Similarly, in "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (1988), Indian-born, United States-based Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak questions the concept of a colonial subaltern subject accessible to and representable by "disinterested" Western intellectuals.[139]

Ever since, postcolonial theory has taken diverse paths and a plethora of research committed to the implications of knowledge and power have been conducted. Fawzia Afzal-Khan and Kalpana Seshadri-Crooks in their important edited volume *Pre-Occupation of Postcolonial Studies* (Duke University Press, 2000) brought together a collection of innovative research conducted by postcolonial thinkers such as Mignolo and Ngugi Wa Thiong'o during the two decades prior to publication.

After the turn of the twentieth century, scholars such as Robert Young worked on providing anthologies that helped define the contours of and reflect upon the field of postcolonial studies.[140] Other scholars such as Bhabha, Spivak, and Mignolo continued to contribute seminal works to the existing literature through the decade. Following Spivak and Bhabha, Hamid Dabashi penned *Can Non-Europeans Think?* (Zed Books, 2015), with an introduction by Mignolo. In this book, Dabashi criticizes both the Eurocentric processes of knowledge

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[138] Published as a foreword to Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (Pluto Press: London, 1986): vii–xxvi.

[139] Published in C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (eds.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education,1988) 271–313.

[140] Young, Robert J. C. *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (London: Blackwell, 2001); Robert J. C. Young, *Postcolonial Theory: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

production, and the rejection of knowledge production in the Global South. Echoing Dabashi, Mignolo calls on the Global South to move beyond mere dissent, to delink from progress and disobey Eurocentric epistemologies.

When Dabashi and Mignolo argue for delinking from progress and disobeying Eurocentric and dominant narratives, they are, in fact, looking for ways to de-colonize knowledge production. It was the Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano (1928–2018) who first introduced the concept of coloniality in 1989 and argued that if coloniality of power in the political and economic spheres is linked to the coloniality of knowledge, then knowledge is colonized and in need of de-colonization.[141] Ever since, decolonial theory has emerged as a field of study. Postcolonial and decolonial theories, albeit never clearly distinct from one another, share the goal of avoiding the imperial temptation of positing the abstract universals by acknowledging and pursuing diverse geopolitical and historical specificities. Decoloniality as such, as Mignolo puts it, is a form of critical consciousness that delinks itself from the most fundamental belief of modernity: "the belief in abstract universals."[142]

Two of the scholars that I investigate, Corbin and Eliade, were self-proclaimed Orientalists. The scholarship of architectural phenomenologists Rykwert and Scully likewise relied, in part and as will be discussed in chapter five, on Orientalist discourses and colonial expansions. Additionally, the central claim of these four scholars was the universal validity of archetypes. It is therefore now possible to see that postcolonial theory executed through robust historical investigation, historiographical positioning, and delinking from universality, provides a

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[141] Anibal Quijano, "Colonialidad y modernidad/racionalidad (1989)," reprinted in *Los conquistados. 1492 y la poblacióo´n indiı´gena de las Amée´ricas, Heraclio Bonilla,* ed. (Ecuador: Libri Mundi, Tercer Mundo Editores): 437–448.
[142] Walter Mignolo, 'Delinking', *Cultural Studies*, 21:2 (May 2007), 449–514.

broad and robust theoretical framework for my research.[143] However, it must be noted that in my

dissertation, the different theories that I employ both serve as the framework for my material and

as thinking tools that will inform the kinds of questions with which I investigate my archive.

In *After Theory* (2003), literary theorist Terry Eagleton (b. 1943) defines theory as "a

reasonably systematic reflection on our guiding assumptions."[144] Also informative and quite

relevant to my project in *After Theory*, both historically and theoretically, is Eagleton's account

of how during the 1950s and 60s, the elites of the "Third World" curbed nationalistic and anti-

colonial revolutionaries' demands of political sovereignty and economic independence to install

themselves in power. Once in power, the elite had to maintain an impossible equilibrium

between the radical forces from below and the global forces of capitalism.[145]

Additionally, and in thinking through a transnational network of scholars who were

engaged in a particular stream of knowledge production, that of phenomenology, how do I

account for the spatiotemporal specificities that have shaped it and how do I negotiate its limits

of de-contextualization in name of abstraction and representation of the subaltern? Tariq Jazeel

and Colin McFarlane's important 2009 article "The limits of responsibility: a postcolonial

politics of academic knowledge production," provides me with the needed theoretical tool. In

this article Jazeel and McFarlane investigate abstraction and representation of the subaltern as

two potential factors that could limit responsible knowledge production. They emphasize the

importance of "considering the representational economies at stake in negotiating slippages of

distance" that can occur in conducting research while having in mind a vague global audience

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[143] I use postcolonialism as my theoretical framework, not to choose it over decolonialism, but to refer to
the broader of the two fields that have more in common than not.
[144] Terry Eagleton, "The Politics of Amnesia," in *After Theory* (London: Allen Lane, 2003): 1–22.
[145] Ibid., 1–10.

and making generalizations as the result of sweeping abstractions and normative comparative modes of thought.[146]

Finally, research such as this dissertation, which deals with Eliade, Rykwert, and Scully, who often write about "primitives," requires a critical tool that addresses primitivism. In 1962, the Russian-born United Stated-based art historian Horst Waldemar Janson (1913–1982), published an art historical survey that soon became quite popular in academia. The book, *History of Art* (Abrams, 1962) placed sub-Saharan African art in a section on Primitive Art in Part One, The Ancient World. In Chapter One (Magic and Ritual—the Art of Prehistoric Man), Primitive Art followed the discussion of the New Stone Age. Janson used the word "primitive" to refer to "a way of life that has passed through the Neolithic Revolution but shows no signs of evolving in the direction of the 'historic' civilizations."[147] While Janson was by no means the first person to use the term –indeed, as Daniel J. Sherman writes, this tendency has been present since antiquity– he presents a telling example of how primitivism has been cemented in artistic discourse as a colonial ideology.[148] By denying Africans agency in historic presence and geographical specificity, the term "primitive" instantly others Africans and defines them as both distant and different. Such a frame of reference, as Susan Hiller writes, "has been [further] complicated by a history of expansion and conquest."[149]

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[146] Tariq Jazeel and Colin McFarland. "The limits of responsibility: a postcolonial politics of academic knowledge production," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, (vol. 35, no. 1, January 2010), 109.
[147] Janson, *History of Art*, 35.
[148] Daniel J. Sherman, *French Primitivism and the Ends of Empire, 1945-1975* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011): 3.
[149] Susan Hiller, *The Myth of Primitivism* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991): 3.

Critiques of primitivism as an ideological lens have proliferated in the past fifty years.[150]

Meredeth Turshen, Kenneth Coutts-Smith, and David MacLaglan are among the scholars who

have contributed to the discussion. Their discourse is my conceptual tool especially as I examine

the works of Eliade in chapter four, and Scully and Rykwert in chapter five.

e) Petroculture

Petroculture is a term used to explicate the sociocultural implications of the oil industrial

complex. "Oil transformed everyday life in the twentieth century. In the twenty-first century, we

are finally beginning to realize the degree to which oil has made us moderns who and what we

are, shaping our existence close at hand while narrating us into networks of power and commerce

far, far away. At the heart of this newfound awareness of oil's importance to our sensibilities and

social expectations . . . is our recognition that over the course of our current century we will need

to extract ourselves from our dependence on oil and make the transition to new energy sources

and new ways of living."[151] Tracing the origins of the study of the oil industry's impact on

human life is a difficult task. As Imre Szeman writes, "critical engagements with energy have

taken many forms and have multiple origins."[152] One origin of that was the Petrocultures

Research Group, founded in 2011, at the University of Alberta by Szeman and Sheena Wilson.

Since 2013, the researchers involved in the Petrocultures Research Group have workshopped

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[150] On primitivism and art see Gillian Perry, Frascina Francis and Charles Harrison eds., *Primitivism, Cubism, Abstraction: The Early Twentieth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); see also Thomas William Rubin McEvilley and Kirk Varnedoe. 1984. "Doctor Lawyer Indian Chief: Primitivism in Twentieth Century Art at the Museum of Modern Art." *Artforum International* 23:3 (November 1984): 54-61.

[151] Sheena Wilson, Imre Szeman and Adam Carlson. "On Petrocultures, Or Why We Need to Understand Oil to Understand Everything." *Petrocultures: Oil, Politics, Culture*, edited by Sheena Wilson, Adam Carlson and Imre Szeman (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2017): 3.

[152] Imre Szeman, *Energy Humanities: An Anthology* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2017): vii.

with their colleagues at the Rice University's Center for Energy and Environmental Research in Human Sciences to produce a number of leading studies in the field including but not limited to "The Rise of Energy Humanities" (2014), *Oil Culture* (2014), *Petrocultures: Oil, Politics, Culture* (2017), and *On Petrocultures* (2019).

Critical engagement with the absolute necessity of fossil fuel energies to modern life are often thought to have proliferated after the publication of Indian writer Amitav Ghosh's "Petrofiction: The Oil Encounter and the Novel" (1992) in which Ghosh argued that there exists a silence with regards to the literary imaginary and the culture-forming and life-giving role of the petroleum industry. Ever since, many energy humanities scholars and critics located across departments and disciplines in the fine and performing arts, humanities, and social sciences have investigated the ways in which energy systems, specifically fossil fuels, have shaped modern politics, gender identity, aesthetic sensibilities, and cultural production, among other spheres. The Petrocultures Research Group has further developed the contours of the field by arguing that a cultural shift as well as an energy-wise and political shift, is required if we are to imagine futures that do not rely on carbon-intensive systems.

Throughout, a number of theoretical concepts have been introduced by scholars to help identify and account for different impacts and affect strategies of the petroleum industry. As early as 2009, Szeman problematized humanity's future imaginaries precisely because the idea of perpetual growth has been ingrained in all social structures (all of which depend on oil capital) and oil capital will only end when all oil resources are depleted.[153] In "Carbon Democracy" (2009), Timothy Mitchell highlighted the political possibilities that have historically opened up

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[153] Imre Szeman, "System Failure: Oil, Futurity, and the Anticipation of Disaster," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 106:4 (Fall 2007): 805–823.

or narrowed down based on the ways in which the flow of energy has been organized.[154] In 2012,

Stephanie LeMenagier defined petromodernity as "a modern life based on the cheap energy

systems long made possible by petroleum" and explored its aesthetics in film and literature.[155]

During the same year, Sheena Wilson edited a special collection on oil and visual culture for the

Imaginations journal.[156] In 2014, Wilson questioned the petroleum industry's campaign to

camouflage its imperialistic goals as a fight for human rights. "The Ethical Oil" campaign, she

argued, normalizes and justifies suppressions of the Other through the invasion of foreign powers

in the name of fights for human rights all the while seeking only to secure more oil resources.[157]

In the same year, LeMenager introduced the term "commodity regionalism," to underscore the

potential of regional analysis of the implications of the oil industry, and Catherine Zuromskis, in

her discussion of the landscape photography of the late 20th and early 21st centuries, used the

term "petroaesthetics" to refer to the "ambiguous aesthetics of the oil industry itself and the

modern convenience culture it makes possible."[158]

These were but a handful of theories and examples of the scholarship that problematize

the significant role of petroleum and the petroleum industry in shaping the contours of our lives

and thoughts. My own dissertation is in conversation with such theories as it highlights the

formative power of the petroleum-funded Bollingen Foundation in crafting the disciplines of

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[154] Timothy Mitchell, "Carbon democracy," *Economy and Society*, 38:3 (2009): 399-432, DOI: 10.1080/03085140903020598

[155] Stephanie LeMenager. "The Aesthetics of Petroleum, after Oil!" *American Literary History* 24, no. 1 (2012): 59-86. 60. Accessed April 20, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41329628.

[156] Vol. 3 No. 2 (2012): *Sighting Oil*.

[157] Wilson, Sheena. "Gendering Oil: Tracing Western Petro-Sexual Relations." *Oil Culture*, edited by Daniel Worden and Ross Barrett (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014): 244-266.

[158] Stephanie LeMenager, *Living Oil: Petroleum Culture in the American Century* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); *Oil Culture*, edited by Ross Barrett, and Daniel Worden, University of Minnesota Press, 2014. 294. ProQuest Ebook Central, http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/ualberta/detail.action?docID=1899792. Created from ualberta on 2021-04-19 16:53:26.

architectural and religious phenomenology during the second half of the twentieth century. In doing so my work demonstrates how the petroleum industry shaped the politics of the era. Paul Mellon, the owner of Gulf Oil was a former CIA agent and Allen Dulles, the head of the CIA, was a lawyer for Gulf Oil and had ties to Nazi Germany.[159] These ties took the form of ownership of mining industries in Nazi Germany, his law firm, Sullivan and Cromwell's business deals of the 1930s, "the links with German industrialists in their efforts to preserve their capital from transitory misunderstandings among politicians; the overlapping directorates with the J. Henry Schroder Banking Corporation and that American firm's 'obvious' connection to Baron Kurt von Schroder, Hitler's best fundraiser."[160] My work is in conversation with Timothy Mitchel's *Carbon Democracy*, in showing how the flow of petroleum defined political affiliations and maneuvers. My work is also in conversation with the concepts of petromodernity and petroaesthetics as it demonstrates the petroleum underpinnings of the historical construction of the present and by doing so reveals the ways in which current aesthetic sensibilities in the domain of architecture are partially shaped by the petroleum industry. Lastly, my dissertation is in conversation with Wilson's article on "Ethical Oil," because I also reveal how Bollingen was a cultural mask for Mellon's petroleum interests in countries of the Global South such as Iran and Angola. Ultimately, this dissertation contributes to the field of petrocultures by accounting for a pivotal instance of petroleum-funded knowledge production during the post Second World War era.

Research methods

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[159] On Dulles and his involvement with Nazi Germany see Grose, *Gentleman Spy*, 90–117.
[160] Ibid., 158–159; 299.

In the process of my research, I conduct a close reading of primary sources written by Fröbe-Kapteyn, Eliade, Corbin, Scully, Rykwert, Jung, and others. This part of the research provides me with a solid understanding of their ideas, and how they defined specific terminologies such as religion, architectural experience, and phenomenology, among other terms.

Moreover, I employ visual analysis and the comparative method of analyzing imagery to understand the function of images in the works of these four scholars. My visual analysis within the local and global context of social, economic and political power relations is largely based on *The Handbook of Visual Analysis* (Sage, 2001) by Carey Jewitt and Theo Van Leeuwen, Suzanne Hudson and Nancy Noonan-Morrissey's *The Art of Writing about Art* (Thomson Learning, 2002), and Henry M. Sayre's *Writing about Art* (Prentice Hall, 2005), and Anne D'Alleva's *How to Write Art History* (Laurence King Publishing, 2006).

Visual analysis, a fundamental aspect of art historical writing, requires a detailed observation of an image to understand it as a whole. This process involves addressing the formal elements of the image, such as color, line, texture, and size. The goal of visual analysis is not just to record observations but to make a claim about the image. This involves a process of observing the image, writing down observations, formulating a main claim, and supporting this claim with visual details. The analysis takes into account the form of the image and the relationship among its visual elements.

The comparative method in art history involves a detailed formal analysis of two or more individual pieces, followed by a discussion that evaluates the relevant similarities and differences between them. This additional layer of analysis reveals important details about the use of light, forms, symbols, and affects. When describing the individual pieces, the same conventions used

in an individual formal analysis are applied. In the comparative method, differences between images are as important as similarities. Depending on the length and complexity of the comparison, one of two basic structures may be more appropriate.

Another part of my research was to be archival. In February 2020, however, a global pandemic swept across the world. Due to the pandemic, university campuses, libraries, and archives were closed indefinitely. The global pandemic required a new mode of historical research that would not be entirely dependent on visiting archives in person. As such, I had to make major changes in my research.

Fortunately, the entire pictorial archive of Fröbe-Kapteyn is available online. To circumvent the need to travel to other archives during the global pandemic, I partially shifted the attention given to the petropolitics of Bollingen and instead thoroughly researched Eranos and Bollingen as cultural enterprises and dedicated one chapter to each.[161] The discussion of petropolitics is, therefore, based on the available textual, as opposed to archival, sources.

Additionally, the staff of the University of Alberta Libraries have been exceptionally helpful in the times of the pandemic in locating and requesting copies of primary sources from different libraries across Europe and the United States.

Chapter outline

This research project investigates images as the locus of meaning and the common threads uniting the phenomenology of religion and architectural phenomenology. Chapters two and three of this dissertation establish the cultural and geopolitical contexts within which the

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[161] Such as the Bollingen Foundation records, 1927– 1981 (bulk 1945–1973) available in the Library of Congress, Manuscript Reading Room (Madison, LM101).

phenomenology of religion and architectural phenomenology emerged. These two chapters are also the pivotal foundation upon which my research is structured. Chapter two is about the cultural enterprise that hosted the emergence of the phenomenology of religion, Eranos, and chapter three is about the financial provider and publisher of the scholarship provided by the Eranos, the Bollingen Foundation. In these two chapters I seek to answer the following parallel set of research questions about each enterprise:

1. What were Eranos and Bollingen, who were its founders and participants, and what were its premise and achievements?

2. How can Eranos and Bollingen be contextualized geographically and intellectually?

3. What is the relevance of Eranos and Bollingen to this dissertation?

In the fourth chapter, I review the history of the phenomenology of religion; I then introduce Eliade and Corbin and focus on their definitions of the phenomenology of religion. Their methodologies and ways of thinking and writing will be investigated and analyzed based on my theoretical framework. This chapter also seeks to understand the mediums employed by the phenomenologists of religion to communicate their interpretations of phenomenology.

Geographically, this chapter brings together Romania, where Eliade was born, France, where Corbin was born and where both Eliade and Corbin worked, Iran, where Corbin worked and spent half of each year (the other half in Paris), and the United States, where Eliade worked as the chair of the department of the History of Religions at the University of Chicago, from 1956 to 1983. Historically, this chapter starts at the outset of the twentieth century with a review of the beginnings of the phenomenology of religion in Europe, moving on to investigate the works of Eliade and Corbin as its primary sources.

The archive pertaining to this chapter includes *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital* (1960), *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth: From Mazdean Iran to Shi'ite Iran* (1977), and *Temple and Contemplation* (A collection of five Eranos lectures, 1986) by Corbin and *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return* (Bollingen, 1954), *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom* (Bollingen, 1958), and *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, (1958) by Eliade.

In the fifth chapter**,** I review the history of architectural phenomenology both as a methodology inspired by the parallel philosophical methodology in the early twentieth century and as a movement discussed by Otero-Pailos, Michael Hays, Kate Nesbitt, and other contemporary architectural theorists and historians. At the heart of this chapter are images and their role, significance, and meaning for architectural phenomenologists. This chapter seeks to understand how architectural phenomenologists use images in their understanding of phenomenology and how these images function to communicate the first-person point of view's experiences to other people.

Geographically, this chapter brings together the body of work of a transnational network of scholars who after WWII settle to work in the United States. Historically, this chapter begins, yet again, at the turn of the century to review how the rise in phenomenology was mirrored in architecture; then, however, the focus rests in the 1950s (when there was an influx of investment on Mellon's part into archaeology and architecture—when he started funding Scully in 1957) to 1976 (when Bollingen ceased its activities). Primary sources of this chapter include the textual works of Scully and Rykwert, as well as their sketches, drawings, and photographs.

In the final (sixth) chapter, I investigate the commonalities and differences between architectural phenomenologists and the phenomenologists of religion. I also emphasize the role

of images in the discourse of the two fields and try to understand the roles accorded to images, how they functioned, and what they can tell us about the socio-historical context of the time.

This chapter also contextualizes Paul Mellon's Gulf Oil, outlining the history of the time, and investigating how they funded and disseminated a very specific body of knowledge at a crucial era in history. This chapter further seeks to understand the role of Paul Mellon in relation to architectural phenomenology and the phenomenology of religion and investigate the implications of Mellon's endorsement and investment for architectural phenomenology and the phenomenology of religion.

This chapter is primarily a synthesis of the discussions in previous sections. It seeks to make sense of what the implications of such a synthesis are for history of architecture and of religion as well as the current state of the two fields. Additionally, the concluding chapter will expose how cross-cultural symbols have come to be associated with ancient mystic doctrines that hold assumed authority over racial purity through a series of twentieth-century cultural products as a key to understanding how the rise of white supremacist doctrines has been interdependent on decontextualized symbolic imagery and the energy industry's financial support.

Thoughts on Writing a PhD Dissertation During a Global Pandemic

Like any other study, my research has had certain limitations. The first limitation forced upon this study came from outside, and was due to my nationality and religion. During the presidency of Donald Trump, as a Muslim Iranian woman I was barred from travelling to the U.S. where, in the Library of Congress, the Bollingen archive rests. The other limitation was an unforeseen one. In the winter of 2020, the COVID-19 global pandemic led to the closure of institutions across the world. The Eranos Foundation was also closed for over a year. By the time there was a

semblance of normalcy in everyday life, most of this dissertation was written. Another major limitation in terms of travelling to archives was a financial one. Particularly during the pandemic, very little financial aid was made available to international students. The problem was more aggravated for students from countries like mine where the banking system is, tellingly, sanctioned by the Trump regime. Amplifying the financial difficulty was the emergence of a right-wing government in the province of Alberta that cut the University of Alberta's budget almost to half and, as always, arts and humanities were the first to experience the blow. This all goes to reveal the intersectional injustice that disproportionately targets the Global South minorities.

I would like to think that these limitations have much to say about the very topic of this study. My study discussed the political conditions and petroleum infrastructure that choreographed and maintained the coloniality of architectural and religious knowledge during the 1943–1967 period. The study also shed a light on the close ties between petropolitics and knowledge-producing institutions. If not the same, at least parallel similarities can be drawn between the way in which Bollingen created an ethical disguise for the CIA and Gulf Oil's energy imperialism, and the present-day U.S. sanctions of Iranian livelihood in the name of liberation. I say livelihood because the sanctioning of banks and the energy industry in Iran extinguished peoples' livelihoods, not the regime's. While fossil-intensive exhibitions, talks, and protests in the name of the liberation of Iranian women proliferate in American and European museums, libraries, universities and other institutions, regular people die of anger, fatigue, and defeat in the streets of my country. Has the petroleum industry found its new ethical façade in their fight for life?

The present-day global energy dynamics are even more agitated by the Russian-Ukrainian war which has left large parts of Europe in dire circumstances. It has been thought-provoking to see the Global North in dire need of what they are used to extract freely and almost with no cost from the Global South: energy.

Chapter Two: Eranos

Introduction

Eranos (ἔρανος), of uncertain etymology, is the Greek word for a shared meal that has been paid for collectively by a group of friends; it is also associated with the concept of contribution and reciprocal responsibility.[1] Historically, Eranos has been used as the name for at least two cultural enterprises. The earliest instance was an academic working group of scholars of religion founded by two Germans, theologian Gustav Adolf Deissmann (1866–1937) and philologist Albrecht Dieterich (1866–1906), in Heidelberg in 1904. The group met until 1909.[2] The other instance, with which this dissertation is concerned, refers to a series of conferences and exhibitions held in Ascona, Switzerland, founded by the London-born Swiss amateur art historian and artist Fröbe-Kapteyn in 1933.[3] The Ascona Eranos meetings continue to date. This dissertation, however, examines Eranos within the timeframe of 1933–1967.[4]

The Eranos meetings and exhibitions that were organized by Fröbe-Kapteyn in Ascona from 1933 until her death in 1962, provided the intellectual basis for the formation of the phenomenology of religion. The phenomenology of religion, in turn, was foundational to the emergence of architectural phenomenology.[5] Both disciplines were also funded by the oil money of Paul Mellon. Images collected by Fröbe-Kapteyn and exhibited during the conferences were central to the scholarship produced by the phenomenologists of religion and architectural

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[1] See Paul C. Millet "eranos." *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. 22 Dec. 2015; Accessed 8 Apr. 2021. https://oxfordre-com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/classics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.001.0001/acrefore-9780199381135-e-2475.

[2] Albrecht Gerber, *Deissmann the Philologist* (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2010): 69.

[3] Fröbe-Kapteyn became a Swiss citizen in 1934.

[4] In this dissertation, I will be referring to the Ascona Eranos simply as Eranos.

[5] On "phenomenology" see literature review in chapter one. To remind the reader, in this dissertation and based on the understanding of the term by the scholars examined (Eliade, Corbin, Scully, Rykwert), phenomenology can be defined as bracketing history in order to give primacy to subjective experience and to reveal that which is hidden.

phenomenologists. Phenomenology was so foundational to the scholarly disciplines of architecture and religion during the second half of the twentieth century that they have in part shaped Western perceptions of architecture and religion as popularly understood. Plus, this standard, as part of the visual conceptualization of the American Dream (defined as the myth that the settler colonial United States provides a platform for progress, liberty, and fairness for certain privileged individuals who demonstrate determination and a strong work ethic, thereby enabling them to improve their circumstances) has also been exported around the globe. This testifies to the lingering impact of the petroleum industry on knowledge production and formation of spaces. All of that to say the oil industrial complex has produced the kinds of knowledges and spaces that are colonial and imperial and which further the interests of that same industry, given the energy intensity of modern petrocultural built environments that demand more and more energy to construct, operate, and maintain, thereby fulfilling the teleological belief that growth, whether growth of the economy or the exponential growth of energy demand, is a given. Together, oil-funded knowledge production and the fossil-fueled built environments of modern cities, have created the critical ecological moment we live in.

This chapter has two main goals, that of discussing the establishment of Eranos conferences and exhibitions, and that of examining the central role of images in Eranos. Discussing the establishment of Eranos provides the reader with a knowledge of key moments and key figures in the history of the conferences and exhibitions during the 1933–1962 period. Examining the role of images is pivotal because, as was discussed in the literature review section of the first chapter, there is an evident lack of their analysis in the current literature. Additionally, this chapter centralizes Fröbe-Kapteyn's role in the formation of Eranos. This has been a conscious decision on my part because within the literature on Eranos, Jung has always been

given the central role whereas the hitherto largely unacknowledged founder of the conferences and exhibitions and the person in charge of the image-archive was Fröbe-Kapteyn. Jung and his theories, therefore, are mentioned only when historically warranted in that they inform a particular issue being discussed.[6]

The chapter is organized chronologically and begins with the critical and brief biography of the founder of Eranos, Fröbe-Kapteyn, for two main reasons.[7] Firstly, because a concise biography of Fröbe-Kapteyn is missing in the current literature; secondly and significantly, because her personal and intellectual background has a considerable bearing on the Theosophical background and formation of Eranos.[8] Following the biography is an analysis of defining texts by Fröbe-Kapteyn, Jung, Eliade, and Corbin that are grounded in primary sources. These provide a clear conceptual orientation for readers. This section provides the reader with a robust backdrop for the discussion of images and Fröbe-Kapteyn's collecting practices. A concise history of Eranos with special attention given to its key figures, key moments, and exhibitions follows the analysis of primary texts. The historical review of events has been cross-referenced from all known primary and secondary sources. The history examined in this chapter ends with Fröbe-Kapteyn's death in 1962. The reasons for this decision are twofold. Firstly, Fröbe-Kapteyn

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[6] On Jung and Eranos see Riccardo Bernardini, *Jung a Eranos: il progetto della psicologia complessa* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 2011). Jung has been considered the central figure of Eranos by Hakl, Bernardini, and Wasserstrom. My intention to centralize the role of Fröbe-Kapteyn is not to undermine the role of Jung. It is rather to show that the intellectual influence of Jung on the Eranos circle was only one part of an entire enterprise that was created by Fröbe-Kapteyn.

[7] This brief biography is by no means the end goal of this chapter. Nor does it try to be exhaustive. Biography here is used for the lack of a better word to mean the chronological background of Fröbe-Kapteyn's life prior to the establishment of Eranos.

[8] Theosophy can refer to numerous branches of metaphysical thought. Commonly, however, and here in particular, Theosophy refers to the theory developed by the Theosophical Society, founded in New York in 1875. As Ann Davis writes, "Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831–91) and other founder-members of the Society promoted a mixture of Western occult traditions, 19th-century American spiritualism and Eastern religions, especially Hinduism and Buddhism." See Ann Davis, "Theosophy," *Grove Art Online*, 2003; Accessed 8 Apr. 2021. On the Theosophical roots of Eranos see Hakl, *Eranos*, 25–28.

was the only president of Eranos who held the concomitant image exhibitions with the conferences and this dissertation investigates the role of images. Secondly, the then-president of the petroleum-funded Bollingen Foundation, Paul Mellon, only supported Eranos while Fröbe-Kapteyn was alive. In this dissertation, I also trace the petroleum roots of the two disciplines of the phenomenology of religion and architectural phenomenology; therefore, it is important to consider the common denominator of the two cultural enterprises of Eranos and Bollingen – itself the focus of the following chapter – 1933–1967.

Wherever chronologically necessary, the intertwined history of Eranos and Bollingen is emphasized; table 2, located in the appendix of this dissertation, provides a concise overview of this entangled history. Throughout, I have refrained from repeating the literature review of the secondary sources already discussed in the first chapter. It must also be noted that wherever possible and given enough information has been available, I have been particularly attentive to the materiality of the documents I investigate. The chapter ends with a short conclusion.

Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn and the Conception of Eranos

Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn was born to Dutch parents in London on 19 October 1881. Her father, Albertus Philippus Kapteyn (1848–1927), was a mechanical engineer. Her mother, Geertruida Agneta Muysken (1855–1920), was a social activist and writer.[9] In 1900, the family moved to Zurich, where Fröbe-Kapteyn attended the School of Applied Arts and studied art history at the

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[9] Information about Fröbe-Kapteyn's parents is collected from online genealogical databases. See https://www.genealogieonline.nl/en/genealogie-baert-cornelis-kalshoven/I10132.php and https://www.genealogieonline.nl/en/genealogie-baert-cornelis-kalshoven/I15599.php
Her short biography can also be found in Bernardini, "Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn: A Woman's Individuation Process through Images at the Origins of the Eranos Conferences," 4.

University of Zurich, graduating in 1909.[10] The same year she married Austrian orchestra conductor Iwan Hermann Fröbe (1880–1915) and lived, first, in Munich and, then, in Berlin.[11] Fröbe-Kapteyn gave birth to twin daughters, Bettina Gertrude and Ingeborg, in 1915.[12] She lost her husband in a plane crash in the same year. After the death of her husband, living from her inheritance and familial wealth, Fröbe-Kapteyn moved to Zurich where she stayed until 1920. In 1920 she visited the Monte Verità sanitarium near the Swiss village of Ascona with her father.[13] From the time of that trip onwards Fröbe-Kapteyn decided to stay in Ascona, renting a house with the name of Casa Monte Tabor. Fröbe-Kapteyn felt a liking for Ascona and her father decided to buy her a residence there. The house he bought was called Casa Gabriella.[14] In April 1920, Fröbe-Kapteyn moved in and lived there with one of her daughters, Bettina Gertrude, for the rest of her life.

The literature on Fröbe-Kapteyn's activities during the 1920s is scarce due to her private life and limited preserved correspondence. Rudolf Ritsema and Thomas Hakl report that during this period she invited writers and thinkers to stay at Casa Gabriella and participate in discussions she organized every now and then.[15] She also built a guest house named *Shanti* –

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[10] *Spring: A Journal of Archetype and Culture's special 2015*, 29. Note that the degree with which she graduated is not known.

[11] Hakl, *Eranos*, 13.

[12] It is believed that Ingeborg was mentally challenged and was kept in an asylum in Germany. Close to nothing is known about her fate. See Hakl, *Eranos*, 14.

[13] Monte Verità was an establishment for medical treatment or a sanitarium, for vegetarians where residents performed ritualistic dances, meditated, and lived together. It was established by a group of seven young adventurers headed by Ida Hoffman (1864–1926), a German music teacher, and Henri Oedenkoven (1875–1935), son of a wealthy Belgian industrialist, in 1900. The sanitarium remained functional until 1922. Sanitariums were favored places of gathering and communal living by cultural dissidents of the time who gathered in Ascona to escape from large European cities. On Monte Verità see Martin Green, *Mountain of Truth: The Counterculture Begins, Ascona, 1900–1920* (Hanover, N.H.: Published for Tufts University by University Press of New England, 1986); Hakl, *Eranos*; Riccardo Bernardini, *Da Monte Verità a Eranos*, Università degli Studi (PhD. Diss.), 2003.

[14] Ibid., 16.

[15] Rudolf Ritsema, "The Origins and Opus of Eranos," *Eranos 1987*, vii; Hakl, *Eranos*, 17.

Sanskrit for peace – in 1928.[16] It is known that during this decade, she devoted most of her time to painting and the study of Theosophy. Two reasons point to this observation. The first is the fact that she speaks about over 200 paintings she had completed during the period in a letter, one of which is titled *Chalice in the Heart* (figure 2.1).[17] The second reason is that several of her dated paintings remain and are on permanent exhibit at the Eranos Foundation in Ascona as seen in figure 2.2.[18] Other than that, only a scattered timeline of the decade can be drawn. It can be verified that in 1924 Fröbe-Kapteyn took a course on the ancient Chinese philosopher Lao-Tse taught by Austrian mystic philosopher Martin Buber (1878–1965) at Monte Verità.[19] By her own statement, she first had the idea of establishing Eranos conferences in 1927 since in a letter to Catherine Ritsema (date unknown) she wrote, "Eranos first emerged in 1927, at a time when I was very much preoccupied with a geometrical drawing—one of a series of about two hundred."[20] In 1930, she attended German philosopher Hermann Keyserling's (1880–1946) School of Wisdom (1920–1932) in Darmstadt.[21] It was at that time in Darmstadt that she met

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[16] This guest house was renamed Casa Eranos after 1933. Lectures would take place in this building while Casa Gabriella was Fröbe-Kapteyn's residence and where she received her close friends. She also kept her image-archive in her own bedroom until 1938 when the collection became too large to remain in one room. She then moved the images to Casa Eranos. Casa Eranos and Casa Gabriella were in one plot of land, both belonging to Fröbe-Kapteyn. Note that the public who attended the conferences were not allowed to stay any longer than the duration of the talks and could not stay at Casa Eranos. Casa Eranos was only "active" during the month of August and for the conference and exhibition purposes alone.

[17] In an undated letter to an Eranos member, Catherine Ritsema, she wrote, "Eranos first emerged in 1927, at a time when I was very much preoccupied with a geometrical drawing—one of a series of about two hundred." Catherine Ritsema, *L'Oveuvre d'Eranos et Vie d'Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn*, unpublished document, as cited in Hakl, *Eranos*, 25.

[18] Riccardo Bernardini and Fabio Merlini, in "Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn (1881–1962): A Woman's Individuation Process through Images at the Origins of the Eranos Conferences," provide a short biography of Fröbe-Kapteyn and write about her artwork briefly from the standpoint of psychoanalysts. The article was published in *ARAS Connections* in 2020 and sheds little new light on the already existing literature on Fröbe-Kapteyn. Nevertheless, the article includes never-before-seen photos of Fröbe-Kapteyn's artwork which are currently on permanent exhibit in the Eranos Foundation.

[19] See Harald Szeemann, *Monte Verità. Die Brüste der Wahrheit* (Milan: Electa, 1978).

[20] Catherine Ritsema, *L'Oveuvre d'Eranos et Vie d'Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn*, unpublished document, as cited in Hakl, *Eranos*, 25.

[21] Hakl. *Eranos*. 30.

Jung for the first time.[22] In the summer of 1930, in partnership with her friend and Theosophist

Alice Bailey (1880–1949), Fröbe-Kapteyn established the short-lived School of Spiritual

Research (1930–1932) at her own estate in Ascona.[23] Prospective students were invited to attend

a four-week program devoted to the study of Theosophy and mysticism. Lectures were delivered

mostly by Bailey but also by an international and interdisciplinary circle: Grand Duke Alexander

of Russia (1866–1933), Italian psychologist Roberto Assagioli (1888–1974), German art

historian Kuno von Hardenberg (1871–1938), German theologian Leo Baeck (1873–1956),

German sinologist Erwin Rousselle (1890–1949), Scottish author Violet Tweedale (1862–1936),

and Fröbe-Kapteyn, among others.[24] In August 1930, Fröbe-Kapteyn and Bailey used eighty

paintings by Fröbe-Kapteyn to lecture on symbolism, understood as coded visual representations

of mystic ideas. In a 1929 photograph of Fröbe-Kapteyn in Casa Gabriella and seen in figure 2.3,

nine of these symbolic geometric paintings, seven of them appearing letter sized and framed and

one of them appearing twice the size of others and placed in the middle, can be seen atop the

fireplace.[25] In 1931 and in conjunction with the annual theme of "meditation and Indian

ceremonies," an exhibition of unidentified paintings by Russian-born artist Nicholas Roerich

(1874–1947) was organized by Fröbe-Kapteyn.[26] The final series of meetings were held in 1932

after which Fröbe-Kapteyn and Bailey parted ways. It appears that as early as November 1932,

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[22] School of Wisdom was the name for annual series of meetings attended by scholars of various fields on interdisciplinary and universalist themes. See Veronika Fuechtner, *Berlin Psychoanalytic: Psychoanalysis and Culture in Weimar Republic Germany and Beyond* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); Dina Gusejnova, "Noble Continent? German-speaking nobles as theorists of European identity in the interwar period," in *Europe in Crisis. Intellectuals and the European Idea, 1917-1957* (Oxford and New York, 2012): 111–133.

[23] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 23–24; see also Hakl, *Eranos*, 28–32.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Bernardini, "Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn," 6. No more information could be found on the images and the lectures.

[26] On the School of Spiritual Research see Hakl, *Eranos*, 28–32; See also, Robert Landmann, *Ascona, Monte Verità* (Frauenfeld: Huber: 2005): 226; McGuire, *Bollingen,* 150.

Fröbe-Kapteyn was thinking of relaunching the school in the form of annual conferences. She

recalls her meeting with German scholar of religion Rudolf Otto (1869–1937) as such: "I realize

today that, when I rang the bell of Rudolf Otto's house, in Marburg, on a November evening in

1932, it was the signal, as in a theatre, for the raising of the curtain on a stage I had for years

been preparing."[27] By theatre, she was referring to Eranos and, by the stage, to Casa Gabriella.

The name "Eranos" was suggested to her by Otto on the same day.[28]

Before delving into the 1930s and the formation of Eranos, it is worth noting that despite

her leadership role, Fröbe-Kapteyn's position in Eranos was continuously challenged and

undermined by men. An encounter between Fröbe-Kapteyn and Jung that scholar of Eranos Hakl

narrates speaks to Fröbe-Kapteyn's transition from geometric and abstract to representational

ways of painting; but it is also problematic in that it places unwarranted emphasis on Jung and

minimizes Fröbe-Kapteyn's agency. Hakl writes that the German scholar of symbolism Alfons

Rosenberg (1902–1985) recalled that,

> At one point Fröbe … had designed the large tableaux showing geometrical forms,
>
> following Bailey's instructions. These were effective, but 'radiated a horrifyingly cold
>
> atmosphere.' When Jung saw these pictures exhibited in the lecture room, he criticized
>
> them so vehemently that Fröbe was distinctly shaken and underwent a change of
>
> direction. From the way the images were presented, Jung told her, one could see that she
>
> 'was dealing with the devil.' She continued painting, but restricted herself to small,
>
> representational pictures, which she showed only to a few friends.[29]

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[27] As quoted in McGuire, *Bollingen*, 146.
[28] Hakl, *Eranos*, 8.
[29] Hakl, *Eranos*, 31.

Judging by this encounter and the historical facts presented earlier, during the 1920s and at the peak of her involvement with Bailey and Theosophy, Fröbe-Kapteyn was focused on painting. The 1930s, on the other hand, and the 1940s as will be discussed, were dedicated to collecting practices as well as organizing the Eranos meetings and exhibitions. During this decade, nevertheless, she also painted frequently but the paintings were no longer geometrical or under the influence of Theosophy. The paintings were, rather, representational and stemmed from her revelations, visions, and dreams.[30]

A comparison between Fröbe-Kapteyn's works from the 1920s and the 1930s is telling. This comparison must be informed by the visual doctrine of Theosophy to which Fröbe-Kapteyn at the time subscribed.[31] Theosophy, after the death of its founder Helena Blavatsky (1831–1891), became a particularly visual doctrine as will be outlined. Its next leaders were Annie Besant (1847–1933) and C. W. Leadbeater (1854–1933), and as historian of religions Catherine Wessinger writes, "Leadbeater claimed that he possessed faculties that enabled him to perceive … the colors and shapes of thought forms, the colors of persons' subtle bodies manifested in auras."[32] Leadbeater and Besant began their lifelong project of experimenting with thought-forms or visual inscriptions of clairvoyance that they put forth as scientific.[33] The resulting book, *Thought-Forms* (1905), was lavishly illustrated and remained of significance to many early abstract artists such as Kandinsky and Mondrian.

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[30] Bernardini, "Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn," 9–11.
[31] On Theosophical treatment of images, see Mark S. Morrisson, "Occult Chemistry and the Theosophical Aesthetics of the Subatomic World," *RACAR: Revue d'Art Canadienne / Canadian Art Review* (vol. 34, no. 1, 2009): 86–97.
[32] Catherine Wessinger, "The Second Generation of Leaders of the Theosophical Society (Adyar)," *The Handbook of Theosophical Current* (Leiden: Brill, 2013): 36–37.
[33] For a short biography of Besant and Leadbeater, see Ibid.

According to Theosophical doctrine, all beings share the same origin, universal spirit, or one reality. This universal essence, as Besant and Leadbeater developed in *Thought-Forms*, assumes determinate forms.[34] These distinctive forms and the colors they take on communicate specific thoughts and emotions. Indeed, Besant and Leadbeater developed a color chart that demonstrated this direct relationship between colors and thoughts or emotions (figure 2.4). The vibrancy of the colors was associated with the purity of emotions.[35] Moreover, each thought or emotion had a definite form and color, as well as a specific "vibration."[36] Vibration was understood as a degree of the heartbeat of the cosmos or an exercise of the vibration of the universal essence. The relationship between thought, vibration, form, and color, as Besant writes, was determined by three principles: "1. Quality of thought determines colour. 2. Nature of thought determines form. 3. Definiteness of thought determines clearness of outline."[37] Thought-forms, therefore, could take on shapes that described the feelings that gave rise to them. As Maggie Atkins writes, "Greed, avarice, and ambition, for instance, produced hooked forms that resembled grasping hands, while a questioning thought generated a spiraling line."[38] Such visual networks enabled Besant and Leadbeater to develop a theory of communications through which Theosophists could transmit their thoughts or emotions. Theosophists, in other words, believed that thought-forms exhibited physical characteristics with specific shapes and colors that could be seen in the real world and drawn on paper/canvas.

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[34] Anne Besant and C. W. Leadbeater, *Thought-Forms* (London: The Theosophical Publishing House LTD, 1901): np. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/16269/16269-h/16269-h.htm>.
[35] Ibid. np.
[36] Ibid., np.
[37] Ibid., np.
[38] Maggie Atkinson. "Evolution and Exegesis: The Spirit of Freedom through Visual Narrative." *Religion and the Arts* 19 (2015): 476.

Considering Theosophical iconography, the *Chalice in the Heart* (figure 2.1), belonging to the 1920s, thus to Fröbe-Kapteyn's most intense period of preoccupation with Theosophist symbolism, depicts two intersecting circles with the same radius. At the center of their overlapping area rests a vertical heart shape. The bottom vertex of the heart is on the bottom vertices of the two intersecting circles. The same point marks the upper vertex of an equilateral triangle. The chalice is nested in the heart and stems from the grounded triangle. From the chalice rises an isosceles triangle that pierces the circles and spirals to yet another isosceles triangle. The upper vertex of this triangle marks the apex of the drawing. The meticulous geometry of lines and curves and their clearness speak of a well-defined thought. Each form's color is determined by the quality of the thought and can be ascertained by consulting the color chart. The gamboge-khaki color of the grounded triangle expresses pure reason directed to spiritual ends. The yellow of the intersecting circles' borders frames the heart and gives rise to the peaking triangle. This is a yellow of noble indignation. The brilliant orange-red color that fills the otherwise black chalice speaks of well-founded self-confidence. Finally, the blue that borders the spiraling triangle manifests heartfelt religious adoration. Collectively, in *The Chalice in the Heart*, the forms and the colors and their vibrancy exhibit a well-thought-out, forceful, and growing religious determinism rooted in knowledge and pure reason. The name of the piece denotes the withholding of a secret knowledge within one's heart and affirms the visual meaning. This image fits within the third type of Theosophical thought-forms, which encompasses those that stem from meditation and a conscious effort on the part of the thinker to actualize a certain conception.

In contrast to such an abstract painting is Fröbe-Kapteyn's 1937 figural painting, *The Great Mother*. *The Great Mother* (figure 2.5), a 1937 painting by Fröbe-Kapteyn that belongs to

her representational period, depicts a large kneeling and nude female figure with auburn hair. Covered in what seems to be a black aura, the female figure also has a black mass in place of her womb and a red circle in the middle of the mass. From her womb, children, in form of minuscule figures, are walking out in two intersecting zigzag lines. The kneeling mother has her two hands raised and is observing two groups of her children that are standing on the palm of her hands. The figures standing on the mother's palms are holding their hands towards what seems to be the sky. The same gesture is repeated by another group of children who occupy the foreground and are depicted wearing orange costumes—as opposed to other figures that are painted yellow. While the *Great Mother* is surely symbolic insofar as the female figure symbolizes an archetype directly, compared to Fröbe-Kapteyn's earlier works such as the *Chalice in the Heart*, it is representational and nonabstract. Fröbe-Kapteyn's leadership role in the formation of Eranos will be better framed and understood after having an overall understanding of the structure of Eranos, its key figures, and then through the defining primary texts that help explain Eranos.

Eranos, 1933–1962

A) Structure

Eranos was a circle of scholars who, beginning in 1933, travelled to Casa Gabriella (with varying degrees of regularity) for two weeks during the month of August to lecture on different themes that had myths, such as the deluge, and religions, such as Buddhism or Islam, as their common denominator.[39] Fröbe-Kapteyn's leadership role included the selection of themes and invitation of the speakers.[40] Beginning in 1934 and in concurrence with the annual conferences, she also organized exhibitions consisting of photographs of works of art related to that year's theme

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[39] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 24; see also Hakl, *Eranos*, 54–55.
[40] For a list of annual themes and speakers see table 1.

which she had collected from libraries and museums across Europe and the United States.[41] In

one 1939 photograph (figure 2.6), for instance, Swiss journalist and publicist Fritz René

Allemann (1910–1996) can be seen as he views the Eranos exhibition of that year which,

alongside the conference, was on the archetype of rebirth (the images themselves, unfortunately,

are obscured in this photograph). From the list of illustrations accompanying Jung's conference

essay, "Die verschiedenen Aspekte der Wiedergeburt" ("Different Aspects of Rebirth") however,

it may be inferred that at least one illustration from an alchemical monograph attributed to

Thomas Aquinas, *Codex Alchemicus Rhenoviensis* (Alchemical treatise of Rhenoviensis), was

likely included.[42]

Proceedings of the annual conferences culminated in yearbooks edited by Fröbe-Kapteyn,

with essays published first in their original languages (German, French, or Italian) in Zurich by

Rhein-Verlag. An English translation was also published by the Bollingen Foundation, usually a

few years after the original conference.[43] An average of two hundred people attended each year's

conference and exhibition.[44] Each morning was dedicated to one speaker who gave a lecture on a

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[41] As Robert Verhoogt writes, art reproduction developed during the late Middle Ages and in the wake of
the invention of printing. Thanks to woodcuts and developing graphic techniques, many artists saw their
paintings translated into an abundance of prints in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It
was during the nineteenth century, however, that with the invent of photography, art reproduction gained
momentum. By the twentieth century and the dawn of mass production, art reproductions became
commonplace. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that Fröbe-Kapteyn's use of photographic reproductions
for Eranos is historically close to Walter Benjamin's *Kleine Geschichte der Photographie* (1931) in which
the German philosopher discusses the medium of photography and its significance as a reproductive
technique. For a brief historical overview of art reproduction see Robert Verhoogt, "Introduction," in *Art
in Reproduction. Nineteenth-Century Prints after Lawrence Alma-Tadema, Jozef Israëls and Ary
Scheffer,* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 12–30.
[42] The image would have been collected from the Zurich Library and as Jung writes, depicted a peacock
which he understood to symbolize rebirth and resurrection in Christianity. See Jung, *Collected Works*,
volume 9, translated by R. F. C. Hull, (London: Routledge, 2014): 374.
[43] For a chronologic list of events linking Eranos and Bollingen's histories, see table 2. For a list of
Eranos papers published by the Bollingen Foundation and their respective contributors see table 3.
[44] While I use "exhibition" and "conference" to be specific, the two were not considered separate entities.
Displays, in other words, were incorporated into the conferences.

topic relevant to the annual theme, but undisclosed to participants in advance. Discussion in the form of questions and answers was strictly prohibited. At midday, attendees departed and Fröbe-Kapteyn invited a handful of speakers to lunch with her.[45] Lunch was served at the Eranos roundtable, an object that still exists and remains in use for current conferences (figure 2.7). The circular table came to represent the Eranos circle, and those who were invited to lunch were considered by others as members of the inner circle of Eranos. Members of the inner circle comprise what I refer to as key figures. In the next section I will briefly introduce these figures.

B) Key Figures

During the twenty-nine-year period when Fröbe-Kapteyn led the Eranos conferences (1933–1962), over 150 scholars lectured, a list of whom can be reviewed in table 1, along with annual topics. Of these, however, only a few returned annually and arguably formed the inner circle of Eranos. These figures, other than Fröbe-Kapteyn, were Jung, Eliade, Corbin, Scholem, Hungarian philologist Károly Kerényi (1897–1973), Swiss zoologist Adolf Portmann (1897–1982), German-Israeli psychologist Erich Neumann (1905–1960), and for a brief period, Swiss philosopher Walter Robert Corti (1910–1990). In the final five years of the period, English art historian Herbert Read (1893–1968) was another returning figure. Although Jung exerted the most intellectual influence on Eranos through 1951 when he gave his final lecture, Eliade and Corbin dominated its intellectual scene from 1952 to 1959.[46] From 1956 to 1964, Read also played a key role in maintaining the close relationship between Eranos and Bollingen by functioning as the contact person between the two during meetings.[47] In 1959, Fröbe-Kapteyn,

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[45] Hakl, *Eranos*, 55.
[46] By intellectual dominance I mean intellectual influence on other members as it can be discerned from the literature on Eranos by its members and contemporary scholars of Eranos.
[47] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 148.

who was unwell and worried about the future of Eranos, worked with Swiss philosopher Walter Robert Corti (1910–1990) to establish a "Platonic academy," or a gathering place of scholars that would share intellectual roots with or rather be an offshoot of Eranos.[48] The arrangement was for Corti to continue Eranos after Fröbe-Kapteyn's death. Fröbe-Kapteyn allowed the academy to use Casa Gabriella for their meetings. Soon after, however, disagreements between the two escalated to a point where Fröbe-Kapteyn annulled the initial agreement, losing two large land parcels next to Casa Gabriella in legal battles with the academy.[49] The idea of having a group of members who would defend Eranos as envisioned and organized by Fröbe-Kapteyn, or the "guardians" of Eranos emerged during the 1959 legal battles when Fröbe-Kapteyn called on Corbin, Eliade, Scholem, Read, and Portmann to support her in maintaining the independence and continuity of Eranos.[50] The group assumed their role as guardians of Eranos until their deaths.[51] It was Portmann who took over the role from Fröbe-Kapteyn as the leader of Eranos after she passed away in 1962.

In conclusion, during the 1933–1962 period, Eranos was a meeting place of mostly European scholars of various fields of knowledge who came to speak to their peers about what

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[48] Platonic academy refers to a congregation of intellectuals who met regularly to discuss and to teach their wisdom to students. The name comes from Plato's Academy which was a coming together of his students in a place called the Akadēmeia, an area outside of the Athens city walls. For a brief discussion of the history of Plato's Academy see Lewis Trelawny-Cassity, "Plato: The Academy," *IEP*. Platonic academy as conceived by Fröbe-Kapteyn was a blanket term to refer to a gathering of thinkers and intellectuals to discuss a common theme. From Fröbe-Kapteyn's previous activities that were earlier discussed in this chapter, it can be discerned that she was always interested in attending and holding such gatherings. It must also be noted that she was, by no means, the only person at this point in history who was interested in forming such gatherings. Again, as discussed, many other such gatherings such as the school of Wisdom preceded Eranos.

[49] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 145–146; Hakl, "Eranos: An Intellectual Counter Current," 71.

[50] In 1961, Fröbe-Kapteyn told Eliade that she thought giving up Eranos to Corti was such a mistake that she paid for it by her illness. See Mircea Eliade, *No Souvenirs: Journal, 1957–1969* (New York and London: Harper and Row, 1977): 137.

[51] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 146.

they thought to be the universally valid patterns of existence. The following section highlights

significant moments in the history of Eranos and provides the reader with a final overview prior

to the analysis of defining primary sources. These historical moments are listed chronologically

and discussed briefly beginning from 1933. These moments have been chosen based on the long-

lasting impact they had on the key figures over the course of the Eranos enterprise's history.

C) Key Moments in the History of the Eranos Conferences and Exhibitions

The first Eranos meeting took place in August 1933, with about two hundred participants. The

theme was "Yoga and Meditation in East and West," and the first speaker was German historian

Heinrich Zimmer (1890–1943).[52] The image-archetype exhibitions were part of the Eranos

conferences at inception and they took on a more central role the following year. Hakl reports

that in 1935 Jung provided Fröbe-Kapteyn with a recommendation letter that she used to enter

the archives of major research institutes.[53] The second half of the 1930s and the first few years of

the 1940s in the history of Eranos and Fröbe-Kapteyn's associated collecting practices were

heavily impacted by the political implications of the Nazi regime in Germany and World War II.

The next few paragraphs provide a short description of these political events as they related to

Fröbe-Kapteyn, Eranos, and the Bollingen Foundation. Afterwards, further key moments in the

history of Eranos during the period of this study (1933–1967) are discussed.

In 1936, Nazi officials, who were suspicious of the Eranos conferences, refused to grant

German scholars permission to travel to Switzerland.[54] In 1937, Fröbe-Kapteyn was invited to

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[52] There was no hierarchy based on the order of presentation and the first person to lecture was not considered to be a keynote speaker.
[53] Hakl, *Eranos*, 333.
[54] Hakl, *Eranos*, 98.

the Reich Education Ministry to clarify the situation and seek the German officials' permission

for German scholars residing in Germany to participate in Eranos.[55] This was a task in which she

succeeded. In 1938, when there were rumours that non-Swiss Jews had attended Eranos, and that

the topics discussed in the meetings were politically charged against the Nazis, the Ministry sent

German psychologist Olga von Koenig-Fachsenfeld (1895–1989) to attend that year's

conference and exhibition and report back. Her report assured the German Ministry that the Jews

attending the conference were not and could not in fact be members of Eranos if they did not

hold Swiss citizenship and that the topics discussed were not centered on politics, and even

seemed to favor German ideology.[56] Germany's ambassador in Switzerland Otto Kocher (1884-

1945) verified the report in 1939. These events testify to the supremacist agenda of the Eranos

meetings and exhibitions if not to their intellectual affinity with the Nazi ideology.

World War II did not halt the Eranos meetings. During the war years (1939–1944), since

travel between different countries was interrupted and highly regulated, and money transfer from

Mary and Paul Mellon to Fröbe-Kapteyn was stopped, the Eranos meetings became smaller

because the only participants were those scholars who resided in Switzerland.[57]

In 1941, Fröbe-Kapteyn was considered a potential Nazi sympathizer by the government

of the United States.[58] The reason for the suspicion was that she had, in order to collect images

for her archive, travelled by train to Britain with a German Visa, which had in turn alarmed the

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[55] Geoffrey Cocks, *Psychotherapy in the Third Reich* (1st ed.) (London: Routledge, 1997). https://doi-org.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/10.4324/9781351307604, 138.

[56] In a letter dated 26 March 1938, Jung wrote to Eric Benjamin Strauss that "non-Aryans" could participate in the Eranos conference only if they "refrain[ed] from making remarks about to arouse the political psychosis of our day." Jung, C. G., Gerhard Adler, and Aniela Jaffé, *Letters*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1973): 242; Cocks, *Psychotherapy,* 138.

[57] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 51; Wartime activities of and the relationship between Mellons, Jung, and Fröbe-Kapteyn are further discussed in chapter three.

[58] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 51.

British police. The British informed the U.S. officials of the issue and investigations into the matter began in New York in 1941.[59] To ease and hasten the inquiries, Jung introduced Fröbe-Kapteyn to Allen Dulles, then director of the C.I.A. whom Jung had come to know earlier. Dulles, who was at the time in Switzerland, completed the investigation in 1943 and Fröbe-Kapteyn was cleared of the charges.[60] She was, therefore, personally exonerated by the head of the CIA who was friends with Jung and Paul Mellon as well. Two years later in 1946, Mary Mellon died but Paul Mellon reassured Fröbe-Kapteyn that he would continue to support her and Eranos through Gulf Oil stock-profits. Ultimately, in the aftermath of the war, the Bollingen Foundation resumed its activities and with its help the Eranos conferences continued in full capacity once more.

With hopes of a new beginning after the end of World War II, Fröbe-Kapteyn chose "Spirit and Nature" as the topic of the 1946 conference and exhibition. This was the first year that Swiss biologist Adolf Portmann, who became president of Eranos after Fröbe-Kapteyn's death, lectured at Eranos.[61] Portmann lectured at Eranos thirty more times and took on the role of presidency in 1962.

In 1949 and at the request of Jung and Dutch phenomenologist of religion Gerard van der Leeuw (1890–1950), who wanted to commemorate the fifteenth anniversary of Eranos, the

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[59] Ibid.

[60] Hakl, *Eranos*, 72, 131.

[61] With Adolf Portmann science gains a more prominent role in Eranos. Note that other scientists such as Schrodinger and Pauli were involved with Eranos as well. Giovanni Sorge also points to this strand in "Love as Devotion: Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn's Relationship with Eranos and Jungian Psychology," in *Eranos Yearbook* 2009/2011 (Einsiedeln: Daimon Verlag): 388–434, especially 391; See also H. Van Erkelens, "Wolfgang Pauli and the Chinese Anima Figure," *Eranos Yearbook* 68 (199): 21–45; Roderick Main, "Synchronicity and Jung's critique of science, religion and Society," *The Rupture of Time: Synchronicity and Jung's Critique of Modern Western Culture* (Hove and New York: Brunner and Routledge, 2004): 115–144.

sculpture of *Genio loci ignoto* by Swiss sculptor Paul Speck (1896–1966) was installed in the

garden of Casa Gabriella (figure 2.8).[62] The limestone sculpture, bearing two low-relief

triangles—a large inverted triangle above and a second smaller one below, suggesting together

the shape of an hour glass—was discreetly placed in the garden as a gesture to honor what was

assumed to be the animating yet unknown spirit of Casa Gabriella that had hosted the Eranos

meetings from the beginning.[63] Tellingly, the two triangles resemble a ninety-degrees-rotated

double ax. Axes as such, in Greek symbology, are associated with "the mother goddess" and "are

symbolic of the worship of the invisible deity."[64] The sculpture also has the words "Genio loci"

(spirit of place) inscribed on top of its façade, just above the triangles, and the word "ignoto"

(unknown) below the triangles. The sculpture, thus, not only had a literal inscription that it was

honoring the unknown spirit of the place, but it also, through the use of double ax symbology,

was symbolic of the unknown animating spirit of the place. 1949 also witnessed the debut

lectures of Corbin and Scholem who came to be closely associated with Eranos and who will be

discussed at greater length in chapter four.

The 1950s was a decade of change for Eranos. Jung gave his final lecture in 1951, while

other participants, particularly Eliade, Corbin, and Scholem, became permanent lecturers. The

exhibitions and conferences of the 1950s were devoted to exploring the relationship between

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[62] Rudolf Ritsema, "The Origins and Opus of Eranos," in *Eranos Yearbook* 56 (1987): viii; Paul Speck was trained in Munich as a painter and ceramicist by Stanislaus Stuckgold. In 1924, he moved to Karlsruhe and began teaching ceramics at Grossherzogliche Majolika-Manufaktur. He lost his job in 1933 and went back to Zurich where he lived until his death. Paul Speck is most famous for the plaster negatives (death masks) he made of James Joyce in 1941. See Andreas Fischer, *James Joyce in Zurich: A Guide* (Zurich: Palgrave McMillan, 2020): 103; McGuire, *Bollingen*, 141; Hakl, *Eranos*, 219.
[63] On the relationship between movement (travel) and sacredness see Thomas S. Bremer, "The Genius loci ignotus of Eranos and the Making of Sacred Place," in Barone & Riedl & Tischel (ed.) *Pioniere, Poeten, Professoren. Eranos und der Monte Verità in der Zivilisationsgeschichte des 20* (Jahrhunderts. 2004, vol. 11) 79–82.
[64] Description of a ca. 1500 B.C. engraving in Kato Zakro Palace, Mithraeum in Ostia, *ARAS.org*, https://library-artstor-org.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/asset/AWSS35953_35953_31682699.

Man and such concepts as ritual, time, and energy. Significantly, in 1954, Fröbe-Kapteyn decided to donate her image-archive to the Warburg Institute in London and in 1955 the Institute accepted her gift. The other turbulent moment of the decade came about in 1957 when Fröbe-Kapteyn and Corti, as discussed in "Key Figures," decided to launch a "Platonic academy" which was not successful.

The last conference that Fröbe-Kapteyn organized and for which she wrote the foreword to the proceedings was held in 1960 on the topic of "Man and Creative Force." Because of her poor health, Portman organized the 1961 conference and wrote the foreword to the proceedings on "Man and Conflicting Orders."[65] Fröbe-Kapteyn died in 1962 and in respect for the wishes expressed in her will, Portmann became the president of Eranos.[66] Her ashes were kept in an urn that was placed behind the *Genio loci ignoto* sculpture in the Casa Gabriella garden.[67]

At the 1962 meeting on "Man, Leader and Led," the president of the Bollingen Foundation, John Barrett, was also present. Portmann had organized a meeting to discuss the future of the Eranos-Bollingen relationship after Fröbe-Kapteyn's death. During the meeting, it was decided that the spirit of Eranos, defined as commitment to the "archetypal," "perennial" and "archaic" structures of human mental development, was to be continued while giving more weight to lectures in English.[68] Finally, in 1962 and after Fröbe-Kapteyn's death, Paul Mellon

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[65] In his memoirs, Eliade, writes that on August 2, 1961, when he arrived at Casa Gabriella, it was the first time in ten years that Fröbe-Kapteyn had not greeted the guests herself because she had been completely bed-ridden and unable to move. See Eliade, *No Souvenirs,* 137.

[66] Fröbe-Kapteyn died before the 1962 Eranos meeting. Eliade writes that for the first time, the weather was stormy and Fröbe-Kapteyn's daughter, Bettina, had interpreted that storm as the presence of her mother. See ibid., 169.

[67] Hakl, *Eranos*, 218.

[68] Hakl, *Eranos*, 221. Note that up until this moment, speakers lectured in their own languages if their language was German, French, English, or Italian. It was up to the audience to understand the language of the lectures.

announced that the Bollingen Foundation would cease its operations by 1967. He further

announced that the foundation's goal from 1962 to 1967 would be to complete all the

outstanding projects that had been begun in the previous years.[69]

Historical documents capture the non-Nazi-offending underpinnings of the scholarship of

Eranos-affiliated intellectuals of the time. They also demonstrate the personal relationship the

head of CIA had with both Jung and Fröbe-Kapteyn. Having provided the reader with essential

context and historical information, the next part, a discussion of defining primary sources on

Eranos by the protagonists of this study, provides the reader with an in-depth understanding of

what Eranos meant. It will highlight the significance of images for Eranos scholars, and serve as

a pivotal backdrop against which Fröbe-Kapteyn's collecting practices and Eranos exhibitions

would be discussed and understood.

Explaining Eranos: Defining Texts

In this section, I discuss those texts by Eranos founder Fröbe-Kapteyn, Jung, Eliade, and Corbin

that focus on Eranos particularly. These texts, which mostly appear as introductions to edited

volumes of Eranos papers, constitute important primary sources on Eranos, because they present

period accounts by direct participants. The summary and analysis of these statements

demonstrate how Eranos was conceived of and understood by its founder and by three key

figures.

1) Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn

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[69] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 279–281.

Three main texts remain in which the founder of Eranos, Fröbe-Kapteyn, defines Eranos for potentially new audiences. One of these texts is the transcript of the talk she gave at the Analytical Psychology Club in New York on October 27, 1939, in which she introduced Eranos, for the first time, to a U.S. audience. This is her most elaborate effort—albeit only five pages—at defining Eranos. The other two texts are prefaces she wrote for Bollingen's *Papers from the Eranos Yearbook Series* (1953 and 1955). These prefaces are much shorter—one to two pages each—and in part repeat the issues addressed at her Analytical Psychology Club talk. The three texts are summarized at length because they are the most important primary sources on the topic and provide a synopsis of Fröbe-Kapteyn's definition and description of Eranos.

Fröbe-Kapteyn's October 27, 1939 lecture at the Analytical Psychology Club in New York was meant to introduce Eranos to U.S. audiences who had come to the opening of the "Great Mother" exhibition.[70] She began her talk by framing the speech as her observations about the origin of Eranos and the nature of "the archetypal *idea* that energizes it."[71] In referring to the origins of Eranos, Fröbe-Kapteyn recalls that it was in 1927 that she became possessed by an archetype that she continued to identify with over time and that eventually concretized in Eranos.[72] Contextually and in reference to social and political upheavals of the time as well as the increasing compartmentalisation of different fields of knowledge, she continues by saying that Eranos had emerged at a time when "the collective unconscious [was] particularly disturbed." Tying that to astrology, she saw the "upheavals in the world," being a result of the

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[70] As mentioned earlier, the 1938 Eranos exhibit, "The Figure and Cult of 'The Great Mother'," travelled to New York City by American psychoanalyst Hildegard Nagel (1887–1985) and was on view at the Analytical Psychology Club, an academic institute devoted to the study of Jungian psychology.

[71] Fröbe-Kapteyn, "The Psychological Background of Eranos," 31.

[72] I would like to remind the reader that 1927 is when she was preoccupied with a series of over 200 hundred geometrical drawings; It is my belief that this archetype can be best understood as the archetype of great mother who is nurturing and prepares the grounds for others to give birth to "ideas."

chaos that was caused by a transition from one Zodiac sign, Pisces (Fish), to another, Aquarius (originating from the constellation Aquarius). Against this backdrop, Fröbe-Kapteyn saw Eranos as an "unidentifiable force" that had touched and drawn together various scholars.[73] She elaborates that this force or idea was in fact so strong that organizing Eranos meetings came naturally to her and did not require any detailed planning on her part. She was, in other words, implying that Eranos was destined to come to life to save humanity from the conditions of modernity.

Commenting on the theme of each conference, she emphasizes the continuity that can be discerned among the topics. These topics, she writes, converged in being manifestations of one archetypal idea that could be defined as "the Idea of the Quest, the Way of Man, the Middle Way, or the Way of Individuation, and the methods of approach to that Way in the East and West."[74] Fröbe-Kapteyn believes that the essence or the archetypal idea at the heart of Eranos was its leading force and "pattern," and the essence required of the scholars to follow it "beyond space." She compares this pattern to the pattern of an individual life that "is pre-existent to the birth of human being." The pattern, she continues, moved in a "serpentine" way and was in tune with the times. She writes that the idea of Eranos had always reflected the human problems that the world was grappling with. She understands these problems to have been "all rooted in religious experience," even if the reasons for the problems seemed to be other than religious or spiritual.[75] The problem with modernity, therefore, according to her, was its lack of spirituality. The background knowledge necessary for such understanding, she writes, was the field of "comparative religion" (also known in academic fields at the time as the history of religions and

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[73] Fröbe-Kapteyn, "The Psychological Background of Eranos," 31.
[74] Ibid., 32.
[75] Ibid., 33.

phenomenology of religions) and "the history of the great tides of culture through which humanity has passed." Central to discovering the tides of culture, she elaborates, had been archaeological discoveries since 1880 that had functioned as "a vast archive of human records, architectural and pictorial remains of ancient civilizations… a treasure house of symbolic value… [and] a bridge between our times and the past. Fröbe-Kapteyn continues to say that Jung's opening up of the world of the collective unconscious had revealed the value of archaeology. This world of the collective unconscious, she continues, had been the invisible theme that "[held] together and embodie[d] the real significance of these [Eranos] meetings."[76]

Fröbe-Kapteyn likens Eranos to a circle or a *mandala* of peace and freedom of speech that had a synthetic and integrating force in form of an archetypal idea at its core and was able to create an "impersonal and irrational" approach.[77] As such, she continues, Eranos was like a continuation of "the Gnostic Schools of Mystery Teaching" such as "the schools of Plato and Pythagoras" because all of these examples had been manifestations of the same archetypal idea.[78] Fröbe-Kapteyn describes this archetypal idea as an "esoteric science" with a mystical aspect that was subjective and realizable on an individual level through personal experience. This experience, she insists, was what kept the Eranos speakers and audiences coming back every year. The archetypal idea, in other words, touched those present at Eranos. This idea, she cautions, however, had already existed in the inner world, and had just used Eranos to manifest itself.[79] Organizing conferences and exhibitions around the archetypal idea, she continues, required absolute submission to "the Will." Fröbe-Kapteyn, however, emphasizes once again that

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[76] Ibid., 34.
[77] On mandalas see the section on images
[78] Fröbe-Kapteyn, "The Psychological Background of Eranos," 35.
[79] Ibid., 36.

this will, idea, or archetype was not a dream or fantasy but "a very tangible reality within space and time." Building on that she concludes, "when an archetype breaks through into the world, it has to take shape, that is, embody, and through this shape, work out its purpose. All art proves this."[80]

It can be understood from Fröbe-Kapteyn's talk at the Analytical Psychology Club in New York, that she saw Eranos as a continuation of esoteric schools and as the enactment of an a priori idea that she called the archetype.[81] Fröbe-Kapteyn was the great mother and the nurturer of the birthplace of this archetype, the Eranos. According to her, scholars in Eranos discussed selected archetypes each year and those archetypes were to be concretized by images. Images or art as she calls them were the proof of the existence of the world of archetypes. These archetypes, in turn, were themselves proof of the existence of the world of the collective unconscious; a circular argument.

To further understand Fröbe-Kapteyn's point of view, it is helpful to investigate the preface she wrote for Bollingen's 1953 collection of Eranos papers, *Spirit and Nature*. Here, Fröbe-Kapteyn begins by reciting "the old Chinese conception" that "all that happens in the visible world is the expression of ideas or images in the invisible [world]."[82] Eranos, she continues, was precisely the concretization of such a visible expression of an invisible archetypal idea. It was this archetypal idea, functioning on "other orders of reality than the tangible and visible," that had survived the test of time and kept Eranos alive. Eranos lectures, she writes,

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[80] Ibid. 37.
[81] In *Fragments d'un Journal*, Eliade confirms this by writing, "pour elle 'Eranos' est un archétype. Elle croit le situer dans la ligne de l'Académie de Platon." Mircea Eliade, *Fragments d'un Journal* (Paris: Gallimard,1973): 181.
[82] Fröbe-Kapteyn, "Preface," xv.

dealt with those other layers of reality that are "indestructible" and treat "the essence of traditions and their values."[83] In channeling the essences and expressing them, the concept of *pistis* or having faith in the archetypal idea (of Eranos) had been imperative. Fröbe-Kapteyn ends her short preface by indicating that the primary aim of the Eranos conferences had been that of remaining evocative as opposed to being dedicated to maintaining literary perfection. That aim had been achieved by scholars through exploring transdisciplinary themes, analogies, and above all, evoking "the great archetypal image."[84] Here too she evoked the idea of fate and considered Eranos the outcome of the natural evolution of ideas.

In 1955, Fröbe-Kapteyn wrote one final preface for Bollingen's collection of papers from Eranos conference, *Mysteries*. Here, once again, Fröbe-Kapteyn refers to Eranos as an idea that had been growing in her mind for a long time before it was realized in 1933. She recalls the meeting she had with Otto in 1932 as the moment in which she knew that the curtains were raised on the stage of Casa Gabriella for the play of Eranos to take place.[85] "Against the backdrop of ever-moving archetypal images, the actors (here speakers) move and play their parts."[86] She emphasizes, once more, that archetypal images were the backdrop to all Eranos lectures. The image-archive, in other words, was the foundation upon which the lectures took place. She writes that Eranos lectures were in fact expressions of certain archetypes through the scholars. It was because the archetypal image had gripped the scholar that they were able to channel its energy and give it expression through their works. Fröbe-Kapteyn ends this short preface by understanding Eranos as "an instrument of sympathy that unites all culture in our age

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[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid., xvi.
[85] Fröbe-Kapteyn, "A Note on Eranos," xv.
[86] Ibid.

of separation and disintegration."[87] She clarifies this by writing that humanity had been gaining consciousness about the archetypal reality which was inherently religious and meditative and was the center of all creative work.

Certain observations can be made when considering these three texts by Fröbe-Kapteyn together. It appears that to its founder, Eranos, other than being a school, was also an archetype. She defines this archetype as the manifestation or expression of an a priori idea that was at once religious and invisible—yet real. Furthermore, she distinguishes the existence of Eranos as predetermined by fate.

Fröbe-Kapteyn also refers to Eranos as a continuation of other historic esoteric schools. This particular esoteric school, which was always already willed, had come into existence when the time was ripe: that is, after Jung put forth his theory of the *collective unconscious* and after archaeological discoveries of the turn of the twentieth century and its first two decades provided Western scholars with a plethora of ancient materials. According to Fröbe-Kapteyn, photographs of these artefacts and images in general, were containers of an esoteric truth or archetypal idea that had the ability to grip anyone who was open to them. Images as such were not of specific and individual importance per se. Images were rather pieces of a puzzle that, when put together, manifested some truth that could not be put into words.[88]

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[87] Ibid., xvi.

[88] In an uncited quotation from Fröbe-Kapteyn, Bernardini writes "The history of Eranos can be found in a book that has no writing, which I often go through, read, examine, and compare. I observe the images too, in that there are many in this book, and I look for the connections that form the whole in a meaningful and unifying way. The overall image, the model that has become visible, is so wound around and interwoven with the model of my life that it is really hard to separate them." Bernardini, "A Woman's Individuation Process," 15.

So understood, the Eranos project was like an atlas that manifested a larger picture of what Eranos scholars believed to be the fate of man. Fröbe-Kapteyn also referred to Eranos as an idea and a force that had used her as the medium to give birth to Eranos. Through all these descriptions by Fröbe-Kapteyn, one notices a de-privileging of materiality (the concrete representation of the image itself) and a praise of all things non-material, transcendent, spiritual and elusive (truth behind images, religiousness, invisible layers of reality, archetypal ideas, fate, the collective unconscious). The Eranos project, while founded on images, therefore, paradoxically seems to be an implicitly iconoclastic one. It shuns materiality in favor of gnosis. We are never told about the content of the idea that Eranos is, or the gnosis at the heart of this esoteric school. The exact content or definition is always missing.[89]

2) Carl Gustav Jung

Jung, the renowned Swiss psychoanalyst, was an important figure in the formation of Eranos and his work provided the intellectual foundations for the first twenty years of its activity. From 1933 to 1951, he gave fifteen lectures at Eranos. In 1938, when Mary Mellon published a volume under the aegis of Bollingen to introduce Eranos to audiences in the United States, Jung contributed an introduction to the volume in which he described Eranos.[90] In the following

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[89] Hardly any literature on Eranos looks at the phenomenon from a critical distance. In "The Eranos Experience," for instance, Tilo Schabert speaks about the Eranos "experience," or its "meaning," "wisdom," and "movement," but he ends up discussing them precisely as the Eranos members did themselves: with vague and elusive words that have no grounded meaning and shed no light on the "mystic" issue being analyzed. See Tilo Schabert, "The Eranos Experience," 9–20.

[90] Jung's two-page essay was completed in 1939 shortly before the Bollingen Foundation was liquidated because of the Trading with the Enemy Act (TEA) during World War II. It was in 1984 that the article was first published in *Spring: A Journal of Archetype and Culture*. The article was reprinted in the same venue in 2015.

paragraphs, I summarize Jung's 1939 description of Eranos. The summary is followed by a short

analysis.

Jung spends half of his short introduction commenting on the extent to which knowledge

has been compartmentalized into ever-more specialized fields. Specialization, he writes, carried

an intrinsic danger of "inbreeding" within fields of study, "narrowing of the horizons," and

failing to grasp "a complete image of our world."[91] Jung argues that the aim of the Eranos

meetings was to create that complete image by bringing together scholars of varied fields to

speak about the "spiritual outlook" of the age by focusing on how their expertise weighed in on

the annual archetypal theme.[92] Importantly, Jung acknowledges that Eranos was Fröbe-

Kapteyn's personal initiative.[93] Jung continues by stating that Eranos contributors had been

concerned with "the ideas of the West [and] the treasures of the Eastern thought."[94] This is a

colonial remark that implies that the East is a source that is available for the exploitation of the

West, to further the latter's imperialist ideas and agendas.

Phenomenology is the vessel Jung recognizes for such cultural exploitation. The main

nucleus of Eranos, he elaborates, was "the ideology and phenomenology of salvation or

redemption."[95] Jung concludes by pointing out that the "archive of iconographical material,"

collected by Fröbe-Kapteyn was always available to the viewers during the conferences. Lastly,

he reiterates Fröbe-Kapteyn's claim that the Eranos meetings were "a haven of peace" during an

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[91] Jung, "American Eranos Volume: Introduction," in *Spring* 92, 83.
[92] Ibid., 84.
[93] Ibid. This serves as an important corrective to assertions by scholars such as Hakl and Bernardini minimizing Fröbe-Kapteyn's central position.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.

age of political unrest and social upheaval. This, he believes, was mirrored in the diverse nationalities of Eranos speakers.

Multiple important issues are addressed in Jung's short introduction. Firstly, he emphasizes that Eranos was the actualization of Fröbe-Kapteyn's idea. This counters the position held by both major scholars of Eranos, McGuire and Hakl, who insist that Eranos was Jung's idea. Secondly, this introduction is the only published primary source, other than the two extant photographs of the 1939 and 1942 exhibitions (figures 2.5 and 2.7), in which we are informed of the continuous availability of the image-archive during the conferences. Thirdly, Jung agrees with Fröbe-Kapteyn that the main goal of the Eranos project was to demonstrate *the* right way or the salvific way of life for humanity. This image, he contends, is a patchwork of knowledge created by scholars of different fields, all of whom contribute to one central theme: that of finding *the* way through its manifestations as archetypes explored annually at Eranos. Given the postcolonial framework discussed in the first chapter which problematizes the implications of knowledge and power, it is significant that even though Jung emphasizes the diverse nationality of the Eranos scholars, he notes that Eranos was a project of discovering what the East had to offer the West. It is implied, thus, that the East held the key to the salvific path that Eranos scholars sought. The key to the salvific way of life that the Eranos scholars were looking for, can be understood as including "Eastern" religions such Islam and Buddhism, as well as Eastern myths (Gilgamesh for instance) and Eastern archaeological artifacts and artworks. Finally, even though Jung speaks of Eranos as a "peace haven," given his involvement with the CIA as well as his National Socialist tendencies – all of which are discussed at length in the third chapter – it is

difficult to accept that he was putting forth a pacifist agenda.[96] In other words, Jung's own framing of Eranos makes clear his Euro-centric colonial biases, and those of the Eranos scholars because of the way in which the East is viewed as that which is there to be exploited by the West and to reaffirm its own imperial ideas. Jung's peace-loving rhetoric is also colonial in nature because it sees peace only insofar as it includes the West and does not care about the violence the colonial mindset imposes upon the Global South.

3) Mircea Eliade

Another important figure in Eranos is Mircea Eliade, the Romanian militant right-wing founder of the discipline of the history of religions.[97] Eliade joined Eranos in 1950 and until 1967, gave thirteen talks. In November 1959, Eliade wrote "Encounters at Eranos" as an introduction to the Bollingen's papers from the Eranos yearbooks, *Spiritual Disciplines* (1960). The four-page essay is Eliade's attempt at describing Eranos for a wider audience.[98] In his diaries, which were also published as journals, Eliade makes references to Eranos and Fröbe-Kapteyn. Eliade's Bollingen 1960 introduction and notes from his journals provide the most direct evidence of Eliade's definition of Eranos.[99] Finally, I analyze these texts to understand Eliade's definition of Eranos.

Eliade begins "Encounters at Ascona" by stating that the most important characteristic of Eranos meetings was that the speakers were not addressing an audience of specialists in any one

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[96] Peace, here, could be taken to refer to both an inner-peace and an anti-military peace. But given the piece was written during World War I, it is more probable that Jung was referring to anti-military peace.
[97] On Eliade's right-wing politics see chapter three.
[98] In *Spring* (2015), Bernardini refers to two other articles written by Eliade entitled "Eranos" (1954) and "Les Danseurs Passent, La Danse Reste" (1955), but I have not been able to locate these pieces. [Librarians from the University of Alberta helped me, for over two weeks, to locate this piece, but it could not be found]. Since the reference lacks proper publication material, the existence of such pieces is, as of yet, unconfirmed.
[99] Eliade, Mircea, *Fragments d'un Journal* (Paris: Gallimard, 1973).
Eliade, Mircea, *No Souvenirs: Journal, 1957–1969* (New York and London: Harper and Row, 1977).

single field of knowledge but were nurturing an interdisciplinary discussion. As a result, he writes, scholars could deeply learn from each other and gain consciousness of the "true dimensions of culture."[100] Eliade then elaborates on his definition of the true culture by describing it as "a complete picture of the progress made in all fields of knowledge that constitute 'man and his destiny'." Eliade gives the example of how "orientalism," "history of religions," and "ethnology," were separate but integrated parts of one single study that was "capable of revealing human existential situations." He further continues that these disciplines, at times, came across unknown worlds that "threaten[ed] the spiritual equilibrium of the modern West." But among all fields, Eliade writes, it was "deep psychology" – a term coined by Swiss psychiatrist Eugen Bleuler in 1914 to indicate psychologies that are oriented towards the idea of the "unconscious" – that revealed the largest unknown terrain to the Western mind. He likens the discovery of the human unconscious to the astronomical discoveries made possible by the invention of the telescope and the maritime discoveries of the Renaissance era, because all three had broadened the limits of the known world and given "the West" its "scientific, economic, and political supremacy."[101]

The discovery of the collective unconscious, Eliade believes, was the opening of a submerged world that was first put forward by Jung. Eliade elaborates on this example by emphasizing how the techniques of oceanography had allowed Western human beings to delve ever deeper into the seas and discover primordial organisms. Similarly, he continues, the study of the collective unconscious through "myths and symbols and images of archaic humanity" had

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[100] Mircea Eliade, "Encounters at Ascona," xvii.
[101] Ibid.

provided scholars with tools to understand "the archaic modes of psychic life" and "the darkness of the unconscious."[102]

The discovery of the collective unconscious and the rise of Eranos, Eliade continues, coincided with "the political and cultural awakening of Asia, and above all, with the entrance of exotic and primitive peoples into History."[103] This statement is one of many that reveal the biases of Eranos scholars. The Western-centric gaze that allowed them to believe that Asia was having a political and cultural awakening post-Second-World War II is evidence not only of their ignorance of Asian histories, politics, and cultures, but also of their unquestioned belief in linear evolution placing white Aryans at its apex–both a colonial and supremacist perspective. Eranos scholars hoped to develop a "new humanism" out of these encounters. This new humanism, Eliade writes, was an integration of all fields of knowledge into a complete knowledge of man (meaning humanity).[104] Eliade continues that myths, symbols, and mystical figures and techniques, available through images and artefacts, were being treated by Eranos scholars as "documents [that] express existential situations; that consequently they form part of the history of the human spirit."[105] In Eliade's worldview the cultures of the Global South, placed in a lower position in comparison to Western cultures, were sources of a lost knowledge that the Western man was to discover by accessing those cultures. Through financial support from the oil-funded Bollingen, the exploitation of the cultures of the Global South went hand in hand with the exploitation of their natural resources. Such colonial worldview not only informed and upheld

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[102] Ibid., xix.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid., xx.
[105] Ibid.

colonial violence but also helped create and maintain petronormativity understood as the normalizing relations of production as fostered and maintained by oil infrastructure.

The "right" approach towards the documents of the Global South cultures, Eliade contends, would not be the objectivity of a "naturalist" but the "intelligent sympathy of the hermeneut." Ultimately, he notes, symbols and myths were expressions of an existential situation that gave meaning and dignity to man and the history of the spirit. Eliade writes that while these topics had been of utmost interest in Eranos, one ought not to mistake it as a fascination and engagement with the occult and spirituality. Again, he repeats, that the interest of Eranos scholars in myths, symbols, and mysticisms was due to these images' and artefacts' ability to reveal a hitherto hidden dimension of human existence. The urgency of this research, he concludes, lay in the urgency of entering into dialogue with "primitive cultures" by Western man as a step in the "ineluctable course of History."[106]

Based on this short essay, Eliade agreed with Jung that a certain malaise had risen out of the increasing specialization in the fields of knowledge. One new aspect Eranos had to offer, thus, was to address that problem by bringing together scholars of diverse fields to lecture on a common theme. Eliade, like Fröbe-Kapteyn and Jung, saw this as an effort to provide a holistic and complete picture of the trajectory of human existence. The common themes to be explored from diverse angles, according to Eliade, were archetypes, myths, and symbols. He understood these as containers of important truths about ancient civilizations and what he names "primitive peoples."[107] The necessity of engaging with myths and archetypes for Eliade lay in their potential

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[106] Ibid., xxi.
[107] It seems that Eliade uses "primitive peoples," "ancient civilizations" and "archaic peoples" interchangeably.

to ameliorate the encounter of the West with the Global South. The goal of Eranos for him was, therefore, the amelioration of colonial encounters and relationships. For Eliade, Eranos was a project of getting to know the Other in their absence and through their myths, religions, and symbols–ultimately, an Orientalist and culturally colonial project par excellence.

4) Henry Corbin

From 1949 to 1976, the renowned French Islamicist, Corbin, gave 25 talks at Eranos. He wrote about his understanding and experience of Eranos in multiple short essays. In 1955, he wrote "De l'Iran à Eranos," in the last paragraph of which Corbin speaks about Eranos and Fröbe-Kapteyn. In 1956, he wrote "The Time of Eranos" as an introduction for *Man and Time: Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks* (1957). Finally, in "Post-Scriptum biographique à un Entretien philosophique" (1981), Corbin recollects his first lecture at Eranos in 1949 as being formative in defining the trajectory of his career.[108] Although all of these texts present facets of Corbin's understanding of Eranos, the one that addresses it most directly and at greatest length is "The Time of Eranos," from which his views can be gleaned most thoroughly.

This eight-page essay differs from the introductions or prefaces written by Fröbe-Kapteyn, Jung, and Eliade. Not only is Corbin's essay much longer than the others, but it also dwells less on introducing Eranos as an enterprise, and more on its philosophical underpinnings. Corbin devotes almost six pages to explaining the meaning of "time" and its significance for Eranos. Time, Corbin believes, must be understood as a series of "presents" that when looked at

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[108] Henry Corbin, "Post-Scriptum biographique a un Entretien philosophique," in *Henry Corbin*. Edited by Christian Jambet (Paris: L'Herne, 1981): 38–56, 50.

subjectively, can only carry *signs* of any future or past.[109] Time, in other words, for Corbin is

constant present, and qualitative as opposed to quantitative.[110] He therefore concludes that it can

never be said that Eranos was "of its time." It must be said that Eranos had its own time, that it

defined its own time.[111] Because of the immense impact of Eranos and its scholars on the

twentieth-century thought, it can indeed be said that Eranos was a defining institution of its time.

Eranos scholars also believed there was something wrong with modernity, some kind of malaise

that required fixing. They found the answer to this malaise in a nostalgic approach to these

cultures, acting as if they were access to some earlier moment in European/human history. Such

an approach to time was funded by the petroleum industry because it limited the imagination in

finding decolonial and sustainable alternatives for the future by pointing to the past as the

solution for the future.[112]

Looking back at the history of the twentieth century from the vantage point of 1956,

Corbin cautions historians that the meaning and purpose of the Eranos organization cannot be

defined but must be *interpreted*.[113] For Corbin, understanding any historical phenomena

presupposes sympathy, meaning in order to understand anything historical one must feel it as

one's present and interpret its signs.[114] Eranos as such, Corbin believes, was not a historical

series of conferences and exhibitions, but a collective of peoples and ideas that needed to be

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[109] Henry Corbin, "The Time of Eranos," in *Man and Time*, edited by Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn, (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1957): xvii.
[110] Ibid., xvi.
[111] Ibid., xiv.
[112] On the atrophy of imagination and our current energy impasse see Sheena Wilson, "Energy imaginaries: feminist and decolonial futures." In B. Bellamany, J. Diamanti (Eds.), *Materialism and the Critique of Energy*, MCM Publishing (2018), pp. 377–412.
[113] Henry Corbin, "The Time of Eranos," in *Man and Time*, edited by Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn, (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1957): xv.
[114] Ibid., xix.

understood through sympathy. Otherwise, the meaning of Eranos will be lost.[115] Corbin thus

concludes that "[Eranos] is our present being, the time that we act personally, our way of

being."[116] Ultimately, Corbin concludes that Eranos was a symphony, "whose performance

would each time be repeated in fuller and deeper sonorities."[117] Eranos was "a microcosm, which

the world cannot be expected to resemble but whose example, one may hope, will spread

throughout the world."[118]

　　　　Interestingly, Corbin likens Eranos to art, to music. Music does indeed best capture

Corbin's understanding of Eranos as a performance of peoples and ideas at a specific time of the

year that must itself be understood as a constant present. Just as a piece of music cannot be

expressed through words and is best captured when performed, Eranos too cannot be understood

based on facts. It can only be understood when experienced. Moreover, Corbin believed that

Eranos was a microcosm. This world, however, was not representative of the real world in which

we live. A concept that can be helpful in understanding Corbin's example is *Ālam Al-Mithāl.* In

mystic traditions of Islamic philosophy, Ālam Al-Mithāl is an *imaginal* world that can be said to

resemble the Platonic world of ideas.[119] Ālam Al-Mithāl is a real but invisible world of

revelation that can be accessed via symbolic images coming to mind in dreams and in moments

of revelation.[120] These symbolic images can then be interpreted. For Corbin, Eranos was the

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[115] Ibid., xx.
[116] Ibid., xix.
[117] Ibid., xx.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Rudolf Ritsema provides a clear understanding of Corbin's imaginal. Ritsema writes, "Corbin introduced the term "the Imaginal," *mundus imaginalis*, to describe the realm of images mediating between the unfathomable, unknowable spiritual agencies - Gods, angels and other archetypes- and the human psyche. The Imaginal is the mediator between the realm of the time-less, the a-historical, the ever-present, and the realm of individual consciousness, the here and now ("The Origins and Opus of Eranos, xiv).
[120] On the concept of Ālam Al-Mithāl see Fazlure Rahman, "Dream, Imagination Aad 'Ālam Al-Mithāl*."
Islamic Studies* 3, no. 2 (1964): 167–80. Accessed March 9, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20832739.

interpreter of the images descending from the Ālam Al-Mi<u>th</u>āl. That he wished there were more examples of Eranos, can be seen as his wish for humanity to have a visual map of the Ālam Al-Mi<u>th</u>āl.

Thus far, the reader has achieved an overall understanding of what Eranos meant to its founder, Fröbe-Kapteyn, and to the protagonists of this study. The analysis of defining texts by these figures also aided in coming to a conceptual map of what Eranos means. With that in mind, the following section focuses on Eranos exhibitions and the role of images to complete the discussion of Eranos.

Eranos Exhibitions

The Eranos exhibitions were part of the Eranos annual meetings from the beginning, and collecting images became Fröbe-Kapteyn's main task beginning in 1934, when she started planning an entire iconographical archive documenting pictorial manifestations of the patterns of the collective unconscious that she kept first in her bedroom in Casa Gabriella and then in her library in Casa Eranos. One of the Eranos exhibitions can be seen in a 1942 photograph that shows Jung listening to a talk in the foreground with some photographs belonging to the image-archive in the background (figure 2.9).[121] Jung's concept of the collective unconscious was image-based and centred on dreams.[122] In dreams, individuals "see" images, or sometimes a collection of images that could at times form narratives in which the dreamer participates. Freud, Jung's mentor, had in his theories traced the emergence of these images in the individuals' unconscious or repressed psychic content. Jung took a different path in 1912 by arguing that

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[121] Bernardini, "Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn," 13.
[122] On the concept of the collective unconscious see Christopher Hauke, "The Unconscious: Personal and Collective," in *The Handbook of Jungian Psychology: Theory, Practice and Applications*, edited by Renos K. Papadopoulos (London: Routledge, 2006).

there was a deeper reservoir of repressed psychic content that he called the collective unconscious. It was the collective unconscious, Jung argued, that was the root of certain recurring archetypes or symbols in dreams that were identical in patients of different cultural background and upbringing. Jung believed that he had spotted archetypal images or visualizations of what Gnostics had encountered in their dreams or trances in historical treaties. In the same vein, he noticed the emergence of similar symbols in his patients, which he took to prove the universality of these image-archetypes. As his student Aniela Jaffé writes, "the affinity of images and ideas which emerged from the meditations of Western and Chinese practitioners alike brought Jung the long-awaited confirmation of his conception of the collective unconscious and also of the archetypes."[123] Jung's image-based theory of archetypes and the collective unconscious were very significant to most of the Eranos scholars. Equally important, understandably, were the images Fröbe-Kapteyn collected which, in a general way and not by any means exclusively, represented the assumed universality of the archetypes.

Archetypal images in the Eranos image-archive were photographic reproductions that Fröbe-Kapteyn had taken and collected from museums, collections, and libraries such as the British Museum and the Warburg Institute in London, Bibliothèque Nationale de France and Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in the Vatican, Münchner Stadtbibliothek in Munich, and Zentralbibliothek Zürich as well as other collections in Oxford, Bonn, Athens, and other cities across Europe.[124] From the limited surviving video footage of Casa Gabriella, and descriptions provided by Eranos attendees, it can be observed that reproductions, in varying sizes but usually smaller than or equal to 8.5 x 11 inches, were

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[123] Jaffé, *C. G. Jung: Word and Image*, 51.
[124] Ibid.

mounted on either black or white cardboard and attached to the walls in three horizontal rows.[125]

While some images were kept on the walls after the annual meeting was over, others were kept

in multiple-page albums that had one image per page on a black background and transparent

plastic coverings with small rectangular labels at the bottom of each page. These images were

treated as "primary material," often considered a form of proof of and evidence for claims of

universality for many Eranos scholars, as seen in Jung's *Psychology and Alchemy* (1944),

Eliade's *The Forge and the Crucible* (1956), and Erich Neumann's *The Origins of History of*

Consciousness (1954) and *The Great Mother* (1955).[126]

Fröbe-Kapteyn's collecting method was intuitive; she visited different institutions and

chose artworks that revealed an archetype to her based on her previous Theosophical knowledge

and more recent understanding of Jungian theory of the collective unconscious, without prior

specific research or intention.[127] Jungian philosopher and scholar of Eranos Bernardo Nante

explains that Fröbe-Kapteyn's painting and collecting practices were informed by "active

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[125] *The Story of C.G. Jung*, BBC documentary, (Nei dintorni del Monte Verità: la Fondazione Eranos 1972), courtesy of the Eranos Foundation; it is not known whether display techniques used for the images remained the same throughout the years.

[126] Based on Jung's 1935 and 1936 Eranos lectures, Psychology and Alchemy contains 270 images for the collection of "some" of which Jung thanks Fröbe-Kapteyn in the book's preface. Jung also emphasizes the significance of images by writing "What the written word could express only imperfectly, or not at all, the alchemist compressed into his images; and strange as these are, they often speak a more intelligible language than is found in his clumsy philosophical concepts" (x); *The Forge and the Crucible* includes eight images. In the book's preface, Eliade thanks Fröbe-Kapteyn for giving him access to her image archive for the writing of this book. Additionally, he thanks Bollingen for providing him with stipend to write the book (14); The Origins of History of Consciousness contains 31 images. Here and in speaking of uroboros – that he understands as "Alpha and Omega," and the "All in One" (10), Neumann footnotes that "numerous examples of representations" of the archetype of uroboros are to be found at the Eranos image-archive (12); Bernardini, "Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn," 13–14.
On defining the archetype of Great Mother, Erich Neumann writes, "When analytical psychology speaks of the primordial image or archetype of the Great Mother, it is referring, not to any concrete image existing in space and time, but to an inward image at work in the human psyche. The symbolic expression of this psychic phenomenon is to be found in the figures of the Great Goddess represented in the myths and artistic creations of mankind" (3).

[127] Bernardini, "Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn," 15.

imagination," which he defines as a religious process of imagination, a recognition of mythic and traditional symbols, and their renewal through this process. He further notes that since this approach is religious, it is trans-personal, and "representative of Eranos."[128] Having collected the images, Fröbe-Kapteyn then organized the photographs thematically based on the archetype she thought the images demonstrated. Until 1938, the image-archetype exhibitions were available for consultation during the meetings in Fröbe-Kapteyn's bedroom, which was freely accessible upon request and where she initially kept her archive.[129] Afterwards, however, she displayed the photographs in the Casa Gabriella Hall, close to the conference room (as seen in figure 2.9). Going back to 1938, the images displayed at that year's exhibit which had the theme of Great Mother, for example, later served as the primary source for Neumann's book *The Great Mother: An Analysis of the Archetype* (1955).[130] Neumann's manuscript had 259 images, half of which were taken from the Eranos archive. In the book's foreword and on the central role of the Eranos archive, Neumann writes, "Yet it should not be thought that the pictures merely provided the first spark of inspiration; throughout my work on this book they held the center of my interest and determined the whole content and rhythm of my thinking. In this sense the book, even in its present form, may be regarded wholly as a presentation of the Eranos Archive."[131]

The 1938 exhibition was larger than previous ones and open to the public, such that many considered it to be a new feature of the Eranos meetings. But the year was significant in more than one way. By 1938, Fröbe-Kapteyn had invested all her resources in Eranos and was deeply

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[128] Bernardo Nante, "Eranos: The Study of Religion as a Religious Phenomenon," *Spring 92*, 180–182.
[129] Hakl, *Eranos*, 255–256.
[130] Torben Gronning, Patricia Sohl & Thomas Singer, "ARAS: Archetypal Symbolism and Images," *Visual Resources* (23, 3): 245–267, DOI: 10.1080/01973760701450983, 2007, 249.
[131] Erich Neumann, "Foreword," *The Great Mother* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, Bollingen Series, 1955): xiii.

troubled by financial difficulties.[132] Therefore, she applied unsuccessfully for a Rockefeller Foundation grant.[133] Mary and Paul Mellon, who had recently become involved with Eranos through an existing relationship with Jung, decided to step in and assist Fröbe-Kapteyn by supporting the Eranos annual meetings, Fröbe-Kapteyn's travels across Europe and the United States in search of archetypal images, and her living expenses, though their private funds.[134] Fröbe-Kapteyn's Eranos image-archive was highly subjective. It was a compilation of images that she believed could be categorized under predefined archetypes. They were decontextualized, removed from their original context and meaning, which allowed for the creation of new meanings that, intentionally or not, fulfilled a far-right political and economic agenda intended to create the context–in this case the knowledges and relationship–necessary to sustain oil imperialism. Eranos was an Orientalist project, funded by the oil money of Mellons, that also paved the way for Gulf Oil interests in the region. Moreover, 1938 marks Eranos's debut in the United States, partially through an exhibition. The 1938 Eranos exhibit, "The Figure and Cult of The Great Mother," was brought to the city of New York by American psychoanalyst Hildegard Nagel (1887–1985) and was on view at the Analytical Psychology Club, an academic institute devoted to the study of Jungian psychology.[135]

World War II (1939–1945) broke out in Europe in 1939. There are no documents, however, to indicate that the war interrupted the annual Eranos conferences and exhibitions.[136]

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[132] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 29; Hakl, *Eranos*, 109.
[133] Investigating the reasons for Fröbe-Kapteyn's decision and the reasons for the Rockefeller Foundation's rejection of her application seem to be worthy and unstudied research questions.
[134] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 29; Hakl, *Eranos*, 109.
[135] Hakl, *Eranos*, 111; McGuire, *Bollingen*, 332.
[136] On the position of Switzerland during the War and the geo-political context, see chapter three.

The war, however, did impact the number and the nationality of attendees. In 1940 and 1941, for instance, only two and three speakers were present at the conference, respectively.[137]

A pivotal event took place in the spring of 1943 when Fröbe-Kapteyn separated herself legally from Eranos and incorporated it as a Swiss foundation.[138] She donated her image-archive, her library, and the lecture hall to the foundation. Her goal was to make it possible for private and public benefactors to donate to Eranos.[139] The exhibitions continued through the 1940s and the first three years of the 1950s. In 1949, the Bollingen Foundation in New York acquired a duplicate of the Eranos Archive which consisted of Fröbe-Kapteyn's collected archetypal images. This copy currently exists in the Library of Congress, alongside the entire Bollingen archive.[140]

Eventually in 1954, after having dream-like visions that asked her to let go of the image-archive and telling her that the world was ready to face the collection, Fröbe-Kapteyn donated her image-archive (the original photographs, unlike the copies acquired by Bollingen) to the Warburg Institute in London, where the collection currently resides.[141] The archetypal image-archive has been expanded since Fröbe-Kapteyn's death and constitutes what is now called The Archive for Research in Archetypal Symbolism (ARAS).[142] In 1960, a third copy of Fröbe-

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[137] In previous years, for instance, an average of 200 people attended the conferences.
[138] Hakl, *Eranos*, 134.
[139] Ibid.
[140] The Bollingen archive will be discussed in chapter three. Briefly, though, the archive other than what has been stated, includes Paul and Mary Mellon's correspondence, and all the documents belonging to the Bollingen Foundation.
[141] Bernardini, "Neumann at Eranos," in *Turbulent Times, Creative Minds: Erich Neumann and C.G. Jung in Relationship (1933–1960)*, ed. Erel Shalit and Murray Stein (North Carolina: Chiron Publications, 2016): n.p.
[142] Archive for Research in Archetypal Symbolism is a collection that functions as a non-for-profit organization under the aegis of the C.G. Jung Foundation of New York and is located in New York City. The collection is currently curated by Ami Ronnberg and Kathleen Martin.

Kapteyn's image-archive was acquired by the C. G. Jung Institute in Zurich. ARAS collection is now part of the Artstor collection of images. Every time someone uses Artstor, a part of the results they see may belong to Fröbe-Kapteyn's collection. This speaks to the lingering visual influence of Eranos; a part of the world's largest visual database exists precisely because of the financial support of the petroleum industry (Gulf Oil Corporation). This example shows the extent to which the contours of art image are delimited by oil and oil money. Such delimitation inevitably restricts our imaginations and ability to envision fossil-fuel-free futures.

Eranos Images

Fröbe-Kapteyn travelled extensively to collect photographic reproductions of images and artefacts from museums and libraries across the world.[143] According to Ami Ronnberg, curator of special projects for ARAS, in 1955, psychoanalyst Hans Danziger wrote that Fröbe-Kapteyn chose the images for her collection intuitively and categorized these images under specific archetypes or motifs. For her, "the moving force in these images was the point - not the art historical importance or even beauty or knowledge…It was through the magic wand of Analogy that this collection came into being."[144] The evidence suggests that Fröbe-Kapteyn actively tried to find analogies or similarities between what she saw in any given image and the preconceived set of archetypes she had in mind based on previous Theosophical studies and more recent Jungian theories. In other words, her collecting practices were highly subjective, de-historical, and noncontextual. In a painting that depicted a red rectangle, for instance, she could identify two visual archetypes: the colour red and the rectangle. Importantly, in Jungian analytical

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[143] Artifacts refers to archeological findings that can take the form of, but are not limited to, vases, dishes, remnants of buildings, and pieces of clothes.

[144] Ami Ronnberg, "The Story of the Three Women Who Created ARAS," *ARAS Connection* (Issue 4, 2020): 7.

psychology, any "thing," whether material substance or abstract idea, could be interpreted as an archetype.[145] Such an understanding of things and concepts, as manifestations of an a priori idea—or archetype— participates in the philosophical tradition of Platonism.[146] One example of an archetype that was quite important to Eranos was the circle or mandala (Sanskrit for circle).

Initially and specifically, mandalas were Buddhist symbols of the cosmos.[147] They usually depicted a circle (symbol of the heavens) within a square (symbol of the earth), also echoing the floor plan of a typical temple, at the centre of which sat a Buddha image. Mandalas as such were used as visual guides during mediation to keep the person focused and to trigger the person's imagination into seeing her/himself as potentially Buddha. Figure 2.10, for instance, shows a fifteenth-century Nepalese mandala from Fröbe-Kapteyn's image-archive that depicts Buddha sitting at the centre of a temple and surrounded by four deities. A key to understanding mandalas is that no one mandala bears a complete image of Buddha. In other words, much like Platonism, defined as the belief in existence of abstract objects as timeless entities, Buddha was to be understood as the abstract entity and mandalas were its representations. The complete image, impossible as it may be, can only be achieved when all mandalas are brought together. Jung, as Jaffé reported in 1979, interpreted the mandala as "a symbol of human wholeness or as

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[145] To remind the reader, as Erich Neumann writes in *The Great Mother*, in analytical psychology, an archetype is an a priori conditioning factor that does not refer to "any concrete image existing in space and time, but to an inward image at work in the human psyche" (3). Different aspects of this inward image are found in artistic and cultural expressions of the humankind.

[146] Platonism, while informed by the philosophy of Plato, is a contemporary view that believes in the existence of abstract objects that do not exist in space or time and which are therefore entirely non-physical and non-mental. Platonists as such believe in universals or the universal validity of abstract objects in the form of properties, relations, and propositions. For a discussion of Platonism see Mark Balaguer, "Platonism in Metaphysics," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2016 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2016/entries/platonism/.

[147] This example is not aimed to provide an exhaustive history of the symbol – mandalas as symbols were used in other cultures as well – but to demonstrate how mandalas came to represent Eranos.

the self-representation of a psychic centripetal process (individuation)."[148] De-historicized and decontextualized, mandalas were reduced to circles by Eranos scholars and were interpreted as symbols of wholeness and the journey towards wholeness.[149]

To give the reader a better understanding of Fröbe-Kapteyn's understanding of images and her categorization system, it is worth looking at other images that she classified under the category of circles and thereby related to mandalas. Photographs of "military camp of the Vikings near Trelleborg, Denmark" (figure 2.11), "vitamin C crystals" (figure 2.12) and "sand paintings from the Navaho" (figure 2.13), for instance, were all classified as depicting the circle as a symbol. Given that these images are from diverse historical periods and geographical locations, and even belong to different spheres of knowledge—a building, a substance, and a painting—it is clear that Fröbe-Kapteyn was primarily interested in seeing or finding symbols in images (see also figures 2.14 and 2.15). Given her approach to images, it is understandable that Fröbe-Kapteyn would visit collections and museums without prior intention to see any one specific image yet determined to collect evidence of an archetypal symbology she had already decided was true. In other words, she was looking to find any visual hint to the existence of archetypes in every and all things, images included. She was hunting for and compiling images as confirmational data. This is a classic example of "assuming the conclusion," a logical fallacy and flawed scientific method because it posits the answer prior to conducting the "research." Images collected as such were used as primary sources for phenomenologists of religion and Jungian psychoanalysts. Their knowledge, in turn, functioned as proof of the claims architectural

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[148] Jaffe, *C. G. Jung: Word and Image*, 77.
[149] For a brief discussion of mandalas and Jung's interpretation of those see the Jungian analyst, Bruce Parent's review of "Mandala: The perfect circle" held at the Rubin Museum of Art in New York from August 14, 2009, to January 11, 2010.
https://aras.org/sites/default/files/docs/00029MandalaReviewParent.pdf

phenomenologists were making. This goes to show how entire disciplines were partially formed

around highly personal, decontextualized, and ahistorical methods of inquiry. But these methods

were also colonial and exploitative because they entailed stealing from the cultures of the Global

South (physical appropriation of their work and asserting intellectual/spiritual authority of the

works' meaning) only to reaffirm Western concepts. While phenomenologists of religion such as

Eliade have fallen out of favor in North America in recent years, others like Corbin are still quite

popular in the fields of Iranian studies and Islamic studies in certain academic departments such

as George Washington University, and the State University of New York, Stony Brook.[150]

Architectural phenomenology is still an important school of thought, too. The importance of

Eranos and Bollingen is therefore not merely historical; it continues to shape the contours of our

fields of knowledge. The impact of these institutions still informs the ways in which we think

about the world of ideas, religions, and the material domain of architecture. They are one more

example of how colonialism, and the oil industrial complex, through both its corporate and

philanthropic practices, are intimately intertwined and continue to shape our world.

It is relevant to consider the nature and history of the institute to which Fröbe-Kapteyn

donated her image-archive: the Warburg Institute. Aby Warburg (1866–1929) was a scholar of

Italian Renaissance paintings who travelled through the southwest United States to familiarize

himself with the Indigenous symbols of the area. Beginning in 1904, Warburg devoted his time

to research and hired art historian Fritz Saxl (1890–1948) to organize his large collection of

books into a library that he opened to the public in 1926.[151] It was his library that came to be the

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[150] Seyyed Hossein Nasr teaches at George Washington University, and William Chittick teaches at the State University of New York, Stony Brook.

[151] In 1933 and after the rise of the Nazis, the Warburg Institute was moved to London where it currently resides.

Warburg Institute. Other than his large library, Warburg left behind a picture atlas that was called *Mnemosyne*.

The Mnemosyne Atlas of Aby Warburg, which began in 1924 and was unfinished at the time of Warburg's death in 1929, was about the afterlife of images from antiquity and an attempt at the visual mapping of Renaissance art and cosmology. The Atlas, which was the result of Warburg's lifelong study of Renaissance art and his interest in cosmology, consisted of sixty-three wooden boards covered with black cloth onto which photographs of certain images were pinned. These images varied in content and scope; for instance, there were photographic reproductions of newspaper clippings, manuscripts, and Renaissance paintings, among other items. As Warburg scholar Christopher D. Johnson writes, the Mnemosyne Atlas was a metonymic arrangement of symbolic images on a series of large panels, with which Warburg "hoped to make the ineffable process of historical change and recurrence immanent and comprehensible."[152] In other words, Warburg intended to "show" how certain images and symbols kept on appearing through history by focusing on a limited historical period and using a metonymic approach.

Although she shared Warburg's interest in symbolism, Fröbe-Kapteyn had a categorically different intention for collecting. She did not limit her archive to any specific historic period, geographical location, or genre of cultural production. She also was less interested in the historical interpretation of images. Rather, she was interested in seeking out visual

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[152] Christopher D. Johnson, *Memory, Metaphor, and Aby Warburg's Atlas of Images* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012): 10. On Warburg and his project see Philippe-Alain Michaud, *Aby Warburg and the Image In Motion* (New York: Zone Books, 2004); Daniela Sacco, "Aby Warburg, Carl Gustav Jung, James Hillman," *La Rivista Di Engramma*, 73–115; Rose Louis, *The Survival of Images: Art Historians, Psychoanalysts, and the Ancients* (Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press, 2001).

manifestations of the archetypes to which she was drawn through her Theosophical and Jungian theoretical investigations and methodologies.[153] She thus chose her images subjectively, based on her sense of the "energy" each piece exuded or the emotion it evoked in her. Her project was, thus, subjective, individualistic, and anti-analytic.

Other Eranos scholars were not engaged in the collecting processes; they only consulted the archive Fröbe-Kapteyn had created. These scholars were not interested in individual images per se; rather, they were interested in patterns of similitude across a wide range of images. Taking the example of Erich Neumann's *The Great Mother*, or the way in which Jung uses illustrations in his final book, *Man and His Symbols* (1964) – unidentified, unexplained, and only listed at the end of the book – it is evident that Eranos scholars only looked for how elements in images could be understood as symbols or archetypes. In other words, images in Eranos scholarship were, as Jaffé writes, "organizing factors and structural forms in the unconscious" that were assumed to be similar "among all races and in all parts of the world."[154] The importance of images as such for Eranians lay in their adherence to archetypes that they were convinced could be interpreted as a cross-cultural and universal bridge.

Fröbe-Kapteyn travelled the world to find images that conformed to her existing set of archetypes and that could function as "evidence" of the very existence of the archetypes in the first place. Problematically, for Eranos scholars, these archetypes were assumed to be universally valid across all cultures and all races. Then, they used the images Fröbe-Kapteyn had chosen as a

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[153] Erich Neumann explains that in the Jungian thought system also mobilized by Fröbe-Kapteyn, archetypes have a physical aspect, which is the image, and have a "dynamic" aspect which is the emotion they evoke in the human unconscious. See Neumann, *The Great Mother*, 3.
[154] Jaffé, "Alchemy," *Life and Work of C. G. Jung*, 51.

"source" for scholarship in their respective fields. Thus, Eranos created a very nebulous, closed, and self-affirming space of pseudo-intellectual, spiritualized inquiry.

Conclusion

Eranos was continually defined by its founder, Fröbe-Kapteyn, and by other influential members such as Jung, Eliade and Corbin, as "a non-visual yet realized archetype or image." This image, they concurred, was comprised of many other images, each of which corresponded to an archetype. Eranos was the coming together of all these archetypal images. In other words, Eranos gave a combined picture of the world of archetypes. Correspondingly, for Eranos members, archetypes were formless psychic structures of existence that were collective in nature and became manifest in symbols. Archetypes as such were keys to understanding ancient peoples' worldviews, cultures, and patterns of existence. In other words, viewing an archive of archetypes was like skimming through the visual history of mankind.[155] For adherents, Eranos manifested the collective soul of all of humanity for all time.

It is significant that artworks, whether realist, abstract or anything in between the two, were symbols for Eranos scholars, insofar as they fundamentally expressed the collective unconscious. Fröbe-Kapteyn's image-archive thus was a unique—yet a foundationally unending—collection of the infinite manifestations of the collective unconscious across histories and geographies. That is to say that her image-archive was the visual equivalent of Jung's theory. The image-archetype archive of Fröbe-Kapteyn, much like Jung's theory of archetypes, was an attempt at classifying patterns of existence with the aid of myths and religions. Under the archetype of "mandala," for instance, and to use an example already discussed, Fröbe-Kapteyn

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[155] Ancient usually means relating to historical periods beginning with the earliest known civilizations.

had collected 120 images among which were reproductions of the apocalyptic visions of Ende, a tenth-century Spanish nun as seen in figure 2.16, and the Stele of Vallstenarum from Italy, seen in figure 2.17. The common denominator between all these images is the circle.

Eranos scholars were interested in patterns of similitude across a wide range of images. In other words, images in the Jungian thought system and, by extension in Eranos scholarship were "organizing factors and structural forms in the unconscious" that were assumed to be similar "among all races and in all parts of the world."[156] The importance of images, as such, for the Eranos scholars did not rest on their iconographical peculiarities but rather in their adherence to archetypes that could be interpreted as cross-cultural and universal bridges. Such a metonymic approach to images can help us understand why Fröbe-Kapteyn chose to donate her archive to the Warburg Institute. Assuredly, she had known about Warburg's collection of Renaissance imagery, the Mnemosyne project, and Warburg since the library was a source of images for her own archive.

To conclude, the image-archetypes of Eranos functioned as objects that were "collectable" and noticeable insofar as they manifested an underlying absent yet real archetype. To take hold of those archetypes, Eranos scholars stripped images of what was particular and distinctive in them and projected onto them what they assumed to be a priori content: universal patterns of psychic content. The Eranos approach to images was, thus, ahistorical and religious. It was ahistorical because geographical, chronological, and cultural specificity played no role in their interpretation of images. And it was religious because unlike normative modes of viewing images—a presence that marks a physical absence (think of the painting of a clock)—images for

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[156] Jaffé. "Alchemy," *From the Life and Work of C. G. Jung*, 51.

Eranians were what German art historian Hans Belting calls "iconic presence." In the context of religion, Belting writes, "pictures represent deities who have no direct presence in the physical world; these deities are not held to be absent (let alone non-existent), but in need of a picture in order to become visible."[157] Images for Eranians thus, as Corbin wrote, were present markers of the absent yet real Alam-al Mithal, *the mundus imaginalis*, or the world of the collective unconscious, all of which were synonymous words used to describe one absent yet real world. That this world was undefinable and unavailable to the un-initiated is what makes it mystic.

Chapter Three: Bollingen

Introduction

Bollingen as a proper noun is ambiguous and may refer to a number of entities. The village of Bollingen, in the Italian-speaking municipality of Rapperswil-Jona in the canton of St. Gallenis in Switzerland, is located on the northern shore of the upper Lake Zurich (figure 3.1). Bollingen Tower was Swiss psychoanalyst Carl G. Jung's residence near the Bollingen village (figure 3.2).[1] The Bollingen Foundation (1946–1967) was the U.S. petro-philanthropists Mary and Paul Mellon's cultural enterprise dedicated to the support and publishing of humanist scholarship in such diverse fields as analytical psychology, history of religions, and philosophy (figure 3.3).[2] The Bollingen Series were those manuscripts published by the Bollingen Foundation's press often referred to as the Bollingen Press (figure 3.4). Finally, the Bollingen Fellowships were the four-year-long (on average) grants-in-aid program of the Bollingen Foundation. This dissertation is concerned with the Bollingen Foundation, its diverse activities, and their cultural impact. In discussing the formation of this foundation, all the above-mentioned referents of Bollingen play a role. What I refer to as Bollingen project is the interrelated network of the many Bollingen entities.

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[1] In 1922, Jung bought a piece of land in Bollingen and within twelve years built himself a house. This house is commonly referred to as "Bollingen Tower." The Bollingen Tower was meant to be Jung's private "sanctuary" built out of local stone with the aid of two local stonemasons. It had no electricity and no telephone and was located on the periphery of the village overlooking the upper end of Lake Geneva. McGuire, *Bollingen*, 16.

[2] Philanthropic foundations are a recent phenomenon, with Bollingen being one of its first instances. As former director of the Institute for Women's Leadership, Alison R. Bernstein writes "Philanthropy as we have come to know it in the United States is a relatively recent phenomenon. Even though individuals and organizations, especially religious institutions, have been giving away money for centuries, the creation of new organizations whose primary business is to donate funds is largely a twentieth century phenomenon. The Carnegie Corporation, begun in 1911, is generally considered the first foundation" (Bernstein, *Funding the Future*, 12).

The Bollingen Foundation was the main financial supporter of the Eranos conferences and exhibitions. It was also the first publisher of Eranos scholarship in English. By funding and publishing applied Jungian psychology in the humanities, a sub-discipline that emerged from Eranos and championed a subjective, intuitive, and phenomenological approach, Bollingen[3] played a pivotal role in the propagation of not only Jungian-psychological but also phenomenological studies. Mary and Paul Mellon's investment in Jungian psychology was the main reason for the institutionalization of that field in the Anglo-American world.[4] As William McGuire (1917–2009), Bollingen's executive editor starting in 1951 writes, the Bollingen Foundation, throughout its two decades of activity, financially helped with the establishment of the C. G. Jung Institute of Zurich in 1948, and the International Study Centre of Applied Psychology in London in 1955.[5] The Bollingen Foundation also helped the Rorschach Commission Archive (est. 1945) of the Swiss Psychological Association (est. 1943) with a payment of 25 fellowships (US$3,000 each) to be distributed to the center's researchers.[6] The

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[3] Hereon, unless otherwise noted, Bollingen refers to the Bollingen Foundation.

[4] Institutionalization of Jungian psychology or analytical psychology—as opposed to Freudian psychoanalysis—began in Switzerland. The formative history of these institutions is relatively obscure and difficult to trace. There have been two main attempts at the writing of these histories. The first of these attempts is Sonu Shamdasani's *Cult Fictions: C. G. Jung and the Making of Analytical Psychology* (Routledge, 1998) followed by *Jung and the Making of Modern Psychology* (Cambridge, 2003); the second is Thomas Kirsch's *The Jungians: A Comparative and Historical Perspective* (Routledge, 2000). See Sonu Shamdasani, "Cult and Association," *Cult Fictions* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998): 1–13; Thomas Kirsch, "Origins," *The Jungians* (London and Philadelphia: Routledge, 2000): 1–30.

[5] The C. G. Jung Institute was established by Jung himself and Toni Wolff in the April of 1948. For a history of the institution and the people involved see Kirsch, *The Jungians*, 17–21; The International Study Centre for Applied Psychology was established by Percival William Martin (1893–1972), a British civil servant and economist who received a Bollingen grant to start the Centre which focused on research into psychology and education. For further information on Martin see J. E. King, "P.W. Martin and the flaw in the price system," *History of Economics Review* 68, no. 1 (2018): 58–74.

[6] The Rorschach Commission Archive was set up by Swiss psychiatrist Walter Morgenthaler (1885–1965) in 1945. Morgenthaler was the founder of the International Rorschach Society (1952) and the Rorschach Archive in 1957. For further information on Morgenthaler and Rorschach see Damion Searls, The Inkblots: Hermann Rorschach, His Iconic Test, and the Power of Seeing (New York: Crown Publishing, 2017); Currency used throughout is U.S. dollar. Henceforth, "US" is omitted before the dollar sign.

total amount of these contributions over the course of two decades, as the Bollingen

Foundation's financial statements show, surpassed \$2,750,000.[7] Finally, Bollingen

systematically donated the Bollingen Series' books to research universities across the United

States and the United Kingdom.[8] It was in large part due to the Mellons' extensive and far-

reaching financial support that analytical psychology—after being established in Switzerland—

rose to prominence in the Anglo-American world and not to any comparable extent elsewhere.[9]

While Bollingen's role in the advancement of Jungian psychology has been well

documented, its role in the dissemination of phenomenological studies has not been adequately

addressed.[10] This chapter fills that lacuna by demonstrating the role of Bollingen in the

generation and circulation of phenomenological studies. Keeping that overarching objective, this

chapter has two main goals, to trace the establishment of the Bollingen Foundation and to

examine its petropolitical context.[11] Discussing the establishment of Bollingen presents key

moments and key figures in the history of this cultural enterprise. Examining the petropolitical

context develops a historical map that reveals the relationship between key figures of this

dissertation, who were phenomenologists of religion and architecture, and major financial and

political figures and institutions of the Cold War era. Doing so reveals significant and previously

unknown petropolitical affiliations. As historian of U.S. philanthropy Allison Bernstein writes,

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[7] For a breakdown of the budget see Bollingen Foundation, *Twentieth Anniversary Report of Its Activities from December 14, 1945 through December 31,* 164.
[8] McGuire, "Barrett, Jr., December 8, 1903 – June 28, 1981," 46.
[9] Donald K. Freedheim, *Handbook of Psychology* (New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 2003): 330; Paul Bishop, *Jung in Context: A Reader*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1999): 92; Hakl, *Eranos*, 7.
[10] See, for instance, McGuire, *Bollingen*; Hakl, *Eranos*; Wasserstrom*, Religion after Religion*. See also the previous note.
[11] As the reader will notice later in the chapter, the historical backdrop of the decade leading up to the official establishment of Bollingen has been addressed to allow the complexities of the petropolitical context to be revealed.

"with the onset of the Cold War and a fear of a domino effect that might cause successive nations to topple into communist domination, the interests of foundations were more closely aligned with the foreign policy interests of American government;" the government, in turn, had a goal of "encouraging other nations, especially the smaller ones, to mold their own social, economic, and political institutions [in ways to ensure values] that are at least not repugnant to (if not actually congruent with) American values. Because foundations are institutionally separate from government, their programs have been instrumental in the pursuit of this third goal of foreign policy."[12] Therefore, examining Bollingen as a U.S. foundation functioning during the Cold War with ties to political and financial institutions will speak to the petroleum-driven shaping of the post-World War II academic milieu and is an important goal of this chapter. Additionally, this chapter centralizes Mary Mellon's brief but central role in the formation of Bollingen to address an imbalance in existing studies. Within current literature on Bollingen, Paul Mellon has always been given the central role, whereas the hitherto largely unacknowledged founder of the Bollingen Foundation and the person who was initially in charge of choosing which books were to be published was actually Mary Mellon.

This chapter, echoing the second chapter on Eranos, is organized chronologically. I start with a brief analysis of the literature on Bollingen. The literature review is followed by Mary Mellon's critical and brief biography for two main reasons. Firstly, this is because a concise biography of Mary Mellon is missing in the current literature. Secondly and significantly, her personal and intellectual background has a bearing on the Bollingen Foundation's domain of activities and reveals important ties between Bollingen and Eranos. Next is a detailed history of

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[12] Bernstein, *Funding the Future*, 69.

Bollingen against its geopolitical background. This account is based on historical documents, reports, and correspondences.[13] At three points in the chapter the chronological account has been interrupted. That has been intentional since the three instances discuss critical issues without which Bollingen cannot be properly understood. The first instance is the discussion of the Trading with the Enemy Act of the United States, which had a considerable impact on the formation of the Bollingen Foundation. The second instance is the discussion of the pro-Nazi allegations against Jung and his scholarship put forth by scholars and historians. Lastly, Allen Dulles and the CIA are introduced and discussed with special attention given to the case of Iran. This case study is representative of similar histories and helps demonstrate the ways in which petroleum, politics, and philanthropy were inseparable during the period of this study. Additionally, Iran has been chosen because one of the scholars this dissertation examines, Corbin, was involved in the Iranian political milieu of the time; therefore, the case study of Iran will set the stage for the discussion of Corbin in the fourth chapter of this dissertation. Again, such discussions are necessary in understanding the dynamic between Bollingen and Eranos within its geopolitical context. It is important to note that the inclusion of the issue of Nazism has not been to assess whether or not any figure can be declared, for certain, a Nazi sympathizer. Such judgments are beyond the scope of this dissertation. My goal has been to lay bare the relationships and affiliations that can be historically validated and query the inherently ideological process of knowledge curation and production that has resulted from those tainted affiliations without taking for granted the complex relationships between capital, politics, and cultural production. Detailed analyses of the entangled cultural and political processes belong,

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[13] It is important to address the issue of "language" here. Sources on and about Bollingen are, if not entirely at least largely, in English. That is why the reader will notice a hegemony of the English language in this chapter. Moving on to the next chapter on the phenomenology of religion, French and Farsi sources will become more prominent.

mostly, to the first half of the chapter, which deals with the years leading up to the formal establishment of Bollingen, 1945. In the second half, I have paid more attention to the kinds of projects that were funded and published by the Bollingen Foundation. Throughout I have tried to maintain the chronological order whenever possible, to show the development of its priorities over time. The chapter ends with the analysis of the historical information provided in the earlier sections followed by brief concluding remarks.

Three tables, available in the appendix of the dissertation, accompany this chapter. The first one provides a complete list of Bollingen fellows, the period of their fellowships, and the resulting projects. This table is followed by a pie chart that visually demonstrates the fields of study in relation to the number of fellows. The second table presents a complete list of special projects supported by Bollingen. The person in charge of each project and other affiliated institutions are also included in the table. The third table provides a list of all the institutions that received financial support from the Bollingen Foundation. This table includes the total donated amount and the period of support.

As a final note, the reader will notice a temporary de-centralization of images in this chapter. That is because this chapter is primarily dedicated to the petropolitical context of the emergence of Bollingen. It could be argued that a discussion of Bollingen's book cover designs is relevant to a chapter about Bollingen. While that is a valid suggestion, an analysis of over 100 volumes that have been published by Bollingen requires a study in and of itself. As such, images will re-assume their central role in the next chapter.

Bollingen: Defining Texts

Bollingen—whether the Bollingen Tower, the Bollingen Foundation, the Bollingen Series, or the

Bollingen Fellowships—has been mentioned often, either as Jung's residence or as a celebrated

branch of Princeton University Press specializing in the publication of books on mythology and

history of religions; rarely has Bollingen, however understood, been studied as an active agent in

the production of the postwar intellectual scene.[14] In fact, the literature on Bollingen is limited to

William McGuire's *Bollingen: An Adventure in Collecting the Past* (1982), reviews of this book,

McGuire's short obituary for Bollingen's second president "John C. Barrett" (1981) and

"Introduction to the 1989 Edition," in *Introduction to Jungian Psychology: Notes of the Seminar*

on Analytical Psychology Given in 1925 (2012).[15] In *Bollingen: An Adventure in Collecting the*

Past, McGuire, himself a Bollingen editor, gives a chronological account of the Bollingen

Foundation from its conception in 1939 to its closure in 1967. McGuire also provides short

biographies of those he deems to have been important figures in the history of the foundation.

Unfortunately, however, his account is at times loosely written and historically unreliable; there

are few citations while many conversations have been recited from memory without any

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[14] In current literature on the history of philanthropy in the United States, Rockefeller's and Carnegie's legacy have been well studied. See, for instance, Mary Brown Bullock, *The Oil Prince's Legacy: Rockefeller Philanthropy in China* (Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2011); David L. Seim, *Rockefeller Philanthropy and Modern Social Science* (London: Routledge, 2013); Francesca Sawaya, *The Difficult Art of Giving: Patronage, Philanthropy, and the American Literary Market* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); R. Holcombe, *Writing Off Ideas: Taxation, Philanthropy and America's Non-profit Foundations* (New York: Routledge, 2000). On the Carnegies' see Ellen C. Lagemann, *The Politics of Knowledge: The Carnegie Corporation, Philanthropy and Public Policy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992).

[15] Notably, Thomas Bender, "With Love and Money," *New York Times* (14 November 1982) and D. J. R. Bruckner, "The Bollingen Adventure," *New York Times* (20 June 1982). Thomas Bender, a professor of history at New York University, welcomes McGuire's book because it provides the researchers with an invaluable record of a formative philanthropic enterprise that provided funding and visibility to the margins of academic world and played a major role in the postwar "revival of religion" in the United States. Donald J. R. Brucker (1933–2013), journalist and a New York Times book critic, highlights the role of Mary Mellon in the Bollingen project and the way in which Bollingen, hand in hand with Eranos, launched the careers of many scholars and "learned amateurs" whose works would not have been successful was it not for Bollingen.

citations. Moreover, this account comes from a person who has been emotionally, intellectually, and, more importantly, financially reliant on the Bollingen Foundation and is, as such, an internal institutional history by an insider, with promotional overtones. Nevertheless, it remains one of the few sources that focus on Bollingen and is therefore of significance to any study of the Bollingen project. John D. Barrett's obituary and "Introduction to the 1989 Edition," only reiterate important milestones in the history of the Bollingen Foundation that have been addressed more fully in his book.

No other work focuses solely on any aspect of the Bollingen project. Cursory references to the Bollingen Foundation can be found in Hans Thomas Hakl's *Eranos: An Alternative Intellectual History of 20th Century* (2001 in German and 2013 in English); *Spring: A Journal of Archetype and Culture*'s special 2015 issue on Eranos; and in Riccardo Bernardini's *Jung a Eranos. Il Progetto della psicologia complessa* (2011). In all these texts, the Bollingen Foundation has been mentioned as the financial supporter of the Eranos project.[16] A brief critical questioning of the relationship between Eranos and Bollingen can be found in Steven Wasserstrom's *Religion after Religion* (1999) in which he points to the ambiguous and problematic relationship between the Bollingen Foundation's income sources and its mission of funding the Eranos project.[17] My own research takes its cue from Wasserstrom's book.

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[16] It is important to note that Hakl, Bernardini, and McGuire, whose works are foundational in constructing the history of Eranos and Bollingen, are by no means academically robust scholars with objective intentions. Hakl is a wealthy esotericism enthusiast who owns one of the world's largest libraries on esotericism, as well as a publishing company dedicated to publishing works of the same caliber. Bernardini is the current president of Eranos, and his questionable citation practices were addressed in the previous chapter. McGuire was an editor and shareholder of Bollingen. As such, the three figures cannot be assumed to hold a degree of objectivity. I have, therefore, always treated these sources with absolute caution and fact-checked all their data through other sources.

[17] Wasserstrom, *Religion After Religion*, 150–152.

In reconstructing the historical map of Bollingen, one report stands out as a pivotal primary source. That is the Bollingen Foundation's report of its activities between 1945 and 1965 published in the year of the Foundation's closure, 1967. Since as of 1962 the Bollingen Foundation, in anticipation of its closure, did not take on any new projects, this report includes all the scholars, projects and institutions ever funded and/or published by Bollingen and, significantly, the budget allotted to each of them. My reference to this source has always been in comparison to the budgets allocated to similar cultural practices/projects within the same timeframe provided by governmental agencies such as the annual Congressional reports, especially the 1969 *Congressional Record*, Volume 115, Part 17. To put the monetary figures in further historical context, budgets have been compared between private institutions (Bollingen) and public ones such as the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA). The NEA was established as a federal agency in 1965 to fund and support cultural projects across the country.[18] Therefore, comparisons to the NEA are made only in reference to the final two years of Bollingen's activities.

Multiple online archives have been informative in the writing of this chapter. Among them are the Papers of Hildegard Nagel in the Harvard Library, the Nancy Wilson Ross Papers in Harry Ransom Center of the University of Texas in Austin, The Natacha Rambova Archive, the

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[18] The reason why the Bollingen Foundation's legacy has not been compared to any other culturally oriented philanthropic enterprise is simply because there were none that were comparable. The three largest philanthropic families of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were Rockefellers, Carnegies, and Mellons. As American economist Randall Halcombe writes, the Carnegies' philanthropic endeavors took them towards the building of libraries and financing organs for churches, while the Rockefellers focused on hospitals and public health projects (Rockefeller also provided major support for the creation of the Social Sciences Research Council after WWI). The family who dominated the art and culture landscape were the Mellons. See Halcombe, *Writing Off Ideas*, 53.

Archive of Cary Baynes at the Wellcome Collection, the New York Times Archive, and the Historic Pittsburgh photographic archive.

Given the substantial influence the Bollingen Foundation had on the life of Eranos, and on the propagation of its scholarship in the Anglo-American world, it seems curious that it has not been studied as a phenomenon in and of itself. As discussed earlier and in the chapter on Eranos, the impact of Eranos-Bollingen on the formation of the intellectual landscape of the twentieth century has been prodigious. This gap in literature can also be associated with the young age of petrocultural studies that seek to trace the socio-economic and cultural impacts of the petroleum industry in the structure of the worlds we inhabit as well as of our own modes of perception. This chapter contributes to that field by highlighting the philanthropic history of petrocultures through the investigation of what these donations aimed to do and what they accomplished in a determinative period of the Cold War era.

Mary Mellon and the Conception of Bollingen (Press)

Mary Conover was born on 25 May 1904 to an affluent family of Episcopalians in Kansas City, Missouri. Both of her parents, Perla Mae Petty (1879–1970) and Charles Clinton Conover (1871–1962) were educated middle-class people. Charles Conover was a physician and a psychosomatic specialist who taught at Kansas State University.[19] Mary Conover's interest in psychology, art, and classics is usually associated with her upbringing.[20] She studied French at Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York from 1922 to 1926, where she also took psychology classes.[21] Upon graduation she travelled to France and studied at the Sorbonne for a year, later

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[19] I have not been able to locate any information about Perla Mae Petty's occupation.
[20] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 4
[21] Ibid., 5.

completing one year of graduate studies in French at Columbia University. In 1929, she started

working as a secretary at the Becker Gallery in New York City .[22] There she made the

acquaintance of many well-known Modernist artists of the time, among whom were Japanese-

American sculptor Isamu Noguchi (1904–1988), French painter Fernand Léger (1888–1955),

French sculptor Hans (Jean) Arp (1886–1966), French painter Georges Braque (1882–1963), and

Swiss architect Le Corbusier (1887–1965) (figure 3.5). While working at the Becker, Conover

also met unemployed Yale graduate (1926, philosophy) John Barrett who later came to serve as

the Editor-in-chief (1946–1969) and then as the president (1956–1969) of the Bollingen

Foundation.[23]

In 1933, Conover met and became friends with novelist Nancy Wilson Ross (1901–1986)

who had just returned to the United States from Germany.[24] Ross had been an auditing student at

Bauhaus's painting classes (1931–1933) and had attended the School of Spiritual Research in

Ascona, Switzerland.[25] It was through Ross that Conover became aware of Fröbe-Kapteyn, the

co-founder of the School of Spiritual Research (1930–1932) and the founder of Eranos. Through

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[22] Located on 520 Maddison Avenue, NYC, the John Becker Gallery opened in December 1929 and closed in 1933. The John Becker Gallery, cofounded by John Becker and Thomas Dabney Mabry, was primarily focused on French Modern art and photography. See Melissa Renn, "Within Their Walls: LIFE Magazine's 'Illuminations'," *Archives of American Art Journal*, Spring 2014, (vol. 53, no. ½): 30–51.

[23] For a short biography of John Barrett see William McGuire, "John D. Barrett, Jr., December 8, 1903 – June 28, 1981." *The San Francisco Jung Institute Library Journal* 2, no. 4 (1981): 45–47.

[24] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 6. Nancy Ross's husband, Charles W. Ross had completed the foundations course and been a guest student at the department of architecture in Bauhaus. See Margret Kentgens-Craig, *The Bauhaus and America: First Contacts 1919–1936* (Cambridge and London: MIT, 2001): 93.

[25] Kentgens-Craig, *The Bauhaus and America*, 93; *Nancy Wilson Ross Papers*, digital archive at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, https://norman.hrc.utexas.edu/fasearch/findingAid.cfm?eadid=00114

Ross's influence, in 1933, Conover also started seeing the Jungian therapist, Ann Moyer.[26] By

1934 Conover had read all of Jung's books which were then translated into English.[27]

In February 1935 Mary Conover married Paul Mellon, whom she had met in December

1933 in New York through a mutual friend, and they travelled to Egypt for their honeymoon.

Upon returning to New York, Paul Mellon, too, began having analytical sessions with Moyer.

These sessions required completion of psychoanalytical readings. The Mellons' interest in the

writings of Jung led them to request transcripts of his lectures from Mary Foote (1872–1968), a

U. S. painter and the transcriber of Jung's lectures who resided in Zurich.[28] By 1937 Paul Mellon

had succeeded his father Andrew Mellon (1855–1937) as the president of the National Gallery of

Art (figure 3.6).[29] In the same year Jung was invited to lecture on "Psychology and Religion"

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[26] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 8.

[27] These books included *Psychology of the Unconscious* (1912) which had been translated into English by Beatrice M. Hinkle in 1916, and *Modern Man in Search of a Soul* (1933), translated by W.S. Dell and Cary F. Baynes, and a collection of Jung's latest articles edited by W. S. Dell and Cary F Baynes, and published by K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.

[28] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 10.

[29] Andrew Mellon was then the former secretary of treasury (1921–1932) and the philanthropist who built the National Gallery of Arts and donated it to Franklin D. Roosevelt (1888–1945). The original collection of the gallery was also endowed by Mellon. Mellon, who had amassed his fortune through banking and the petroleum industry, had been collecting artworks since 1985. By 1928, Mellon had 8 million dollars' worth of art. In December 1930, Mellon launched the A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, the source of capital for the building of the National Gallery of Art. In 1936, he appointed American architect John Russel Pope (1874–1937) as the architect of the National Gallery of Art. Mellon met Roosevelt in December 1936 to discuss his intention of gifting the gallery to the people of the US. The news of Mellon's gift made newspaper headlines on 3 January 1937. Construction began in the summer of 1937. Mellon died on 26 August 1937. The 15-million-dollar gallery was completed in December 1940. Paintings and sculptures were installed in 1941. On 17 March 1941, the gallery opened its doors to the public. On the life of Andrew Mellon and his collecting practices see David Cannadine, *Mellon: An American Life* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 2006). On the dealer Mellon worked with and the pieces he purchased over the years see DeCourcy E. McIntosh, "Demand and supply: the Pittsburgh art trade and M. Knoedler & Co.," in *Collecting in The Gilded Age: Art Patronage in Pittsburgh, 1890-1910*, (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Hanover: Frick Art & Historical Center; Distributed by University Press of New England, 1997); see also Igne Reist, "Knoedler and Old Masters in America," in *Old Masters Worldwide: Markets, Movements, and Museums, 1789-1939* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2020, 195–210). To consult the archives, see *M. Knoedler & Co. records*, approximately 1848–1971, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, Accession no. 2012.M.54.

within the framework of the Terry Lectures at Yale University.[30] After his talk at Yale, Jung also

gave a five-part lecture series at the Analytical Psychology Club in New York City.[31] It was

through participation in these lectures and their corresponding social events that Mary and Paul

Mellon first met Jung in person.[32] Mellon attended additional lectures delivered by Jung at the

Analytical Psychology Club in 1938 and 1939. In 1939, the Mellons attended the Eranos

conference and exhibitions in Switzerland (the theme of that year was "the symbolism of

rebirth").[33] Mary Mellon and Jung's correspondence began thereafter (Jung's first letter to Mary

Mellon is dated 19 June 1940).[34] The Mellons' participation in the 1939 Eranos conference also

led to private psychological sessions at Bollingen Tower in 1940.[35]

Prior to meeting Jung in 1940, Mary and Paul Mellon visited Fröbe-Kapteyn at Casa

Gabriella. Impressed by the aura of the house, the extent of Fröbe-Kapteyn's commitment to the

Eranos project, and her archetypal image-archive, the Mellons decided to fund her 1941 trip to

Italy and Greece in search of more archetypes (1,000 Swiss Francs, equivalent of $4,445 in

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[30] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 11. Founded in 1905 by a donation from Dwight Harrington Terry of Bridgeport, Connecticut, the Terry Lectures invites leading scholars of religion, the sciences and philosophy to lecture about "the ways in which science and philosophy inform religion and religion's application to human welfare" (Website of the Yale University's Terry Lectureship, https://terrylecture.yale.edu/about-dwight-h-terry-lectureship). Each year there are four lectures which are delivered over the course of two weeks. These lectures, according to the Yale University's website, are published by Yale University Press.

[31] Established in 1936 by Jungian analysts Esther Harding and Kristine Mann, the Analytical Psychology Club in New York City, followed the model of analytical psychology clubs in Zurich and London and offered monthly lectures by Jungian analysts and club members. On analytical psychology clubs see William McGuire, "Introduction to the 1989 Edition," *Introduction to Jungian Psychology* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989): xxv–xxxv; Joseph Cambray and Linda Carter, *Analytical Psychology: Contemporary Perspectives in Jungian Analysis* (Hove and New York: Brunner-Routledge, 2004): 14–16.

[32] Ibid., 12.

[33] Hakl, *Eranos*, 121.

[34] The letter has been published among Jung's other correspondences and its original copy is kept in the Eranos archives.

[35] The reason why Mary Mellon could not attend the 1940 Eranos lectures was the breakout of WWI. Indeed, according to McGuire, the 1940 Eranos conference was supposed to be "symbolic" with Fröbe-Kapteyn representing the audience, and Swiss Mathematician Andreas Speiser (1885–1970) representing the speakers. It turned out, however, that forty people including Jung participated in the conference (McGuire, *Bollingen*, 34).

2023),[36] and to contribute towards the completion of the compilation of the 1938 Eranos lectures on "The Great Mother."[37] During the 1940 meeting, Fröbe-Kapteyn informed the Mellons that Eranos's financial difficulty might lead to the selling of the Casa Gabriella.[38] It was then that the Mellons decided to avert that crisis by making an initial and ongoing commitment of funds.[39] During the same visit to Switzerland and after their meeting with Jung, Mary Mellon resolved to publish all of Jung's works in English through a publishing enterprise that she, just then and while staying at Jung's tower, decided to name Bollingen.[40]

By the end of 1940, Mary Mellon had set up the Bollingen Press, appointing Ximena de Angulo Roelli (1918–unknown) as its editor and Roelli's mother, the Jungian analyst and translator Cary Baynes (née Fink, 1883–1997), as a member of its board.[41] The first headquarters of the Bollingen Press was in Washington, Connecticut (137 kilometers north of New York), at Baynes' house.[42]

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[36]The funds were more than sufficient for Fröbe-Kapteyn to expand her itinerary to visit England, the Netherlands, and Germany.

[37] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 20.
The image-archetype exhibition which had accompanied the "Great Mother" lectures of 1938, was taken to New York in that same year and was shown in the Analytical Psychology Club by American translator and student of Jung, Hildegard Nagel. That exhibition came to be the debut of Eranos in the United States.

[38] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 31; Hakl, *Eranos*, 120.

[39] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 32.

[40] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 33; Hakl, *Eranos*, 121.

[41] Little can be found about Ximena de Angulo Roelli. According to the only source available, William McGuire's writings on Bollingen, she lived with her mother Cary Baynes and graduated from Bennington College sometime around 1940. She also had spent her summers at Ascona beginning in 1936 (McGuire, *Bollingen,* 35). Through her mother's long engagement with Jungian psychology (she knew Jung since 1921) Ximena de Angulo Roelli, it could be assumed, had almost grown up in a Jungian world. For Cary Baynes' short biography see Cary Baynes Archive at the Wellcome University's webpage.
Other board members were Ximena de Angulo Roelli, German historian Heinrich Zimmer (1890–943), and American historian Stringfellow Barr (1897–1982).

[42] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 35; McGuire, *Introduction to the 1989 Edition*, xxxiv.

Bollingen's first project in 1940 and 1941 was the translation and publication of the Eranos lectures, a seemingly strange choice given Mellon's determination to have Jung's works as their focus.[43] Indeed, in a letter to Jung from February 1941, Mary Mellon wrote: "I have a vision of publishing all of your books in a beautiful, substantial, and uniform edition… as I founded this press with you as the keystone and for the purpose of disseminating your teachings."[44] In response to Mellon's letter, Jung wrote: "I naturally agree with the Bollingen Press idea."[45] With that goal, Bollingen Press was established on 1 December 1941 under the aegis of Paul Mellon's Old Dominion Foundation and within the legal framework of the State of New York.[46] The original plan was to have the Bollingen Press books published through the Yale University Press. But Mary Mellon did not come to an agreement with, the realization of the Bollingen Press remained dormant for two years.[47]

Publication of Jung's works by the Bollingen Press had to be put on hold because of the United States' wartime Trading with the Enemy Act, which had been first enacted in 1917.[48] In fact, first assistant to J. Edgar Hoover (1895–1972) and then-director of the FBI, Edward A. Tamm (1906–1985) personally advised Mary Mellon to write a letter to Jung and inform him that under the Trading with the Enemy Act any transactions between them regardless of their

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[43] The reason for that decision, however, was the wartime context and growing suspicion that Jung was a Nazi sympathizer (Hakl, *Eranos*, 128). This issue is examined later in the chapter.
[44] McGuire, "The Bollingen Adventure," 17.
[45] Jung to Mary Mellon, dated 18 April 1941.
[46] Established on 1 December 1941, the Old Dominion was a philanthropic foundation focused on the promotion of humanities and liberal arts. In 1971, the Old Dominion and the Avalon Foundation (Paul Mellon's sister, Ailsa Mellon's foundation, established in 1940) merged and former the Andrew Mellon Foundation as it exists today. For an overview of these foundations and their budgets see Joseph C. Kiger, *Philanthropists and Foundation Globalization* (Taylor and Francis, 2017). For references to the Old Dominion and its projects see, for instance, William Haarlow, *Great Books, Honors Programs, and Hidden Origins* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003); Mary R. Bullard, *Cumberland Island: A History* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 2003): 284; McGuire, *Bollingen*, 45.
[47] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 37; Hakl, *Eranos*, 130.
[48] The United States officially entered WWII on 8 December 1941.

nature had to cease for the duration of the war.[49] Mary Mellon advised Jung of Hoover's demand in a letter dated 25 May 1942.[50] On 23 June 1942, under pressure from their lawyers, the Mellons liquidated the newly established Bollingen Press.[51]

The Trading with the Enemy ACT, the Problem of Switzerland, Pro-Nazi Tendencies, and the CIA

The Trading with the Enemy Act (TEA) was initially enacted on 6 October 1917, that is six months after the United States officially entered WWI and three years after other involved countries had entered the war. The nature of the act was to cease trade with and prevent any aid to "enemies" and to regulate the handling of enemy property in the United States.[52] The British TEA, re-enacted during World War II, was used as a model for the U.S. TEA.[53] On 14 June 1941, president Franklin Roosevelt (1882–1945) signed Executive Order 8785, which named Switzerland, among other countries such as Germany, as a nation whose assets had to be frozen and with whom trade had to cease.[54] Based on the reports from its Economic Warfare Division in London, the United States suspected Switzerland of being "a potential centre for massive capital transactions" on behalf of Nazi Germany.[55]

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[49] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 52, Hakl, *Eranos*, 129.
[50] The letter can be found on pages 52–53 of William McGuire's *Bollingen*.
[51] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 56.
[52] "Enemy" has an extended definition here. It includes not only citizens of enemies but also those of the countries occupied by the enemies, and the individuals whose permanent home happens to be either in the enemy or the state occupied by the enemy. Blacklisted individuals from neutral countries are considered enemies too. See Ernst Schneeberger, "Property and War, in Particular, the Swiss-American-German Conditions," *Georgetown Law Journal* 34, no. 3 (March 1946): 269.
[53] Samuel A. Lourie, "Trading with the Enemy Act," *Michigan Law Review* (42:2, 1943): 206.
[54] For the TEA issues regarding the United States and Switzerland at the time see Schneeberger, "Property and War, in Particular, the Swiss-American-German Conditions," 265–287; Lourie, "Trading with the Enemy Act," 208.
[55] "Switzerland, National Socialism and the Second World War Final Report," 23–24.
In this respect see also the Eizenstat Report of 1997 in which Switzerland is presented as the hub of gold and capital laundry for the Nazi Germany.

Throughout the war, Switzerland—even though it declared itself neutral— continued its trade with Germany and received products such as coal, iron, mineral alloys, and seeds from German companies.[56] Swiss companies and individuals that were in any form in trade with the Germans were thus blacklisted by the United States, according to the TEA.[57] While legal texts of the time tend to see Switzerland's war-time trade with Germans as necessary due to the country's need for vital import products such as coal,[58] contemporary historians have emphasized the pro-Nazi tendencies of Switzerland's seven-member Federal Council at that time.[59] Historian of psychoanalysis Jay Sherry has identified Switzerland as a valuable ally for Nazi Germany because it provided the Germans with arms and financial services.[60] Switzerland was of particular interest to Germany because of its stable currency and its efficient railway system that connected Germany to Italy.[61] There also was a cultural affinity felt, in particular, between Germany and the German-speaking part of Switzerland.[62]

While the Mellons' decision to put the Bollingen project on hold because of the war, suggested by their lawyers Francis Carmody and Craigh Leonard, was in part because of the TEA, Jung's pro-Nazi tendencies had a role to play as well.[63] As historian of psychoanalysis Stanley Grossman shows, these tendencies can be traced both in Jung's thought system and his

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[56] Schneeberger, "Property and War," 283.
[57] Ibid., 283.
[58] Ibid., 282-283.
[59] Jay Sherry, *Carl Gustav Jung: Avant-Garde Conservative* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010): 169.
[60] Ibid., 169.
[61] "Switzerland, National Socialism and the Second World War Final Report," 22.
[62] Ibid.
[63] The letter can be found on p. 50 of William McGuire's *Bollingen*. The two urgent requests of Carmody are: 1."Telephone the girls immediately to cease all communication with anyone outside of the United States and perhaps England *at once* and until further notice; 2.Make absolutely no further disbursements from any account you have in Switzerland *for any purpose*."

actions, as well as in his talks and essays about National Socialism and Adolph Hitler.[64]

Specifically, Grossman locates these tendencies in Jung's emphasis on the necessity of epic

leaders with outstanding personalities, his statements about National Socialism and Hitler during

the 1930s, and his anti-Semitism and insistence on the superiority of the "Aryan mind" based on

racial psychology.[65] Ann Casement, historian of psychoanalysis, investigates Jung's pro-Nazi

tendencies in relation to his "shadow theory." In "The Shadow," Casement briefly discusses

Jung's failure to criticize Nazi ideology during the 1930s. She attributes this failure to Jung

falling for the illusionary power of a "numinous collective shadow figure," which he understood

to mean Hitler's followers.[66] The most comprehensive study of analytical psychology and, in

particular, of Jung's involvement with Nazi Germany remains historian Geoffrey Cocks' 1985

Psychotherapy in the Third Reich. In this book, Cocks meticulously traces Jung's physical

encounters with the members of the Nazi movement (such as his meeting with Joseph Goebbels

in 1933) as well as the intellectual foundations of Jung's scholarship on race and essence that

rendered him indispensable to the Nazi ideology.[67]

    Jung was not the only one in the Bollingen circle who was thought to be involved with

Nazism. The same concerns were directed towards Fröbe-Kapteyn and Eranos. Even though the

issue of Fröbe-Kapteyn's pro-Nazi tendencies was discussed in the second chapter, for the sake

of chronological consistency the events are briefly fleshed out here as well. In 1936, German

officials became suspicious of the intellectual underpinnings of the Eranos conferences and

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[64] Stanley Grossman, "C. G. Jung and National Socialism," *Jung in Context: A Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 92–122; Hakl, *Eranos*, 129.

[65] Grossman, "C. G. Jung and National Socialism," 94–100.

[66] Ann Casement, "The Shadow," *The Handbook of Jungian Psychology: Theory, Practice, and Applications* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006): 103–104.

[67] Geoffrey Cocks, "The Parvenue and the Patriarch," *Psychotherapy during the Third Reich*, (New Brunswick and New Jersey: Transaction Publishing): 125–156.

refused to grant permission to German scholars to travel to Switzerland to attend the conference.

The following year Fröbe-Kapteyn was invited to the Reich Education Ministry to clarify the

situation. She also asked the German officials to allow German scholars who resided in Germany

to attend the Eranos conferences.[68] During the same year (1938), when there were rumors of

Jewish people attending the Eranos conferences and of the discussion topics being politically

problematic, the Ministry sent German analytical psychologist Olga von Koenig-Fachsenfeld to

witness the event and report back. Her report assured the German Ministry that the Jews could

only attend the Eranos meetings as listeners and were not allowed to lecture[69] and that the topics

discussed were not only apolitical but also seemed to favor the German ideology.[70] Germany's

ambassador in Switzerland Otto Kocher (1884–1945) verified the report in 1939. In 1941 the

government of the United States assumed that Fröbe-Kapteyn was a Nazi sympathizer. Having

travelled through Europe and entered the U.K with a German Visa, she raised the suspicions of

the British police who, in turn, tipped off their U.S. counterparts.[71] Investigations began in New

York and Paul and Mary Mellon were interviewed as well.[72] Later in 1943 with the aid of Allen

Dulles, future director of the CIA and a friend of Jung, Fröbe-Kapteyn was cleared of all

charges.[73]

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[68] Ibid., 138.
[69] In a letter dated 26 March 1938, Jung writing to Eric Benjamin Strauss (1894–1961) verifies that "non-Aryans" could participate in the Eranos conference only if the person "refrains from making remarks that arouse the political psychosis of our day" (Jung, *Letters*, 242).
[70] Cocks, "The Parvenue and the Patriarch," 138.
[71] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 51.
[72] Ibid.
[73] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 72; Hakl, *Eranos*, 131.
Earlier that year in July 1943 Fröbe-Kapteyn was accused of being pro-Nazi, only this time in Switzerland and by Baron von der Heydt, the owner of Monte Verita Hotel.

The pro-Nazi allegations against Jung and Fröbe-Kapteyn were put to rest by Dulles.

Dulles, however, as well as many of the OSS's wartime operations and sources of funding, have

also been linked to Nazi Germany.[74] Dulles was the chief of the Office of Strategic Services

(OSS), the United States' war-time intelligence service and the CIA's predecessor, from 1942 to

1945. From 1947 and after the establishment of the CIA, Dulles served first as the deputy

director and then as the director (from 1953) until his forced resignation over the "Bay of Pigs"

fiasco in 1961.[75] Apart from holding official governmental positions, Allen Dulles and his

brother John Foster Dulles were associate lawyers at the Sullivan and Cromwell law firm where

they legally represented, among other companies, the Gulf Oil Corporation (figure 3.7).[76] A link

can be seen, here, between oil money, right-wing politics, Jung, and Fröbe-Kapteyn. It must be

noted that whether pro-Nazi allegations against Dulles are true is beside the point and not within

the scope of this dissertation. The important issue at hand is the undeniable fact that the head of

the United States' wartime intelligence service was the lawyer of Paul Mellon's petroleum

company and a friend of Jung.[77] In other words, three major figures of this dissertation, Jung,

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[74] References to the issue can be seen in, for instance, Wasserstrom, *Religion after Religion*; Hakl, *Eranos*; David Talbot, *The Devil's Chessboard: Allen Dulles, The CIA, and the Rise of America's Secret Government* (New York: Harper Collins, 2015). For an in-depth analysis of the archival material on the issue of allegations against the CIA see Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, *The CIA and American Democracy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

[75] The Bay of Pigs scandal refers to a failed attack by the CIA on Cuba to overthrow Fidel Castro. On the issue of the Bay of Pigs and for an excellent brief history see Jeffreys-Jones, *The CIA and American Democracy*, 118–139.

[76] On Foster Dulles see Richard H. Immerman (ed.), *John Foster Dulles and the Diplomacy of the Cold War* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990).

[77] Allen Dulles knew Jung in person since early 1943. His wife Clover Todd Dulles (1894–1974) had been Jung's patient in Switzerland since January 1945. While stationed in Switzerland, that is from 1942 until 1953 when he became the director of the CIA, Dulles paid several visits to Jung. They were also conversant through mail. In a letter dated 1 February 1945 Jung begins by "My dear Dulles." Given Jung's pattern of salutations, this fits the category of close friends (C. G. Jung, *Letters*, 356).

Fröbe-Kapteyn, and Paul Mellon are implicated within a complex network of power, politics, oil, and, significantly for this project, knowledge production.

Bollingen Resumed: Bollingen Series

Once Jung and Fröbe-Kapteyn were absolved of having pro-Nazi tendencies, the Bollingen project could officially reboot. During Bollingen's dormant years, Mary Mellon, Zimmer, and de Angulo had been thinking of potential scholars whose works could contribute to the Bollingen project. Most of these early scholars were U.S. based art historians whose works could be located at the intersection of art and religion, with particular emphasis on symbols and archetypes. Some of these scholars, whose field of study and research are interestingly in line with this dissertation, were Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968) at Princeton, Panofsky's student Edgar Wind (1900–1971) at the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University, Meyer Schapiro (1904–1996) from Columbia University, Karl Lehmann (1894–1960) at New York University, and Ananda K. Coomaraswamy (1877–1947) at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.[78] Mellon, Zimmer, and de

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[78] German-Jewish art historian, Erwin Panofsky was a leading scholar of late Medieval and Renaissance art in Northern Europe. While in Germany, Panofsky taught at Hamburg and was closely associated with philosopher Ernst Cassirer and Aby Warburg. In 1934 he moved to the United States and held professorship positions at Princeton, New York, and Harvard. It was in 1939 that he published his seminal work, *Studies in Iconology: Humanist Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* in which he distinguished between iconography and iconology. Panofsky defined iconography as the interpretation of an artwork's subject matter by reference to literary sources and image traditions of the time. Iconology, he argued, was to discover the worldview and philosophical underpinnings that informed the works of art. Panofsky last major work was the 1953 *Early Netherlandish Painting*. Much has been written about Panofsky. See, for instance, Michael Ann Holly, *Panofsky and the Foundations of Art History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984); Irving Lavin (ed.), *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Views from the Outside; A Centennial Commemoration of Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968)* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1995); Michael Hatt and C. Klonk, *Art History: A Critical Introduction to Its Methods* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2013); Emily J. Levine: *Dreamland of Humanists: Warburg, Cassirer, Panofsky, and the Hamburg School* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013); German art historian whose career expanded in Germany, England, and the United States, Edgar Wind, studied classics, philosophy, and art history, obtaining his PhD under Panofsky in Hamburg in 1922. Known for his creative methods that combined art history with philosophy, Wind played a major role in the transfer of the Warburg Institute to London after the rise of the Nazis to power in Germany. Wind then served as the Deputy Director of the Warburg Institute from 1934 to 1942. He was also the person who launched the

Angulo continued brainstorming about the potential projects and conversation about possible

publishers finally settled on Pantheon Books.

On 28 May 1943, the Bollingen Series was formally established by Mellons as a program

of the Old Dominion Foundation. Stanley Young, previous editor of Harcourt, was chosen as the

managing editor for two years. Manufacturing, publishing, and advertising was handed to

Pantheon books for a duration of two years. The total annual budget of the series for each year

was estimated at $46,500 ($767,118 in 2023). The president was Mary Mellon and by this time

she was looking into different "ancient" symbols to find a logo for Bollingen. Jung

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institute's *Journal of the Warburg Institute* in 1937. By 1940, he moved to the United States where he held positions at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, New York University, University of Chicago, and Smith College in Massachusetts. On Edgar Wind see, for instance, Giovanna Targia, "Edgar Wind's Self Translations," *Migrating Histories of Art* (Hanover: Gruyter, 2018): 77–91. Ben Thomas, *Edgar Wind and Modern Art* (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2020); Lithuanian-born art historian Meyer Schapiro received his PhD in art history from Columbia University in 1929 and taught at the same institution until his retirement in 1973. Schapiro's interests ranged from early Medieval to modern art, as well as to the theory and philosophy of art. While trained as a medievalist, his early writings were also on Van Gogh, Cezanne, and Matisse. Later in life, he became known for his friendship with notable artists such as the cubist painter Fernand Léger and the proto-color field painter Barnett Newman. On Meyer Schapiro see, for instance, Andrew Hemingway, "Meyer Schapiro and Marxism in the 1930s" *Oxford Art Journal* 17/1 (1994): 13–29; John Williams, "Meyer Schapiro in Silos: Pursuing an Iconography of Style," *Art Bulletin* 85/3 (2003): 442–68; C. Oliver O'Donnell, *Meyer Schapiro's Critical Debates: Art Through a Modern American Mind* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University, 2019); German art historian and archaeologist, Karl Lehmann received his PhD in 1922 in Berlin and in 1929 became the director of the Munster University's Museum. After the rise of the Nazis, he left Berlin for Rome and finally settled in the United States where he started working at the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University. In 1938 he founded the institute's Archaeological Research Fund. The agenda of the institute was to study the Sanctuary of the Great Gods on Samothrace. Lehmann's career centered on the study of religious symbolism. On Karl Lehman see, for instance, Lucy Freeman Sandler (ed.), *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann* (New York: Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1964); Phyllis Pray Bober, "Karl Lehmann," *Grove Art Online*, 2003; Anglo-Sinhalese curator, Ananda Coomaraswamy has been a leading scholar of Indian art. His debut book, Medieval Sinhalese Art (1908) was in admiration of the English Arts and Crafts movement. in 1916 he assumed the role of the curator of the Indian art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. During his lifelong stay in Boston he authored many works one of them being Elements of Buddhist Iconography (1935). In the final decade of his life, Coomaraswamy became interested in esotericism and world religions. On his life and achievements see, for instance, Pramod Chandra, *On the Study of Indian Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983); Donald M. Stadtner, "New Approaches to South Asian Art," *Art Journal* 49/4 (1990): 359–362; Allen Antliff, *Anarchist Modernism: Arts, Politics, and the First American Avant-Garde* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).

recommended the mandala as the potential logo.[79] Taking Jung's advice and looking for a

suitable mandala, Mellon found the symbol—now the logo of Bollingen Series of the Princeton

University Press—in German artist and typographer Rudolf Koch's *Book of Signs* (1941).[80] The

symbol became known to Bollingen and Eranos scholars, according to McGuire, as "the Gnostic

wheel" (figure 3.4).[81] Finally, Bollingen Series published its first catalogue in the fall of 1943,

listing only one book for release, *Where the Two Came to Their Father*.

    Where the Two Came to Their Father (1943) was a booklet of 18 silkscreen plates based

on U.S. artist Maud Oakes's gouache renderings of the Navaho paintings exhibited in the central

gallery of the National Gallery of Art between 17 October and 14 November 1943.[82] The

exhibition was called "Navaho Pollen and Sand Painting," and was based on visual field research

Maud Oakes (1903–1990) had begun in New Mexico in 1941 on the Navaho reservation.[83] The

initial idea belonged to Fröbe-Kapteyn who, during a party, had reprimanded guests, including

Oakes, the Mellons, and others involved with Bollingen, saying "[You] know nothing about

[your] own heritage. [You] know nothing about the American Indians."[84] It seems to me that the

implementation of this idea could have had a political reason too: to publish something

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[79] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 70.

[80] The book contains about 500 symbols that are framed as belonging to the "primitive times" until the Middle Ages. On Koch see Gerald Cinamon, *Rudolf Koch: Letterer, Type Designer, and Teacher* (London: The British Library, 2000).

[81] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 71. McGuire writes that Mary Mellon had accepted to choose a circular symbol or mandala because it represented wholeness. The Gnostic mandala, here, does not refer to any genre of symbols but rather to what the Bollingen circle called the Bollingen logo or colophon.

[82] "Legend has it that a silk-screen shop in Brooklyn closed its doors to all other work for six months in order to reproduce these beautiful images," Princeton's report of its publications. See Princeton's Editors, *A Century in Books: Princeton University Press 1905–2005* (Oxford and Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005): 87–89.

[83] Little has been written on Maud Oaks but on her work on the Navaho see the Northridge University Library's website, https://library.csun.edu/SCA/Peek-in-the-Stacks/navajo-war-ceremonial; for a review of Oaks' life see Joseph L. Henderson, "Maud Oakes," *The San Francisco Jung Institute Library Journal* 9, no. 2 (1990): 79–79. https://doi.org/10.1525/jung.1.1990.9.2.79.

[84] McGuire, *Bollingen,* 64.

"American" would further distance the Bollingen project from pro-Nazi accusations targeting

Jung, Fröbe-Kapteyn, and Eranos. After the idea was suggested, Oakes volunteered to start

research on the sacred sand paintings of the Navaho peoples and became, to complete that

project, the first recipient of the Bollingen fellowship in 1942.

The second Bollingen fellow was Swiss literary theorist Denis de Rougemont (1906–

1985). De Rougemont received a six-month fellowship in August 1943.[85] These first two

fellowships were short and did not belong to the systemic Bollingen Fellowship program that

was established later.[86] From 1943 to 1945, during which time the Bollingen Series was

published by Pantheon, Mary Mellon planned the establishment of the Bollingen Fellowship

program as a five-year long project. Under this program, each fellow would receive an annual

stipend that would "sustain his present style of living" given *he* devoted all *his* time to scholarly

work and paid Mary Mellon twenty percent interest on any literary property begun or completed

during the fellowship period (see table 1).[87] The payable amount was, therefore, case based. Only

four people received this specific Bollingen Fellowship from 1943 to 1945: de Rougemont

($7,500—now 116,576),[88] Stanley Young ($10,000—now $155,435), literary critic John Hyde

Preston ($6,000—now $93,261), and essayist Malcolm Cowley ($5,500—now $83,589). During

the same period (1943–1945) five other fellowships (also listed as Bollingen fellowships but not

complying with the five-year-long plan and its percentage) were granted by the Old Dominion

Foundation. These five scholars were Austrian writer Hermann Broch (1886–1951), U.S.

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[85] Ibid., 76–77.

[86] While no specific reason has been stated for this, it can be assumed that WWII could have played a crucial factor.

[87] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 79. I have used "he" and "him" to critically echo the genders used by McGuire. Hence the italicization. In spite of this gender specificity the fellowship program included both genders, with a ratio of eight women to ten men.

[88] de Rougemont was working on *The Devil's Share,* a diagnostic analysis of modern society's malaise.

anthropologist Paul Radin (1883–1959), amateur scholar of ancient religions Natacha Rambova (1897–1966), German art historian Max Raphael (1889–1952), and U.S. scholar of music Paul Rosenfeld (1890–1946).[89]

A series of events led to the termination of the Bollingen Fellowships as envisioned by Mary Mellon. On 23 May 1945 Paul Mellon returned to the United States after serving in the Special Operations branch of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) in London, a position he had held during the war and since May 1943.[90] Upon his return, Paul Mellon decided to reorganize the Old Dominion Foundation. Additionally, in June 1945 the two-year contract between the Old Dominion Foundation and Pantheon expired and Mary Mellon decided to renew the contract for another two years.[91] In May, John Barrett was hired as an associate editor who would replace Young when he resigned in 1946.[92]

Paul Mellon's decision to reorganize the Old Dominion Foundation had the largest impact on the Bollingen project. Per new decisions, the Bollingen Series' activities were to become part of a "new educational foundation," the Bollingen Foundation. The Bollingen Foundation was thus established on 14 December 1945 in the state of Virginia.[93] Mary Mellon

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[89] Hermann Broch was working on an unidentified project on the intersection of psychology and philosophy; Paul Radin was working on The Road of Life and Death: A Ritual Drama of the Winnebago Indians (1945), a study of sacred rituals performed by the Winnebago Indigenous community of Wisconsin; On Rambova see C. Manassa and T. Dobbin-Bennett, "The Life of Natacha Rambova." *Yale in Egypt- The Natacha Rambova Archive* (2012). Accessed September 27, 2019. https://egyptology.yale.edu/collections/natacha-rambova-archive-yale-university/life-natacha-rambova#foot. As a fellow, she was collecting "an archive of universal symbolism;" Max Raphael was working on *Prehistoric Cave Paintings*, including 48 plates; Paul Rosenfeld was working on an unidentified project about the evolution of literary genres.
[90] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 59; Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War*, 29.
[91] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 97.
[92] Reasons for his resignation have not been disclosed but McGuire notes that even though Young resigned, he remained a stake holder of Bollingen until his death (McGuire, *Bollingen*, 80).
[93] Ibid., 99.

was the president. The Bollingen Foundation began operating as of 1 January 1946. The Bollingen Press, a function of the Bollingen Foundation, remained operational until 1 June 1967 when its rights were transferred to the Princeton University Press.

Although Mary Mellon's primary agenda for Bollingen was to publish Jung's oeuvre, its realization took over a decade because of the vast scope of the project (the first volume of Jung's works was only published in 1957). Meanwhile and before the Bollingen Foundation's official establishment in 1946, five books were published (under the aegis of Bollingen but prior to its re-commencement in 1946) and eight were completed and awaiting publication (only four of them were eventually published). The theme connecting these books can be best described as Platonic patterns in ancient history, myth, and literature.[94] Investigating Platonic patterns or archetypes would be that which tied all these projects to the Jungian thought system. In a telling letter in 1945 and just prior to the Bollingen Foundation's revival, Natacha Rambova wrote to Mary Mellon about the compatibility of her project with that of Bollingen, claiming that, "it is so necessary that gradually people be given the realization of a universal pattern of purpose and human growth…."[95] It seems, in other words, that the circle of individuals who were involved with Bollingen believed the enterprise had a prophetic role to play, the role of informing people (presumably globally) that there is a predestined and trans-humanly determined path to life.

The Bollingen Foundation (1946–1967)

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[94] On the use of "Platonic" in this dissertation, see the second chapter. Briefly, Platonic patterns refer to an assumed set of a priori and timeless images that exist in the realm of ideas and all the worldly images are mere representations of those tautegorical symbols. Platonic patterns are thought to be universally valid.
[95] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 94.

The Bollingen Foundation's new beginning of 1946 started with an annual budget of $82,000 (an estimate of $1,231,329.98 in 2023).[96] The Foundation also started its new life with an additional gift of $75,718.75 (an estimate of $1,137,009.36 in 2023) from Paul Mellon.[97] The gift was in the form of 1,250 shares of the Gulf Oil Corporation. The Gulf Oil Corporation was implicated in the politics of the time because its lawyers were Dulles brothers, one of whom was the head of the OSS and the person who exonerated both Jung and Fröbe-Kapteyn of having pro-Nazi tendencies. Dulles brothers, through their law firm, also had financial and business interests in Nazi Germany.[98] It can be argued then that Bollingen was in fact an indirect beneficiary of the OSS's ties with Nazi Germany. Therefore, not only did Bollingen produce colonial knowledges and to do so exploited the natural resources of the Global South countries as well as their cultural histories, but it also had indirect financial ties to Nazi Germany and was evidently a colonial and supremacist institution.

In October 1946, Mary Mellon died at the age of forty-two of a severe asthma attack. Her death only amplified Paul Mellon's insistence on the continuation of the Bollingen project. Upon the death of Mary Mellon, however, Fröbe-Kapteyn saw herself and the Eranos project at the risk of losing their major source of livelihood, the Mellons' support.[99] To her relief, Paul Mellon travelled to Switzerland for the 1947 Eranos meeting and committed to continue funding for fifteen years Fröbe-Kapteyn's stipend ($3,000 per year plus a one-time payment of $3,000), her collecting practices, the Eranos project ($3,000), and the travel costs of participating Eranos

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[96] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 100.
[97] Ibid., 99.
[98] On these interests see Peter Grose, *Gentleman Spy: The Life of Allen Dulles* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1994).
[99] Hakl, *Eranos*, 143.

scholars from the Bollingen Foundation.[100] In addition, most Eranos scholars received the Bollingen Fellowship which guaranteed their income while they worked on research projects that were then published by Bollingen as well (cross reference table 1 with the list of Eranos scholars provided in chapter two). Thus, the Mellons' petroleum-based and Nazi-tainted money created and maintained a largely closed interpretive community whose research focused on finding universal patterns across all humanist fields.

The Bollingen Foundation's fellowship program funded 332 individuals from 1946 to 1967 (table 1). The estimated capital devoted to this fellowship program, considering the annual amount increased commensurate to the inflation rate was $2,732,431.00 ($23,955,097 in 2023). Projects that were fully funded by the Bollingen Foundation during these twenty-one years can be divided into four main categories: Jungian psychology (25), arts and archaeology (88), mythology and the study of world religions (112), and literary studies (107). In addition, the foundation partially supported eighty-seven other humanities projects such as research plans of multiple universities and museums, a list of which can be found in table 2 followed by their data analysis ($647,056.0 in 1966; $5,847,794 in 2023). Some of the scholars whose works were partially funded had already been Bollingen fellows previously. Scully, for instance, who was a Bollingen Fellow in 1957 when he was studying classic Greek temples, had his book *The Earth, the Temple, and the God* partially funded by Bollingen Foundation in 1962 (a list of institutions that received special gifts from Bollingen are provided in table 3). The same partial support was granted to projects in the fields of archaeology (12 institutions and a sum of $729,200 in 1966;

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[100] Hakl, *Eranos*, 134.

$6,590,174 in 2023) and psychology[101] (3 major Jungian institutions and a sum of $54,596 in 1966; $493,413 in 2023).[102]

To put the numbers in context, in 1966 alone the Bollingen Foundation had a principal balance of $4,941,246 ($45,932,611 in 2023). That was a staggering $2.4 million (almost 23 million in 2023) more than the National Endowment for the Arts' budget for grants and pilot projects in the 1966 fiscal year.[103] In other words, the Bollingen Foundation as a private corporation invested almost double what a governmental institution established to support arts and humanities in the entire country did.

Over its twenty-two years of activity, the Bollingen Foundation had a deficit of $13,523,869 ($125,714,570 in 2023).[104] Having a deficit was not an anomaly as the foundation's annual budget testifies to almost yearly deficits capped by Mellon himself: this he admitted in a 1963 meeting saying "its [Bollingen's] income has never been sufficient to support its programs," and that its total income over the years has been less than six percent of its expenditures.[105] These deficits were covered by income from Mellon's two major investments: United States Government Bonds and Notes (53%) and corporate stocks in Gulf Oil (47%).[106] In

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[101] This gives the emphasis Fröbe-Kapteyn placed on the role of archaeology and psychology in her 27 October 1939 lecture at the Analytical Psychology Club in New York added significance. See p.28 of chapter two.

[102] All the statistics are taken from the Bollingen Foundations report. See *Bollingen Foundation, Twentieth Anniversary Report of Its Activities from December 14, 1945, through December 31*, 1965.

[103] *Annual Report: National Endowment for the Arts 1966*, 7. The National Endowment for the Arts was established in 1965. Therefore 1966 was its start-up year. But its budget, not taking the inflation rate into consideration, in 1967 (4 million) and 1968 (4.5) only hardly matched that of Bollingen's.

[104] *Bollingen Foundation, Twentieth Anniversary Report of Its Activities from December 14, 1945 through December 31, 1965*, 170.

[105] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 279.

[106] For the financial details see the *Bollingen Foundation's Report of Its Activities*.

the same meeting Mellon stated that out of the foundation's total fund ($149,119,399in 2023),

about 75% ($112,969,242 in 2023) had been in the form of personal gifts from Mellon.

Evidently, Paul Mellon had a personal interest in continuing the Bollingen Foundation

and expanding its activities.[107] The source of capital for the maintaining of these interests came,

in part, from his petroleum company, Gulf Oil. In 1963, Mellon testified that "most of my gifts

[to the Bollingen Foundation] have been in the form of Gulf Oil Corporation stock."[108] Gulf Oil

was a major energy supplier of the United States government during the Cold War and among its

major shareholders was Allen Dulles—also the company's lawyer.[109] All that to say, Paul

Mellon, a former CIA agent who owned Gulf Oil, funded Bollingen almost entirely through Gulf

Oil stocks. His company was legally represented by the head of the CIA who had business

interests in Nazi Germany during the 1930s. Bollingen, therefore, was quite an important

enterprise for Mellon. It provided him with soft and cultural access to the Global South countries

the Gulf Oil needed access and the energy of which the imperial US wanted.[110]

An example of the complex way in which petroleum politics and the Bollingen

Foundation converge can be found in Iran's case, bearing in mind Bollingen's long-time support

of Orientalist and phenomenologist of religion Corbin, and other scholars of Persian history,

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[107] In a meeting of the Bollingen trustees in 1963, he stated that "I [Paul Mellon] have been the sole financial support of the Foundation (McGuire, *Bollingen*, 279).
[108] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 280.
[109] Wasserstrom, *Religion after Religion*, 153; *Emily Rosenberg, Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011): 130–131.
[110] On cultural (soft) diplomacy see Betsy Boone, "The 1910 Centenary Exhibition in Argentina, Chile, and Uruguay: Manufacturing Fine Art and Cultural Diplomacy in South America," in David Raizman and Ethan Robey, eds. *Expanding Nationalisms at World's Fairs: Identity, Diversity and Exchange, 1851–1915* (New York: Routledge, 2018): 195–213.

philosophy, and religion. This case is representative of other cases in resource-rich countries such as Guatemala.

Politics, Petroleum, Bollingen

    A) The Case of Iran

Allen Dulles was the person in charge of the 1953 Operation Ajax[111] which was a joint operation of CIA and MI6 (supported by Eisenhower and Churchill) and aimed at toppling Mohammad Mossadeq's government in Iran.[112] Mossadeq (1882–1967) was the politician who nationalized Iran's oil industry in 1951 and dealt a major blow to the British and U.S. governments who relied heavily on Iran's petroleum reserves because "any attempt by Middle Eastern countries to take non-U.S.-sanctioned control over oil reserves is seen as putting the United States in a vulnerable position."[113]

    Operation Ajax was, in fact, proposed by the British and launched by the United States to re-secure Iran's oil resources and prevent them from falling into the hands of the Soviet Union.[114] The possibility of the latter was assumed on the part of the British and the U.S. because of Mossadeq's leftist and nationalist politics and the country's geographical proximity to the

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[111] The CIA released the document pertaining to the Operation Ajax, titled "Overthrow of Premier Mossadeq of Iran" and written by Dr. Donald N. Wilder in 1954, in 2000 and its summary can be accessed at http://www.nytimes.com/library/world/mideast/iran-cia-intro.pdf
see also Ervand Abrahamian, "The 1953 Coup in Iran," in *Science & Society*, vol. 65, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 182–215.

[112] Mathieu Auzanneau, *Oil, Power, and War: A Dark History* (Oregon and London: Post Carbon Institute and Chelsea Green Publishing, 2018): 202; Peter Grose, *Gentleman Spy: The Life of Allen Dulles*. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1994): 363; James Risen, "The Secrets of History: CIA in Iran," *New York Times*, Accessed November 22, 2019.

[113] For the most credible account of the events of that period see Ervand Abrahamian, "Premier Mossadeq," in Iran between Two Revolutions, 267–280; Huber, Matthew T. Lifeblood: Oil, Freedom, and the Forces of Capital (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013): 2.

[114] Grose, *Gentleman Spy*, 365; Risen, "The Secret History," n.p.

Soviet Union. The plan was that Dulles' acquaintance Fazlollah Zahedi (1992–1963) would

replace Mossadeq as the prime minister.[115] The operation was successful. The CIA's victory,

then, prompted them to use the same strategy in Guatemala, another major holder of oil

reserves.[116]

In the aftermath of the violent coup in Iran, in 1958, an international consortium of U.S.

and European oil companies signed a 75-year pact with Iran.[117] According to this pact, British

Petroleum and Gulf Oil would each receive a forty-percent share of Iran's oil resources. In 1960,

Kermit Roosevelt (1889–1943), the person in charge of carrying out Operation Ajax in Iran, was

assigned by Paul Mellon as the vice president of the Gulf Oil Corporation.[118] The entanglement

of politics, petroleum, and philanthropy in the case of Bollingen was firm and continuous.

B) Discontinuation of the Bollingen Project

Evidently, the Bollingen project was as much a political endeavor as an intellectual and cultural

one. To separate the two would be misleading. On this, the motives behind the discontinuation of

Bollingen are telling. As Mellon stated in 1963, the year he announced his plans to liquidate the

foundation, the reasons for his decision were the retirement of John Barrett, Bollingen's

president since 1956, and more importantly, the much-too-probable possibility of a change in

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[115] Grose, *Gentleman Spy*, 364; Abbas Shokri, *Dark-e Ejbair-e Aknun* (Understanding the Production of the Present Historical Moment) (Brentford: H&S Media, 2014): 133; Abrahamian, "The 1953 Coup in Iran," 279.

[116] Jeffreys-Jones, *The CIA*, 73.

[117] On the 1953 coup read prominent Iranian-American historian Ervand Abrahamian's "The 1953 Coup in Iran." *Science & Society 65*, no. 2 (2001): 182–215. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40403895.

[118] For a thorough description of the events see William S. Hoffman, *Paul Mellon: Portrait of an Oil Baron* (Chicago: Follett Publishing Company, 1974): 90–94. On Operation Ajax see Randall Flower, and Marin J. Medhurst, "Operation Ajax: Eisenhower's Rhetoric of Misdirection," *More Than a Doctrine: The Eisenhower Era in the Middle East* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2018): 41–72 https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv8j4jw.9.

federal income tax laws.[119] This change would have barred Mellon from funding the foundation

through "charitable gifts" in the form of Gulf Oil stocks. In other words, the continuation of the

Bollingen project was profitable to Mellon only as long as it could be funded through the Gulf

Oil Corporation stocks for which he did not have to pay any taxes—since they were "charitable."

The advice to dismantle Bollingen came from his advisor Stoddard M. Stevens (1892–1981), a

partner in the Sullivan & Cromwell law firm and a trustee of the Old Dominion Foundation.

These changes to U.S. federal income tax regulations were the result of a campaign

spearheaded since 1961 by the Texas congressional representative Wright Patman.[120] Patman

was particularly opposed to the Bollingen Foundation because it functioned as a tax-exempt

entity publishing research on "esoteric" topics.[121] Patman's proposed bill to fight tax-exempt

foundations further criticized foundations like Bollingen for holding stock in closely held

corporations. Such closed economic circles, he argued, weighed significantly on the U.S.

economy by withholding tax from substantial amounts of capital in the name of "charitable"

activities.[122] Patman's prime example of tax-exempt foundations that used such loopholes to

refrain from paying federal taxes was the Bollingen Foundation. His other examples included

Andrew Mellon's foundations, particularly those founded during the period when he was

Secretary of the Treasury.[123]Mellon, therefore, used Bollingen as a tax haven to launder money

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[119] McGuire, *Bollingen*, 280.
[120] *Congressional Record* (vol. 115, part 17 1969): 22792; Saunders, *Cultural Cold War*, 297–300.
[121] *Business Income Tax Hearings of the House of Representatives 1988*, 1777; *Congressional Record*, 22605.
[122] *Congressional Record*, 22605.
[123] *Congressional Record*, 22605. As early as 1932 Patman had started a battle against then Secretary of Treasury Andrew Mellon's antitrust policies, monopoly over Alcoa and Gulf Oil, and business-oriented politics. On Patman's war against the Mellons see Isaac William Martin, *Rich People's Movement: Grassroots Campaigns to Untax the One Percent* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013): 99–110.

from his Gulf Oil Corporation. He was also using Bollingen as a cultural front, a philanthropic

front, to mask the Gulf Oil Corporation's violence towards lands (by drilling oil and polluting the

land and the air) and people (through labour exploitation and by bastardizing their culture).

Analysis and Discussion

Of the 332 Bollingen fellows, 224 were U.S. citizens. Among the rest, two-thirds were

Europeans (mostly—eighty-two in fact—British, Swiss, German, and French). There were only

three Asian scholars, two from Japan and one from the Philippines, one scholar from Africa

(South Africa), and two from Guatemala— Influenced and controlled by the U.S. from 1898 to

1946— and Mexico. Tellingly, however, of the research produced by these Bollingen fellows,

ninety-five of them had a clearly defined research topic that had a specific geographical context

(mostly in anthropology and archaeology) and of this number, sixty-two—over 65%—had to do

with things Asian.[124] These statistics are not provided to dismiss the quality of the scholarship

produced but to highlight the geographical curation of the scholars and the kind of scholarship

that was produced. They reveal how the scholarship produced by Bollingen Fellows was curated

to imagine, construct, and dominate "the other" through the eyes of Western scholars.

Of the forty Bollingen books published in the field of anthropology, thirteen are about the

Indigenous peoples of North America. None of the sponsored scholars were Indigenous. Seven

of the forty are about Latin American cultures.[125] Of the seven, only one was written by

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[124] Anthropology and its relationship to history are contested categories. For an overview of the discipline
of anthropology and its relationship to history see George E. Marcus, Michael M. J. Fischer,
Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences (Chicago:
University of Chicago Press, 1999); Gerald Sider, "Anthropology and History," *Critical Junctions:
Anthropology and History Beyond the Cultural Turn*, edited by Don Kalb and Herman Tak (New York
and Oxford: Berghahan Books, 2005).
[125] Latin America has several definitions. The term "Latin America" was initially introduced in the 1860s
in France by political economist Michel Chevalier (1806–1879) to provide a foundation for France's

Milciades Chaves, a Latin American (Colombian). All researchers were faculty members or research fellows in American or European universities. The sheer number of U.S. and European scholars who, through the Bollingen project, researched indigenous cultures around the world, holistically and with sweeping generalities, speaks to the project's agenda of culturally colonializing the Other. Moreover, and I believe by no means accidentally, most of the native cultures studied, except Italy and Greece, were from regions rich in oil and other natural resources.[126] Bollingen, in other words, was a petro-colonial project.

The Bollingen project was run on petroleum. Its very existence as an institution relied on petroleum as the source of its capital. The Bollingen project can also only be understood in relationship to Eranos. Eranos scholarship, as analysed in the previous chapter, relied on the geographies of the Global South and their traditional modes of knowing for its intellectual sustenance. That means the Bollingen project relied on petroleum sources from marginalized parts of the world (Iran, Venezuela, Angola) for its financial vitality, and depended on their peoples' cultures for its intellectual livelihood. Petroleum as such functions as what scholar of petroculutres Andrew Pendakis calls the "repressed condition of possibility."[127] Pendakis

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colonial ambitions by assuming linguistic and cultural affinity between nations whose languages were derived from Latin. Nowadays, the term is commonly used in a non-strict cultural or linguistic sense to refer to those countries in the American continent in which Romance languages—derived from Latin— are the official language as opposed to Anglo-America or those countries that speak English, a Germanic language. Non-strict because the definition usually includes other countries south of the United States that speak non-Romance languages such as French-speaking Haiti. For further discussion and a list of primary sources to consult see David J. Dressing, "Latin America," in *Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture*, 2nd ed., edited by Jay Kinsbruner and Erick D. Langer, 148. vol. 4. (Detroit, MI: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2008).

[126] Ancient Greece and Italy's citizens were treated as "primitives." On primitivism see the first chapter; On all the countries in which the Gulf Oil Corporation has major shares see Hoffman, *Paul Mellon: Portrait of an Oil Baron*, 83–102.

[127] Andrew Pendakis, Andrew, "Being and Oil: Or, How to Run a Pipeline through Heidegger," In *Petrocultures: Oil, Politics, Culture*, Sheena Wilson, Adam Carlson and Imre Szeman (ed.) (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 377.

understands petroleum as "arche," significantly not as beckoning to an immemorial origin (as the word meant for the Eranos and Bollingen scholars), but as "an ultimately underlying substance, one that literally provides objects with the physical condition of their own existence."[128] Pendakis' theory can be applied to the Bollingen project. Petroleum as the essence contributed to a substantial body of essentialist scholarship. The petroleum arche, as this chapter demonstrated, conditioned, and shaped the political-cultural landscape of the Cold War.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the tax-exempt petroleum-funded Bollingen project, an extension of Eranos, itself an extension of Jung's Nazi sympathies, was directed towards the creation of an interpretation of the world that was essentialist, supremacist, and culturally colonial. This act of curating Western knowledge from the traditions of the peoples of the Global South which functioned, if only partially, as a guise for petropolitical adventures, bore with it a double violence: physical violence towards natural resources, and physical and cultural violence towards local cultures. Plundering resources from petroleum-rich countries through violent political interventions, the Bollingen project also quite violently interpreted local cultures in a way that benefited its own interests. By creating a scholarly system based on an idealism devoid of context and materiality, the Bollingen project left indigenous cultures of the Global South with nothing material (i.e., capital and oil) but a half-hearted romantic interpretation of their own cultures now published, commercialized, and circulated in favor of the cultural colonizer's interests.

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[128] Ibid.

Chapter Four: Phenomenology of Religion

Introduction

Mircea Eliade and Henry Corbin, who were two of the most acclaimed phenomenologists of religion during the mid-twentieth century and shaped the contours of the discipline of the history of religion, became Bollingen fellows in 1951 and 1959, respectively. Through Bollingen fellowships Eliade examined "Philosophy, Mythology, and Comparative Religion (1951)" and Corbin worked on "the Phenomenology of Iranian Religious Consciousness (1959)." Both Eliade and Corbin were frequent lecturers at Eranos. Corbin gave twenty-five talks at Eranos over the course of the 1949–1976 period. Introduced to the Eranos circle by Corbin, Eliade lectured thirteen times from 1950 to 1967.[1] This chapter explores the function of images in those works by Eliade and Corbin that were published by Bollingen and were, even if only in part, a result of their sojourns and lectures at Eranos. Before delving into the function of these images, however, certain points need to be made by way of introduction.

The chapter begins with a short biography of each scholar with the goal of situating their intellectual trajectory within the broader socio-political context of the twentieth century. Both scholars' lives were intertwined with extremist and royalist politics. Although a thorough discussion of such political tendencies vis-à-vis their scholarship falls beyond the scope of this dissertation, a brief sketch of academically verifiable historical facts in each case provides an informative backdrop to the scholars' later interests in essentialism.

Following the biographies is a section dedicated to the disambiguation of three terms that are, more often than not, used interchangeably both in reference to and by Eliade and Corbin. These terms are phenomenology of religion, history of religion(s), and comparative religion(s).

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[1] A reminder is due that Corbin introduced Eliade to the Eranos circle hence Bollingen so that Eliade who was not well-to-do at the time would find alternative means of support.

The section also addresses the issue of religion being used in singular or plural forms in those terms. My discussion explores the issue from a historical point of view and tries to clarify how the terms were used and understood in their mid to late twentieth-century context of religious studies.

Once the utilization of the terms phenomenology of religion, history of religion(s), and comparative religion(s) has been established, phenomenology as specifically understood by Eliade and Corbin will be examined. This section serves a double function. It is a brief reminder of phenomenology as a method for the study of religion as taken up by Eliade and Corbin. The section also provides an overview of Eliade and Corbin's thought systems. That is because both scholars, especially Eliade, had a specific way of framing religion and history that they continuously refined and built upon throughout their prolific careers.

Having provided an overview of their thought systems, I have reserved a section for an examination of the way in which each scholar defined key concepts such as myth, religion, and symbolic imagery. This was necessary because the three concepts seem to be, at times, used either interchangeably or ambiguously by Eliade and Corbin. A clarification of the relationship of these concepts to one another in each scholar's oeuvres seemed urgent especially since this chapter is dedicated to the function of images. And images in this context have a close relationship to religious and symbolic myths.

To examine the function of images for Eliade and Corbin during the period of this study, I have looked carefully at those works by these scholars that were both a result of the Eranos conferences, therefore most probably reliant on Fröbe-Kapteyn's image archive, and also published by Bollingen. My main archive of primary sources written by the two authors includes

Images and Symbols (1952), *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return* (1954), *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom* (1958), and *Patterns in Comparative Religion* (1958) by Eliade,[2] and *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital* (1960), *Alone with the Alone* (1969), *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn Arabi* (1969), and *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth: From Mazdean Iran to Shi'ite Iran* (1977) by Corbin. In each case, the very word "image" has been parsed to explore what form these images take. It will be seen that Eliade had a very general understanding of images as visual depictions whereas Corbin had established a more precise, albeit subjective definition of the term and had a narrow understanding of the forms these images took. That is why Eliade did not discuss any one specific image, but Corbin used six distinct images (four paintings, one textile, and one mosaic) and discussed each separately. All six images referred to by Corbin have been reproduced here as they appeared in Corbin's works. Finally, the chapter ends with concluding remarks that seek to highlight what can be learnt from the approach towards images employed by these two phenomenologists of religion.

Ultimately, of specific importance is how Eliade and Corbin have influenced Western ways of thinking and liberal use of images regardless of context and history in colonial and culturally exploitative ways. Equally important to bear in mind is the way in which these epistemologies have been produced and distributed by oil money.

Mircea Eliade

Mircea Eliade was born in Bucharest, Romania, on 9 March 1907. His mother was Ioana V. Stoian ("Jeana," 1884–1974) and his father was Gheorghe Ieremia (1868–1951). Little is known

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[2] Note that "History of Religions and a New Humanism" (1961), "The Quest for the "Origins" of Religion" (1964) which are mentioned in the first chapter have been insightful throughout the dissertation and not necessarily and only in reference to images.

about Stoian other than that she was of a wealthy family and a graduate of Notre-Dame-de-Sion

school in Kansas City, Missouri.[3] Writings on Ieremia are more widespread as most biographies

of Eliade address his paternal genealogy. In any case, all biographies report that Ieremia was a

military captain who changed his surname to Eliade for an unknown reason in 1899.[4]

From 1925 to 1928, Eliade attended the University of Bucharest where he studied

political philosophy. While studying abroad as an exchange student in Rome, he became familiar

with the works of Italian phenomenologist of religion, Raffaele Pettazzoni (1883–1959) and

Cambridge-trained Indian scholar of Sanskrit and philosophy, Surendranath Dasgupta (1887–

1952). Through an Honorable Maharaja Sir Manindrachandra Nundy scholarship,[5] Eliade was

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[3] It has been quite interesting to me that there is inconsistency in reporting even the very name of Ioana Stoian in the academic sources on Eliade.

[4] For Mircea Eliade's autobiography see Mircea Eliade, *Autobiography, Volume 1: 1907–1937, Journey East, Journey West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982). For his biography see, for example, Dennis A. Doeing, "A Biography of Mircea Eliade's Spiritual and Intellectual Development from 1917 to 1940," PhD Diss., University of Ottawa, 1975; Mac Linscott Ricketts, Mircea Eliade, *The Romanian Roots, 1907–1945* (Boulder CO, East European Monographs: 1988); Clyde Curry Smith, "Eliade," in *The 20th Century A-GI: Dictionary of World Biography*, (London: Routledge, 2013); Adriana Berger, "Fascism and Religion in Romania," *Annals of Scholarship* 6(4) (1989): 455–65 and "Mircea Eliade: Romanian Fascism and the History of Religions in the United States," in *Tainted Greatness: Antisemitism and Cultural Heroes*, ed. Nancy Harrowitz (ed.) (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1994): 51–74; Seymour Cain, "Mircea Eliade, the Iron Guard, and Romanian Antisemitism," *Midstream* 25 (1989): 27–31; Isac Chiva, "À propos de Mircea Eliade: Un témoignage" [Concerning Mircea Eliade: A witness], Le genre humain 26
(1992): 89–102; *Carol Iancu, La Shoah en Roumanie: Les Juifs sous le régime d'Antonescu 1940–1944*.
Documents diplomatiques français inédits (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 1998): 14–17; Radu Ioanid, *The Sword of the Archangel: Fascist Ideology in Romania* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990); Norman Manea, "Happy Guilt: Mircea Eliade, Fascism, and the Unhappy Fate of Romania," *The New Republic* 205 (August 5, 1991): 27–36 and "Mircea Eliade et la Garde de fer," *Les temps modernes* 549 (1992): 90–115; Russell T. McCutcheon, "The Myth of the Apolitical Scholar: The Life and Works of Mircea Eliade," *Queen's Quarterly* 100(3) (Fall 1993): 642–63, *Manufacturing Religion: The Discourse on Sui Generis Religion and the Politics of Nostalgia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), and *The Discipline of Religion: Structure, Meaning, Rhetoric* (London: Routledge, 2003); Leon Volovici, *Nationalist Ideology and Antisemitism: The Case of Romanian Intellectuals in the 1930s* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1991).
On the contested issue of his father's name change see Paul E. Michelson, "Ieremia to Eliade 1899: Notes and Queries," *Archiva Moldaviae* 6 (2014): 341–350.

[5] Maharaja Sir Manindrachandra Nundy was a Bengali nobleman and philanthropist who had previously sponsored Dasgupta's education.

able to study towards his PhD under the supervision of Dasgupta in Calcutta from 1928 to 1931.[6]

With a dissertation written on Yoga, Eliade graduated in 1932.[7] From then until the outbreak of

WWII in 1939, Eliade had an associated status with the faculty of letters at the University of

Bucharest. During this period, Eliade was also affiliated with the far-right nationalist movement

of The Legion of the Archangel Michael, commonly known as the Iron Guard.[8] During the

chaotic year of 1939 and after the assassination of Prime Minister Armand Călinescu (1893–

1939)[9] by the Iron Guard, Eliade was imprisoned for his refusal to denounce the Guard.[10]

Through his mutual friendship with Romanian King Carol II (1893–1953) and the intercession of

linguist Alexandru Rosetti (1895–1990), Eliade was freed from prison and sent to London in

1940 as a cultural attaché with the Romanian legation. During the regime of Ion Antonescu

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[6] On Dasgupta and Eliade's relationship see Claudia Guggenbühl, *Mircea Eliade and Surendranath Dasgupta: The History of their Encounter; Dasgupta's Life, his Philosophy and his Works on Yoga* (joint research project of university of Lausanne and University of Zurich: 2008) http://crossasia-repository.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/149/1/Guggenbuehl_Eliade_DasGupta_Gesamt2.pdf

[7] Smith, "Eliade," n.p.

[8] Ibid. The Iron Guard was a fascist movement with zealous Orthodox mystical underpinnings. On Iron Guard see Radu Ioanid, "The sacralised politics of the Romanian Iron Guard," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 5:3 (2004): 419; for an overview of fascism in the Romanian history see Marius Turda, "New perspectives on Romanian fascism: themes and options," *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 6:1 (2005): 143–150, DOI: 10.1080/14690760500103028

[9] Armand Călinescu was an anti-fascist Romanian economist and politician who served as the thirty-nineth Prime Minister of the country from March 1939 until his assassination six months later. On Călinescu and the political milieu of Romania at the time see Roland Clark, "Rise and Fall," *Holy Legionary Youth: Fascist Activism in Interwar Romania* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015): 216–244. https://doi.org/10.7591/9780801456343-012

[10] Ibid.

(1882–1946),[11] Eliade was subsequently assigned as the cultural attaché to Lisbon, Portugal, and remained there until the Soviet occupation of Romania in 1944.[12]

With the rise of the communist party in Romania in the second half of 1945, Eliade immigrated to Paris where he led a modest life and taught at the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* until he moved to the United States in 1965. As he became more established in the émigré milieu of Paris, he made the acquaintance of Henry Corbin. It was Corbin who introduced Eliade to the Eranos circle in 1949. From 1950 onwards, Eliade regularly lectured at Eranos.

What made Eliade a household name was his appointment as the chair of the department of history of religions at the University of Chicago, a position that opened up after the unexpected death of German-born U.S. citizen Joachim Wach (1898–1955), a pioneer of the phenomenology of religion, in 1955.[13] By 1958, Eliade was named the Sewell L. Avery Distinguished Service Professor and his books were being translated into languages other than Romanian and French.[14] Exceptionally productive during his Chicago years, Eliade co-founded and edited the journal of *History of Religions* beginning in 1961. Two decades later when Eliade

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[11] Ion Antonescu was a colonel in World War I. After the war he advanced in rank and by 1933 became the Army Chief of Staff. He was Minister of Defence, 1937–8. In 1940, he was appointed the Prime Minister with dictatorial powers. While Antonescu initially planned on ruling with the Iron Guards, he destroyed the Guards when they got out of control and declared a military dictatorship. In June 1941 he joined World War II when Germany attacked the Soviet Union. Losing in the decisive battle of Stalingrad, he focused on preventing eventual Soviet domination. Shortly after the Red Army crossed into Romania, he was deposed, tried and shot as a war criminal.
On Ion Antonescu see "Ion Antonescu," *Oxford Reference*; Accessed 7 Jan. 2022.
https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095417749; Mihai Stelian Rusum, "Staging Death: Christofascist Necropolitics during the National Legionary State in Romania, 1940–1941," *Nationalities Papers* 49, no. 3 (2021): 576–89. doi:10.1017/nps.2020.22.
[12] Ibid.
[13] For a brief overview of Joachim Wach's works and their significance, see "Joachim Watch: Contexts, Categories, and Controversy," in *Hermeneutics, Politics, and History of Religions*, edited by Christian K. Wedemeyer, and Wendy Doniger (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010): 3–103.
[14] Smith, "Eliade," n.p.

died in 1986, he was a world-famous scholar of religions and a member of the American

Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Henry Corbin

Henry Corbin was born in Paris on 14 April 1903. His mother was Eugénie Fournier (date of

birth unknown–1903) and his father, Henri Arthur (dates of birth and death unknown). Close to

nothing can be found about Fournier other than she died ten days after giving birth to Henry

Corbin.[15] Henri Arthur Corbin was a business executive.[16]

Corbin studied at the Benedictine college of St-Maur and then at the Grand séminaire of

Issy, before obtaining his *Licence* in scholastic philosophy from the *Institut Catholique* of Paris

in 1922.[17] In 1923 he enrolled at the *École Pratique des Hautes Études* to study with Catholic

philosopher Étienne Gilson.[18] Simultaneously, he started studying Arabic and Sanskrit at the

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[15] Daryush Shayegan, "Henry Corbin," *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (vol. VI, Fasc. 3): 268–272. N. B. Daryush Shayegan (1935–2018), an Iranian-French phenomenologist, was Corbin's doctoral student at Sorbonne and maintained a close relationship with him. On the advice of Corbin, Shayegan also lectured at Eranos. Until his death in 2018, Shayegan was considered an authorial voice on Corbin.

[16] None of the available sources about the biography of Corbin give any further detail about Henri Arthur Corbin's occupation. For a detailed biography of Corbin see Daryush Shayegan, *Henry Corbin: Penseur de l'islam Spirituel* (Paris: A. Michel, 2011); see also Tom Cheetham, "A Biographic Sketch" in *All the World an Icon: Henry Corbin and the Angelic Function of Beings* (United States: North Atlantic Books, 2012); Christian Jambet, "Repères biographiques," in *Cahier de l'Herne: Henry Corbin* (Paris: Editions de l'Herne, 1981): 15–20.

[17] Unless otherwise noted, the biographical information has been taken and fact checked across the sources indicated above.

[18] Étienne Gilson (1884–1978) was a renowned Catholic philosopher of French origins. From 1921 to 1932 he was a professor of the history of Medieval philosophy at the University of Paris. he inaugurated the first chair in the history of Medieval philosophy at Collège de France. Gilson guest lectured at universities across North America. In 1929, he established the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in conjunction with St. Michael's College at the University of Toronto. Finally, he left Paris for Toronto in 1951 and taught at the University of Toronto until 1968. Gilson was also interested in arts and wrote about the philosophy of art. He also had his own art collection. See, for instance, Francesca Aran Murphy, *Art and Intellect in the Philosophy of Etienne Gilson* (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 2004); Peter A. Redpath (ed.), *A Thomistic Tapestry: Essays in Memory of Etienne Gilson* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2003).

École des Langues Orientales.[19] He graduated from the École des Hautes Études in 1928 with a thesis on stoicism[20] and Augustinianism[21] in the thought of Spanish poet Luís de León (1527–1591). In 1929, he also graduated from the École des Langues Orientales with a degree in the languages of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. Eventually, he took up an adjunct position at the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris.

Having completed his degrees in Paris, Corbin travelled to Germany in 1930 and became familiar with the works of German phenomenologist Martin Heidegger (1889–1976).[22] Over the next three years, he travelled to Sweden and Germany (once more) and made the acquaintance of German theologian Rudolf Otto (1869–1937), German-Jewish philosopher Karl Löwith (1897–1973), Russian-born French philosopher Alexandre Kojève (1902–1968), French philosopher Bernard Groethuysen (1880–1946), French author and politician André Malraux (1901–1976), German-Jewish philosopher Ernst Cassirer (1874–1945), German psychiatrist and philosopher

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[19] Now renamed *Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales*.

[20] Stoicism was a major philosophical movement in Antiquity from the end of the fourth century BCE to the end of the second century CE. The name is derived from *stoa* (the porch) in the Agora at Athens. At the risk of simplification, the basic tenet of Stoicism was that emotions, such as fear or envy, arose from false judgements. It followed that moral and intellectual perfection entailed calmness and an absence of passionate emotions. Two of the early Stoic writings are in Greek, one by Epictetus (circa 55–155 CE) and the other by Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius (121–180 CE). The other primary source is in Latin by Lucius Annaeus Seneca (4 BCE–65 CE). On Stoicism see, for instance, Dirk Baltzly, "Stoicism", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2019 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2019/entries/stoicism/>.; John Sellars, *The Routledge Handbook of the Stoic Tradition* (London: Routledge, 2016); Steven K. Strange and Jack Zupko (eds), *Stoicism: Traditions and Transformations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[21] Augustinianism is a term used by historians of Medieval philosophy to refer to interpretations of the works of Augustine of Hippo (Thagaste, b. 354–Hippo, d. 430 CE). Augustine's contribution to philosophical and theological thought is manifold but he is most famous for entering the person of the thinker onto the philosophical scene. On Augustine and his thought see, for instance, Mark D. Jordan, "Augustinianism," in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998); John M. Rist, *Augustine: Ancient Thought Baptized* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Allan D., Fitzgerald (ed.), *Augustine through the Ages: An Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids, MI, and Cambridge, UK: William B. Eerdmans, 1999).

[22] On the relationship between Corbin and Heidegger see Masoud Golestan-Habibi, "La Réception de Heidegger Par Henry Corbin," PhD. Dissertation, Université de Montréal, 2016.

Karl Jaspers (1883–1969), Swiss theologian Karl Barth (1886–1968), and French philologist and religious studies scholar Georges Dumézil (1898–1986). In 1932, he founded the journal *Hic et Nunc* with Swiss cultural theorist Denis de Rougemont (1906–1985), Swiss theologian Roland de Pury (1907–1979), and French linguist Albert-Marie Schmidt (1901–1966). From 1935 to 1936 Corbin was in residence at the *Institut Français* in Berlin, where he met Heidegger and completed his translation of *Was ist Metaphysik?* (*Qu'est-ce que la Metaphysique?* Paris, 1938). In 1937, he started teaching courses on the Lutheran theologian Johann Georg Hamann (1730–1788) at the École Pratique des Hautes Études. At the same time, Corbin was beginning to immerse himself in the works of Iranian Platonic philosopher Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā Suhrawardi (date of birth unknown–1191).[23]

In 1939, Corbin travelled to Turkey to consult the Suhrawardi manuscripts found in the libraries of Istanbul. The outbreak of World War II, however, barred him from returning to France and he stayed in Turkey. At the end of the war, he travelled to Iran (in September 1945). Being a renowned Orientalist by that time, Corbin founded and assumed the role of the head of the department of Iranian studies at the Institut Français d'Iranologie in Tehran, where he

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[23] Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Ḥabash ibn Amīrak Abuʾl Futūḥ Suhrawardī (hereon written as Suhrawardi), also known as Shaykh al-ishrāq (the Master of Illumination), was born in Zanjan and studied philosophy and theology in Maraghe and Isfahan. He was declared a heretic and sentenced to death by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ayyūbī in Aleppo because of the Zoroastrian and Manichean influences found in his thought. Suhrawardi was an advocate of *sophia perennis* (jāwidān khirad in Persian and al-ḥikmat al-khālidah in Arabic, divine truth in English) which he believed to have been emanated from God and lying at the heart of all the divinely revealed religions and ancient traditions of wisdom. Suhrawardi attempted to bring about a synthesis of philosophy, mysticism, and intellectual intuition (the feature of Gnosticism) into a philosophical paradigm known as al-ḥikmat al-ilāhīyah (literally theo-sophia) or ḥikmat al-ishrāq (philosophy of Illumination). On Suhrawardi and his thought see, for instance, Mehdi Aminrazavi, *Suhrawardi and the School of Illumination* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996); Gholam Hossein Ibrahimi Dinani, *Shuʿāʾ-i andīshah wa shuhūd dar falsafah-ʾi Suhrawardī* (شعاع اندیشه و شهود در فلسفه ى سهروردی) (Tehran: Hikmat Press, 1986); Mehdi Aminrazavi, "Suhrawardī, Shihāb al-Dīn al-," In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Science, and Technology in Islam* (Oxford Islamic Studies Online): http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/article/opr/t445/e225 (accessed 11-Jan-2022).

remained until 1975.[24] He lectured annually at Eranos from 1949 to 1976. In 1954, he succeeded

French Catholic Islamist Louis Massignon (1883–1962) as the chair of Islam and the religions of

Arabia in the division of religious sciences at the École Pratique des Hautes Études.[25] From 1955

to 1978, Corbin frequently lectured on Islamic philosophy at the University of Tehran and

traveled continuously between Iran and France. In 1974 Corbin retired from his position at the

École Pratique des Hautes Études and became one of the founding members[26] of the Université

Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (the International Center for Comparative Spiritual Research) in Paris.[27]

Clarifying the Interchangeability of Phenomenology of Religion, History of Religion(s), and Comparative Religion(s)

Mircea Eliade and Henry Corbin considered themselves historians of religion and distinguished

their methodology as phenomenological. They were also known as phenomenologists of religion.

At the outset, there seems to be a terminological confusion between history and phenomenology.

This confusion does not only pertain to Eliade and Corbin. In the literature on the study of

religion as a distinct category, phenomenology of religion, history of religion(s), and

comparative religion(s) are more often than not used interchangeably. As early as the 1950s,

historian of religion Guilford Dudley pointed out this confusion by writing, "there was not only a

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[24] Now known as The Institut français de recherche en Iran. The Institute in its current form was the result of the amalgamation of the Délégation archéologique française en Iran founded in 1897 and active in Susa until 1979, and the Département d'iranologie de l'Institut franco-iranien de Téhéran en Iran, founded in 1946 by Henry Corbin and directed by him until 1975. See Bernard Hourcade, "Iranian studies in France," *Iranian Studies*, 20:2–4 (1987): 1–51; R. Boucharlat, "France Xiii. Institut Français de Recherche en Iran," *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (X/2): 176–177.

[25] On Massignon and Corbin see Ziad Elmarsafy, *Esoteric Islam in Modern French Thought: Massignon, Corbin, Jambet* (London: Bloomsbury, 2021).

[26] Other founding members were French anthropologist Gilbert Durand (1921–2012) and French scholar of western esotericism Antoine Faivre (1934–2021).

[27] The center functioned until 1988 and published fourteen volumes of proceedings. See Henry Corbin, "L'Université Saint-Jean de Jérusalem: Centre International de Recherche Spirituelle Comparée," in *Sciences Traditionnelles et Sciences Profanes* (Paris: André Bonne, 1975): 8.

lack of consensus on methodology, there was not even a universally accepted title for the field. It was Eliade, Joseph Kitagawa, and Charles Long of the University of Chicago who urged the name 'history of religion.' Wilfred C. Smith of Harvard, called it 'comparative religions.' Erwin Goodenough of Yale referred to it as 'the science of religions.' W. Brede Kristensen of Leiden and Gerardus van der Leeuw of Groningen produced studies in the 'phenomenology of religion,' and Rafaele Pettazzoni of Rome and Joachim Wach of Chicago spoke of 'allgemeine Religionswissenschaft.'"[28] Philosopher and scholar of Eliade Douglas Allen helped clarify the confusion by explaining that history of religion is the term used to refer to Religionswissenschaft as an entire discipline that can have various branches such as sociology, and phenomenology of religion among others.

Historian of religion Tim Murphy further clarified the situation by exploring why in the first place Religionswissenschaft—Religions + wissenschaft (science)—has come to be translated as the history of religion.[29] He finds this reason in a Hegelian bias towards what wissenschaft and religion are. The Hegelian bias, he continues, refers to the translation of Religionswissenschaft as "the study of 'objective Spirit,' or the study of the manifestations in history of the transhistorical essence of religion."[30] Phenomenology of religion and history of religion are thus used interchangeably insofar as phenomenology is interpreted as an intuitive and subjective method of locating "the essence" of religion across history. It is for the same reason that comparative religion, Murphy demonstrates, has also been used to refer to the same field of study as the phenomenology of religion and the history of religion. While initially

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[28] Guilford Dudley, *Religion on Trial: Mircea Eliade and His Critics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1977): 142–143.
[29] Tim Murphy, *The Politics of Spirit: Phenomenology, Genealogy, Religion* (New York: SUNY Press, 2010): 28.
[30] Ibid.

comparative religion was a method of comparing religions to one another as distinct units, through the twentieth century it came to refer to a comparison of parallel taxonomic sets across religions. Since this method is one mobilized by phenomenologists of religion in their attempt at situating the "essence" of religions, comparative religion came to refer to the whole field at large.[31]

Lastly, it is important to address the confusion between the singular or plural use of "religion" in history of religion(s). Because phenomenologists of religion believe in the existence of similar and identifiable sets of essences across all religions, they see all religions as being one in essence. The history of multiple religions as such is, for them, fundamentally the history of religion as a whole. That is why, more often than not, it is a matter of personal preference, intellectual position, and ideological orientation for scholars of the history of religion to refer to their field in the singular or the plural. Since the more recently established discipline of religious studies, however, now engages critically with its own history, I will use the terms phenomenology of religion, history of religion, and comparative religions interchangeably *only* when referring to the mid-twentieth-century period when scholars such as Eliade, van der Leuuw, Wach, and Corbin were the defining figures of their field of study and created an exclusive interpretive community traceable through their references to one another.[32] In the current state of academia to call a historian of religion a phenomenologist of religion may be inaccurate because they might in fact be strongly critical of the phenomenological approach to the study of religions.

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[31] Ibid., 28–29.
[32] Tim Murphy actually demonstrates this by showing the citation practices of these figures to themselves and to Hagel and Schleiermacher. See Ibid., 30.

Phenomenology as a Method for the Study of Religion

Phenomenology as a philosophical tradition of thought and its emergence as a method for the study of religion has been thoroughly discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation.[33] As a reminder, however, phenomenology as understood and applied to the study of religion specifically by Eliade and Corbin is addressed here.

A) **Eliade**

Through his many works, Eliade constructed a very specific and subjective definition of phenomenology. In order to understand Eliade's phenomenology, however, it is important to have an overview of what he considered religion to be.[34] Briefly, Eliade argued that at the primal moment of existence, humans found themselves in a state of perpetual chaos, absolute homogeneity, complete hopelessness, and lacking a sense of time, space, and the world around them.[35] The Sacred or the omnipresent god-figure, however, was perpetually present, he

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[33] To remind the reader, phenomenologists of religion argued for the necessity of using a *unique* approach to the study of religion that would help discern "religious" elements from other social and cultural phenomena in historical contexts. As such, they turned towards using phenomenology but only selectively and not in any strict way of the word and philosophically rigorous. Phenomenologists of religion, of course variedly and in no way unanimously, defined this approach as an intuitive and interpretive way of classifying similar patterns into larger "religious" categories and sleuthing their "meanings."

[34] Eliade's most elaborate book about what he names "archaic ontology" or his attempt at communicating the system of religion and being that he had constructed is *The Myth of the Eternal Return: Cosmos and History*, translated by Willard R. Trask (New York: Bollingen, 1949).

[35] Eliade, *Myth of Eternal Return*, 3–4.

believed.[36] The most significant "hierophany"[37] or manifestation of the Sacred was nature itself.[38] By interpreting nature, primordial humans were able to wrest time and place out of chaos and create meaning for themselves.[39] Myths and religions are the archaic humans' attempts at interpreting the manifestations of the Sacred.[40] The phenomenology of religion according to Eliade, conversely, is the very task of discovering the ways in which the Sacred has manifested itself, has been understood by the primordial humans and communicated through symbols, rites, and myths.[41] As such, phenomenology for Eliade is ideological rather than scientific and grants the phenomenologist a position of epistemic privilege to assign and describe subjective religious states. This is ideological because it requires an a priori belief in the existence of some idea of the god figure.[42] It is problematic because it ignores power relations and colonial structures to

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[36] Eliade's "the Sacred," brings to mind German Protestant theologian and philosopher of religion Rudolf Otto's idea of "the Holy." Otto argued that every person is, upon birth and intuitively, equipped with a *sensus numinis* (a "sense for, or ability to be aware of, the numinous"). Through this ability, he reasoned, everyone could experience a *mysterium tremendum et fascinans* ("an awe-inspiring yet fascinating mystery"). That moment, he continued, was the moment of encountering a manifestation of the Holy or the numinous. Eliade, knew Otto. It is argued by scholars of religion such as James L. Cox, that Eliade derived his idea of the Sacred from Otto's idea of the Holy. On Otto's idea of the Holy, see Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry Into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and Its Relation to the Rational* (London: Oxford University Press, 1923); on Eliade's understanding of Otto see Mircea Eliade, "Religions," *International Social Science Journal* (29:4, 1977): 615–628; on the comparison between the Holy and the Sacred see James L. Cox, "The Phenomenology of Religion," in *Religion: Theory, Critique* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017): 401–412.

[37] On the definition of hierophany for Eliade see Stephen J. Reno, "Eliade's Progressional View of Hierophanies," *Religious Studies* 8, no. 2 (1972): 153–60.

[38] Eliade, *Myth of Eternal Return*, 4–5.

[39] Ibid., 5–6.

[40] Ibid., 9–11.

[41] On Eliade's phenomenology see, for instance, Douglas Allen, "Eliade's Phenomenology," in *Structure and Creativity in Religion* (New York and Paris: De Gruyter, 2019): 105–138; Robert D. Baird, "Phenomenological Understanding: Mircea Eliade," in *Category Formation and the History of Religions* (Paris and the Hague: 2018): 74–91; Douglas Allen, "Eliade's Phenomenological Approach to Religion and Myth," in *Mircea Eliade: Myth, Religion, and History*, edited by Nicolae Babuts (New York: Routledge, 2017); Randall Studstill, "Eliade, Phenomenology, and the Sacred," *Religious Studies* 36, no. 2 (2000): 177–194.

[42] On the problem of phenomenology of religion and ideology see Gavin Flood, *Beyond Phenomenology: Rethinking the Study of Religion* (London: Cassell, 1999).

focus on a subjective and unverifiable state.[43] As postcolonial historian of religion Daniel

Dubuisson writes, "[Eliade's] system is made of unverifiable metaphysical presuppositions,

extravagantly hypothetical reconstructions of humanity's past and prehistory, cloudy notions,

and rhetorical tropes aimed principally at seducing the credulous reader."[44] The phenomenology

of religion as practiced by Eliade, and as demonstrated in the first chapter of this dissertation, is

both Eurocentric and Christocentric because the idea of archaic humanity being marked by

innate religious aspirations was an oft-repeated assumption of the Church Fathers,[45] late

eighteenth and early nineteenth century philosophers like Kant and Schleiermacher, and

twentieth-century scholars such as Jung and Cassirer.[46] The main founding tenet of the

phenomenology of religion as defined by Eliade was that "the different human cultures are and

always have been 'religious,' … [and] that all of these cultures rest on the same universal

principles."[47] Phenomenology of religion as practiced and defined by Eliade assumes an

evolutionary hierarchy in which the Global South not only belongs to the past but is also lower

and subservient to the Global North. His phenomenology is therefore colonial and supremacist. It

is my argument through this dissertation that it is precisely because of this culturally colonial and

supremacist point of departure that the scholarship of Eliade, as well as Corbin, Rykwert, and

Scully, found support in politically right-wing Gulf Oil Corporation that in turn violated the

landscapes and exploited the resources of these countries. Furthermore, the oil-funded Orientalist

philanthropy not only exploited the knowledges of these countries, but it produced new

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[43] On the problem of phenomenology of religion and power relations see Timothy Fitzgerald, *The Ideology of Religious Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
[44] Daniel Dubuisson, "Imagining, Manufacturing, and Theorizing Myth," in *Religion, Theory, Critique* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017): 273.
[45] The Church Fathers or the Fathers of the Church are the early theologians, priests, and scholars whose thoughts have been formative in interpretations of the Bible.
[46] Ibid., 273–274.
[47] Ibid.

knowledges that affirmed Western superiority over the region, while using that same philanthropy to show interest in the local culture in order to build the relationships necessary to gain access to these resources.

Corbin

Similar to Eliade, Corbin constructed an exclusive and subjective understanding of phenomenology. Corbin's phenomenology was influenced by his translation of Heidegger as well as his infatuation with Islamic mysticism or Sufism, particularly Suhrawardi's religious phenomenology. In some two hundred critical text editions, books, and articles Corbin came to define phenomenology as an intuitive means of interpreting transhistorical religiosity. In *Alone with the Alone,* for instance, he states that "Today, with the help of phenomenology, we are able to examine the way in which man experiences his relationship to the world without reducing the objective data of this experience to data of sense perception or limiting the field of true and meaningful knowledge to the mere operations of the rational understanding."[48] Elsewhere in *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth,* he defines phenomenology "as a description of the outer things which are the *apparentiae reales* of inner states."[49] Enamoured with the religious phenomenology of Iranian Sufism, Corbin saw phenomenology as the act of interpreting manifestations of the god figure across histories and cultures: that is, the very act of revealing what is hidden, *kashf al-mahjub* (revealing of that which is veiled) or *kashf al-asrar* (revealing of that which is hidden). This research positionality, in which the Western "scholar" is empowered with an all-knowing capacity to identify the essence of any belief system, relies upon colonial and supremacist relationships to Other people and Other cultures. Like Eliade, Corbin granted

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[48] Corbin, *Alone with the Alone*, 3.
[49] Corbin, *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth*, 330.

phenomenologists of religion the hierarchically superior position of assigning and interpreting the unqualifiable and unverifiable beliefs and truths of peoples from other cultures and historical times.

Wasserstrom writes that for Corbin phenomenology is a revealing of the intentions of phenomena, a bringing into presence of the primordial image, the *Imago mundi a priori*, "the absolutely primary and irreducible, objective, initial fact of a world of image-archetypes or image sources whose origin is nonrational and whose incursion into our world is unforeseeable, but whose postulate compels recognition."[50] Social scientist Matthijs van den Bos highlights Corbin's anti-modernity, ecumenical, and Platonic mindset as particularly informative in his conceptualization of a transhistorical, religious, and essentialist phenomenology.[51] As early as 1980, scholar of Persian studies Hamid Algar had critiqued Corbin's phenomenology of religion for being a projection of his own consciousness as opposed to those of the believers he sought to empathize with and interpret.[52] The late scholar of Islamic philosophy Muhsin Mahdi (1926–2007) echoed Algar in demonstrating that for Corbin phenomenology was personal and intuitive.[53] Renowned scholar of Islamic philosophy Hassan Hanafi (1935–2021) described Corbin's phenomenology as the practice of finding similarities between esoteric Islam and Heideggerian ontology and adding "a third component from Jung's Archetypes."[54]

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[50] Wasserstrom, *Religion after Religion*, 28.
[51] Matthijs van den Bos, "Transnational Orientalism. Henry Corbin in Iran" *Anthorpos*, (2005, Bd. 100, H. 1): 113–125, esp. 115.
[52] Hamid Algar, "The Study of Islam: The Work of Henry Corbin," *Religious Studies Review*, vol. 6, no. 2 (April 1980): 85–91.
[53] Muhsin Mahdi, "Orientalism and the Study of Islamic Philosophy," *Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 1 (1990): 730–98.
[54] Hassan Hanafi, "Phenomenology and Islamic Philosophy," in *Phenomenology World-Wide,* edited by Tymieniecka AT., Analecta Husserliana (The Yearbook of Phenomenological Research, vol 80, 2002, Springer, Dordrecht): 2–33.

As can be seen, Eliade and Corbin crafted their own narrow definitions of phenomenology as a methodology for the study of religion. While Eliade was more of a generalist insofar as his studies included various cultures and religions, Corbin was primarily focused on Shi'ite Islam. Both, however, understood phenomenology to be a tool that enabled them to gain access to the consciousness of peoples who were at once culturally and historically removed from them. That means they saw themselves in a position of "sagehood" where they could in fact experience what other people had supposedly experienced. Phenomenology as such was intuitive (as opposed to analytic), ahistorical, and subjective for both Eliade and Corbin.

Eliade and Corbin, nonetheless, considered themselves phenomenologists of religion, and myths, religions, and symbols were at the heart of their scholarship. What follows is a brief clarificatory study of how the three categories of myth, religion and symbolic imagery were employed by these two scholars. It is after this important discussion that the function of images can be traced in their works.

Clarification of the Relationship between Myth, Religion, and Symbolic Imagery

One confusion that arises from the study of Eranos and Bollingen, especially in the works of Eliade and, to a lesser degree, Corbin, is that religion and myth seem to have a murky boundary, leaving each inseparable from the other. Another confusing relationship is that of myth and religion to symbols. A first step in understanding where this confusion of meaning between the two concepts of myth and religion comes from is to look through the publications of Eliade and Corbin as well as the existing secondary literature.

In a 1977 article published in the *International Social Science Journal*, Eliade names German philologist Max Müller (1823–1900) as the first person who conducted a scientific study

of religion in his 1856 treatise, *Essays on Comparative Mythology*.[55] The article is a survey of different approaches—such as linguistic, anthropological, ethnographic, orientalist, and psychological—to the study of religion.[56] Eliade writes that since Müller's point of departure in the study of religion was philology and linguistics, "he was almost exclusively interested in the study of myths."[57] In clarifying this statement, Eliade points to Müller's belief that natural phenomena were the genesis of myths and that myths were the genesis of religions.[58] The comparative-linguistic approach to the study of religions, Eliade continues, was discredited after Müller's theories about solar mythologies were put into question. In contrast to Müller's approach, Eliade points to the works of British cultural anthropologist Edward Burnett Tylor (1832–1917). Tylor, Eliade notes, also came to the conclusion that myths were the genesis of religions, albeit via a different route.[59] While Müller saw the reason in the birth of myths and subsequently religions in natural phenomena and linguistic confusion, Tylor saw the reason in "primitive" people's animism which he defined as an understanding of natural elements as possessing souls.[60] As such, Tylor argued that animism led to polytheistic religions and polytheistic religions led to monotheistic ones.[61] Eliade goes on to discuss a number of other hypotheses about the origin of the belief in "the High God" or "Urreligion," the absolutely primary moment of the birth of religion.[62] He eventually addresses the psychological approach to the study of religion as heralded by Freud and Jung. Eliade states that the rise in the study of

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[55] Mircea Eliade, "Religions," *International Social Science Journal* 1977, 29 (4): 615.
[56] For an excellent survey of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries' approaches to the study of religions written after Eliade's article, see Douglas Allen, *Structure and Creativity in Religion: Hermeneutics in Mircea Eliade's Phenomenology and New Directions* (The Hague: Mouton, 1978).
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid., 616.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid., 616–622.

religions and myths owes much to Freud for "his discovery of the unconscious."[63] Additionally and of significance to this dissertation, Eliade writes that "the historian of religion is especially grateful to Freud for proving that images and symbols communicate their messages even if the conscious mind remains unaware of the fact." From this, Eliade concludes that historians of religion can study symbols without being concerned with the number of people who actually understand the meaning of that symbol. He then brings up what he sees as the contribution of Jung to the study of religion which he [Corbin] interprets as the "discovery of the collective unconscious" or "the presence of the transpersonal, universal forces in the depth of the psyche." Significantly, Eliade notes that similarities across symbols and myths led Jung to make such a conclusion. Eliade then links the understanding of religion as an irrational, primordial, and universal force to Rudolf Otto's idea of the numinous which in turn owes much to Schleiermacher.[64] Eliade concludes by pointing to the impossibility of finding the origin of religion. What stands out in this survey, which Eliade wrote at the peak of his academic authority, is the way in which myth and religion are used not as separate domains but as two sides of the same coin. The argument seems to be about which one came first and led to the next. As such, myth and religion, if not used interchangeably, are at least used to denote a vague, universally valid, and "primitive" point of departure for the history of mankind that can be unveiled by phenomenologists of religion through their interpretation of images and symbols used by early humans.

In his introduction to *Mircea Eliade: Myth, Religion, and History* (2014), Nicolae Babuts writes that myths and symbols, for Eliade, are structures, or the organizing principles of

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[63] Ibid., 620.
[64] Ibid., 621.

religion.[65] Furthermore, myths manifest themselves as images. Symbolic images as such are "apprehended by intuition and understood in their totality."[66] Myths, in other words, are mnemonic of an immemorial time that is fundamentally religious. Myths are also manifest in symbolic images. Symbolic images, therefore, become relics of a religious or sacred beginning. Eliade's understanding of these relationships is thus not complicated: in some immemorial past, he holds, human beings started believing in a higher power because they experienced holiness manifest in a worldly phenomenon, such as a tree. The worldly thing, the tree in this example, then became a symbol of that holy power understood as something towards which one feels a certain respectful awe. The holy power manifesting itself into a tree is understood as the holy event. In order to communicate or to represent this moment of hierophany, humans have developed myths or organizing principles. Or as John C. Holt writes, Eliade understood the function of myths to be "link[ing] various symbols into a constellation or 'logic' expressive of a coherent worldview responsive to the experience of the sacred."[67] Myths are in turn represented through symbolic images, or the image of the tree in this case. Seeing the image of a tree, therefore, is instantly understood as a re-living or re-experiencing of the moment of hierophany. Mythological or symbolic images as such are fundamentally experiential. It is to such a way of understanding images that the title of this dissertation refers. Since this process has come to be propagated by the phenomenologists of religion and in turn used as a reference by phenomenologists of architecture, it is concluded that phenomenologists of religion and of architecture argued for the same way of understanding images. The presupposition to such an understanding, however, is that the viewer or the human, in the case of the tree, does believe in

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[65] Nicolae Babuts, *Mircea Eliade: Myth, Religion, and History* (London: Transaction Publishers, 2014): xxxv.
[66] Ibid., xxxv.
[67] Ibid.

the first place that there exists some higher power that is then able to manifest itself. Such an understanding, thus, is itself religious because it requires a priori faith. It is also colonial because it *uses* the cultures of the Global South as the site of the erasure of those same people of the Global South, their histories, contexts, and agency.

Also pointing out the prerequisite of faith, Douglas Allen summarizes Eliade's understanding of myth and religion by writing "For Eliade myth is religious myth; therefore the most common way to violate the irreducibly mythic dimension of the data is to reduce its irreducibly religious structure and function to some nonreligious plane of reference and explanation."[68] In seeing myths as having universal patterns all the while being essentially religious, Eliade assumes everything and everyone to be fundamentally religious, regardless of their consciousness, a claim that is questioned by literary scholar Andrew von Hendy in the *Modern Construction of Myth*.[69] The point, nevertheless, remains that myths and religions that are assumed to be instantly experienceable through symbolic images have promiscuous and overlapping meanings for Eliade. Problematically, as Dubuisson notes, since Eliade's presupposition is that myths, religions, and their symbols can only be understood through an empathic, intuitive, and religious approach and never analytically and through reason, then his words need to be taken at their face value; therefore, "the fruit of the 'total hermeneutics' defended by Eliade, is not distinguished from the false, the pastiche, or the play on words, for they are both placed beyond the exigencies of analytic reason."[70]

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[68] Douglas Allen, *Myth and Religion in Mircea Eliad* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002): 4.
[69] Andrew von Hendy, *Modern Construction of Myth* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001): 168.
[70] Daniel Dubuisson, "Mircea Eliade, or the Sacred," in *Twentieth Century Mythologies* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006): 187.

Being beyond the exigencies of analytical reason, to Corbin, is a characteristic of

religiosity or all things related to religion. While Corbin almost never wrote generally about all

religions, he indefatigably defined his notion of religiosity through his oeuvre.[71] In a prelude to

the second edition of *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth: From Mazdean Iran to Shi'ite Iran*

(1977), Corbin gave a very clear picture of his understanding of religion. This is especially

helpful as it was written at the last stage of his career—he died in 1979. Corbin wrote that as a

philosopher his main concern had always been that of finding the "key" to "the suprasensible

world which is neither the empirical world of the senses nor the abstract world of the intellect."[72]

This world, he wrote, is the actual reality which is prescribed in every human's being and is

independent of all social, political, and economic contexts.[73] Corbin continues that he found the

key to this world in Iran, in pre and post-Islamic philosophy of gnostic traditions.[74] The key is,

he wrote, Imagination.[75] Imagination for Corbin is the mode of perception through which one

accesses the *mundus imaginalis* or the actual reality between the intellectual and sensible

worlds.[76] Religion, for Corbin, is the very roadmap to the *mundus imaginalis*. Myths, rituals, and

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[71] Corbin's religion as he writes in *Creative Imagination*, is the mystic marriage of prophetic religion and mystical religion. Prophetic religion is one defined by a knowable God who sends prophets and responds to humanity. Mystical religion, on the other hand, is defined by a wholly other God who is transcendent and unknowable. The ultimate religion for Corbin is Islamic Gnosticism. See Henry Corbin, *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabi*, translated by Ralph Manheim. (Bollingen Series xi, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969). On Corbin's mystical Islam see Nile Green, "Between Heidegger and The Hidden Imam: Reflections on Henry Corbin's Approaches to Mystical Islam," *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 17, no. 3 (2005): 219–26. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23551733.
[72] Henry Corbin, "Prelude," *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth*, vii.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid., viii. Further information about this can be found on page 48 of this chapter.
[75] For a comparison of imagination as understood by Eliade and Corbin see Adriana Berger, "Cultural Hermeneutics: The Concept of Imagination in the Phenomenological Approaches of Henry Corbin and Mircea Eliade," *The Journal of Religion* (1986 66: 2): 141–156. Berger demonstrates that imagination for both scholars serves an intuitive function that presupposes belief and sympathy and brackets rationality and analytical reasoning.
[76] Corbin, "Prelude," ix.

symbols beckon us to the *mundus imaginalis*.[77] The study of myths, rituals, and symbols, he writes, shapes what he calls the imaginal history. The role of the phenomenologist of religion is to reveal that history through hermeneutics, "which literally means to reconduct something to its source, to its archetype, to its true reality."[78]

In conclusion, Eliade and Corbin had a mutual point of departure and that was the a priori belief in the existence of a god figure or holy presence. For Eliade, manifestations of this holy presence inspired the birth of myths. Interpretations of manifestations of holiness or myths took the shape of symbols. Religion, he held, came to exist in such an impregnable confluence of manifestation, interpretation, representation, and communication. Corbin had a relatively different structure to how he saw religions, myths, and symbols. He believed that religion held the key to an esoteric knowledge that revealed the imaginal world. This imaginal world was the real world to him, and it could only be accessed through its manifestations in myths and symbols. With such background in mind, it is now possible to examine the function of images in the works of Eliade and Corbin.

The Function of Images for Eliade

In his prolific career, Eliade penned over two hundred books, articles, novels, and commentaries. The present study, however, is limited to the 1945–1967 period and focuses on those works that are a result of Eranos conferences and published by Bollingen. Therefore, and as outlined in the first chapter, the Eliade books examined here are *Images and Symbols* (Sheed & Ward, 1952 and republished by Bollingen in 1991), *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return*

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[77] Ibid. xi.
[78] Ibid., xii.

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(Bollingen, 1954), and *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom* (Bollingen, 1958)*, Patterns in Comparative Religion* (Sheed and Ward, 1958).

A) *Images and Symbols*

Images and Symbols: Studies in Religious Symbolism is a collection of five essays initially published in French by Gallimard in 1952 under the title of *Images et Symboles.* The English translation was published by Bollingen in 1991. Each essay of the book explores one major symbol which, in the order of appearance, are "Symbolism of the Centre," "Indian Symbolisms of Time and Eternity," "The Symbolism of Knots," "Observations on the Symbolism of Shells," and "Symbolism and History." Despite its name, the book has no images or figures. In the foreword to the book, which doubles as an introduction, Eliade elaborates on his definition of image and symbol. He writes "the symbol, the myth and the image are of the very substance of the spiritual life," and can never be extirpated.[79] The symbol, he later posits, "reveals certain aspects of reality—the deepest aspect—which defy any other means of knowledge."[80] Images are their own distinct category of knowledge for Eliade; they communicate reality in its entirety, something that language fails to do. Eliade writes, "If the mind makes use of images to grasp the ultimate reality of things, it is just because reality manifests itself in contradictory ways and therefore cannot be expressed in concepts."[81] He contends that it is precisely because of their ability to communicate a multiplicity of meanings simultaneously that images are exceptionally important to religion. He elaborates that "it is therefore the image as such, as a whole bundle of meanings, that is *true*, and not any one of its meanings, nor one alone of its many frames of

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[79] Eliade, *Images and Symbols*, 11.
[80] Ibid., 12.
[81] Ibid., 15.

reference."[82] It is not just for their ability to allow for a multiplicity of meanings that Eliade

places such emphasis on images. Eliade also emphasizes the survival of images through the

collective unconscious. Symbols survive history through the human subconscious.[83] In mining

symbols in the form of imaginary images from the collective unconscious, Eliade sees the

possibility of the "spiritual renewal" of modern man.[84] Getting close to Corbin's notion of

imagination, Eliade writes, "all that essential and indescribable part of man that is called

imagination dwells in realms of symbolism and still lives upon archaic myths and theologies."

Imagination as such, he argues, is a human's only way to see reality as a whole.[85]

Seeing symbols as images that survive the terror of time and therefore instantly relate the

contemporary moment to an imagined past is one of the key similarities between

phenomenologists of religion and architectural phenomenologists. They grant themselves the

supremacist position of interpreting and defining cultures of the Global South. Giving such

weight to images, was supported by Paul Mellon. It is worth noting that Eranos scholars would

not have accepted the reverse of assuming such an empowered position. That is, Eranos scholars

would not have accepted any non-Western scholar's essentialist truths about Western religions or

myths. In other words, Eranos scholars such as Eliade and Corbin assumed a supremacist

position and considered images as the cornerstone of their supremacist phenomenology.

B) *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return*

The Myth of Eternal Return first appeared in French in 1949 as *Le mythe de l'éternel retour:*

archétypes et répétition (Librairie Gallimard, 1949). Its English translation by the Bollingen

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[82] Ibid., 15.
[83] Ibid., 16.
[84] Ibid., 18.
[85] Ibid., 20.

translator Willard Trask (1900–1980), was then published by Bollingen in 1954. A brief book of

about 170 pages, it would have been called *Introduction to a Philosophy of History,* Eliade

writes, had it not been the author's intention to remain humble.[86] As such, the premise of the

book, Eliade states, was to "examine the fundamental concepts of archaic societies."[87] These

concepts, organized into four chapters, are "Archetypes and Repetitions," "The Regeneration of

Time," "Misfortune and History," and "The Terror of History." Eliade's main argument in the

book, central to his entire scholarship, is that by essence human beings actively endeavor to

forget history and continuous time in order to renew themselves and their lives.[88] History, Eliade

contends, bears with it the terror or burden of remembrance that humans avoid by constantly

repeating rituals of renewal, such as celebrating the new year (the annual beginning of significant

events). These rituals help humans make sense of their place in society and in the cosmos. To

make sense of themselves and the world around them, however, humans not only have to enact

these rituals but also must repeat patterns of existence that they believe have been sanctioned by

a higher power or transcendental figure. This transcendental communication has been preserved

through myths. Myths survive through images—visual and metaphorical—that is, symbolic

images.

     An example that Eliade provides in the first chapter of the book best explains the function

of images within this work. The example is architectural as well as visual and is, therefore,

important to this dissertation. Center, Eliade writes, has been quintessential to humankind. The

symbolism of the center is usually manifested architecturally in the form of symmetrical temples,

sacred mountains, sacred cities, or any other *axis mundi*, the symbolic meeting place of heaven,

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[86] Eliade, *The Myth of Eternal Return*, xi.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid., xi.

earth, and hell.[89] Any image of any form of axis mundi, regardless of its social, political, cultural, and historical context, is at once communicative of the concept's multiple meanings and paradigms.[90]

Another example of the use of "image" in the book as the primary and irreducible transhistorical idea to which all representations and paradigms refer voices Eliade's belief that history erodes into myths. Historically significant figures, Eliade writes, "are formed after the image of the heroes of the ancient myths."[91] Eliade contends that historical events fade into myths in popular opinion and are formed by imagination after the image of ancient myths or paradigmatic events or modes of existence. "The historical personage is assimilated to his mythical model (hero, for example.), while the event is identified with the category of mythical actions (fight with a monster or enemy brothers, for example.)."[92] It is noteworthy, however, once again that Eliade's book is devoid of any figures or plates; his images are metaphorical, not visual.

C) *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom*

Originally published in French as *Le Yoga: immortalité et liberté* by Librairie Payot in Paris in 1954, the book appeared in English for the first time in 1958, translated by Trask and published by Bollingen. A little over 500 pages, the book is a complex study of Buddhist philosophy. Images, while not central to the book and never included in the form of figures or plates, play an exceptionally pivotal role, as when he asserts that images, "express transmundane

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[89] Ibid., 12.
[90] Ibid., 12–14.
[91] Ibid., 42.
[92] Ibid., 43.

experiences."[93] Images of archetypes or symbolic images, as such, instantly communicate beyond worldly experiences.

Eliade elaborates on how images do so. In a section devoted to iconography and visualization, he explains that images must be "entered" and "assimilated." Images, he writes, must be contemplated and meditated upon, and then their sacred force should be assimilated and internalized by the viewer. This, Eliade continues, is the first step towards "the interiorization of iconography."[94] Such images are not necessarily of a material kind and can take up the form of mental images. Imagined images or images visualized by the person cannot be entirely novel. In other words, "the aspirant must visualize what has been 'seen' and prescribed and codified by the masters."[95] Mandalas are the prime example Eliade gives:

> Literally, the word [mandala] means "circle"; the Tibetan translations render it sometimes by "center," sometimes by "that which surrounds." It is, in fact, a quite complex design, comprising a circular border and one or more concentric circles enclosing a square divided into four triangles; in the center of each triangle, and in the center of the mandala itself, are other circles containing images of divinities or their emblems. This iconographic schema is susceptible of countless variations; some mandalas look like labyrinths, others like palaces with ramparts, towers, gardens.[96]

As the example of mandalas shows, Eliade's definition of archetypes or symbols—however put into words—is so broad and open to interpretation that circles, towers, and even palaces can be identified as images depicting mandalas. Such an iconography is exclusivist because the process

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[93] Eliade, *Yoga*, 239.
[94] Ibid., 207.
[95] Ibid., 208.
[96] Ibid., 219.

of interpretation presupposes an already existing knowledge available to initiates only. It can be argued that all iconography is exclusivist because it is nevertheless a process of interpreting specific signs. Eliade's iconography, however, presupposes a kind of spiritualized knowledge that is not democratically available to everyone; it requires a lengthy process of initiation into a gnostic tradition. Moreover, this iconographical system, much like Eliade's phenomenology, is ahistorical as it brackets socio-cultural contexts in favor of what are thought to be universally valid transmundane experiences.

D) *Patterns in Comparative Religion*

First appearing in French as *Traité d'histoire des religions* in 1948, *Patterns in Comparative Religion* was re-edited by the author, translated into English by Rosemary Sheed and published in 1958. In 503 pages, Eliade attempts to answer two questions: "first, what is religion and, secondly, how far can one talk of the history of religion?"[97] The book begins with two presuppositions. Firstly, he insists that to understand religion one ought to accept the sacred, otherwise one is studying religion on a plane other than itself and that is reductive.[98] Secondly, he posits that the only way to understand religion is to study its manifestations in rites, rituals, symbols, and other practices.[99] Doing so, he contends, provides us with the closest view of the history of religions defined as an unfinished encyclopedia of the transcultural and transhistorical ways in which the sacred has manifested itself to people.[100]

As such, the book is organized by the ways in which the sacred manifests itself: on the "cosmic" level (sky, earth, water, fire, for example), on the "biological" level (the rhythm of the

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[97] Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, xii.
[98] Ibid., xi.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid., xi–xii.

Moon, the Sun, vegetation, and agriculture, for example), on the "local" level (consecrated places, temples, for example), and through myths and symbols.[101] The local level of the manifestations of the sacred, what Eliade calls local hierophanies, has been foundational to architectural phenomenology as defined by Rykwert and Scully.[102]

"Every kratophany[103] and hierophany whatsoever transforms the place where it occurs: hitherto profane, it is thenceforward a sacred area."[104] So begins the chapter on local hierophanies. Eliade writes that "nature undergoes a transformation from the very fact of the kratophany or hierophany, and emerges from it charged with myth."[105] Spaces, he believes, are all the same and indifferentiable until the sacred manifests itself and order is born out of chaos, place is wrested out of space.[106] There are three presuppositions to the emergence of sacred places. Firstly, they are discovered rather than chosen by people, and they maintain a perpetual source of sacred power. Secondly, through the repetition of rites, sacred places maintain their sacredness even if the original moment of hierophany is forgotten.[107] Eliade elaborates on this by writing, "The rocks, springs, caves and woods venerated from the earliest historic times are still, in different forms, held as sacred by Christian communities today."[108] Thirdly, almost anything

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[101] Ibid., xiii.
[102] In this chapter, Eliade's local hierophanies are described. In the following chapter the reader will become familiarized with Rykwert's and Scully's reference to Eliade in building their architectural phenomenologies.
[103] Eliade uses kratophany as a manifestation of a power that is not necessarily sacred like hierophany would be. See ibid., 24.
[104] Ibid., 367.
[105] Ibid.
[106] Ibid., 368.
[107] Ibid., 367–69.
[108] Ibid., 369.

can be interpreted as a sign of hierophany no matter how insignificant. In Eliade's words, "the presence or absence of ants or mice may be a decisive sign of a hierophany."[109]

Repetition of local hierophanies in the form of new houses, temples, and altars among other building types, sustains and carries through to the future the moment of hierophany and the sacred essence of the locality, Eliade writes.[110] Architecture as such, and just like archetypal images, is an incarnation of something that cannot be put into words since it is an instantaneous embodiment of endless meanings and points of reference. Eliade illustrates this point by referring back to mandalas, which can take the shape of, among other things, circles, centers, monuments, labyrinths, pantheons, or cities and function among all its referents as an *imago mundi* or picture of the cosmos.[111] Once such sacred places are established, and precisely because of their direct relationship to the sacred, they also function as axis mundi.[112]

It becomes understandable now why Monte Verità, the location of Eranos meetings, would be so important to Eliade and his like-minded colleagues. It also sheds light on the significance of the Jung Stone at casa Gabriella and its inscription. Additionally, it reveals why and how Eliade became so important not only to Rykwert and Scully but also to Norberg-Schulz and his concept of the Genius Loci. These three instances owe much to Eliade's conceptualization of the sacred and the profane and the concept of local hierophanies in particular.

Before moving on to the function of images for Corbin, one ought to note that even though images are central for Eliade, his published works that are discussed here have no

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[109] Ibid., 370.
[110] Ibid., 372.
[111] Ibid., 373–4.
[112] Ibid., 375–6.

illustrations in the form of figures or images. The lack of any particular visualization actually assists Eliade in putting forth his basic theory that all things can essentially boil down to one image, but that one image is itself a combination of all "images," and thus irreproducible as any one illustration.

Ultimately and as his arguments demonstrate, Eliade's image-based phenomenology was eclectic and subjective. His scholarship became foundational to the scholarship of architectural phenomenologists–as the next chapter demonstrates. Both strands of scholarship, obsessed with imagery and employing problematic methodologies, were created, published, and distributed through the petro-dollars of Paul Mellon's philanthropy. Mellon used this cultural front to pave the political pathway to gain access to resource-rich countries of the Global South whose petroleum resources were pivotal to the imperial policies of the United States and the country's energy-intensive postwar efforts.

The Function of Images for Corbin

In his prolific career, Corbin wrote over a hundred books, articles, poems, and commentaries. The present study, however, is limited to the 1945–1967 period and focuses on the works that are a result of Eranos conferences and published by Bollingen. Therefore, and as noted in the first chapter, the Corbin writings examined here are *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital* (1960), *Alone with the Alone* (1969), *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn Arabi* (1969), and *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth: From Mazdean Iran to Shi'ite Iran* (1977). In what follows the function of images in each book has been investigated.

A) *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital*

Translated from French by Trask, *Avicenna and the Visionary Recital* was published in 1960 by Bollingen as part of their sixty-sixth series. Originally, the book had been published in French in 1954 under the title of *Avicenne et le Récit Visionnaire* (Département d'Iranologie de l'Institut Franco-Iranien, Téhéran, and Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve, Paris). At 438 pages, the book, as Corbin writes, is not about the eleventh-century Persian philosopher and physician Avicenna (Ibn Sina, c. 980–1037) but rather about what "the Avicennan [sic] experience itself explains to us."[113] He elaborates on his intention by arguing that Avicenna had been robbed of the "esoteric" dimension—defined as "inward things, hidden things, suprasensible occurrences."—of his thought by "Latin Scholasticism" and that he (Corbin) redeems this lost esoteric dimension through a "phenomenological" investigation of the spirit of Avicenna, which is by no means historical precisely because it is about a way of being Corbin elicits from Avicenna's ideas, rather than him as a specific individual thinker.[114] The book, in other words, is not a historically-informed and analytical study of Avicenna's life and thought but rather what Corbin saw, during his 1950–1954 sojourn in Tehran, to be the spirit of Iranian mysticism as manifested in the Avicennian tradition.[115]

The book is divided into two parts. The first part is an introduction to Corbin's understanding of the Avicennian cosmology or his "spiritual universe,"[116] and the second part is his translation of a booklet, *Hayy Ibn Yaqzan*, written by Andalusian philosopher and a follower of Avicennian thought, Ibn Tufayl (c. 1105–1185).[117] Images are central to the first part of the

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[113] Corbin, *Avicenna*, xii.
[114] Ibid., xi–xiii.
[115] For a critical study of Avicenna see Saʿīd Nafīsī, سعید نفیسی، زندگی و کار و اندیشه و روزگار پور سین Zendagī o kār o andīša o rūzgār-e pūr-e Sīnā [Life and Works of Avicenna] (Tehran, 1954).
[116] Corbin, *Avicenna*, 7.
[117] A trusted translation can be found in Lenn Evan Goodman, *Ibn Tufayl's Hayy Ibn Yaqẓān: A Philosophical Tale* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009). For a review of the book's travels

book. Indeed, Corbin argues that the main lesson to be learnt by "Western man" from Avicenna's thought is that the universe is not an "abstract magnitude, transcended by our 'modern conceptions,' but a repository of the Image."[118] This image, he writes, is not "the result of some previous external perception; it is an image that precedes all perception, an a priori expressing the deepest being of the person."[119] He elaborates that human beings carry within themselves a repository of images that form their universe as a coherent being within which individual identities are played out. Here, Corbin references the *Imago mundi* and defines it as this very subjective repository of a priori images.

The repository of images that forms the subjective *Imago mundi* is not the result of any external perception but it also, Corbin argues, is not ambiguous and formless.[120] These images take the shape of symbols and are purely formal and experiential in nature, Corbin believes. Experiencing them, thus, is not mediated by vision but through an internal process of initiation by means of which one overcomes one's own self and transcends one's own being, uniting with pure forms such as fire and metal. In transcending worldliness and oneself, and becoming a totality, such experienced consciousnesses become symbols themselves. Corbin contends that Avicenna as such is himself a symbol.[121] Avicenna, in other words, through his spiritual recitals, has been successful at manifesting his Imago mundi through symbols. These symbols are "not mere projections performed for the subjective pleasure of the mind; they reveal to the mind a region no less objective than the sensible world. Their spontaneity is so far from being arbitrary

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and receptions see Avner Ben-Zaken, *Reading Ḥayy Ibn-Yaqẓān: A Cross-Cultural History of Autodidacticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid., 7–8.
[120] Ibid., 53.
[121] Ibid., 8.

that it exhibits striking recurrences in cultures far apart in time or space, recurrences that no filiation through historical causality could explain to us."[122] Avicennian symbols, therefore, reveal a hitherto hidden dimension of reality in form of symbols. In a Heideggerian play with words, Corbin argues that these symbols are at once eloquent and silent, and precisely because of that they must be experienced rather than being understood through reason and logic.[123] The role of the phenomenologist, therefore, becomes that of a hermeneut or interpreter of esoteric symbols.

B) *Alone with the Alone*

L'Imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn' Arabî (Flammarion) was the French title of the book when it originally appeared in 1958. Its English translation, *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn Arabi*, published by Bollingen, appeared in 1969. Divided into three parts, "Introduction," "Sympathy and Theopathy," and "Creative Imagination and Prayer," the second and third parts were initially published in *Eranos-Jahrbucher* in 1955 and 1956.

At the outset, Corbin declares his methodology to be phenomenological in order to "examine the way in which man experiences his relationship to the world without reducing the objective data of this experience to data of sense perception or limiting the field of true and meaningful knowledge to the mere operations of the rational understanding."[124] The goal of the book, he writes, is to explore the world of archetypes or "Idea-Images" that occupies a realm between the purely tangible and the purely intellectual. "The organ of this universe is the active Imagination; it is the place of theophanic visions, the scene on which visionary events and

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[122] Ibid., 259.
[123] Ibid., 260.
[124] Corbin, *Alone with the Alone*, 3.

symbolic histories appear in their true reality."[125] The book as such, as was the case with

Avicenna and the Visionary Recital, is not a comprehensive study of the twelfth-century Sufist

philosopher Ibn Arabi (1165–1240) but rather meditations on certain themes such as sympathy

and prayer as they appear in some of the works of Ibn Arabi.[126]

The introduction of the book, and the only part which is not an adaptation of Corbin's

Eranos talks, is a biography of Ibn Arabi.[127] Two illustrations, proportionate to the original size

but reproduced in poor quality black and white, accompany the introduction of the book. They

are not properly identified, and are introduced as depicting what Corbin wants the viewer to see

and not as what the work would have been called. The first one, seen in figure 4.1 exactly as

reproduced in Corbin's book, is an illuminated manuscript page from the thirteenth-century

Persian poet Nezami's *Khamsa.[128]* It depicts what would have been an intricate miniature of the

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[125] Ibid., 4.

[126] Ibid., 5.

[127] Islamist William C. Chittick is the most established living scholar of Ibn Arabi but he also identifies with the tradition and has been a student of Corbin. For an alternative biography of Ibn Arabi and a review of his thought see, C. Addas, *Ibn ʿArabī ou La quête du Soufre Rouge*, Paris, 1989, translated as *Quest for the Red Sulphur* (London: Cambridge, 1993). For an interesting study of the foundational role images and the imaginal play in the philosophy of Ibn Arabi see Maryam Saneapour, "A Comparative Approach to the Theory of Image in the Views of Ibn Arabi and Mulla Sadra," *Hikmat-e Moʾaser* 1 (2010): 55–76.

[128] For a review of Nezami's life and thought see Abd-al-Ḥoseyn Zarrinkub, پیر گنجه در جست و جوی ناکجاآباد: درباره ی زندگی، آثار و اندیشه های نظامی. *Pir-e Ganja dar jostoju-ye nākojā-ābād. Dar bāre-ye zendegi, āṯār va andiša-ye Neẓāmi* [The Old Hermit of Ganja in Search of Utopia: About Nezami's Life, Thought, and Works], Tehran, 1993–94. For a brief review of Nezami's *Khamsa* see Domenico Parrello, "Ḵamsa of Neẓāmi," *Encyclopedia Iranica*, edited by Ehsan Yarshater (16 vols.), published online November 2010.

prophets Elijah (or Elias) and Khidr[129] at the Fountain of Life,[130] which they accidentally found

when they sat by a pond for supper and a piece of dried fish from their food fell into the pond

and came back to life.[131] Corbin uses this illustration to highlight what he sees as Ibn Arabi's

spiritual kinship to Khidr. The image, in other words, is a mere decoration that purely by the

mercy of its being an "exotic" miniature is used to corroborate Corbin's claim. The

reader/viewer is left to take Corbin's word for why and how this image supports his claims. The

function of the image, here, is to impress the readers of Corbin's connoisseurship as they are not

given enough information about the image to be able to make any decision for themselves. To

Corbin, then, it is only telling that Ibn Arabi identified as a disciple of Khidr because he (Khidr)

was a repository of divine science and guided Moses to the mystic truth and therefore ought to be

considered "essentially as the invisible spiritual master, reserved for those who are called to a

direct unmediated relationship with the divine world."[132] Khidr—also meaning the color green in

Arabic—as the transhistorical leader of those who seek the truth, Corbin contends, becomes an

archetype that is associated with the color green, which symbolizes perpetual youth.[133] Corbin

writes, "Phenomenologically speaking, the real presence of Khidr is experienced simultaneously

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[129] Some traditions consider Khidr and Elijah to be one but there is no general consensus on any. In the Quranic tradition and as interpreted from the surah Al Kahf, prophet Khidr is the longest living human being who is granted the divine knowledge by god and was in charge of educating Moses. Corbin is clearly following the Quranic tale of Khidr. No prophet of this name is known in the Old Testament. Khidr's counterpart in the Bible is Elijah, the champion of monotheism, and his tale can be found in 1 Kings 17–19 and 2 Kings 1–2. For Corbin's interpretation see, *Alone with the Alone*, 57–59. To read Surah Al Kahf see Mustafa Khattab's translation of Quran (considered the standard version and available online at https://quran.com/18. For an overview of different interpretations of the tale of Khidr in different mythologies and religions as well its significance to Sufism see Anna Krasnowolska, "Ḵeżr," in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, 2009, https://iranicaonline.org/articles/kezr-prophet.

[130] Eranos and Bollingen-affiliate art historian, A. K. Coomaraswamy wrote an article about Khidr and the archetype of the Fountain of Life in 1970. See "Khwājā Khadir and the Fountain of Life, in the Tradition of Persian and Mughal Art," *Studies in Comparative Religion* (vol. 4, no. 4, Autumn 1970), n.p.

[131] Corbin, *Alone with the Alone*, 56.

[132] Ibid., 55.

[133] Ibid., 57, 62–65.

as that of a person and that of an archetype, in other words as a person-archetype."[134] It is not

just the archetype of a spiritual leader but also that of the color green and the fountain of life that

is witnessed here.

Another illustration follows that of Khidr. This time the image, as seen in figure 4.2, is a

black and white photographic reproduction of a page from a richly illustrated sixteenth-century

Persian manuscript, *The Futuh al-Haramayn* (Revelations of the Two Sanctuaries), a guidebook

to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina written by Muhi al-din Lari (unknown–c.1927).[135] Corbin

draws attention to the lack of Western linear perspective in the image and sees this as a depiction

of "presentness," of having the image function in the perpetual moment of the present.[136] As

such, Corbin interprets this map of Mecca and Medina as a mandala or an image that demands

contemplation and active imagination. He writes, "Because each of the elements is presented not

in its proper dimension but being that same dimension, to contemplate them is to enter into a

multidimensional world, to effect the passage … through the symbols."[137] Ka'aba is interpreted

by Corbin as a twofold symbol or archetype. He sees this depiction of Mecca and Medina within

an "enclosure planted with trees, at the center of which ('center of the world') stands a pavilion,"

as a representation of the Persian *Pardis* (paradise). He contends that this image is transhistorical

in nature as it demands not perception but experience: it depicts the mystic mode of being

corresponding to that of Khidr and Ibn Arabi, one in which a person may experience through the

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[134] Ibid., 65.
[135] Not much is known about Muhi al-din Lari other than that he was most probably a Persian miniaturist and writer best known for the above-said book. See E. Berthels, "Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Lārī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition, Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs. Consulted online on 19 April 2022 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_5440>
[136]Corbin, *Alone with the Alone*, 91.
[137] Ibid.

image the depicted process and become at one with oneself and one's god all at once.[138] And

with that, Corbin ends Ibn Arabi's biography and begins the second part of his book.

As with the illustration of Khidr, Corbin uses the image to assert a predetermined

conclusion. It is not any specific detail of the image that is needed; just the fact that there is no

linear perspective in the image ought to be enough proof of the validity of Corbin's assertions. It

suffices for the image to be reproduced in poor quality and as an example of exotic

ornamentation. Corbin treats images like he does the treaties he consults: He imposes his own

interpretation onto them and erases the context altogether. He exploits Persian culture to affirm

Western concepts and Western knowledges. It was, as such, the ideal kind of knowledge for

petrophilanthropist Paul Mellon to fund and publish to gain soft access to oil-rich Iran.

The second part of *Alone with the Alone*, "Sympathy and Theophany," is about "the

essential community between visible and invisible beings."[139] This community, Corbin holds,

takes place within those who follow a mystic religiosity in which the god figure and the human

being unite within the person. In other words, following Ibn Arabi, Corbin argues for the

manifestation of the god figure within the person. Corbin refers to this mode of religiosity as

being sympathetic. He writes, "the mystic has come to know that the very substance of his being

is a breath (*spiritus*) of that infinite Compassion; he is himself the epiphanic form of a divine

Name. Accordingly, his prayer does not consist in a request … but in his actual mode of

being…; it has the value of clarifying the degree of spiritual aptitude he has attained, that is, the

measure in which he has become 'capable of God'."[140] Corbin, echoing the disciples of Ibn

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[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid., 105.
[140] Ibid., 117.

Arabi, uses a symbol to describe this relationship between the self and the god figure. This understanding, "invoked the following symbol: it is like the color of water, which takes the coloration of the vessel that holds it."[141]

Once such unison between the humans and their god has been achieved, the relationship between the two becomes that of sympathy and friendship.[142] His example is that of Ibrahim-e Khalil (the prophet Abraham who is god's friend) who came to be "his god's favorite" by being as hospitable to god's creations as the god himself is towards them.[143] Corbin provides an illustration for this example: a thirteenth-century mosaic depicting the Philoxeny (defined as love for strangers)[144] of Abraham from the Cathedral of St. Mark in Venice reproduced as a black and white photograph (figure 4.3).[145] The image is used as evidence that the Islamic concept of "feeding the angels"[146] is mirrored in Christianity through the Philoxeny of Abraham as depicted in this mosaic. The three angels, Corbin believes, "are the most perfect figuration of the three persons of the Trinity."[147] Such interpretation of the mosaic provides Corbin with an opportunity to see one archetype, that of hospitality, being repeated in many religions and mythologies, thus validating his transhistorical and cross-cultural claims.

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[141] Ibid., 130.
[142] Ibid., 138–139.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Philoxeny (Philoxenia from the Greek φιλοξενία meaning hospitality) is usually interpreted as love for strangers. Here Abraham is shown feeding three angels under an oak tree in the plain of Mamr. The plain of Mamr in the city of Hebron was part of Canaan and the home of Abraham. For the Biblical tale of the Philoxeny of Abraham see Genesis, chapter 18. For the Quranic tale see Surah Hud, verse 70.
[145] I could not find any information validating whether or not this image was from the image-archive collection of Fröbe-Kapteyn.
[146] The concept comes from the Arabic concept of ضیافت (*Ziyafa*, meaning feast) which is to feed the godly community just as the god feeds them. This would be a manifestation of godly traits in humans. See ibid., 315–316.
[147] Ibid., 316. On the different interpretations of the tale see John H. Lowden and Anthony Cutler, "Philoxenia of Abraham," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Illustrations also appear in the third part of the book. Dedicated to "Imagination and Creative Prayer," Corbin's emphasis here is the role of imagination as "the magical production of an image" and the role of image as "a body in which are incarnated the thought and will of the soul." Imagination as such gives "birth to the sensible world, produces the Spirit in forms and colors; the world as *Magia divina*, 'imagined' by the Godhead."[148] Despite the increasing use of jargon and employment of Heideggerian verbs, Corbin's Orientalist argument remains relatively easy to comprehend. Echoing Ibn Arabi, Corbin sees the primary moment of creation as that of a god figure who creates humans in the image of himself precisely because he is lonely and wants to see his own reflection.[149] Here, Corbin is referencing the Quranic terms of "Creator-Creature (khaliq-makhlouq): …the Divine Being is the Hidden and the Revealed, or also that He is the First (al-awual) and the Last (al-Akhir)." Active imagination, thus, becomes the capacity to see the manifestation of the god figure in all phenomena. "What we wish to signify thereby is precisely this valorization of the Image as the form and condition of theophanies. In its ultimate degree, the Image will be a vision of the 'Form of God' corresponding to the innermost being of the mystic, who experiences himself as the microcosm of the Divine Being."[150]

Corbin places great emphasis on the exegesis of images seen by mystics. Corbin, once again referencing Ibn Arabi, uses two illustrated examples to make his point (figures 4.4 and 4.5). The first depicts a vision Joseph had in his sleep and the way in which he interpreted the dream, and the second is a vision Mohammad had, again in his sleep, and his interpretation. One must note that for Corbin images seen in dreams have theophanic functions and thus require exegesis. He sees them as harbingers of experiencing the manifestations of the god figure in the

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[148] Corbin, *Alone with the Alone*, 179.
[149] Ibid., 184. My use of pronouns for the god figure mirrors that of Corbin.
[150] Ibid., 233–234.

future.[151] Interpreting them correctly or understanding "the hidden meaning of dreams" is the main task of the mystic.[152] Corbin in echoing Ibn Arabi contends that the prophet Joseph incorrectly interpreted his childhood dream of the Sun and the sky prostrating before him as the welcoming of his brothers to Egypt years later when they came asking for grains during a famine.[153] As evidence, Corbin points to a fifteenth-century Persian miniature depicting Joseph and his brothers in Egypt. A miniature of twelfth-century Persian Sufi poet Farid al-Din Attar's *Mantiq al-Tayr (The Conference of the Birds)*,[154] the poems bordering the miniature are Attar's account of Joseph's meeting with his brothers in Egypt or the Josephian interpretation of his childhood dream.[155]

The problem with the Josephian interpretation, Corbin argues, is that Joseph "lowered" the hidden meaning of his dream to a mundane level whereas he should have raised it to a higher level.[156] He writes, "In ta'wil [Arabic for exegesis] one must carry sensible forms back to imaginative forms and then rise to still higher meanings; to proceed in the opposite direction (to carry imaginative forms back to the sensible forms in which they originate) is to destroy the

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[151] Ibid., 239.
[152] Ibid., 240.
[153] Ibid., 239–240. See *Genesis* chapter 37. For the Quranic tale see Surah Yusuf, esp. verse 109, https://quran.com/12.
[154] For a brief review of the life and thoughts of Attar (1145–1221) see B. Reinert, "Aṭṭār, Farīd-Al-Dīn," *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, III/1, pp. 20–25, available online at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/attar-farid-al-din-poet.
[155] Most numbers of the fifteenth-century's illustrated edition are kept at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. See Yumiko Kamada, "The Mantiq al-tair (Language of the Birds) of 1487," in *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000) http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/mant/hd_mant.htm (June 2010); see also Marie G. Swietochowski, "The Historical Background and Illustrative Character of the Metropolitan Museum's Mantiq al-Tayr of 1483," in *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, edited by Richard Ettinghausen (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1972): 39–72. Note that in the Islamic tradition, miniatures accompany texts and the focus is on the text, not the image.
[156] Ibid., 239.

virtualities of the imagination."[157] In other words, Corbin believes that the real and tangible

world is lower than the imaginal world from which dreams and revelations manifest fragments.

To interpret any sign of the imaginal in worldly terms is a mistake. Later he expands on this

claim to argue that all things, be they dreams or not, have a theophanic function or a hidden

reference to the imaginal world. The key is to be able to interpret them. He writes,

> Moreover, once it is recognized that everything man sees during his earthly life is of the
> same order … as visions in a dream, then all things seen in this world, so elevated to the
> rank of Active Imaginations, call for a hermeneutics, …, invested with their theophanic
> function, they demand to be carried back from their apparent form … to their real and
> hidden form …, in order that the appearance of this Hidden form may manifest it in
> truth.[158]

The final illustration of the book depicting three angels offering three cups to the prophet

Mohammad (see again, figure 4.5), also has to do with the interpretation of images in dreams.

Prophet Mohammad, Corbin wrote, quoting the Quran, dreamt of three angels offering him three

cups of milk.[159] Unlike Joseph who interpreted his dream by explaining it in terms of mundane

reality, Mohammad, according to Corbin, interpreted the offering of the three cups as a symbol

of godly knowledge being bestowed upon him.[160] Corbin writes, "Such an example shows the

universal and liberating function of the Active Imagination: to typify, to transmute everything

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[157] Ibid., 240.
[158] Ibid., 242.
[159] Ibid.
[160] Ibid.

into an Image-symbol (…) by perceiving the correspondence between the hidden and the visible."[161]

In according a theophanic function to images and the capacity of symbolic exegesis to humans, Corbin created a self-referential and teleological system of interpretation. He also granted images of the miniature school that did not follow the Western tradition of employing single point perspective a significant function: that of manifesting a transhistorical *experience*. This methodology uses Eastern cultures to affirm Western concepts. It is problematic because it brackets history and context in favor of predetermined conclusions. Such images, as three of his four visual examples demonstrate, function beyond time by transmuting the viewer within themselves and having them experience what would, according to the judgment of reason, be only physically possible in reality.

C) *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth: From Mazdean Iran to Shi'ite Iran*

Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth: From Mazdean Iran to Shi'ite Iran is part two of the ninety-first Bollingen Series. Initially published in French as *Terre Céleste et Corps de Résurrection: De l'Iran Mazdéen à l'Iran Shiite* in 1960 (Collection "La Barque du Soleil," Buchet-Chastel, Paris), the first part of the book had appeared earlier in the *Eranos-Jahrbuch XXII* (1953). Translated from French by Nancy Pearson for Bollingen, the book is divided into two main parts. The first part "Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth" fleshes out Corbin's argument for the compatibility of the intermediary imaginal world in Zoroastrianism and Shi'ism. The second part is Corbin's translation of selected works by Sufi philosophers such as Suhrawardi and Ibn Arabi.

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[161] Ibid.

The Bollingen edition includes a prelude by the author that provides what is perhaps the clearest articulation of his doctrine of the imaginal world.

In the prelude, Corbin defines the imaginal world as the intermediary world between the world of perception (what we see and touch) and the world of intellect and abstract ideas.[162] The imaginal world, according to his interpretation is transhistorical and context-free, what he calls "actual reality," and which has been hidden from Western philosophy until he [Corbin] discovered it in Iran.[163] But what is known cannot be discovered. In other words, the Western *man* cannot discover what has always already existed in the East. By Iran, of course, Corbin is referring to Persian Sufism or metaphysical thinking. Corbin's imaginal world is accessed through what he calls the active imagination.[164] The active imagination communicates, as seen in the examples discussed earlier in the *Alone with the Alone*, through symbolic images. Corbin writes, "As for the function of the *mundus imaginalis* [the Imaginal World] and the Imaginal Forms, it is defined by their median and mediating situation between the intellectual and sensible worlds. On the one hand it immaterialises the Sensible Forms, on the other it 'imaginalises' the Intellectual Forms to which it gives shape and dimension. The imaginal world creates symbols on the one hand from the Sensible Forms, on the other from the Intellectual Forms."[165] Imaginal forms as such are "metaphysical images"[166] or visualizations of the symbols seen in the imaginal world through the "visions of the prophets, the visions of the mystics, the visionary events which each human soul traverses at the time of his exitus from this world, … but also the gestes [French for gesture] of the mystical epics, the symbolic acts of all the rituals of initiation,

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[162] Corbin, *Spiritual Body*, vii–viii.
[163] Ibid., viii.
[164] Ibid., xi.
[165] Ibid., ix.
[166] Ibid., x.

liturgies in general with all their symbols ….”[167] Even though Corbin gives examples of imaginal

forms, because of the exclusive and esoteric nature of his doctrine, it is not possible for non-

believers in Corbin's faith to be able to see such visions yet alone interpret them. There persists,

as such, a sense of perpetual uncertainty about the working mechanisms and interpretation

methods of the imaginal world and the imaginal forms.

Nonetheless, Corbin provides two visual examples of the imaginal forms being visualized

in material. The first example, also the frontispiece of the work, is a poor-quality black and white

reproduction of the detail of a silk textile from the Cleveland Museum of Art and depicts five

double-headed phoenixes, inside each of which is superimposed a standing human figure. Each

phoenix is carrying two griffins (figure 4.6).[168] Corbin argues that the textile, said to be found in

1925 in Rayy, Iran, is of particular iconographic interest because it depicts Sasanid[169] motifs (the

phoenix and griffin)[170] on an Islamic object dating to the eleventh century.[171] Moreover, Corbin

contends, where the textile was found is also of interest. The archaeological site in Rayy where

the object was unearthed is the sanctuary of Shahr Banu, daughter of the last Sasanid king who

married Husayn Ibn Ali, the third Imam in the Shi'ite tradition. These two instances, Corbin

believes, testify to the "iconographic and topographic… union of Mazdean Iran and Shiite

Iran."[172] Corbin takes his argument even further by counting this as one of the many examples

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[167] Ibid., xi.

[168] This image was not from the Eranos imgae-archive.

[169] The Sasanian dynasty were the last rulers of Persia before Islam. They ruled 224 CE–650 CE.

[170] On Sasanid symbols see Minoo Iranpour and Hoda Khodadai, " تحلیل و بررسی نمادشناسی و نقش مایه های ساسانی دوره ی (Tahlil o Baressi-e Namadshenasi o Naghshmayehay-e Dorane Sasani)," *Proceedings of The First National Conference of Symbology in Persian Art with a Focus on Native Art*, Bojnourd, 2017. https://civilica.com/doc/748160

[171] Corbin, *Spiritual Body*, xxxi.

[172] Ibid.

that can serve a double function: testifying to the unity of Iranian ethos before and after Islam and the visualization of imaginal forms in material throughout both eras.[173]

But this particular silk textile has an uncommonly fascinating history of which Corbin must have been aware both when he wrote the book and when he edited it for its English publication by Bollingen. This textile was one of about twenty fragments, known as the Buyid Silks, that were presumably unearthed in Rayy in 1925.[174] The textiles were then purchased by a tobacco merchant named Metossian and brought to Egypt where they were studied and authenticated by the French Orientalist Gaston Wiet (1887–1971) in his 1947 book, *Soieries Persanes* (it is Wiet who Corbin cites in the *Spiritual Body*).[175] Wiet, a historian by training, had become interested in Persian medieval textiles through his acquaintance with Paul and Mary Mellon.[176] Interestingly, it was Mary Mellon who bought the Buyid Silks from Metossian and brought them to New York following a trip to Egypt (date unknown).[177] From there the silks and reproductions of them made their way into major museums and private collections such as the Cleveland Museum of Art and Fröbe-Kapteyn's image archive. The textiles became the subject of many studies presented in the 1931 International Exhibition of Persian Art at the Royal Academy in London and the 1935–36 Third International Congress for Persian Art and Archaeology in Leningrad, among others.[178] In 1952, shortly before Corbin first published a

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[173] Ibid., xxxi–xxxii.
[174] Buyid was an Islamic Persian dynasty that ruled over the south and western parts of today's Iran and Iraq in the period between the Abbasid and Seljuq eras, that is 10th–11th centuries.
[175] Sheila S. Blair, Jonathan M. Bloom and Anne E. Wardwell, "Reevaluating the Date of the 'Buyid' Silks by Epigraphic and Radiocarbon Analysis," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 22 (1992): 1–41.
[176] Ibid. According to Blair, Bloom, and Wardwell, Mellons had shown Wiet a Medieval Persian silk from their private collection before and he [Wiet] had become interested in the category ever since. See ibid.
[177] Ibid.
[178] For a complete list of the studies and symposia see Sheila S. Blair, Jonathan M. Bloom and Anne E. Wardwell, "Reevaluating the Date of the 'Buyid' Silks by Epigraphic and Radiocarbon Analysis," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 22 (1992): 1–41.

fragment of the textile, a controversy broke out that tarnished the provenance of the Buyid Silks. Florence Day, formerly Curator of Islamic Art at the Textile Museum and by then Assistant Curator of Near Eastern Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, published a review of Wiet's book in which she argued that the Buyid Silks were not from the Shahr Banu site. The inscriptions, Day pointed out, were almost illegible, and those that were legible included names that do not appear in historical documents of the time. Moreover, their iconography was not in accordance with known medieval Persian textile traditions.[179] The controversy continued for decades with scholars taking sides in the debate over the authenticity of the silks or the lack thereof.[180] By the mid-1970s and with the advent of Carbon-14 analysis, it was finally established that with the exception of one piece, the Buyid Silks were either twentieth-century forgeries or seventeenth to twentieth-century imitations of medieval fabrics.[181]

The specific piece of textile that Corbin used in his work is one of the seventeenth-twentieth-century imitations. By the time he used an image of the textile for his Eranos lecture in 1952, by the time the transcript of the talk was published in *Eranos Yearbooks* in 1953, by the time the transcript appeared in English as part of the *Spiritual Body* in 1960, and by the time it was reprinted in 1977, the Buyid Silk controversy was already well underway. The extent of the debate and the close relationship of the Eranos-Bollingen circle with the objects makes it impossible for Corbin not to have been aware of the controversy. He fails, however, to acknowledge that the provenance and validity of what he uses as visual proof of his metaphysical

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[179] Florence Day, "Soieries persanes. By Gaston Wiet," *Ars Islamica* 15–16 (1951): 231–244.

[180] See for instance E. Kiihnel, "Some Observations of Buyid Silks," *Survey 14*: 3808–89; Dorothy G. Shepherd, "Technical Aspects of the Buyid Silks," *Survey 14*: 3090-3100; Mechthild Lemberg, "The Buyid Silks of the Abegg Foundation, Berne," *Bulletin du CIETA* (Centre international d'étude des textiles anciens. No. 37 1973 – I): 11–54.

[181] Sheila S. Blair, Jonathan M. Bloom and Anne E. Wardwell, "Reevaluating the Date of the 'Buyid' Silks by Epigraphic and Radiocarbon Analysis," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 22 (1992): 17–18.

claims were being questioned. Again, a poor black and white reproduction of the silk piece helps

Corbin in supporting his arguments as something general and exotic that the reader ought to

accept purely by the virtue of Corbin's assumed connoisseurship.

Corbin's second example of visualizations of the imaginal forms in material is a

fourteenth-century miniature from Nezami's twelfth-century *Makhzan al-Asrar* (*The Treasury of*

Mysteries) (figure 7). The miniature, Corbin contends, is "the best illustration" of "an earthly

landscape in which everything is transfigured by that light of glory which the soul projects onto

it."[182] This illustration of an intricately detailed path that moves through some greenery to reach

the blue sky, in other words, is the depiction of an earth "imagined by the soul [that] transfigures

the Earth into a heavenly Earth, a glorious landscape symbolizing with the paradisal landscape of

the beyond."[183] Once again Corbin projects onto a black and white reproduction of the last folio

of Nizami's previously discussed work, a work about utopias, his own mysticism to support his

universalist claims. That the quality of the image is so poor that the poems are too blurry to read

further assists Corbin in maintaining the oriental and exotic aura he needs to validate his

metaphysical claims. The example of the textile forgery, for instance, helped show that Corbin

was using images to support a pre-determined reading of the evidence.

Ultimately, Corbin failed to use images in a methodologically rigorous way. He

disregarded history and context, and oversimplified Sufist wisdom to draw his predetermined

conclusions, similar to other Eranos scholars. He even bluntly disregarded the questioned

provenance of an image that was central to his argument. That in addition to his claims about

what he terms Iranian spirit and his perception that it has been constant before and after Islam

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[182] Corbin, *Spiritual Body*, 31.
[183] Ibid., 31.

was introduced to Iran, completely ignore centuries of conflict resulting in material loss and death—all to support a metaphysical claim. Such an argument was particularly favorable to Iran's then Shah at the time who was able to use Corbin's argument about Iranian spirit to prove his own direct relationship to the ancient Persian kings of the Achaemenid and the Sassanid dynasties, and his direct and pure Aryan bloodline.[184] Corbin's scholarship, therefore, as Mirsepassi writes, "informed the vanity" of Iran's Shah.[185] By supporting this kind of scholarship, Paul Mellon was proving a favorable ally to the Iranian regime that in return provided the Gulf Oil Corporation with access to Iran's immense oil and gas resources.

This example goes to demonstrate the very historical construction of the coloniality of knowledge and the epistemic violence that lies at the heart of the phenomenology of religion and architectural phenomenology. This petroleum-based violence has in turn been crystallized in not only the scholarship produced by the scholars of the two fields but also in the built environment though architectural standards and norms. This cycle perpetuates petronormativity and as such maintains fossil-intensive modes of creating, curating, and producing knowledge.

Conclusion

Mircea Eliade and Henry Corbin both argued for the centrality of "images" as manifestations of essentialist truths in their phenomenologies of religion. Understanding phenomenology as an intuitive interpretation of transhistorical mythical and religious symbols, the two scholars emphasized the significance of images in different ways. For Eliade, the preeminence of images was a result of what he saw to be their unique ability to incorporate a multiplicity of meanings all

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[184] Wasserstrom, *Religion after Religion*, 151; Ali Mirsepassi, *Transnationalism in Iranian Political Thought: The Life and Times of Ahmad Fardid* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2017): 115–117;
[185] Mirsepassi, *Transnationalism*, 115.

at once and precisely because of that he had no images reproduced in his discussed works. Corbin, on the other hand, believed that images held the key to unlocking what he thought the true real world was: the imaginal world. As such, he employed images without providing any detailed information about them. In other words, the reader was left at the mercy of not verifiable information but Corbin's imagination, to understand what the poor-quality images depicted. Both scholars insisted that these images, according to either understanding, were not subjective, that they had always already existed and were discovered by those who *saw* them. Here, seeing is not a function of the eye; it is rather a function of the indoctrinated imagination of an initiate instructed by a guru-like spiritualized authority.

Imagination was an important capacity for both scholars, but it held a position of superiority for Corbin. For Corbin, imagination was the prized faculty of an initiate as it manifested otherworldly images. But what are these images? There is no clear-cut answer to this question. Eliade almost never spoke of any one specific image. For him, all images, regardless of the form they took, produced a collective pastiche of an Ur-image which was the closest humanity could get to a religious genesis. Corbin, on the other hand, referred to specific images. He often referred to paintings, mosaics, and textiles to illustrate his writing and to support his historical arguments. For all the emphasis both Eliade and Corbin placed on images, however, their function seems to be that of validating universalist claims. Such use of images turned out to be especially problematic in the case of the Buyid Silks. After historical and cultural contextualization most if not all images have specific and grounded meanings that are rarely universally valid.

Meaning is a contested terrain. For Eliade and Corbin, however, meanings were not that contested after all. Both scholars believed that meanings were not created but found or

discovered. Religions and myths were central to their scholarship precisely because of their ability to grant the illusion of transhistoricality of meanings. That is why they placed an a priori condition to any critique of their works. The condition was to have faith or to believe in the possibility of god figures creating meaning for humans through manifestations of their existence. As such, their work functioned like religious texts and their arguments like religion.

Therefore, the scholarly group within which Eliade and Corbin operated could be understood as a cult in itself; a cult that sought faithful members who went through an initiation that granted them, to quote Corbin, the "key" to an esoteric knowledge come to them through myths and symbols only *they* could interpret correctly. The next chapter will explore the extent to which two phenomenologists of architecture, Rykwert and Scully, were in conversation with the scholarly group within which Eliade and Corbin operated. Regardless of the extent, that this cult of scholars was exclusively funded by the oil money from Mellons partially reveals the Mellons' agenda. As the Buyid Silks' example reveals, the agenda seems to be that of propagating supremacist, colonial, and Orientalist scholarship founded on images and objects looted from culturally colonized countries in the name of "objective" knowledge production. The support of such scholarship by Mellon was a front to his intention of gaining soft access to the natural resources of the Global South countries it culturally colonized through Bollingen.

Chapter Five: Architectural Phenomenology

Introduction

Vincent Scully and Joseph Rykwert, two of the most acclaimed historians of architecture associated with a phenomenological approach, were both Bollingen fellows in 1957 and 1966, respectively. Through Bollingen fellowships, Scully performed "A Study of the Meaning Embodied in the Planning of Archaic and Classic Greek Temples," and Rykwert conducted "A Study of the Roman and Etruscan Town Plans in Relation to Their Foundation Rituals."

Scully and Rykwert never lectured at Eranos and never cited one another. But their thoughts were largely influenced by the scholarship of the Eranos-Bollingen circle of scholars, particularly by Eliade's writings on myths and rituals as evidenced by their citations and manifested in their a priori belief in a religious and mythical beginning to architecture. Scully and Rykwert shared other formative encounters in their intellectual journeys. Swiss art historian, Siegfried Giedion (1888–1968) was the most direct link.[1] He was a lifelong friend of Rykwert as well as his mentor, and a major influence on Scully. Another point of contact between the two was archaeologist Frank E. Brown (1908–1988), a 1962 Bollingen fellow who formed a lifelong friendship with Scully and later with Rykwert.[2] The other links that connect all four of these scholars —Scully, Rykwert, Giedion and Brown —are the American Academy in Rome, interest

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[1] Writings on Giedion are abundant. See, for instance, Reto Geiser, *Giedion and America: Repositioning the History of Modern Architecture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018).
[2] A graduate of Yale University (PhD 1938), Brown began his career as an assistant professor of Classics at the same institution. Previously a fellow at the Academy during his graduate years, from 1945 to 1947 he was the Director of the General Antiquities of the Republic of Syria. Brown returned to the Academy as Professor in Charge of the Classical School and Director of Excavations in 1947, a position he kept until 1952. In 1952, he returned to Yale as Professor of Classics. From 1955–1962, he was simultaneously the secretary of the American Schools of Oriental Research. In 1963, however, Brown left Yale to return permanently to the American Academy, resuming the positions of Professor in Charge and Director of Excavations. Having resigned the directorship of the Academy in 1969, Brown remained Professor in Charge of the Classical School at Yale until his retirement in 1976. On the life and legacy of Brown see Russell T. Scott, "Frank Edward Brown, 1908–1988," *American Journal of Archaeology* 92, no. 4 (1988): 577–79.

in archaeological findings in Italy and Greece, and a search for universal and timeless principles or archetypes in art and architecture.[3] In this chapter, I unravel these relationships and use them to contextualize and explore the function of images in those works by Scully and Rykwert that were a result of their Bollingen fellowships, influenced by the Eranos-Bollingen circle, or fall within the period of this study, 1945–1967.

The chapter begins with a short biography of each scholar with the goal of situating their intellectual trajectories within the broader architectural discourses of the twentieth century in the U.S. and the U.K.[4] Scully and Rykwert had drastically different backgrounds yet were drawn to the same milieu of scholarship, albeit from different paths: Rykwert was a Britain-based scholar from a well-off family of émigré Jews; Scully was the child of a lower-middle-class suburban New Haven family who remained there for the largest part of his life. The contrast in their biographical background shines a light on the varying ways in which traditionalism came to flourish in a categorically different landscape of ascetic modernist aesthetics of abstraction and functionalist expression. The brief biographical sketches also speak to the lingering influence of Scully and Rykwert by accounting for how, over many decades, they trained generations of now internationally famous architects. Lastly, this section highlights the connections Scully and

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[3] The American Academy in Rome, begun in 1894 as the American School of Architecture in Rome, was founded in 1897 for Students of Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture. In 1912, it united with the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, retaining its title and organizing the two branches known as the School of Fine Arts and The School of Classical Studies. On the history of the Academy pertaining to the timeframe of this study, see Lucia and Alan Valentine, *American Academy in Rome, 1894-1969*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1973); Fikret K. Yegül, *Gentlemen of Instinct and Breeding: Architecture at the American Academy in Rome, 1894–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). For a general understanding of how Italy became and remained important to modernists see Andrew Leach, John Macarthur, Maarten Delbeke (ed.), *The Baroque in Architectural Culture, 1880–1980* (New York: Routledge, 2017).

[4] Note that since Rykwert has written an autobiography, there is considerably more detail available about his life story as opposed to that of Scully. In using the data from Rykwert's autobiography, I have maintained my criticality by verifying the information against other available sources.

Rykwert had with the Eranos-Bollingen circle which will, in turn, serve as a context for the analysis of the function of images in their works.

Following the biographies is a section dedicated to architectural phenomenology. The goal of this section is to remind the reader of the history of architectural phenomenology, also previously outlined in the first chapter. Here, however, particular attention has been given to the positionality of Scully and Rykwert in the field. This section leads to my discussion of the function of images in the works of Scully and Rykwert.

To examine the function of images for Scully and Rykwert during the period of this study, I use a set of their publications as primary sources. These include *The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods* (1962), *Louis I. Kahn* (from the Makers of Contemporary Architecture series (1962), Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance* (1975) and the "Introduction" to *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (1966; second introduction to the second edition, 1977) by Scully*, and *The Golden House* (1951), *The Idea of a Town* (1963 in *Forum*, 1976 as a book), *Church Building* (1966), and *On Adam's House in Paradise: The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History* (1972) by Rykwert. Unlike works by the phenomenologists of religion, Scully's and Rykwert's manuscripts are richly illustrated. In each case, I have thoroughly considered not only what their chosen images depict but also the visual arguments they make and whether or not the visual arguments and the textual ones are complementary, parallel, or contradictory. Most of the books discussed have over one hundred illustrations. Clearly, it has not been possible to reproduce all those images here. But I have included enough to account for my own arguments. Finally, the chapter ends with concluding remarks that seek to highlight what can be learnt from the approach toward images employed by these two architectural phenomenologists.

Vincent Scully

Vincent Joseph Scully Jr. was born in New Haven, Connecticut, on 21 August 1920. He was the only child of Mary Catherine McCormick and Vincent Joseph Scully Sr., a car salesman.[5] Scully graduated from New Haven's public Hillhouse High School in 1935 and entered Yale on a full scholarship in 1936, majoring in English. After graduating from Yale in 1940 he began his graduate studies in Art History, also at Yale. The same year, he left school to serve, first in the U.S. Army Air Forces and then in the Marine Corps. From 1940–1946, during World War II, Scully served first as a Lieutenant and then as a Major in the Mediterranean and the Pacific. He rarely spoke about the war period but admitted that it was atop the deck of a troop ship in the Mediterranean that he became fascinated with Greek architecture.[6] Scully described that moment as a conjoining of architecture and religion, writing: "It was the great opening for me, when I had my religious experience with Greek temples. I saw the sacred landscape, the sacred buildings. I saw the relationship between the two. It changed my life."[7]

After the war, Scully returned to New Haven and continued his graduate studies in Art History. By 1947, he received his master's degree in art history and in 1949, his doctorate in the same field. As early as 1947 he had been teaching in the department of art history and upon graduation in 1949, was appointed a faculty member in the same department where he taught History of Architecture from the prehistoric to the modern period.

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[5] Richard B. Woodward, "Vincent Scully, 97, Influential Architecture Historian, Dies," *New York Times*, Dec. 1, 2017; Matt Schudel, "Vincent Scully, Yale scholar who explored architecture's humanizing force, dies at 97," *Washington Post*, 1 December 2017. The dates of birth and death of Mary Catherine McCormick and Vincent Joseph Scully are unknown.
[6] Woodward, "Vincent Scully," n.p.; Schudel, "Vincent Scully," n.p.
[7] As quoted in Richard Conniff, "The Patriarch," *Yale Alumni Magazine*, March/April 2008, accessed on 26 September 2022, n.p. https://yalealumnimagazine.org/articles/2007-the-patriarch?page=1

Scully wrote his doctoral dissertation, "The Cottage Style," published later as *The Shingle Style: Architectural Theory and Design from Richardson to the Origins of Wright*, under the supervision of the celebrated U.S. art historian Henry-Russell Hitchcock (1903–1987).[8] An ardent admirer of Frank Lloyd Wright and a nationalist seeking to forge a homogenous and historically continuous "American" way of architecture, Hitchcock introduced Wright's architecture to Scully.[9] The influence of Hitchcock's linear and genealogical method of studying

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[8] At the time, Hitchcock was a visiting lecturer at Yale from Wesleyan College. A graduate of Harvard in History (BA, 1924) and Architecture (MA, 1927), and friends with other Harvard-based modernists such as poet T. S. Eliot (1888–1965), composer Virgil Thompson (1896–1989), and art historian Alfred Barr (1902–1981), Hitchcock came to play a pivotal role in shaping a particularly exclusive and teleological historiography of modern architecture that focused on the role of a heroic architect at the expense of undermining the socioeconomic and political contexts, and prioritized the formal and the visual over any other consideration. Informed by such conviction, Hitchcock with the founding director of the Museum of Modern Art (1929–1943) Alfred Barr, and architect Phillip Johnson (1906–2005) curated the "Modern Architecture: International Exhibition" in the Museum of Modern Art in 1932, and coauthored its catalogue with Johnson. The exhibition introduced a limited array of works of European architects such as Le Corbusier and Walter Gropius to the U.S. audience, emphasizing their formal characteristics. Equally significant was their method of introducing the works of architecture through images, photographs, and architectural drawings. Such emphasis on communicating the architectural through the visual certainly influenced Scully and informed his research and teaching both of which relied heavily on photographic representations of works of architecture.

For Henry-Russell Hitchcock's biography see, for instance, Helen Searing, "Henry-Russell Hitchcock: The Architectural Historian as Critic and Connoisseur," *Studies in the History of Art* 35 (1990): 251–63; see also "Henry-Russell Hitchcock papers, 1919–1987," *Smithsonian Archives of American Art*.

On Alfred Barr see Sybil Kantor, *Alfred H. Barr, Jr. And the Intellectual Origins of the Museum of Modern Art* (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 2002). On Phillip Johnson see Franz Schulze, *Philip Johnson: Life and Work* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); for more critical discussions see Beatriz Colomina and Emmanuel Petit (ed.), *Philip Johnson: The Constancy of Change* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009). Note that Vincent Scully has contributed to this volume as well. On the history of the 1932 exhibition see Riley Terence, Stephen Perrella and Arthur Ross, *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Rizzoli/CBA, 1992).

On the role of the visual in the International Style see Beatriz Colomina, *Privacy and Publicity: Modern Architecture and Mass Media* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1994). She writes that "the International Style was a myth sustained by the strategic deployment of mass culture and advertising techniques (211)." See also Mark Wigley, *White Walls, Designer Dresses: The Fashioning of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1995): 156–225; Werner Oechslin, "The 'Picture': the (superficial) consensus of modern architecture?," *Architecture & Urbanism*, translated by Maria Georgiadou, no.245, 28–39.

On Scully's teaching method see Woodward, "Vincent Scully," n.p.; Matt Schudel, "Vincent Scully," n.p.

[9] Scully came to be an adamant fan of Wright in his own right. He commissioned Wright to design him a house but could not afford to build Wright's design, so he went on to design his own. See Richard Conniff, "The Patriarch," *Yale Alumni Magazine*, March/April 2008, accessed on 26 September 2022, n.p. https://yalealumnimagazine.org/articles/2007-the-patriarch?page=1

architecture as well as his fascination with Wright can be seen in Scully's dissertation, which

proposed the existence of a formal continuity between the large 1870s and 1880s cottages and

Wright's early domestic architecture in the U.S. Midwest. By the time Scully's dissertation was

published in 1955, he had already immersed himself in the study of the Greek architecture that

had seized his imagination during World War II. He described the 1950s as "the most intense

and profound intellectual and spiritual experience of [his] life."[10]

The art historical scene of the 1950s in the United States was shaped in part by the works

of Giedion, and by art historian and Bollingen-editor Herbert Read (1893–1968).[11] Influenced by

the works of Jung on the human unconscious, as Eeva-Liisa Pelkonen demonstrates, both

scholars published essays and curated exhibitions on the universality of art and the recurrence of

certain architectural phenomena throughout history.[12] While Scully did not cite Jung or Read in

his writings, he might have attended some of their lectures while a student at Yale. He was an

undergraduate at Yale when Jung introduced the idea of the unconscious manifesting through

images during the Terry lectures in 1937. Also, Scully could have attended Read's 1946 lectures,

"Social Aspects of Art in an Industrial Age," which highlighted the significance of intuitive

artistic processes as a means of overcoming the ills of modern life. In 1954, Scully published

"Archetype and Order in Recent American Architecture." Clearly influenced by Jung, here

Scully dismissed Bauhaus architecture for its abandonment of the past and lauded Wright and

Johnson for having realized that, in essence, all architecture, like all humanity, is one and united

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[10] As quoted in Richard B. Woodward, "Vincent Scully," n.p.

[11] Writings on both Read and Giedion are abundant. On Herbert Read see, for instance, David Goodway, *Herbert Read Reassessed* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1998). On Giedion see Reto Geiser, *Giedion and America: Repositioning the History of Modern Architecture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018).

[12] Eeva-Liisa Pelkonen, "Vincent Scully Detonates the Past," *Perspecta* 13 (2022), 71.

and is, in fact, a re-imagination and evolvement of primal spatial archetypes.[13] Pelkonen sees

further traces of Scully's fascination with Jungian psychoanalysis in his obsession with the

heroic figure of male architects. She also finds fault in Scully's method of "working like an

analysist by treating traces of the past in present architecture both as a symptom and as a cure,"

as opposed to the standard historical inquiry which dictates that the cause determines the

reaction.[14] In any case, Scully's involvement with Jungian psychoanalysis and the Bollingen

circle materialized in 1957, when he became a Bollingen Fellow working on "The Meaning

Embodied in the Planning of Archaic and Classic Greek Temples." Scully's 1950s research,

including his 1951–52 Fulbright fellowship in the American Academy in Rome, culminated in

what many critics saw as his magnum opus, *The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods* (Yale

University Press, 1962).[15]

If Scully's thought took a psychoanalytical turn in the 1950s, then it turned towards

urbanism and conservation in the 1960s. Triggered by the early-1960s transportation plans of

building multilane highways in New Haven, and framed by the larger theoretical turn in the field

of architecture,[16] as well as the growing interest in urbanism spearheaded by Jane Jacobs' 1961

book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, Scully began to consider the mediatory role

of urbanism between architecture and human beings.[17]

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[13] Scully, "Archetype and Order in Recent American Architecture," *Art in America*, December 1954, 254.
[14] Pelkonen, 73.
[15] See, for instance, Peter Collins, "Review of The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 22, no. 1 (March 1963): 45–46.
[16] On the theoretical turn of architecture in the 1950s see chapter 1.
[17] His 1963 attack on Walter Gropius's Pan Am building in New York City in "Death of a Street," and 1969 book, *American Architecture and Urbanism*, among other instances, reflect Scully's preoccupation with urbanism. Almost all scholars who worked on Scully, with him, or were his students, testify to his special fondness for his hometown, New Haven. On that and the impact of the 1950s transportation plans on Scully see, for instance, Paul Goldberger, "Vincent J. Scully Jr. (1920–2017)," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, June 2018, vol. 77, no. 2 (133–137), 135. On U.S. journalist and activist Jane

His interest in conservation, while a partial result of his fascination with history, was also simultaneously a catalyst for and a consequence of his intellectual affinity with Robert Venturi (1925–2018) as well as his collaboration, as a mentor and the author of the introduction, with Venturi on *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (1966).[18]

In the 1970s, Scully worked on a project that he defined as a continuation of *The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods*.[19] *Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance* (1975), Scully writes, is a manifestation of his appreciation for the American Southwest, the U.S. region that he thought most resembled the sacred landscape of Greece, its forms and mountains.[20] While Scully never makes any reference to Bollingen or Eranos in the book, the fact that he saw this project as a continuation of the one he wrote as a Bollingen Fellow, and that the topic was previously introduced to the U.S. imagination through Maud Oaks' *Navaho Pollen and Sand Paintings* — Bollingen's initial publication—all point to Scully's ongoing intellectual affinity with Eranos-Bollingen themes. This highly criticized work also gave voice to a major tenet of Scully's architectural thought: that buildings need to be empathized with and felt rather than studied and analyzed based on documents.[21]

Jacobs (1916–2006), see P. L. Laurence, "The Death and Life of Urban Design: Jane Jacobs, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the New Research in Urbanism, 1955–1965," *Journal of Urban Design*, 11 (June 2006): 145–172; P. L. Laurence, "Jane Jacobs before *Death and Life*," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 66 (March 2007): 5–15.

[18] On Scully's influence on Venturi see Mary MacLeod, "Venturi's Acknowledgments: The Complexities of Influence," in *Complexity and Contradiction at Fifty*, edited by Martino Stierli and David Brownlee, 50–75, New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2017, 53–55. See also, Emmanuel Petit, "Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown," in *Irony, or, the Self-Critical Opacity of Postmodern Architecture*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013, 32–72, esp. 37–45.

[19] Vincent Scully, *Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance*, xi.

[20] Ibid., xi.

[21] In a 1980 interview with New Yorker, Scully admonished the process of finding written records of buildings as "reductionist" and not allowing for a multiplicity of meaning based on interpretation. James Stevenson, "What Seas What Shores: Profile of Vincent Scully," *New Yorker*, 18 February 1980, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/1980/02/18/what-seas-what-shores. Almost all the reviews of the

Through the 1970s, Scully's work was framed by critics in relation to the Grays vs. the Whites.[22] Representing two distinct approaches to the possibility of any reconciliation between modern architecture and history, the Grays, including Jaquelin Robertson, Charles Moore, Allen Greenberg, and Romaldo Giurgola, favored borrowing from historical traditions to increase the iconographical legibility of modern architecture. The Whites, on the other hand and including Peter Eisenman, Michael Graves, Charles Gwathmey, John Hejduk, and Richard Meier, insisted on maintaining the visual purity and austerity of modernist architecture's abstraction.[23] The Grays were identified as those who upheld the relevance of overt historical references to modern architecture and found it more compatible with the ambiguous and rich experience of modernity. As Stern noted in his article, "Stompin' at the Savoye," "the intellectual guru" of the New York

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book were negative and criticized Scully's method as being subjective and speculative at best. See, for instance, Jonathan E. Reyman, "Review of Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance, by V. Scully," *American Anthropologist*, 1978, 80 (2): 433–433; James N. Spuhler, "Review of Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance, by V. Scully*," Journal of Anthropological Research* 32, no. 1 (1976): 106–106; King, Jonathan C. H. Rain, "Review of Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance, by V. Scully*," Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, no. 17 (1976): 8–9.

[22] On Scully's positionality regarding this discourse see Emmanuel Petit, "Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown," in *Irony, or, the Self-Critical Opacity of Postmodern Architecture*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013, 32–72, esp. 37.

[23] Initially, in 1969, work by five of the architects involved in the independent Conference of Architects for the Study of the Environment (a group of mostly East Coast-based young architects who held meetings and exhibitions on all things related to architecture) including Eisenman, Graves, Gwathmey, Hejduk, and Meier, was presented at the New York Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in an exhibition entitled "The New York Five." In response, in May 1973, a critical collection of essays on *Five Architects*, titled "Five on Five," was published in *Architectural Forum*. The criticism was spearheaded by Scully's student and protégé at Yale, Robert A. M. Stern, and the other four essays were written by Robertson, Moore, Greenberg, and Giurgola.
On the New York Five see Paul Goldberger, "Should Anyone Care about the New York Five or their Critics, the Five on Five", *Architectural Record,* 155/2 (1974) 113–116; Rosemarie Haag Bletter, "Contemporary Confrontations," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 38/2 (1979): 205–207.
On the context of the battle between Whites and Grays see Nadia Watson, "The Whites vs the Grays: re-examining the 1970s avantgarde," *Fabrications*, 15:1 (2005): 55–69, DOI: 10.1080/10331867.2005.10525203; see also, Joan Ockman, "Resurrecting the Avant-Garde: The History and Program of Oppositions," in Beatriz Colomina (ed), *Architecture Production* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988).

Five (aka the Whites) was, in fact, Cornell-based Architectural critic Colin Rowe (1920–1999), who wrote the introduction to the *Five Architects* (with Kenneth Frampton).[24] Stern interpreted Rowe's introduction as an implicit response to Scully's introduction to Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction*.[25] In a sense, then, the battle of the Whites and Grays was a battle between Rowe and Scully (and Venturi).[26]

Until the theoretical turn of architecture in the late 1960s and the emergence and subsequent dominion of postmodernism in design in the 1980s, the Grays were in the minority rather than the majority.[27] One major reason was that by the mid-1950s, modernist aesthetics were firmly established by the faculty and students of Harvard's Graduate School of Design led by Joseph Hudnut (Dean, 1936–1953) and Walter Gropius (Chair, 1938–1952), MIT's school of architecture led by Pietro Belluschi (Dean, 1951–1965), and Yale's school of architecture led by George Howe (Dean, 1950–1954), among others.[28] Scully, therefore and for the most part of his

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[24] A. M. Stern, "Stompin' at the Savoye," *Architectural Forum*, May 1973, 46.

[25] Ibid., 46.

[26] On the unexpected parallels between Rowe and Venturi see Denise Costanzo, "Text, lies and architecture: Colin Rowe, Robert Venturi and Mannerism," *The Journal of Architecture*, 18:4 (2013): 455–473, DOI: 10.1080/13602365.2013.816202.

[27] Postmodernism is a contested concept. First used in 1934 by Spanish writer Federico de Onis to denote a negative and irrational reaction to modernism, the use of the term became widespread in the architectural discourse after the 1970s, particularly after the publication of Charles Jencks' 1977 *The Language of Postmodern Architecture*. For a brief overview of postmodernism in the arts see Caroline A. Jones, "Post-modernism," *Oxford Art Online*, 2003, n.p.

[28] For a history of teaching history in the US architecture schools see Gwendolyn Wright and Janet Parks, eds., *History of History in American Schools of Architecture, 1865–1975* (New York: Temple Hoyne Buell Center and Princeton Architectural Press, 1990). On Hudnut at Bauhaus see Jill Pearlman, "Joseph Hudnut and the unlikely beginnings of post-modern urbanism at the Harvard Bauhaus," *Planning Perspectives*, 15:3 (2000): 201–239, DOI: 10.1080/026654300407445. On Harvard modernism see Jill Pearlman, *Inventing American Modernism: Joseph Hudnut, Walter Gropius, and the Bauhaus Legacy at Harvard* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007). On Belluschi see Meredith L. Clausen, *Pietro Belluschi: Modern American Architect* (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1999). On Howe see Robert A. M. Stern, *George Howe: Toward a Modern American Architecture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975). For a brief overview of the context of the postwar architecture scene in which Howe worked see Denise Costanzo, "Architectural Amnesia: George Howe, Mario De Renzi, and the U.S. Consulate in Naples," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 2011/2012, Vol. 56/57 (2011/2012), 354–358.

career, was an anachronistic art historian working in a predominantly modernist atmosphere. It was only after the publication of Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction* (1966),[29] the symbolic death of modernist architecture in 1972,[30] the public discussions over the White and Gray camps, and the rise in popularity of what Kate Nesbitt refers to as "postmodern historicist compositional strategy" of the affluent 1980s that Scully's thought struck a chord with theorists, critics, and architects.[31]

Scully officially retired from Yale in 1991. During the last decade of his official tenure at Yale, Scully gravitated towards the neo traditionalist New Urbanist movement. The movement sought to achieve a coherent urban design by limiting material and style choices and creating a zoning system that defied overt reliance on cars and criticized single-family detached living.[32]

Joseph Rykwert

Joseph Rykwert was born to a prosperous Zionist Polish-Jewish family in Warsaw in 1926. His mother, Elizabeth Melup (1895–1979), was a housewife from a Lithuanian family of granite quarry and timber forest owners, and his father, Szymon Rykwert (1890–1942), a railway

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[29] Kate Nesbitt refers to the publication of *Complexity and Contradiction* as the opening of a pandora box in the world of architecture which harbingered decades of discussion and theorization in the field over the relationship of architecture to other disciplines and vice versa. See Kate Nesbitt, "Introduction," *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1999), 12.

[30] I am referring to Charles Jenck's symbolic announcement that "modern architecture died in St. Louis, Missouri, on July 15, 1972 at 3:32 pm." Charles Jenck's, *The New Paradigm in Architecture: The Language of Postmodernism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 9.

[31] Nesbitt, here, is referring to the affluent society of the 1980s and the rise of the figure of architect and "signature buildings." See Kate Nesbitt, "Introduction," 47.

[32] On the New Urbanist movement see Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, *Towns and Town-Making Principles*, ed. Alex Kreiger with William Lennertz (New York: Rizzoli, 1991); Peter Calthorpe, *Ecology, Community and the American Dream*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Architectural Press, 1993); Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, and Jeff Speck, *The Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream,* (New York: North Point, 2000). For its criticism see, for instance, Jill Grant, "The Ironies of New Urbanism." *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* 15, no. 2 (2006): 158–74. http://www.jstor.org/stable/26192453.

engineer from a Polish family of land-owning aristocrats. After the invasion of Poland by Germany in 1939, the family fled to London (via Sweden and the Netherlands). In London, Rykwerts' parents enrolled him in Charterhouse, a distinguished boarding school, in 1940. It was during his studies at Charterhouse that Rykwert attended the weekly talks of German-born British art historian Rudolf Wittkower (1901–1971) on "England and the Classical Tradition," at the Warburg Institute.[33] Rykwert recalls that, "Wittkower's (slightly accented) account of the glamorous way in which antique themes, incarnate in statues, paintings, engravings, even in buildings, were taken up in Italy, and later in France, Germany, as well as Britain, and even over the seas, in the Americas provided an insight into a luxuriant world of ideas and images startling in bleak wartime."[34]

Rykwert studied architecture first at Bartlett and then at the Architectural Association (AA). He recalled studying architecture in the face of the destruction brought about by World War II: "Many of us had no doubt that the great ideas about the fabric of cities and the nature of housing that had been developed by the 'Masters of the Modern Movement' – by Le Corbusier and Gropius chiefly, but also Mies van der Rohe and others – would now find large-scale application, though we did not as yet see that some of these ideas might not be compatible with each other – or with ours."[35]

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[33] From 1934 to 1956, Wittkower was a member of staff at the Warburg Institute in London. From 1949 to 1956, he was also the Durning-Lawrence Professor of the History of Art at the University of London. Prior to his retirement in 1969, he also held visiting professorships at Harvard, Columbia, the National Gallery of Art, and Cambridge. Other than his main area of expertise, the Renaissance and Baroque, Wittkower was interested in the interpretation of symbols. On the significance of Wittkower for the field of architectural history see J. S. Ackerman, "Rudolf Wittkower's Influence on the History of Architecture," *Source*, 8–9/4–1 (Summer and Fall 1989): 87–90; Alina A. Payne, "Rudolf Wittkower and Architectural Principle in the Age of Modernism," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 53, no. 3 (September 1994): 322–342.
[34] Joseph Rykwert, *Remembering Places: A Memoir* London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 92.
[35] Ibid., 104.

While a student at the AA and just when, as Rykwert confesses, most of his peers were

brainstorming the many novel theories about the reconstruction of the built environment after the

war, Rykwert began mulling over the idea that buildings are above all shelters that tell stories.[36]

What further instilled the idea in Rykwert was the anthropological approach to architecture

presented in *Architecture, Mysticism and Magic* (1891) by the British architect and educator W.

R. Lethaby (1857–1931).[37]

By 1946, Rykwert left his home to live at the Student Movement House (SMH), a student

lodging run by the well-known activist for the rights of international students in London, Mary

Trevelyan (1897–1983), also a friend of T. S. Eliot.[38] While in the SMH, in addition to meeting

Eliot when he visited Trevelyan and attending his poetry readings, Rykwert met Elias Canetti

(1904–1995), then an émigré author in London, later to become a Bollingen fellow in 1955 and

winner of a Nobel Prize in Literature in 1981.[39] Canetti remained an influence in Rykwert's life.

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[36] Ibid., 107.

[37] Rykwert writes, "anthropology seemed to concern itself with inconsequential matters and with peoples who lived long ago or in faraway places and their exotic mentalities." Ibid., 107. William Richard Lethaby was an English architect, writer, and educator. A thorough craftsman particularly good at designing architectural details, he was interested in the relationship between ancient architecture and nature. That preoccupation resulted in a number of glass windows with esoteric iconography. Hi first book, *Architecture, Mysticism, and Myth* (1891) was also a result of his interest in architectural symbolism. Later, he became involved in the British Arts and Crafts movement and helped found the Central School of Arts and Crafts in 1896. From 1901 to 1918, he was Professor of Design and Ornament at the Royal College of Art. On Lethaby see, Godfrey Rubens, *William Richard Lethaby: His Life and Work, 1857–1931* (London: The Architectural Press, 1986).

[38] On Mary Trevelyan and the SHM see Emma Jolly, "Cultural Imperialism at Home? Mary Trevelyan And Student Movement House, 1932–1946," MA thesis, Sheffield Hallam University, 2014; on the friendship of Trevelyan and Eliot see Humphrey Carpenter, "Poor Tom: Mary Trevelyan's View of T. S. Eliot," *English*, Vol. 30, No. 160, (1989): 37–52. Administered by the Student Christian Movement, Student Movement House was a hostel for foreign students in Russell Square, London, founded in 1917. On the SMH see Johanna Maria Selles, *The World Student Christian Federation, 1895–1925* (Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2011).

[39] Born in Bulgaria, Elias Canetti moved to England with his family when he was six years old. His academic training was in the field of chemistry (doctorate, 1929) but he never took up the profession of being a chemist. Instead, he started writing nonfiction and plays throughout his life. He was particularly interested the behavior of crowds, as opposed to individuals, through history. On Canetti see Richard A

During his sojourn at the SMH, Rykwert made a life-long friendship, with the German Jungian psychoanalyst Franz Elkisch (1891–1978).[40] Rykwert continued to have psychoanalytical sessions with Elkisch until 1975.

In 1946, after graduating from AA, Rykwert completed internships with the English modernist architects Maxwell Fry (1899–1987) and Richard Sheppard (1910–1982), and later with the celebrated modernist engineer Ove Arup (1895–1988).[41] During that period, Rykwert realized that, "For all my commitment to the modernist project and its great promise, I was uneasily drawn back to the charms of the past, and quite a lot of my spare cash would go on old books."[42] To that end, he began working on a new annotated translation of the fifteenth-century Italian polymath Leon Battista Alberti's *The Ten Books of Architecture* (which appeared in 1955), and became interested in architectural research as opposed to practice.

In 1948, Rykwert met Colin Rowe, who was, at the time, writing his master's thesis at the Warburg Institute under the supervision of Wittkower. Rowe introduced Rykwert to the Warburg Institute's library. At Warburg, while translating Alberti, Rykwert formed friendships with the Bollingen-Eranos circle of scholars, Fritz Saxl, Gertrude Bing (Bollingen Fellow in 1962), and Ernst H. Gombrich (A. W. Mellon Lecturer in Fine Arts on "Art and Illusion" at the National

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Lawson, *Understanding Elias Canetti* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991); David Darby ed., *Critical Essays on Elias Canetti* (New York: G. K. Hall, 2000).

[40] Ibid., 114. Close to no information can be found about Franz Elkisch.

[41] On Maxwell Fry see Ian Jackson, "Jane Drew and Maxwell Fry: Traversing the Tropics," *Crossing Boundaries. Transcultural Practices in Architecture and Urbanism, OASE* 95 (2015): 34–47; Alan Powers, "Conservative Attitudes: Walter Gropius in Cambridge and Maxwell Fry in Oxford," *Twentieth Century Architecture*, no. 11 (2013): 66–81. No critical essays or books have been written on the life and works of Richard Sheppard. On Ove Arup see Peter Jones, *Ove Arup: Masterbuilder of the Twentieth Century* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006).

[42] Ibid., 126.

Gallery of Art, DC., in 1955).[43] During the Warburg years, Rykwert became convinced that "Visual phenomena could communicate autonomously," and immersed himself in the study and emulation of Giedion's methodology of historical hermeneutics.[44] Rykwert's first academic essay was in fact a book review of Giedion's *Mechanization Takes Command* (1948) for *Burlington Magazine*.

In the 1950s, having finished his annotation of Alberti's treatise, Rykwert began researching ancient cities. It is noteworthy that urbanism and a search for design constants in successful cities pervade the interests of US, British, and French Rome Prize architects in this period. There was a longer tradition through the 1890s of urban (including ancient urban) projects among the French in particular.[45] Rykwert's choice to work on ancient cities is, therefore, not strange as it is contextualized within the growing post-war interest in urban planning and the rise of the Townscape movement (that Rykwert thought to be "a cosmetic

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[43] A. W. Mellon lectures, while financed by the A. W. Mellon and organized by the National Gallery of Art, DC., were still to some extent Bollingen projects as the deciding body of the two institutions overlapped significantly. Additionally, the highly popular A. W. Mellon lectures, founded by Paul Mellon in 1949, increased the reputation of Bollingen significantly because if the lecturer did not have a usual publisher, as was the case with Gombrich and Giedion for instance, then Bollingen would offer the lecturer a fellowship and publish their work. As they did, for instance, with Jacques Maritain, the Princeton-based phenomenologist who was the first A. W. Mellon lecturer in 1949. On the interconnected affairs of Bollingen and the A. W. Mellon lectureships see McGuire, *Bollingen*, 119–121. On Fritz Saxl see Rembrandt Duits, "Reading the Stars of the Renaissance: Fritz Saxl and Astrology," *Journal of Art Historiography* 5 (December 2011): 1–18; Dorothea McEwan, 2004. "The Enemy of Hypothesis: Fritz Saxl as Acting Director of the Bibliothek Warburg," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 49 (January 2004): 75–86. Writings on Gombrich are abundant. For the topics relevant to this dissertation, see Rachel Dedman, "The Importance of Being Ernst: A Reassessment of E. H. Gombrich's Relationship with Psychoanalysis," *Journal of Art Historiography* 7 (December 2012): 1–26; Katia Mazzucco, "The Work of Ernst H. Gombrich on the Aby M. Warburg Fragments," *Journal of Art Historiography* 5 (December 2011): n.p.

[44] Rykwert, *Remembering Places*, 134, 135.

[45] Denise Costanzo, *Modern Architects and the Problem of the Postwar Rome Prize: France, Spain, America, and Britain, 1940-1960* (forthcoming with the University of Virginia Press).

attempt at making Britain look more Mediterranean").[46] Rykwert targeted the same critique of

superficiality at those architects and planners such as the Archigram group who placed their bet

on the victory of technology and technocratic revolution.[47] *The Idea of a Town* was Rykwert's

"sociopolitical-artistic history of the Italian town" which he defined as research on "the nature of

settlement," especially in the earliest Etruscan and Roman cities," in opposition to the

superficialities of the Townscape movement.[48] For Rykwert, all valid architectural form had a

psychological and anthropological beginning. The research initially appeared as a special issue

of *Forum*, the Dutch architectural magazine edited by Dutch architect Aldo van Eyck (1918–

1999), and later as his [Rykwert's] 1963 book of the same name.[49] In 1958, Rykwert took his

first teaching position at the Ulm School of Design, where he taught art history for a year.[50]

Rykwert worked as a history tutor and librarian at the Royal College of Art from 1960 to

1967. Through the decade, he further delved into the genesis of architecture and the nature of the

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[46] Ibid., 161. The Townscape movement was spearheaded by Gordon Cullen during the 1950s through the publication of the *Architectural Review* journals in England. Proponents of the Townscape movement criticized modern architecture's insistence on the purity of architectural objects and sought a more harmonious relationship between architecture and its landscape. On the Townscape movement see Nan Elin, "The Townscape Movement," in *Postmodern Urbanism* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1996); Mathew Aitchison, "Townscape: scope, scale and extent," *The Journal of Architecture*, vol. 17, no. 5 (2012): 621–642; Divya Subramanian, "The Townscape Movement and the Politics of Post-War Urbanism," *Twentieth Century British History*, vol. 32, Issue 3 (September 2021): 392–415.
[47] Archigram was an English periodical and group that was active particularly during the 1960s. The periodical was founded in 1960 by Peter Cook. The bold aesthetics of Archigram, influenced by the flourishing of Pop Art in England, became a worldwide phenomenon and influenced other groups such as the Italian Archizoom. On Archigram see Reyner Banham, "Archigram," *Oxford Art Online*, n.p.
[48] Ibid., 163.
[49] Aldo van Eyck was a modernist architect and the Dutch delegate to CIAM from 1947. He was the editor of *Forum* from 1959 to 1967. On van Eyck see Robert McCarter, "Aldo van Eyck and Louis I. Kahn: Parallels in the Other Tradition of Modern Architecture," *ZARCH; Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies in Architecture & Urbanism*, no. 10 (September 2018): 44–61; M. Miguel-Pastor, P. Lacomba-Montes, J. Martínez-Ventura, "Multiculturalism in Post-War architecture: Aldo van Eyck and the Otterlo Circles," *ACE: Architecture, City and Environment*, 14/42 (2020):1–23.
[50] The Ulm School of Design (Hochschule für Gestaltung, HfG) was founded in 1953 by Inge Scholl, Otl Aicher and Max Bill, and functioned until 1968. On the Ulm School of Design see Dagmar Rinker ed., *Ulm, Method and Design: Ulm School of Design 1953 –1968* (Ulmer Museum, 2003).

human settlement, a continuation of his research on Etruscan town planning. Under the

supervision of Frank Brown and possibly through the recommendation of Giedion and

Wittkower, Rykwert spent the summers of 1964 and 1965 at the American Academy in Rome as

a Resident or special long-term guest—the same position held by both Giedion and Wittkower.[51]

During the same period, the Bollingen Foundation sponsored the Academy's project of

photographing ancient architecture in Italy and France.[52] Rykwert recalls that it was Giedion who

introduced him to Bollingen and helped him acquire the 1966 fellowship. He was, nonetheless,

an insider to the circle of art historians who were involved with both the Academy and Bollingen

even before he became a Bollingen Fellow.

In 1967, Rykwert was appointed the founding professor of the Department of Art at

Essex (which later became the Department of Art History and Theory), a position he maintained

until 1980.[53] Rykwert earned his doctorate from the Royal College of Art in 1970. During his

tenure at the University of Essex, Rykwert worked in close collaboration with Czech-born

British architectural historian and phenomenologist Dalibor Vesely (1934–2015).[54] One of

Rykwert's most widely read and known manuscripts of the 1970s was *On Adam's House in*

Paradise (1972) in which the author used a psychoanalytical approach to trace the origin of the

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[51] *American Academy in Rome Report 1964–1968* (New York: Spiral Press), 47.

[52] Ibid., 20

[53] On Rykwert and Essex see Helen Thomas, "Invention in the Shadow of History: Joseph Rykwert at the University of Essex," *Journal of Architectural Education*, vol. 58, no. 2 (2004): 39–45.

[54] Dalibor Vesely was trained in the field of civil engineering during the 1950s in Prague. In the early 1960s, he studied phenomenology, unofficially, with Jan Patočka. In 1968, he immigrated to England. Vesely taught at the Architectural Association, London, from 1968 until 1978, and then at the University of Cambridge, where he ran design studios and lectured on history and theory from 1978 until 2005. On Vesely's thoughts and legacy see Alexandra Stara, and Peter Carl, "Introduction," in *The Latent World of Architecture: Selected Essays* (Obigdon: Routledge 2023), 1–25.

work of architecture—in an exclusively Eurocentric way— from Wright and Loos to Alberti and Vitruvius in the act of remembering images of a home lost, that of Adam's house in paradise.

In 1980, he became the first Slade Professor in the Fine Arts at the University of Cambridge, and then Reader in Architecture where he continued his close collaboration with Vesely. His 1980 book, *The First Moderns: The Architects of the Eighteenth Century*, was an ambitious work of over 500 pages in which the main issue was the relationship between architecture and theory in France from Claude Perrault (1613–1688) to Marc-Antoine Laugier (1713–1769) with side notes about England and Italy.

In 1988, Rykwert was appointed as the Paul Philippe Cret Professor of Architecture at the University of Pennsylvania, a post he held until his retirement in 1998. Rykwert's major work during this period was *The Dancing Column: On Order in Architecture* (1996) in which he, once again, provided a psychoanalytical account of architectural history to offer a sense of continuity between Classic architecture and modern architecture through a particularly Eurocentric interpretation of the Doric column. To this day, Rykwert continues to write about architecture.

Architectural Phenomenology

Unlike the phenomenology of religion, architectural phenomenology is not an established discipline or a school of thought with an official history and clear participating figures. Architectural phenomenology, as Mohammad Reza Shirazi well establishes in *Towards an Articulated Phenomenological Interpretation of Architecture* (2014), is not even a movement with a more or less agreed upon agenda, set goals, known contenders, and clear timeframe. Nonetheless, a number of architects and architectural historians and theorists have appropriated phenomenology as a philosophical discourse to account for meaning creation in architectural

designs. Phenomenology's concern for things themselves, the essence of perception, and the primacy of experience has provided architects with an approach conducive to architectural inquiry precisely because architecture deals with things, buildings or objects, the way in which they are experienced, and their potential meaning. The lure of being able to ground architectural meaning in a set of *objective* criteria, therefore, has been too tantalizing for architects not to explore. Shirazi adds to this list of potentials by arguing that phenomenology is more often than not an individualistic method of inquiry.[55] He believes it is precisely the potentiality of phenomenology as a "practice rather than method" that has appealed to architects who could use it as a point of departure that leads to new ways of architectural understanding.[56] Of course, philosophers too found architecture a favorable metaphor for the explanation of their thoughts.

Such a mutually beneficial relationship between architects and philosophers has led to multiple collaborations between the two groups during the twentieth century of which Derrida and Eisenmann's is but one example. While Derrida owes much of his philosophy to Heidegger, he is not categorized as a phenomenologist himself. Many twentieth-century architects were exposed to phenomenology during its heyday, 1940–1970, in post-secondary institutions and journals. This influence was further cemented by courses on the philosophy of art and architecture that were taught by phenomenologists such as Jacques Maritain (1882–1973) at Princeton from 1941 to 1952, and Karsten Harries (b. 1937) at Yale from 1961 to 2017. In light of all this, perhaps the most fruitful way of describing the architectural phenomenologists is to think of them as a circle of architects, architectural historians, and architectural theorists who, while not forming an established network of same-minded scholars, all share a loosely-defined

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[55] Reza M. Shirazi, *Towards an Articulated Phenomenological Interpretation of Architecture*, 2.
[56] Ibid., 3.

phenomenological framework, whether to grant meaning to their built work or, to explain their thoughts and theories. Heidegger was one of the most celebrated phenomenologists among this circle of architects. Many writings on Heidegger by architectural phenomenologists such as Kenneth Frampton, Dalibor Vesely, and Juhani Pallasmaa, among others, bear witness to this claim.

Architectural phenomenology as referring to the works of this circle of influence was in part a result of the "crisis of meaning" in modern architecture that surfaced circa 1966 when Robert Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* was published.[57] Architectural phenomenology was also prompted, as Kate Nesbitt writes, by the translation of works by Heidegger and French philosopher Gaston Bachelard (1882–1962) from the 1950s onwards.[58] Phenomenology thus became an interdisciplinary tool for architects by virtue of which they could emphasize the experiential aspect of architecture and the body's interactions with the environment.[59] It had the added benefit of allowing architects to make their discussions "historical" and "philosophical" without having to invest in other scholarly methods within those fields, more constrained by evidence and less flexibly fecund for creative inspiration.

In *Architecture's Historical Turn: Phenomenology and the Rise of Postmodernism* (2010), Jorge Otero-Pailos argues that architectural phenomenology emerged in the 1960s in the academic world of the United States, particularly, on the west coast. He uses architectural phenomenology to refer to a group of transnational architects, architectural historians, and architectural theorists who emerged after World War II. Having lost their faith in technology and

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[57] See Martino Stierli, "In the Academy's Garden: Robert Venturi, the Grand Tour and the Revision of Modern Architecture," *AA Files*, no. 56 (2010), 43.
[58] Kate Nesbitt, "Introduction," in *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architectural Theory*, 28.
[59] Ibid., 28-29.

progress, these individuals sought to ground architectural meaning in the direct experience of places.[60] To Otero-Pailos the most influential figures of this group are Jean Labatut, Charles Moore, Christian Norberg-Schulz, and Frampton.[61] Otero-Pailos posits that to enhance the credibility of their claims, architectural phenomenologists appealed to the assumed affirming power of philosophy, and in particular, that of phenomenology.[62] This account has been criticized by other scholars, such as the Mexican theorist and historian of architecture Juan Manuel Heredia, for defining phenomenology too loosely.[63]

Canadian architectural theorist Graham Livesey and Nesbitt agree that, for architecture audiences of the 1960s and 1970s, Norberg-Schulz was the chief interpreter of phenomenology, and of Heidegger in particular.[64] Norberg-Schulz understood architecture as the incarnation of the *genius loci* or the spirit of place.[65] Nesbitt writes that Norberg-Schulz borrowed the concept of dwelling from Heidegger and interpreted it as "being at peace in a protected place."[66] She notes that Mexican-born architectural historian and phenomenologist, Alberto Pérez-Gómez, took the concept of dwelling further and argued for an "authentic" architecture with a "metaphysical dimension."[67]

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[60] Jorge Otero-Pailos. *Architecture's Historical Turn*., xi.

[61] Note that while Otero-Pailos considers Norberg-Schulz to have emerged in the United States, he (NB) was educated at the ETH in Zurich, Harvard University in the United States, and the Norwegian Institute of Technology in Norway. Norberg-Schulz's career began in Yale but flourished when he took on the role of the dean of the Oslo School of Architecture and Design from 1966 to 1992.

[62] Ibid., 13.

[63] See Juan Manuel Heredia, "Review of *Architecture's Historical Turn*," n.p.

[64] See Graham Livesey, "Changing histories and theories of postmodern architecture," 94; See also See Elie Haddad, "Christian Norberg-Schulz's Phenomenological Project in Architecture."

[65] Jorge Otero-Pailos. *Architecture's Historical Turn*, 146.

[66] Kate Nesbitt, *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture Theory*, 412.

[67] Ibid., 30.

Norberg-Schulz is usually credited as being the first architectural phenomenologist who, influenced by Heidegger, verbalized architectural phenomenology in *Intentions in Architecture* (1965) and *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (1980).[68] Norberg-Schulz was concerned with the idea of creating meaningful places out of profane spaces as the original task of architecture. Heidegger's "Building Dwelling Thinking" of 1954 led Norberg-Schulz to conceive of architectural phenomenology as a means of returning to the *things* themselves, meaning the methodology of "assimilating" the essence of places and re-presenting them through architecture.[69] It is also significant to note that as early as 1971, Norberg-Schulz appealed to Mircea Eliade in order to make a case for "existential spaces defined as being made of "centers" and "paths," in his book *Existence, Space and Architecture*.[70]

It was one of Rykwert's friends, Ernesto Rogers, however, who in his 1963 article "The Phenomenology of European Architecture," first employed the term "phenomenology" to understand the task of architecture as that of interpreting the ethos or the spirit of one's contemporary period. Rogers argued, albeit in loose terms, that the Modern Movement had been at its early intellectual and practical phase when the two world wars broke out; the wars, he continued, interrupted the historical evolution of European architecture and turned the Modern Movement into a mere style.[71] The way out of this dead end for European architects of that time, Rogers asserted, was to "assimilate the essence of Europe" by experiencing its historical works of architecture and expressing that essence in their designs.[72] This assumes a process that is

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[68] See Christophe Van Gerrewey, "Architecture Protected by Phenomenology," 29–47.
[69] Christian Norberg-Schulz, "Heidegger's Thinking on Architecture," 438.
[70] Elie Haddad, "Christian Norberg-Schulz's Phenomenological Project in Architecture," 90.
[71] Rogers. "The Phenomenology of European Architecture," 424–439.
[72] Ibid., 433–434.

phenomenological in nature, since it is concerned with understanding the structures of

consciousness as perceived from a first-person's point of view.[73]

      Defining architecture as materialization or crystallization of the *Zeitgeist* was not entirely

novel. The single most assiduous proponent of this definition was Giedion. A student of Heinrich

Wölfflin (1964–1945), a close friend of modernist architects such as Le Corbusier and Gropius,

and a co-founder and secretary general of CIAM, Giedion's influence on the trajectory of

twentieth-century architecture can hardly be overestimated.[74] Giedion's 1938–9 lectures at

Harvard that were turned into his best-selling publication, *Space, Time, and Architecture* (1941)

set the foundation for understanding the task of the architect as that of interpreting one's age.

Giedion's influence was the architects alone. Most students in the Euro-American post-

secondary institutions who were interested in art and architecture most likely came into contact

with Giedion's writings. Of those students, some were philosophers and their thinking on art and

architecture became framed, in part, by Giedion's teachings. Harries, for instance, sees his own

understanding of the task of the architect influenced by Giedion.[75] Therefore, even though

Giedion is not primarily known as an architectural phenomenologist, his thought has been central

to the formation of phenomenological thinking in architecture.

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[73] Rogers in his 1954 essay "The Responsibilities towards Tradition," as architectural historian Martino Stierli writes, called for a departure from "modernist dogma," and referred to the modernist formalism as a thread because it no more was willing to make compromises when facing contextual challenges (49). Rogers remarks need to be understood against a backdrop of post-WWII Italy in which discussions of large housing projects within historical cities were having a momentum. See *AA files*, no. 56 (2010), 49.

[74] Swiss art historian Heinrich Wölfflin was a student of Renaissance scholar Jakob Burckhardt (1818–1879). Wölfflin's main concern through his academic life was the discovery and establishment of general principles for interpreting the visual in works of art. On Wölfflin see Joan Hart, "Heinrich Wölfflin," in *The Encyclopedia of Aesthetics* (London: Oxford University Press, 2014), n.p. Retrieved 21 Oct. 2022, from https://www-oxfordreference-com.login.ezproxy.library.ualberta.ca/view/10.1093/acref/9780199747108.001.0001/acref-9780199747108-e-761.

[75] Karsten Harries, *The Ethical Function of Architecture* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1999).

The other group of architectural phenomenologists, closely associated with Giedion, were what architectural historian and theorist Michael Hays and Canadian architectural theorist Gregory Caicco, refer to as "the Essex school." The Essex School refers to Rykwert, Vesely, and others who mobilized phenomenology as a critical method of inquiry suitable for investigating architectural practices. Pérez-Gómez defines Rykwert's methodology as "phenomenological hermeneutics."[76] And, Hays further observes that among architectural phenomenologists, an insistence on individuals' "authentic" lived and situated experience was meant to disclose some "mystery" that transcends time and place to become ahistorical and universal.[77]

Rykwert believed that phenomenology was "the only intellectual framework capable of guiding the architect's search for authentic experience."[78] He was in fact one of the prominent voices responding to architecture's perceived crisis of meaning by emphasizing the relevance of seeing patterns across history and focusing on an experiential understanding of "primitive" architecture. In the introduction to the 1988 paperback edition of *The Idea of a Town*, Rykwert stated his motives for undertaking such a study in the 1950s, emphasizing the need for architects to review the history of architecture and city planning as a necessary step to be able to move beyond the "positivist ideology of industrial building and technical improvement."[79]

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[76] Alberto Pérez-Gómez, email interview with Helen Thomas, 29 July 2002, as cited in Thomas, "Rykwert and the Use of History," 56.

[77] K. Michael Hays, *Architecture Theory Since 1968* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2000), 462–263; Gregory Caicco, "Introduction," in *Architecture, Ethics, and the Personhood of Place* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 2007), 1–40.

[78] Graham Livesey, "Changing histories and theories of postmodern architecture," (216). It is worth noting that architecture, for architectural phenomenologists, is understood primarily as experienced by the architect and not by the people who live inside and with those architectural works.

[79] Joseph Rykwert, "Introduction," in *The Idea of a Town*," 21.

That Scully could be studied as an architectural phenomenologist is pointed out by Caicco.[80] In his analysis of architectural phenomenology, Caicco distinguishes between Scully and Rykwert by understanding Scully's engagement with phenomenology as traditionalist and uncritical, and Rykwert's as critical.[81] Nonetheless, both Scully and Rykwert were engaged with the phenomenological discourses of their time and focalized on understanding images as the best means of communicating the experiential aspect of the works of architecture. What follows is a discussion of the function of images for Scully and Rykwert in *Golden House* (1951), *Church Building* (1966), and *On Adam's House in Paradise* (1972) by Rykwert, and *The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods* (1962), *Louis I. Kahn* (*Makers of Contemporary Architecture* series (1962); *Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance* (1975) and the Introduction to *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (1966; second introduction to second edition, 1977) by Scully.

The Function of Images for Scully

In his prolific career, Scully penned over one hundred books, articles, and commentaries. The present study, however, is limited to the 1945–1967 period and focuses on those major works that either fit within this timeframe or are a result of Scully's Bollingen fellowship. Therefore, and as outlined in the first chapter, the Scully writings examined here are *The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods* (1962), *Louis I. Kahn (Makers of Contemporary Architecture series* (1962); *Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance* (1975) and his "Introduction" to Robert Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (1966; second introduction to the second edition, 1977).

   E) ***The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture***

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[80] Gregory Caicco, "Introduction," in *Architecture, Ethics, and the Personhood of Place*, 14.
[81] Ibid., 15.

The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture is a 474-page book published

by the Yale University Press in 1962. The book is organized into ten chapters. The chapter texts

take up less than the first half of the book, followed by 450 images and four maps.

The main premise of the book is that Greek temples are physical embodiments of the

deities they represent, and that the lands in which they are located are essential to their meaning.

While Scully does not employ the concept of genius loci, he contends that the landscape on

which a temple is erected "is itself holy and, before the temple was built upon it, embodied the

whole of the deity as a recognized natural form."[82] Scully makes no reference to Eliade, but one

can readily see the influence of Eliadean phenomenology of religion on Scully's understanding

of temples; both scholars also share the methodology of presupposing a priori faith on part of the

reader. Like Eliade, Scully interprets temples as axis mundi where direct access to a holy

presence is inscribed in a geographical location. Scully goes further to argue that Greek temples

are "themselves an image, in the landscape" of the gods they represent.[83] Scully is, in other

words, arguing that the psychological symbolism of the land was fundamental in the

development of the Greek consciousness of gods and deities, and that such symbolism is

mirrored in the architectural patterns or archetypes of the temples.

Scully's argument is echoed in the way in which he uses the figures in his book. Mostly

taken by his eldest son while visiting 150 sites in Italy and Greece during 1957–58, Scully claims

that these photographs are "the closest possible approximations of the way I [Scully] believe

them to have been seen in antiquity… the experience of the site as it was originally intended to

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[82] Scully, *The Earth, The Temple, and the Gods*, 1.
[83] Ibid., 1.

be."[84] Scully's photographs, as he claims, show the reader the way he thinks the works of architecture ought to be experienced. As such they are manipulated and curated to produce a specific affect.

Certain consistent features characterize all 450 photographs in Scully's publication. All the figures, including photographs, plans, and maps are reproduced in black and white—probably for economic reasons. Photographs are the most abundant and they can be divided into two main groups: those that depict a landscape (figure 5.1)—203 images—and those that portray the ruins of a temple set in a broader landscape (figure 5.2)—224 images. Of all the photographs, only in four of them can there be seen solitary human figures. In all these instances the figures' back is towards the viewer of the photograph (figure 5.3). Multiple figures appear only in two photographs; these are the only instances in which the depicted figures include women (figure 5.4). The landscapes are perfectly manicured and composed. With often symmetrical compositions, the photographs are composed such that the horizon line is equidistant from the top and bottom. These images portray Greek and Italian landscapes as timeless, sanitized, and isolated hills that lead up to sunny skies and are only occasionally punctured by the dark silhouettes of olive trees (figure 5.5). Photographs of ruins are equally affective in so far as they imbue the places with a sense of monumentality and timelessness. With stark shadows and vanishing points, and disproportionately monumental—in terms of scale—buildings, these images appear calculated to elicit a feeling of awe and reverie in the viewer (figure 5.6). Put together, the photographs of Greek temples and their landscapes present these locations as untouched by modern human beings, by weather, and by time. In a sense, this photo essay of Greek temples has made room for the appearance of gods by removing all traces of corporeality,

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[84] Ibid., x.

leaving the representation of the temples and their landscapes as transcendental. The upper image of figure 5.7 presents one such case. A solitary broken column pierces through the sky from what appears to be the ruin of a temple. Positioned on the far-left side of the image, the solitary column appears almost heroic as it stands atop a hill. The phallic figure stands out even more as its background is a bright sky and misty mountains. The ruin and the column staged as such appear timeless, monumental, and imbued with a sense of religiosity. Almost the same composition, vanishing point, and light are used in 75 other images.

The bottom image of figure 5.7 achieves the same sense of timelessness, monumentality, and tranquility through different means. This landscape of Corinth depicts the ruins of the Temple of Apollo from afar. Looking at the image, the viewer's eyes are drawn to the towering figure of a mountain on the far-left side of the frame which dwarfs the ruins of the temple scattered at its base. The scorching sun casts shadows of solitary olive and cypress trees and columns across the land lying at the foot of the mountain. The wide frame of the photograph, the gentle slope of the mountains, and the crawling shadows of the land's topography create a strong horizontal emphasis. Here, the landscape comes across as timeless and monumental. Once again, the same composition and visual choreography are echoed in 153 other images.

Scully, in other words, uses the figures of his book to visually support his main argument that Greek temples are timeless presences of some manifest holiness in remote landscapes. Images here function as his evidence. The photographer's aesthetic choices (and the decision to include only very few people) extract the buildings from their context (they decontextualize them). By manipulating the landscapes, through cropping, light control, and thoughtful choice of vanishing points, into visually affective and gripping photographs suggesting places devoid of any recent human alteration and interaction, Scully wants to convince the reader, whose access to

Greek temples is more often than not through texts and images as opposed to actual experience

(and, importantly, whose later visits would be conditioned by expectations set by his photos),

that these photographs depict "the experience of the site as it was originally intended to be," that

is as holy, idealized, charismatic, and gripping.[85] Also importantly, he leaves out the visually

messy ancient realities of colour and clutter from religious practices; the buildings are stripped of

their original life and utility. As such, Scully is using two-dimensional photographic

representations to convey architectural or spatial experience. At the same time, these

photographs communicate Scully's interpretation of the landscapes as a priori sacred locations

embodying the genius loci. If the photographs were taken on a cloudy summer morning when

tourists take over the place, accompanied with crying children, plastic paraphernalia and

souvenir stands clustered around the temples, cars and buses peeking through the grimly lit

frame, little sense of sacredness would have been communicated.

The criticism that was geared towards Scully's methodology and approach, that of being

subjective, selective, and teleological, can be equally directed to his use of images as evidence.[86]

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[85] Ibid., x.

[86] Robert Scranton of the University of Chicago, understood Scully's goal as commenting on "the aesthetic significance of design itself and in relation to cult and psychology," and questioned the accuracy of Scully's interpretation of symbols and patterns as having enough solid validity outside the fields of "psychoanalysis and history of religion," that universalize subjective interpretations (Robert Scranton, "Review of The Earth, The Temple, and the Gods," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 22, no. 3 (1963): 213–215). British archaeologist Richard Allan Tomlinson evaluated the book as "imaginative and subjective…based on the author's own expression and impression of the landscape… but one which, unfortunately, cannot be supported by any ancient evidence" (Richard Allan Tomlinson, "Review of The Earth, The Temple, and The Gods," *The Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 60, no. 2, 372–373. Canadian archaeologist Homer Thompson refers to Scully's approach as mystical and having little regard for the existing scholarship on the topic and the importance of chronology. Hinting to the use of images as evidence, Thompson states that the most valuable part of the book are the images that can at least be appreciated by "many readers who find it difficult to subscribe to Scully's opinion" (Homer Thompson, "Review of The Earth, The Temple, and The Gods," *The Art Bulletin*, 45/3 (1963): 277–280. Seymore Howard of the University of California appreciated the ambitious scope of the book but found that few classical archaeologists would find Scully's arguments and explanations about the reciprocity of the sense of divinity in architecture and landscape of the Greek convincing. Importantly, Howard also notes that

They too are manipulated to convey the universal validity of Scully's own subjective interpretation of the structures and spaces. To place Scullly's work in the context of other architectural historians and theorists, his approach towards images is distinct from scholars such as Giedion in *Space, Time, and Architecture* (1923) where images visually depict architectural examples discussed in the text. Scully's approach is closer to that of other phenomenologists such as Norberg-Schulz in *Genius Loci* (1979) who use images to provide readers of their criticism with visual access to the affective impact of the buildings and structures they are referencing in their analysis.

Scully's approach to images is similar to Eliade's approach. Both scholars used images as a means to support their own speculative and subjective theories.[87] Even though both scholars used images, their methodology was problematic in so far as it projected an a priori conclusion onto the images. Such an approach to images was in turn funded and supported by the petroleum-funded Bollingen Foundation. Almost entirely funded by Mellon himself and through Gulf Oil stocks, the Bollingen Foundation co-opted the scholarship produced by Scully to perpetuate and maintain architectural standards of beauty that have been useful to the fossil fuel and energy industry. These beauty standards were also European, white, and supremacist. By supporting such scholarship as well as exploiting the environmental resources of the Global south, the Bollingen Foundation was culturally and materially a colonial institution.

E) Louis I. Kahn: Makers of Contemporary Architecture

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photographs are manipulated to convince the reader of Scully's subjective interpretation, which is esoteric and Jungian (Seymour Howard, "Vincent Scully, The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture," *Art Journal*, 24:1 (1964): 89–91.

[87] It is worth noting that the "scholarly" telos for architecture or other arts blurs with its utility for design.

Initially published in 1962 by George Braziller, *Louis I. Kahn* was the fourth in the five-part first

volume of Makers of Contemporary Architecture series.[88] With just 127 pages, the booklet is

divided into five parts: Scully's brief overview of Kahn's buildings and writings against the

backdrop of his life story; a biography of Kahn; a chronological list of his buildings; images; two

statements by Kahn; and a bibliography of his writings. Once again, as was the case with *The*

Earth, The Temples, and the Gods, the book is dominated by the visual. There are 63 pages of

photographs, architectural drawings, and maps compared to the 35 pages of (Scully's) writings.

The images are minimally identified. Each page layout includes an average of four to five

images in the form of plans, elevations, sections, maps, architectural models, or photographs

(figure 8). Photographs, like the rest of the images, are in black and white, and as was the case

with *The Earth, The Temples, and the Gods*, they rarely, in fact never, include a human figure.

Instead, they emphasize the monumentality of buildings through scale and cropping, with

buildings often presented as if they were too tall to fit in one frame, and the use of plunging

orthogonals and extreme contrasts of light and shadow (figure 5.9). Images fashioned this way,

function as a photo essay that echoes the argument Scully makes in his brief overview.

In the overview, Scully interprets Kahn's career as having been much influenced by his

classical Beaux-Arts style architectural training at the University of Pennsylvania (U Penn), his

occupation as an architectural educator at U Penn and Yale, as well as his sojourn in Italy as a

resident at the American Academy during 1950–51, a year before Scully went to Rome on a

Fulbright, staying at the Academy as well. In this interpretation, Kahn achieves maturity of style

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[88] The series in this volume, all published in 1962, include *Buckminster Fuller* by John McHale; *Philip Johnson* by John M. Jacobus, Jr; *Louis I. Kahn* by Vincent Scully; *Eero Saarinen* by Allan Temko; and *Kenzo Tange* by Robin Boyd.

during the 1950s, when a "new direction by the Modern Movement," signalled a modernism less obsessed with the lightness and simplicity of buildings and more willing to look at history through a sympathetic lens.[89] The same trajectory of events and influences is mirrored in the image essay that follows the textual part of the book.

The images start with a 1928 sketch of Siena by Kahn (figure 5.10) and end with Kahn's sketches for the then-ongoing project of redesigning Philadelphia's Market Street East (figure 5.11). The essay begins and ends, therefore, with "urbanity." In the text, Scully likens Kahn's design to the fabric of Italian cities, and the images do the exact same thing: they visually seek to convince the reader of the visual and thematic influence of ancient Italian architecture on Kahn's own design for Philadelphia.[90] This is just one of many instances in which Scully carefully juxtaposes his writings vis-à-vis his choice of accompanying imagery to amplify his argument and in this case, to portray a particular trajectory of Kahn's career. Sketches of Siena lead to a 1683 map of Philadelphia, followed by the legacy of Beaux-Arts tradition in the U.S., then to three examples of Kahn's pre-1950 work, and culminate in over 100 images that visualize Kahn's post-1950 projects.

Scully, in other words, utilizes words and images simultaneously to make his arguments. Images are proof of or evidence for his arguments. They are primary materials. But they have been manipulated to be used as such. Returning to figure 5.8, for instance, manipulation can be seen as taking the form of framing, cropping, and light exposure to achieve a sense of platonic classicism (note the triangle, the circle, and the rectangles) in the upper right image; a sense of

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[89] Scully, *Kahn*, 11. Such reading of Kahn as classical has been refuted by Sarah Williams Goldhagen; see Sarah Williams Goldhagen, *Louis Kahn's Situated Modernism*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
[90] Ibid., 41.

timelessness in the image in the middle achieved through the light and simple interior and use of parallel lines (note the walls and the benches), and a sense of monumentality in the bottom right image which is achieved through the camera angle, that creates the illusion of a taller-than-reality building, and the stark light and shadow of the image. These visual apparatuses are mirrored in the page before: platonic forms that simultaneously echo classicism, timelessness, and monumentality. Together, the two pages spread before the eyes of the viewer to train and condition the viewer's interpretation of Kahn's designs. Buildings, three-dimensional objects that exist out there in the world, have been reduced to a representation of what they are by way of manipulations and also the inability of the medium of photography to fully represent three dimensional phenomena. These images, as the analysis of figure 5.8 demonstrated, are also sequenced in a particular way to teleologically validate the author's interpretation: classicism, timelessness, monumentality, and sacredness (by way of associating Kahn's works to antiquity) in other words, have been imposed upon the image and the reader's own interpretation of Kahn's works as a set of verifiable truths. Images, by way of explanation, aid the architectural phenomenologist in portraying his subjective interpretation as universally valid.

F) **"Introduction" to *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (1966; note added to the same introduction for the second edition, 1977).**

Originally published in 1966 by the Museum of Modern Art (in collaboration with the Graham Foundation for the Arts), Robert Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* appeared with an introduction by Scully. In 136 pages, the book is a decontextualized visual comparative analysis of architectural elements (figure 5.13). Appearing in 1966, *Complexity and Contradiction* with its insistence on conscious awareness of past precedence in architecture was an anomaly to orthodox modernist teachings. That Scully chose to endorse Venturi and write the

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introduction to the book does not come as a surprise. Scully, as mentioned earlier, was a proponent of visual comparison as a method for the study of architecture both in his lectures and his writings. What is significant is that right at the beginning of the second paragraph of his introduction to Venturi's book, he calls this method "phenomenological," and the result "very American" because of being pluralistic:[91] two observations that Scully would have made about his own scholarship as evidenced by the similarity of his method of employing imagery to that of Venturi, and his lifelong commitment to U.S. architecture.

Scully claims that Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction* is the single most important piece of writing on architecture since, and the perfect complement to, Le Corbusier's *Vers une Architecture* of 1923.[92] Scully, using Jungian discourse, sees both Le Corbusier and Venturi as deeply visual architect-heroes who were influenced by two opposite *archetypes*: the Greek temple for Le Corbusier, and the urban fabric of ancient Italy for Venturi.[93]

Further building a genealogy of heroic "American" architects, Scully places Venturi as the rightful heir to Frank Furness, Louis Sullivan, Wright, and of course, Kahn. The latter is named Venturi's most significant mentor.[94] The other mentor to Venturi, Scully asserts, was none other than the Dutch architect who published Rykwert's "The Idea of a Town" as a special issue of the *Forum* magazine, Aldo van Eyck. Here again, there is a link in the form of intellectual affinity between Scully and Rykwert. Scully ends his introduction to the first edition of Venturi's book by claiming that Venturi's buildings as well as his theories are a direct result

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[91] Scully, "Introduction," *Complexity and Contradiction*, first edition, 11.
[92] Ibid., 11.
[93] Ibid., 12.
[94] Ibid., 13.

of his commitment to functionality and the factual daily life of American people rather than being uncritical repetitions of orthodox modernist aesthetics.[95]

Scully's introduction to the second edition of *Complexity and Contradiction*, published in 1977, a decade after the first edition, is in fact a brief note of only four paragraphs added to the first introduction. Here, Scully divides methods for acquiring an understanding of and knowledge about architecture into two main categories: empathic and linguistic. In the first approach, buildings, considered as embodiments of architectural meaning, transmit their meaning to the viewer only insofar as viewers are able to identify the meaning by mobilizing their memory and historical attunement. The second approach to understanding the meaning of architecture, Scully writes, is linguistic and relies upon signs and the viewers' ability to read them. Venturi's second major work, written in collaboration with Denise Scott Brown (b. 1931) and Steven Izenour (1940–2001), *Learning from Las Vegas* (MIT Press, 1972), Scully writes, is linguistic in nature. Placed next to one another, Scully argues, Venturi's works are an example of two equally valid, visual, and intuitive approaches to the study of architecture. They are just as much visual arguments as they are textual, and they both demand historical knowledge of architecture.[96]

G) *Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance*

Scully's *Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance,* consisting of 398 pages, was initially published by the Viking Press in 1975. The book is hardly about architecture at all, as the author confesses. As Scully writes, the book is "about the kind of existing," interwoven with Pueblo dances and rituals.[97] As such, the book can be better categorized as a pseudo-anthropological study written

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[95] Ibid., 14–16.
[96] Scully, "Introduction," *Complexity and Contradiction*, second edition, 11.
[97] Scully, *Pueblo*, xi.

by an architectural historian with no training in the field of anthropology. About this, however, Scully shows little critical awareness. He writes, "[I] have been one more voyeur upon their culture and have written about it and speculated about them. I can only say that I have meant no harm. In my European-American way I have been driven to know, because what they are and do seems to me full of meaning and importance."[98]

Discourses around colonialism were a debated topic in the late 1960s and early 1970s. While the book that introduced postcolonialism most directly into Anglophone discourse, Edward Said's *Orientalism*, appeared three years after the publication of *Pueblo*, critiques of colonialism were an established category by then as major works such as Franz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* were published in English as early as 1963 (originally published in French in 1961). It is hard to imagine that Scully was not aware of Fanon's work because he [Scully] references Albert Camus (1913–1960) in the first introduction he wrote for *Complexity and Contradiction*, and during the 1954–1962 decolonial war of Algeria against France, Fanon and Camus were the most famous intellectuals grappling with the issue.[99] As Crispin Sartwell explains, "imposing standards of beauty on non-Western cultures, and, in particular, misappropriating standards of beauty and beautiful objects from them, formed one of the most complex strategies of colonialism."[100] With that in mind, Scully's *Pueblos* is problematic on two fronts. Firstly, this ostensibly *academic* study was written on a topic on which Scully had no

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[98] Ibid., xiii.
[99] Scully, "Introduction," *Complexity and Contradiction*, first edition, 9.
[100] Crispin Sartwell, "Beauty," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2022 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2022/entries/beauty/>. n.p.

expertise. Secondly, the author demonstrated no awareness of the critical discourses of the time.[101]

The book bears the hallmark of most of Scully's works; it has almost as many images as it does text in terms of pages. The only difference is that images and the text are intertwined, not divided into two different sections of the same book. In other words, images are not left to voice their own story; they are rather part of the narrative which has two parts, the textual and the visual. Images are mostly photographic representations with twenty-two maps and seven architectural drawings, all in black and white (figure 5.14). While the photographs in *The Earth, The Temple, and The Gods*, were mostly taken from the perspective of a viewer on the ground,

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[101] Critiques of Scully's Pueblos, much like those of *The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods*, were abundant. A review published in *New Mexico historical Review*, called Scully's book mystical, superficial, and partial in portraying a romanticized view of Indigenous culture divorced from any discussion of socioeconomic context. Euler also criticized Scully's use of stark shadows to portray unrealistic and "artistic" views of the southwest (Robert C. Euler, "Review of Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance," *New Mexico Historical Review*, vol. 52, no. 1 (1977): 87–88. Eric Sandweiss framed the book as a love story that has more to tell the reader about Scully's assumptions rather than the Pueblos. He further critiqued Scully for showing no critical awareness of the power dynamics inherent in his field research and methodology and questioned Scully's belief that he has found a mystical interconnection between architecture and nature. Sandweiss' critique reaches its apogee with regards to the images of the book where he writes "The archival pictures are useful, and some of Scully's panoramic views are spectacular, but an alarming number of others look like the kinds of photographs a person takes while rushing frantically back to the parking lot after being tapped on the shoulder and told 'out, buddy.' One might say the illustrations swirl through the text like one of the orgiastic dances Scully evokes with such care, forcing the reader to flip back and forth continually between them and the text. The author's technique is thus partially cinematic and partially verbal; each approach has its merits, yet each prevents the other from being fully realized" (Eric Sandweiss, "Review of Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance," *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, vol. 3, no. 1 (Fall 1991): 92–94. Sylvia Rodriguez of the University of New Mexico referred to the book as speculative, imaginative, and interpretive and criticized Scully for writing subjectively without consulting enough scholarly, especially indigenous sources. She ended her review by admonishing that the book serves as a perfect example of why academics should permit themselves to write "imperialistic nostalgic" accounts of the Others' culture and history (Sylvia Rodrigues, "Review of Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance," American Ethnologist, vol. 19, no. 1 (February 1992): 177–178. Dennis Williams of Texas Tech University described the book as a coffee-table one with ironically poor quality imagery, referring to Scully's methodology as impressionistic and interpretive, aiming to confer value to the Pueblo culture by comparing it to the ancient Greek culture (Dennis Williams, "Review of Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance," *American Indian Quarterly*, vol. 15, no. 3 (Summer 1991): 400–401.

here photos were often taken from a bird's-eye point of view (figure 5.15). Photos are taken of landscapes, dwellings, cemeteries, temples, and rituals and have stark shadows and dramatic orthogonals leading toward a vanishing point (figure 5.16). The three photographs seen in figure 5.16, all of which depict a collection of dwellings, for instance, are all taken from atop a hill, providing a bird's-eye point of view, and demonstrate dramatic orthogonals leading toward a vanishing point. In each image, the built environment dwarfs the landscape in terms of scale. The built environment also takes up two thirds of each frame, coming across as monumental and timeless. The timelessness, however, is simultaneously undermined by the almost ruinous state of the structures and Scully's earlier statement that the images we are looking at are from a culture on the verge of disappearance. Precisely because of such conditioning, the viewer's observation of the images is tinted in so far as they are made to believe they are looking at an important piece of historical evidence. Images as historical records are framed as even more important than any other record because they *visually* depict what is assumed to no longer exist. In *Pueblo*, thus, Scully employs his usual visual apparatuses of stark shadows and diagonal orthogonals to a different end: depicting temporality and a fear of absence. The bird's-eye point of view of the images helps the author achieve this goal by showing the "big picture" and the large scale of what is soon to be lost. In other words, images functioned to capture the timelessness and presence of Greek temples, yet they seize the temporality and absence of the Pueblos.

Another point of difference in the function of images in *Pueblo* compared to Scully's other works discussed earlier is the sheer number of photographs that include human figures (201). Almost always dressed in ritual attire and engaged in communal activities (190 out of 201), the figures in the photos never appear to be aware of the presence of an intruder, the

photographer (figure 5.17).[102] As the image on the right in figure 17 depicts, engaged in the

performance of rituals, the bodily movement of performers results in blurry photographs. This

very element of blurriness visually amplifies the sense of temporality.

Images of *Pueblo* function in a way similar to the book itself. The book's at-times-

sentimental narrative tells the story of a peoples and a culture that is on the verge of extinction

based on Scully's assumption. The images visually parallel this argument by convincing the

viewer that they are looking at temporal performances, rituals, and ways of living that are in

danger of fading away as the photographs are.

Ultimately, it can be observed that images played a pivotal role in Scully's scholarship.

Since his arguments were phenomenological, meaning interpretive, speculative, and subjective,

he relied on imagery to communicate his intention. Because his interpretations were not strictly a

result of academic research into existing scholarship but rather of his own experiences, he had to

use his images carefully. That is, he had to use photographs or choose architectural drawings that

mobilized cinematic and artistic effects to convey his intended *feeling* as opposed to any concrete

reality.

In conclusion, what makes Scully's use of images stand out in comparison to other

pervasive and influential architectural publications of the time such as Giedion's *Space, Time,*

Architecture (1941) and *The Eternal Present: The Beginnings of Art and The Beginnings of*

Architecture (1964), Le Corbusier's *Vers une architecture* (1923), and Hitchcock and Johnson's

The International Style, among others, is not strictly the use of black and white imagery or

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[102] On the role of the subject in art see Catherine M. Soussloff, *The Subject in Art: Portraiture and the Birth of the Modern*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2006; see also Darcy Grimaldo Grigsby, *Extremities: Painting Empire in Post-Revolutionary France*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002; Stephen Bull, *Photography* (Routledge, 2010).

curation of images in a way that visualizes and supports the author's arguments. All works of architecture in one way or another rely on images as visualization of buildings, and all authors employ cropping, lighting, and viewpoints to highlight their own intentions. The oddity with Scully's use of images, instead, is in *how* these images support the arguments. In Scully's works, it is the psychological affect produced by images that is of utmost importance. Giedion, Le Corbusier, Hitchcock and Johnson, and Rudofsky use images to depict architectural examples and draw visual comparisons and analyses between buildings. Scully, on the other hand, is not so much concerned with drawing similarities or visualizing architectural examples but rather with the mental state the curation of images elicits in the viewer. His images, in other words, evoke a feeling or a state of mind, a particular affect that he is convinced and so claims that is the result of the authentic or true way of experiencing works of architecture. Images, therefore, are meant to turn the subjective and the personal into the objective and the universal. It is such a method of using imagery that resonates with the Eranos approach to images. The Eranian phenomenologists of religion too used images as proof of the universality of their claims. Scully does the same by visually framing his own interpretation as the only valid interpretation of any work of architecture he discusses.

Image as such becomes an important trope of colonialism whereby unattainable standards of beauty are produced. The distribution of these images in turn, takes place through the petro dollars of Paul Mellon who needs the tools of cultural colonialism to gain access to oil rich countries of the Global South.

The Function of Images for Rykwert

In his prolific career, Rykwert penned over two hundred books, articles, poems, and commentaries. The present study, however, is limited to the 1945–1967 period and focuses on the works that either fall within that frame or are a result of Rykwert's Bollingen fellowship. Therefore, and as noted in the first chapter, the Rykwert writings examined here are *The Idea of a Town* (1963 in *Forum*, 1976 as a book), *Church Building* (1966), and *On Adam's House in Paradise: The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History,* (1972). In what follows the function of images in each book has been investigated.

D) *The Idea of a Town*

The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World was initially published as a special issue of the *Forum* magazine with a preface by Aldo van Eyck in 1963. As a book, it first appeared in 1976 and was published by the Princeton University Press and its appearance was aided by Rykwert's Bollingen fellowship. In 242 pages, the book has 168 black and white images in the form of photographs, maps, plans, and drawings. Unlike Scully's works, images are interwoven with text and do not appear separately at the end of the book. Each image is fully identified and accompanied by brief descriptions (figure 5.18).

Rykwert's main argument in *The Idea of a Town* is that in the eyes of ancient people, the city was, above all, a symbolic pattern based on cosmological principles that granted meaning to people's lives. The city, he argued, was not a mere accidental juxtaposition of buildings, streets, and squares. From the selection of the site of a city to the construction of each building, Rykwert contends, myths and rituals were the founding principles of each action and choice. He writes, "In the specific instance of the town plan, its laying-out according to a model was hedged about with elaborate ceremonial, the words and actions of which constituted the conceptual model. The foundation was commemorated in regularly recurring festivals, and permanently enshrined in

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monuments whose physical presence anchored the ritual to the soil and to the physical shape of the roads and buildings."[103]

In making his argument, Rykwert considers multiple layers of symbolism in six chapters. Suggestively titled "Town and Rite: Rome and Romulus," "City and Site," "Square and Cross," "Guardians of Center, Guardians of Boundaries," "The Parallels," and "The City as a Curable Disease: Ritual and Hysteria," the chapters of Rykwert's account are rich in their consideration of myths and rituals of not only the Roman tradition but also other ancient cultures, for instance, South American or from India, to demonstrate that for *all* ancient civilizations, cities were symbolically meaningful beyond mundane considerations of geography, economy, and hygiene.[104]

In the first chapter, for instance, Rykwert links Plutarch's *Life of Romulus,* to Cain's tale in the Bible, and to Greek mythology, accompanied by other "scattered fragments of literary and epigraphic evidence," to argue that urban planning founded on myths, religious beliefs, and rites was what granted the ancient people a meaningful life in harmony with not just their environment but the world, precisely because the city's symbolism had them know their place in the cosmos.[105] The chapter is accompanied by four photographs, the pattern of an undated Roman coin depicting Romulus and Remus, two bronze statues of men holding crooked staff, and a marble statue of a sow with thirty piglets (figures 5.19–5.21). None of the photographs is specifically addressed in the text. Neither do these photographs function as evidence of any claim Rykwert makes. Images for Rykwert function as non-specific illustrations of specific

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[103] Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town*, 35.
[104] Ibid., 39, 41,
[105] Ibid., 48.

myths he discusses. Images, in other words, are not foundational to Rykwert's argument as they were in Scully's case. They are rather intended to evoke the mystery with which Rykwert wants to imbue ancient town planning rites and rituals. Images, here, are illustrative depictions or even addendums to an argument made. Rykwert relies more on textual evidence to support his arguments. But with only 86 notes to the first chapter, Rykwert does not seem to be eager to support his arguments; as such, his text reads more like a piece of creative writing on myths and religions as opposed to a historical scholarly work.

The same observation made about the first chapter can be made about other chapters. The second chapter, for instance, building upon Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Vitruvius, Polybius and others, considers the criteria that went into selecting the site of a city to argue that the most important of all considerations was the will of gods, understood through cosmology and alchemy, and solicited through sacrificial rites. The thirty-four images belonging to this chapter include diagrams and photographs of coins, sculptures, reliefs, maps, and esoteric drawings that are often in poor shape, torn or incomplete (figure 5.22). Some of these images are less vigorously identified and explained, as evidenced by the use of the term "confusing" or question marks (figures 5.23 and 5.24). More so than they did in the first chapter, images of the second chapter, precisely because of their physical incompleteness, esoteric nature (figure 5.25), and insufficient identification and explanation function as amplifiers of the sense of mystery that Rykwert ingrains into his study of the history of town planning in ancient Rome and Greece. It can be observed, therefore, that images for Rykwert do not necessarily function as evidence of any argument but as evidence of the esoteric nature of his topic.

As the book progresses, Rykwert distances himself from ancient Rome and Greece in order to demonstrate that his geographically specific interpretive observations are valid for all

ancient civilizations. In the third chapter, "Square and Cross," Rykwert references Papuan culture (figure 5.26); in the fourth chapter, "Guardians of Center," he references the Akkadian culture (figure 5.27); and in the fifth chapter, he speaks of the Nepalese culture (figure 5.28). Just as references to other cultures are minimal and little investigated, the allocated images are also scarce and importantly, photographs of photographs as opposed to photographs of objects, and sites. Other cultures' symbolism, in other words, is considered in relation to that of ancient Rome and Greek. Here, once again and as was with Scully's works, we witness a colonialist project insofar as the author considers other cultures in relation to a European center. Such an imperialist attitude is also reflected in the minimal use of imagery belonging to other cultures. The problem, in other words, is not that the author is making comparisons per se but rather that the author uses non-European cultures passingly, sweepingly, and with generalizations, to convince the reader of the universality of his interpretive and speculative study. In less than four pages, for instance, and relying on five sources, two works by Mircea Eliade (*Yoga: Immortality and Freedom*, *Images et Symboles*) and three others cited by Eliade in his books, Rykwert concludes that "It would be easy at this point to conclude that Roman and Indian usage—as well as perhaps Etruscan—derive from some common Indo-European heritage."[106]

Eliade is not the only member of Eranos-Bollingen circle cited by Rykwert to make his arguments in the book. Also cited are C. G. Jung and K. Kerenyi's *Introduction to a Science of Mythology* (1951)*,* Y. Hedlund's "Mundus" published in *Eranos Jahrbuch* (1933), *G.* van der Leeuw's *Phänomenologie der Religion* (1933)*,* and John Layard's "The Molekulan Journey of the Dead," *Eranos Jahrbuch* (1960).

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[106] Ibid., 200–204.

E) *Church Building*

Church Building is a short, 128-page book, and the 120th volume of *The Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Catholicism* which can be found under the 12th section of the encyclopedia entitled "Catholicism and the Arts." Initially published in 1966, *Church Building* is one of the lesser-known works of Rykwert. With 8 modest images in the form of church plans, the book is Rykwert's attempt at demonstrating how building Catholic churches has always been an act of newly interpreting already existing forms with symbolic and metaphorical meanings.[107]

The small book is an easy read, more like a story rather than an entry in an encyclopedia, beginning with the mysterious kinship between occult practices, temples, catacombs, and churches (figure 5.29)[108] and ending with Rykwert's suggestions for how a modern church ought to look. Positioning church building as the qualitative opposite of post-war mass housing projects which relied on quantity, Rykwert ends his manuscript by praising Le Corbusier's "genius" in interpreting the nature of the world and representing the spirit of the time.[109]

With only 23 citations, Rykwert's *Church Building* is not a rigorous historical study but a prescription for what churches should look like. Once again relying heavily on Wittkower, and Frank E. Brown,[110] Rykwert's study requires an a priori agreement with the author on not only the role of the architect as hermeneut but also on the contested beginnings of Christianity as a faith. Rykwert, for instance, assumes that the reader shares his positionality and takes it for granted that the reader is not only a monotheist but also a Christian as he uses the word "our" 26

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[107] Rykwert, *Church Building*, 20.
[108] Ibid., 16–17.
[109] Ibid., 126.
[110] On Brown's view of ancient Roman buildings as embodied ritual see Peter Kohane, "Louis Kahn's Theory of 'Inspired Ritual' and Architectural Space," *Architectural Theory Review* 6 (2001): 87-95.

times and always before the words lord (pages 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 32, 34, 53, 56), church (17, 106)

mind/sense/knowledge (17, 29, 67, 83), clergy (29), holy water (23), and faith (126). Also telling

is his Eurocentric view in using the same word, own, before times (23-121-125) and environment

(126). Note that by then Rykwert, Jewish by birth, was by then a practicing Christian.[111]

It can be said that the images of the book and their progression from a modest catacomb

to an elaborate cathedral (figure 5.30) sustain Rykwert's argument in that they visually support

his claim that church building needs to be elaborate and lavish to highlight faith against the

backdrop of a secular world. In the first example he provides, the Church at Moudjeleia as seen

in the upper left side of figure 30 has a modest irregular hexagon as its plan. The next example,

the church of San Vitale, seen on the right side of the Moudjeleia church, has an elaborate

octagonal plan. As the book proceeds, the churches become ever more elaborate in design; the

Church of Hagia Sophia seen on the top right corner has a rectangular plan but the arches and the

dome have developed to be quite complex. The achronological progression towards complexity

of design and architectural geometry leads to the Cathedral of Assumption in Moscow and the

five-aisled old St Peter's in Rome. Ultimately the images culminate with Bramante's original

design of St Peter's church with its complex hexagonal plan and five domes. The chronological

progression from the modest beginnings to complicated and elaborate later projects to Rykwert is

telling of the need for meaningful ornamentation and elaboration of church designs in a secular

world.

F) *On Adam's House in Paradise: The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History*

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[111] Helen Thomas, "Joseph Rykwert and the Use of History," *AA Flies*, No. 66 (2013), 55.

Originally published in 1972 by The Museum of Modern Art, New York, *On Adam's House in Paradise: The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History* was the second of MoMA's publications on what the director of the museum, Arthur Drexler, called "a series of occasional papers concerned with the theoretical background of modern architecture."[112] The first book of the series was Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture* (1966) for which Scully wrote the introduction: another link between Scully and Rykwert. Drexler, while rejecting any connection between the two books, observes that Venturi's book challenged modern architecture's quest for purity of form and rationalism, and Rykwert's book demonstrates that looking for purity, like looking for the origin of the work of architecture, is a result of an underlying anxiety for recovering a utopic state or a golden past.[113]

In the first chapter of the book, "Thinking and Doing," Rykwert defines the object of his study, Adam's house in paradise or what he assumes to be the first archetypal human dwelling, using a language common to Jungian psychoanalysis. He writes, "an object which has always been lost cannot – in any ordinary sense of the word – be remembered. The memory of which we speak, however, is not quite of an object but rather of a state – of something that was; and of something that was done, was made: an action. It is a collective memory kept alive within groups by legends and rituals."[114] By defining his task as that of tracing assimilations of the primordial human dwelling, Rykwert begins his research with the a priori belief that in all cultures, architects have sought to revoke a golden past by referencing "primitive" modes of building. Rykwert writes that, for instance and just to name a few, Le Corbusier's "primitive man,"[115]

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[112] Arthur Drexler, "Foreword," *On Adam's Hut in Paradise*, 1972, 8.
[113] Ibid., 8.
[114] Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise*, 14.
[115] Ibid., 14.

Wright's "cave-dwelling agrarians,"[116] Mies van der Rohe's "primitive building methods,"[117] Erich Mendelsohn's reference to the animal kingdom,[118] Andre Lefevre's "primitive effort of mankind,"[119] Gropius's 1921 design for the Blockhaus Sommerfeld (figure 5.31),[120] and Loos's "the primitive,"[121] all point to the same recurring idea. That idea is "if architecture was to be renewed, if its true function was again to be understood after years of neglect, a return to the 'preconscious' state of building, or alternatively to the dawn of consciousness, would reveal the primary ideas from which a true understanding of architectural forms would spring, or else an understanding of those elementary forms that architects must inevitably play as counters in a game, however simple or elaborate, in order to create the simplest as the most elaborate statements."[122] Rykwert's presuppositions are expressed clearly in this short first chapter, the ending of which I just quoted. The more obvious of the presuppositions are that there had been a neglect and malaise in architecture that needed to be addressed; that the right way to do so had to be to tap into a world of collective unconscious, and that this world of collective unconscious is connected to an almost lost set of knowledges that Rykwert (and Corbin in different ways) thought that he could access through non-Western cultures, because of his Eurocentric belief in cultural evolution, and the false fact that non-Western cultures were existing in an earlier moment of evolutionary development. That somehow through the cultural excavations he was doing using images, he was accessing the primitive mode of building which was, importantly, the *true* way of building.

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[116] Ibid., 17.
[117] Ibid., 18.
[118] Ibid., 19.
[119] Ibid., 21.
[120] Ibid., 22–23.
[121] Ibid., 28.
[122] Ibid., 28.

Rykwert's speculative comparative analysis, rather than critical historical inquiry, as one reviewer pointed out, falls into the trap of selective motif-hunting in history in order to argue that a single pattern or archetype has consistency and across all cultures provided architects with a constructive source of imagination.[123] As Gombrich commented, "Rykwert is not really concerned with the history of an idea, but with a cluster of associations for which he looks in the writing of modern architects, in architectural treatises of the past, in ancient religions and rituals. He is concerned with memories of fantasies of an archetypal dwelling."[124] The kind of psychoanalytical rather than historical approach Gombrich discerns is mirrored in Rykwert's use of images in the book.

The book comes with 84 images that are not numbered and accounted for in a list of illustrations. These black and white images are undated, and their scope and medium vary from Le Corbusier's sketch of a primitive Jewish temple (figure 5.32) and Piranesi's 1761 etching, the Gothic Arch—belonging to his collection of Imaginary Prisons (figure 5.33) to photographs of reconstruction models of the Temple in Jerusalem by J. J. Erasmus (figure 5.34) and a cloth chuppah being used in a Jewish wedding (figure 5.35). Images, in other words, are as selectively transhistorical and cross-cultural as the literary sources Rykwert examines. Of the 84 images, 32 are drawings of what architects have imagined a primitive hut or temple to look like, and only 17 are from actual buildings. The rest are maps of Ancient Greek and Roman towns, paintings,

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[123] Georg Germann, "Review: On Adam's House in Paradise; The Idea of the Primitive Hut in Architectural History by Joseph Rykwert," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 1 October 1974; 33 (3): 244–245.

[124] Ernst Gombrich, "Dream Houses", *New York Review of Books*, 29 November 1973. That Gombrich was critical of Rykwert's approach does not contradict his own populist art historical methodology. As Helen Thomas demonstrates, "Gombrich, for all the academicism of his work at Warburg, enjoyed a dual life as a writer, counterbalancing scholarly volumes on the art and architecture of the Renaissance with a more populist art historical voice," like the *Story of Art* (1950)." Helen Thomas, "Rykwert and the Use of History," *AA Files*, no. 66 (2013), 55.

Roman coins, or Greek columns. All the images are from or depict European culture except for 14 images. Of these 14 images, one belongs to the Indigenous peoples of Australia, five to the Japanese and the Chinese, seven to the Egyptians, and one to the Babylonians. None of the 14 non-European images belongs to Rykwert's historical present. Non-Europeans, that is, have been presented as extinct, a matter for archaeology, a mere subject of retrospective study.

All these 14 images are also crammed into the last two chapters of the book (54 pages), named "The Rites," and "A House for the Soul." The sixth chapter, "The Rites," which contains 13 of the 14 images, explores the role of architecture as the location of festive or ceremonial events such as circumcision that, according to the author, are also acts of initiation; also tellingly a quite masculine definition of architecture. Drawing on Roman coins, Jewish weddings, rituals of the new Guinea peoples, Babylonian festivities for the new year, Ancient Egyptian festivals, and the construction rites of Ancient Chinese and Japanese dynasties, Rykwert argues that by looking at the myths and rituals of "closed societies" such as the Jews, Egyptians, and Japanese, one understands the import of architecture as the site of renewable community-making moments.[125]

The last chapter has one image (figure 5.36) which depicts an Indigenous Australian man, fully naked, holding an object made out of what appears to be wood and thread against a parched and dry background. The chapter begins with a quotation from Jung that reads "after all, the penis is only a phallic symbol."[126] By considering the depicted object the Indigenous man is holding in the image as a predecessor of a work of architecture in its symbolic value of meaning creation, Rykwert circles back to architectural speculations about the original hut or Adam's

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[125] Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise*, 182.
[126] Ibid., 183.

house in paradise to interpret architecture as a phallic expression of order and meaning against an embryonic feminine chaos, a process that is evolutionary and in which Le Corbusier is further ahead of the Indigenous nations of Australia.[127]

Lastly, here too Rykwert is building upon the scholarship produced by the Eranos-Bollingen circle. Eliade's *Birth and Rebirth: The Religious Meanings of Initiation in Human Culture* (1958) and "Dimensions Religiuses du Renouvellement Cosmique" (Eranos, 1959), Georges Dumézil's *Le Problème des Centaures* (1929) and *La Religion Romaine Archaïque* (1966), alongside four works by Brown and Giedion are the most recurring of the few secondary works cited by Rykwert.

In conclusion, Rykwert's use of images is drastically different from Scully's. While Scully curated images to produce a particular affect to then claim the universality of his architectural interpretation, Rykwert used images to draw similarities across a wide range of disparate objects, and not just buildings, to account for the very existence of universal patterns across histories and cultures. In this sense, Rykwert is also echoing the visual methodology of Bollingen-Eranos scholars who used images as proof for the universality of their claims. Scully and Rykwert, in this sense, represent two sides of the same coin, the Bollingen-Eranos coin whereby Scully uses images to evoke a certain feeling of timelessness (temporality) and universality and Rykwert uses images to draw parallels and point to similarities and patterns. For both scholars nonetheless, images take up the task of making a point about the possibility of universalization.

Conclusion

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[127] Ibid., 183–192.

Both Scully and Rykwert have left a lingering influence on architectural practice, theory, and history in the Anglo-American world through their scholarship and long years of teaching in the U.S. and England, respectively. They were both architectural phenomenologists in so far as they understood "good" and "meaningful" architecture to have an added, extra element, which was symbolic and esoteric in nature, which had to be experienced and felt, and could only be experienced if empathized with or understood on its own grounds. Their architectural phenomenology, much like Eliade and Corbin's phenomenology of religion, presupposed faith and belief in the possibility of such a mode of transcendental experience. Scully and Rykwert attested that they had both experienced such architecture in the remnant ruins of ancient Rome and Greece. Careful and informed examination of the ruins was available to architects and historians through the American Academy in Rome. Funds to travel to Rome to study were made available, if only partially, through Bollingen Fellowships. Both Scully and Rykwert's research projects while they were Bollingen Fellows had to do with the "meaning" of Roman and Greek architecture for its own sake. The resulting books were determinative to both scholars' thought systems as well as their success and fame not only as architectural historians but also as anachronistic teachers of history in a modernist academic milieu where history was just becoming welcome.[128]

The lingering influence of Rome on both scholars defined their approach to architecture and manifested itself in other manuscripts written by them. So significant was this effect that Scully extended his Roman study to Pueblos, and Rykwert to numerous other cultures such as Akkadians, Chinese, and Jewish. In doing so without proper historical investigation and

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[128] Gwendolyn Wright and Janet Parks, *The History of History in American Schools of Architecture* (Princeton Architectural Press,1990).

implementation of theoretical tools, they measured all cultures against a focalized European and Christian one and furthered a colonial agenda in the phenomenological branch of the twentieth-century architectural discourse. This colonial agenda found support in Paul Mellon who used his petro dollars from the Gulf Oil Corporation to support US imperialism which entailed violence towards lands and the people.

For all their similarities, Scully and Rykwert employed images to different ends in their works. Scully placed equal if not greater importance on images in his books, which were often divided into separate parts for text and illustrations. For Scully, images functioned as proof or evidence of the universal validity of his own interpretations. These images, in other words, were meant to convince the reader of the validity of Scully's speculative interpretation of spaces. As such, his photographs were manipulated to evoke a sense of timelessness or temporality and highly expressive of the religious sense he sought to confer upon the spaces he discussed.

Rykwert's images, on the other hand, functioned in a different way. Always more interested in the textual rather than the visual, Rykwert used images not to prove his claim but to invoke the esoteric sense of universality he so keenly bestowed upon his own speculative genealogies in architecture. Rykwert, in other words, used transhistorical and cross-cultural idiosyncratic imagery of objects, sculptures, coins, and other phenomena to hint at the universality of his claims. While Scully's imagery was mostly limited to spaces and their landscapes, Rykwert employed images of all kinds including objects and humans. Whether to demonstrate the universality of subjective feelings or esoteric genealogies, images were central to the scholarship of Scully and Rykwert.

Chapter Six: Conclusions

In this dissertation, I track the impact of the petro-funded Eranos and Bollingen foundations. Likewise, I link this funding to the rise of the scholarly uses of "phenomenology" as defined by phenomenologists of religion Eliade and Corbin, and architectural phenomenologists Scully and Rykwert to reveal how oil money was key to the choreography of postwar politics, archaeological excavation, and knowledge production through the Bollingen Foundation and the Gulf Oil Corporation. The goal was to account for a significant historical instance wherein the petroleum industry played a formative role in cultural knowledge production of the twentieth century. For that reason, my research contributes to the field of petrocultures as it highlights a way in which dependency on oil has shaped modern thought.

In my own research, informed by petrocultural theories and concepts, I have traced the source of capital behind Eranos and Bollingen to find out how a specifically Jungian definition of phenomenology, which prospered so much in the Anglo-American world during the second half of the twentieth century, had direct ties to the flow of energy and capital—through German and U.S. banks—during the Cold War. I started this study by providing an overview of what phenomenology was, both as a field of philosophical inquiry and as a method in religious studies and architectural studies. I also drew the contours of the common ground between the phenomenology of religion and architectural phenomenology. In short, this dissertation examines the use of images as proof (central communicators of primary and irreducible meanings) for universalist claims that support the powers that be – in this case American and Western imperialism, and the reign of the Shah of Iran, not to mention the supremacy of oil as an energy source around which social economic and political infrastructures were being reorganized globally at this time. Such use of images, and phenomenology understood as a transhistorical and intuitive method of interpretation were the two main commonalities between the phenomenology

of religion and architectural phenomenology—one that could be manipulated to sustain pre-determined conclusions. One of my original interests in this topic grew from the awareness that religious phenomenology has fallen out of favour, and yet architectural phenomenology is still in vogue. Following Eranos and Bollingen money, leads inevitably to the scholars Eliade, Corbin, Scully, and Rykwert, whose work was funded by oil-money and in return supported a petrocultural worldview—that is to say justified the expansionist and extractive practices that would rule global politics and economics for the next century, not to mention our daily practices, habits and aesthetic preferences. To understand how this complex convergence of scholars, oil money, local and global politics and cultural values intersected, I examined Eranos and Bollingen foundations respectively, querying a parallel set of questions, (a) What were Eranos and Bollingen, who were its founders and participants, and what were its premise and achievements? (b) How can Eranos and Bollingen be contextualized geographically and intellectually? (c) What is the relevance of Eranos/Bollingen to this dissertation and in general?

In the second chapter and in response to these questions, I found out that Eranos was a circle of scholars who, beginning in 1933, travelled to Casa Gabriella (with varying degrees of regularity) for two weeks during the month of August to lecture on different themes that had myths, such as the deluge, and religions, such as Buddhism or Islam, as their common denominator. Beginning in 1934 and in concurrence with the annual conferences, the founder of Eranos, Fröbe-Kapteyn also organized exhibitions consisting of photographs of works of art related to that year's theme which she had collected from libraries and museums across Europe and the United States. Eranos was also continually defined by Fröbe-Kapteyn, and by other influential members such as Jung, Eliade and Corbin, as a non-visual yet realized archetype or image. This image, they concurred, was comprised of many other images, each of which

corresponded to an archetype. Eranos, as a cultural site, created the space for the coming together of all these archetypal images. In other words, Eranos as an institution curated a set of archetypes in order to provide an overly simplified understanding of the world based on (unfounded) universal truths supposedly revealed through images. Correspondingly, for Eranos members, archetypes were formless psychic structures of existence that were collective in nature and became manifest in symbols. Archetypes as such were keys to understanding ancient peoples' worldviews, cultures, and patterns of existence. In other words, viewing an archive of archetypes was to skim through the visual history of mankind and draw overarching conclusions. Since 1943, the capital funding for the collection of image-archetypes, the financing of the Eranos conferences and exhibitions, and the travel cost of attendees as well as Fröbe-Kapteyn's expenses came from either Mary and Paul Mellon directly, or from the Bollingen Foundation.

The Bollingen Foundation (1946–1967) was the U.S. petro-philanthropists' Mary and Paul Mellon's cultural enterprise dedicated to the support and publishing of humanist scholarship in such diverse fields as analytical psychology, history of religions, and philosophy. The Bollingen Foundation was not only the main financial supporter of the Eranos conferences and exhibitions, but also the first publisher of Eranos scholarship in English. By funding and publishing applied Jungian psychology in humanities, a sub-discipline that was coming out of Eranos and championed a subjective, intuitive, and phenomenological approach, Bollingen played a pivotal role in the propagation of not only Jungian-psychological but also phenomenological studies. My careful and thorough investigation of Bollingen, Mellons, and other figures involved with the foundation, revealed that the tax-exempt petroleum-funded Bollingen project with its early ties to Nazi Germany was directed towards the creation of an interpretation of the world that was essentialist, US-Eurocentric, and culturally colonialist.

Importantly, the Bollingen project was run on petroleum (the Gulf Oil Corporation). Its very existence as an institution relied on petroleum as the source of its capital. Over its twenty-two years of activity, the Bollingen Foundation had a deficit of $13,523,869 ($125,714,570 in 2023). These deficits were covered by income from Mellon's two major investments: United States Government Bonds and Notes (53%) and corporate stocks in Gulf Oil (47%). Out of the foundation's total fund ($149,119,399in 2023), about 75% ($112,969,242 in 2023) had been in the form of personal gifts from Mellon. Gulf Oil was a major energy supplier of the United States government during the Cold War and among its shareholders was Allen Dulles—also the company's lawyer. As such, the third chapter elucidated a hitherto unacknowledged petropolitical network that had as much a cultural impact as the National Endowment for the Arts. Among the scholars who were supported by the Bollingen Foundation were phenomenologists of religion, Eliade and Corbin, and architectural phenomenologists, Scully and Rykwert. My dissertation revealed how an important stream of cultural knowledge production during the second half of the twentieth century relied on the petroleum industry and culturally asserted an ideological framework that justified US access to oil rich countries of the Global South.

In the fourth chapter of the dissertation, I zeroed in on the phenomenology of religion as defined by Eliade and Corbin, and investigated the centrality of images in those works of the scholars that fit within the timeframe of this study. Understanding phenomenology as an intuitive interpretation of transhistorical mythical and religious symbols, the two scholars emphasized the significance of images in different ways. For Eliade, the preeminence of images was a result of what he saw to be their unique ability to incorporate a multiplicity of meanings all at once and precisely because of that he had no images reproduced in his discussed works. Corbin, on the

other hand, believed that images held the key to unlocking what he thought the true real world was: the imaginal world. Additionally, Eliade and Corbin believed that meanings were not created but found or discovered. Religions and myths were central to their scholarship precisely because of their ability to grant the illusion of transhistoricality of meanings. That is why they placed an a priori condition to any critique of their works. The condition was to have faith or to believe in the possibility of god figures creating meaning for humans through manifestations of their existence. As such, their work functioned much the same as do religious texts, and their arguments demand, like religion, a certain leap of faith. Architectural phenomenologists, Scully and Rykwert partially founded their own phenomenologies based on the works of the members of Eranos-Bollingen scholars, namely they relied heavily on the scholarship of Eliade. His work still maintains purchase in popular culture, but has a likewise questionable relationship to the political oppressions that are the foundation of twentieth and twenty-first century global petropolitics.

In the fifth chapter, I researched architectural phenomenology and the significance of images to the phenomenologies of Scully and Rykwert. Their architectural phenomenology, much like Eliade and Corbin's phenomenology of religion, presupposed faith and belief in the possibility of such a mode of transcendental experience. Scully and Rykwert employed images to different ends in their works. Scully placed equal if not more importance on images in his books that were often divided into two parts of text and imagery. For Scully, images functioned as proof or evidence. These images were meant to convince the reader of the validity of Scully's speculative interpretation of spaces. As such, his photographs were manipulated and highly expressive of the religious sense he sought to confer upon the spaces he discussed. Rykwert, on the other hand, had other intentions. Always more interested in the textual rather than the visual,

Rykwert used an eclectic assortment of images (from coins to sculptures, to wedding ceremonies to building) not to prove his claims but to entice readers into the specific esoteric sensibility that he bestowed upon his own speculative genealogies in architecture. Like with Corbin, this demanded a certain suspension of disbelief. Rykwert, in other words, used transhistorical and cross-cultural idiosyncratic imagery of objects, sculptures, coins, and others to hint at the universality of his claims. While Scully's imagery was mostly limited to spaces and their landscapes, Rykwert employed images of all kinds. Whether to demonstrate the universality of subjective feelings or esoteric genealogies, images were used by Scully and Rykwert to illustrate their culturally specific Euro-centric perspectives.

This dissertation traces this history of oil money and the pivotal role it played in Cold War knowledge production and dissemination—which allowed for oil imperialism in the name of cultural philanthropy, and which still holds sway in both scholarly and popular culture. This is how the larger pieces of this map come together: Paul Mellon, son of a former Secretary of the Treasury (Andrew Mellon, 1921-32), owner of one of the largest petroleum companies in the world, the Gulf Oil Corporation, and a CIA agent, began the comprehensive support of Jung and the Eranos project, which were at the time suspected of having intellectual and material affinities with the Nazis, through the oil-funded Bollingen project. Board members and lawyers for Bollingen, such as Dulles and Roosevelt, were shareholders in Gulf Oil. They also had ties to Nazi banks[1] and were influential in exonerating Jung and Fröbe-Kapteyn of having Nazi tendencies. Nazi- and oil-tainted affiliates were tied to the postwar CIA as well and played major political roles in securing energy resources for the U.S. during the Cold War. With support from this governing body, Bollingen invested as much as the NEA in cultural philanthropy. Among

[1] On Dulles and his ties to German banks see Peter Grose, *Gentleman Spy*. 90–117.

the cultural projects it undertook was the support of Eranos, the American Academy in Rome's excavations and photography projects, and the publication of the celebrated Bollingen series. Through this curious mix, Eliade and Corbin came to prominence and founded the phenomenology of religion as a discipline. They defined the phenomenology of religion as an intuitive and transhistorical act of assimilation and interpretation that required a prior faith. The next generation of Bollingen Fellows, Scully and Rykwert, founded their scholarship on the works of Eliade and other Bollingen-Eranos scholars such as Jung, Neumann, Zimmer, and Kerényi. They also defined architectural phenomenology as intuitive and transhistorical. All four scholars centralized images in their scholarship and found them critical in their process of cultural assimilation and interpretation. Phenomenology as the study of decontextualized images, therefore, found unprecedented support from the Bollingen foundation, with its investments in mid-century Nazism and the burgeoning oil industrial complex.

Certainly, phenomenological studies emerged as part of the post-World War II global effort to identify universal commonalities through transcultural studies, as well as the establishment of cross-national agencies like the United Nations. The rise of phenomenological studies in the US does indeed bear similarities to the rise of field studies, both being linked to the Cold War's anti-Soviet politics and relying on external funding for research on the cultures and ways of life of "the other."

While important and significant studies were produced during this period, it is crucial to critique the hidden relationships between knowledge-producing institutions and petropolitics, as well as the colonial infrastructures that facilitated this knowledge production. Taking this approach aims to destabilize conventional categories of knowledge such as phenomenology by examining how these categories are constructed and maintained through social and cultural

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practices. Rather than concentrating on the experiences of particular individuals or groups, my research builds from them to investigate the broader structures, discourses, and norms that shape current understandings of architecture and space and exposes the limitations of these normalized views. This approach reveals the intersections of various forms of oppression and power dynamics, such as those related to race and class, and questions the ways in which normative assumptions perpetuate inequality and marginalization.

Therefore, my claim is that it is necessary to shift the focus away from phenomenological studies that center on individual experiences within the realm of architecture, not only to give more focus to more pressing and collective issues such as the impending climate crisis, but I argue that some of the root causes of this crisis originate ideologically and materially in the logics that created the context for phenomenology to rise to popularity in the first instance.

Figures

Chapter One.

Figure 1.1. Margarethe Fellerer, photograph of Swiss journalist and publicist Fritz René Allemann viewing the Eranos Archive in 1939, featuring archetypal representations of the rebirth archetype. Courtesy of Eranos Foundation, Ascona.

Figure 1.2. Photograph of the ruins of temple of Amen-Re viewed from Sacred Lake in Egypt. From the Eranos Archive, classified under the archetype of "temple."
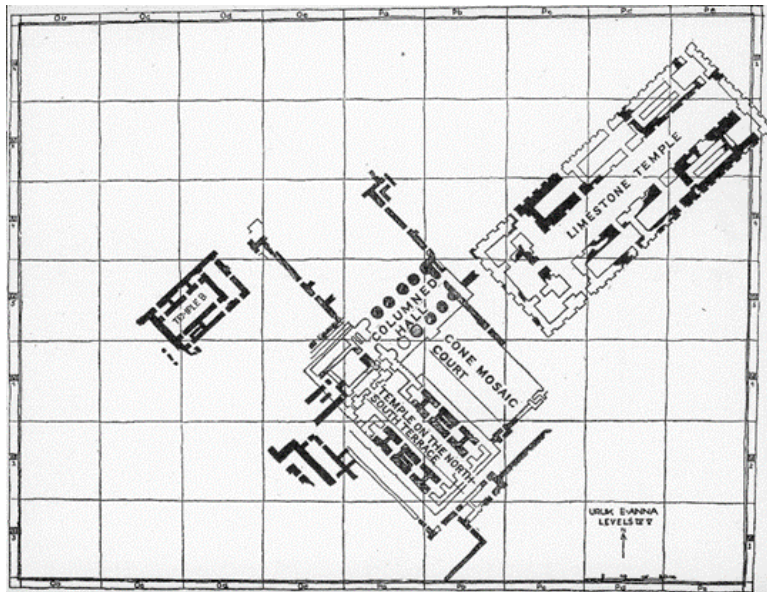
Figure 1.3. Floorplans of temples in the Eanna Precinct of Uruk (Iraq), dedicated to Inanna. From the Eranos Archive, classified under the archetype of "temple."

Chapter Two.

Figure 2.1. This image was removed because of copyright restrictions. It depicted Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn, *Chalice in the Heart*, c. 1927. Roberto Assagioli's private collection. Courtesy of Gerrish Fine Art. https://www.gerrishfineart.com/frbekapteyn-olga-the-chalice-in-the-heart-screenprint-c~3172

Figure 2.2. This image was removed because of copyright restrictions. It depicted Unknown photographer, Thirteen of Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn's paintings that are permanently displayed at Casa Anatta, Ascona, 1920s. Courtesy of the Eranos Foundation.

Figure 2.3. This image was removed because of copyright restrictions. It depicted Unknown photographer, Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn in Casa Gabriella, 1929. In the background, a selection of her symbolic paintings can be seen. Courtesy of the Eranos Foundation.
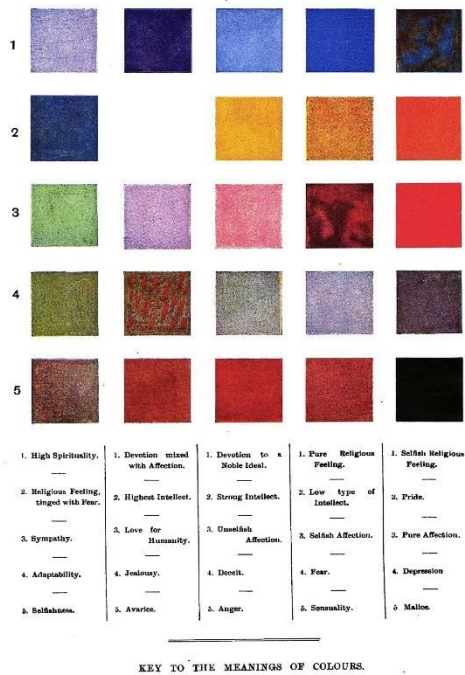
Figure 2.4. Annie Besant and C. W. Leadbeater, Key to the Meanings of Colors in *Thought Forms*, 1911.

Figure 2.5. This image was removed because of copyright restrictions. It depicted Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn, *The Great Mother*, 1937. Courtesy of the Eranos Foundation, Ascona.

Figure 2.6. Margarethe Fellerer, photograph of Swiss journalist and publicist Fritz René Allemann viewing the Eranos Archive in 1939, featuring archetypal representations of the rebirth archetype. Courtesy of Eranos Foundation, Ascona.

Figure 2.7. This image was removed because of copyright restrictions. It depicted Margarethe Fellerer, The Eranos Roundtable at Casa Gabriella's balcony, c. 1947. Courtesy of Eranos Foundation, Ascona.

Figure 2.8. This image was removed because of copyright restrictions. It depicted Mark Speck, *Genio loci ignoto*, 1949, Casa Gabriella. Courtesy of the Eranos Foundation.

Figure 2.9. This image was removed because of copyright restrictions. It depicted Margarethe Fellerer, Jung in the Lecture Hall of Casa Eranos with the background of the annual image-archive exhibit on the theme of The Hermetic Principle in Mythology, 1942. Courtesy of Eranos Foundation, Ascona.

Figure 2.10. This image was removed because of copyright restrictions. It depicted The Five-Deity Mandala of Amoghapasha, ground mineral pigment on cotton, 16th century, Nepal. Courtesy of Eranos Foundation, Ascona.

Figure 2.11. Military camp of the ancient Vikings near Trelleborg from 1975 C. G. Jung: Word and Image exhibition at Helmhaus in Zurich, Photo by the author, taken from the original catalogue.

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Figure 2.13. Sand painting among the Navaho from 1975 "C. G. Jung: Word and Image" exhibition at Helmhaus in Zurich, Photo by the author taken from the original catalogue.

Figure 2.14. Pages 638 and 639 from Ami Ronnberg and Kathleen Martin, *The Book of Symbols: Reflections on Archetypal Images* (2010, Taschen), photo by the author.

Figure 2.15. Pages 640 and 641 from Ami Ronnberg and Kathleen Martin, *The Book of Symbols: Reflections on Archetypal Images* (2010, Taschen), photo by the author.

Figure 2.16. This image was removed because of copyright restrictions. It depicted Ende, *Apocalyptic Vision: Ecclesia and the Dragon*, 975 CE, tempera on parchment. Gerona Cathedral Treasury. Photograph from ARAS.
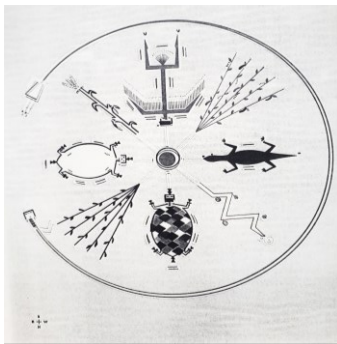
Figure 2.17. This image was removed because of copyright restrictions. It depicted Stele of Vallstenarum, ca. 400, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, Italy. Photograph from ARAS.

Chapter Three.

Figure 3.1. Map of the Bollingen village and the location of the Bollingen Tower therein. Courtesy of Google Map.

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Figure 3.3. This image was removed because of copyright restrictions. It depicted Mary and Paul Mellon on the porch of Andrew Mellon Hall, c. 1937.
Courtesy of the Chatham University Chronological Photograph Files.

Figure 3.4. Logo of the Bollingen Foundation that appears alongside "Bollingen Series" in all its publications. Photo by the author.

Figure 3.5. This image was removed because of copyright restrictions. It depicted John Becker Gallery Brochure for Isamu Noguchi's sculpture exhibition, 1932, Courtesy of the Isamu Noguchi Foundation and Garden Museum.

Figure 3.6. This image was removed because of copyright restrictions. It depicted Andrew Mellon, his daughter Ailsa Mellon, and his son Paul Mellon at Washington-Hoover Airport, 22 December, 1930, courtesy of the Bettmann Archive, photo from Getty Images.

Figure 3.7. This image was removed because of copyright restrictions. It depicted John Dulles (then the Republican party foreign policy expert) and Allen Dulles in Queens, New York, 4 October 1948, Courtesy of the Bettmann Archive, photo from Getty Images.
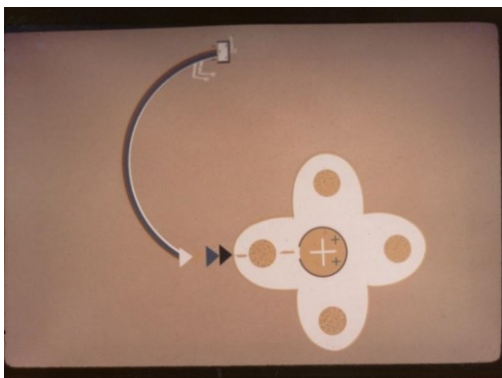
Figure 3.8. Maud Oakes, "Mountain Around which Moving was Done," in *Where the Two Came to Their Father* (1943), Silkscreen, Courtesy of ARAS.

Chapter Four.
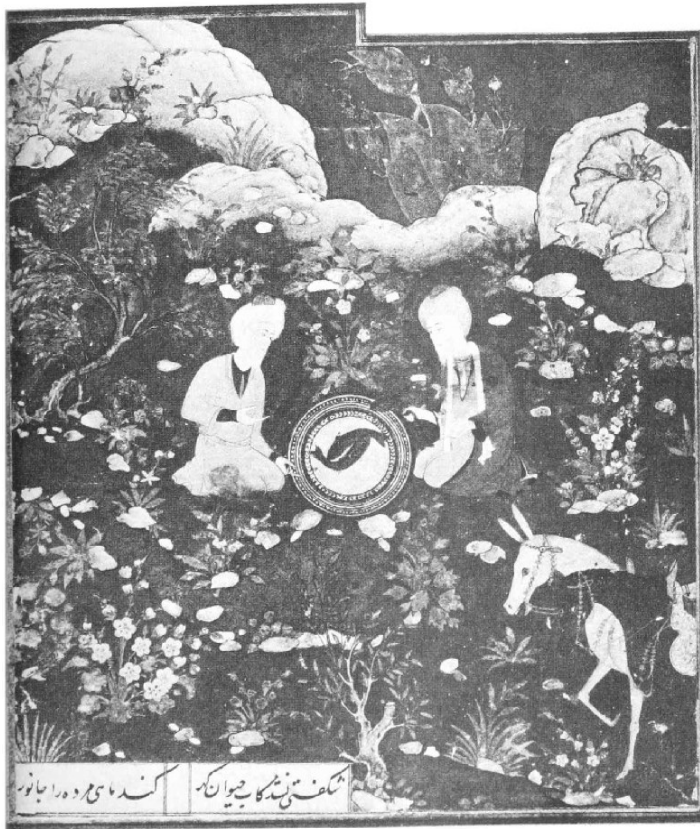
1 *Elijah and Khiḍr at the Fountain of Life*
Persian, School of Herāt, late fifteenth century

Figure 4.1. Figure 1 in Henry Corbin, *Alone with the Alone*. The image, which is only identified in Corbin's text, as "Elijah and Khidr at the Fountain of Life / Persian, School of Herat, late fifteenth century," is a black and white reproduction of the original in the Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and is properly identified as: *Folio from a Khamsa by Nizami*, Opaque watercolor, gold, and silver on paper, 15.7 x 13.4 cm, Timurid period (15th century), Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Collection (photo from Corbin's Alone with the Alone).
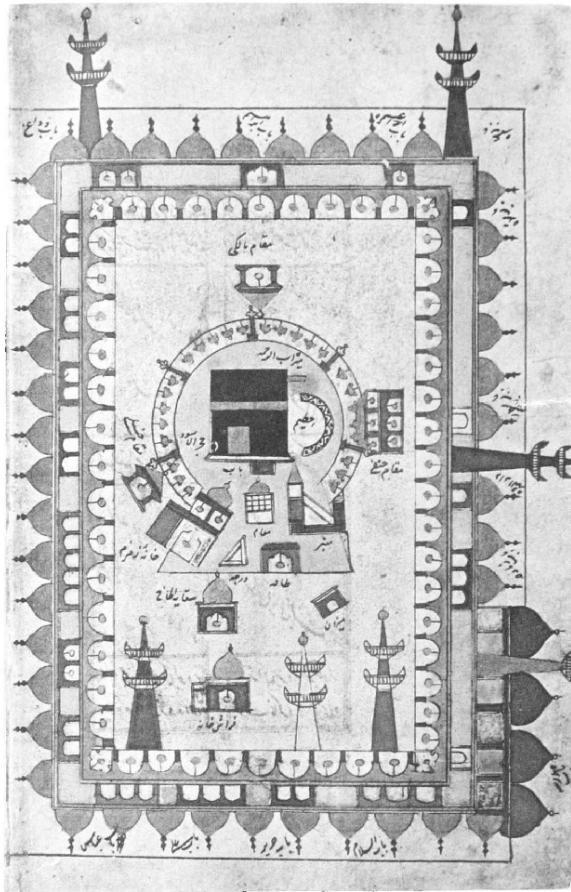
The Image of the Kaʻaba
Miniature from *Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, MS supplément persan 1389,*
sixteenth century

Figure 4.2. Frontispiece in Henry Corbin, *Alone with the Alone*. The image in Corbin's text is only identified as "The Image of the Ka'aba miniature, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, MS supplement Persan, 1589." The image, however, is properly identified as Folio from Muhyi Al-Din Lari's *Kitab Futuh Al-Haramayn and Other Texts,* Opaque watercolor and gold on silk covered morocco with marble paper doublures, 12.3 x 7cm, 1661, Bibliothèque nationale de France (photo from Corbin's *Alone with the Alone*).

3 *The Philoxeny of Abraham*   *Detail from a mosaic, Cathedral of St. Mark, Venice, thirteenth century*

Figure 4.3. Figure 3 in Henry Corbin, *Alone with the Alone*. The image in Corbin's text is correctly identified as "*The Philoxeny of Abraham,* Detail from a mosaic, Cathedral of St. Mark, Venice, 13th century." The photograph originally resides in Bibliothèque nationale de France (photo by the author from Corbin's *Alone with the Alone*).

2 Joseph and His Brothers in Egypt
Persian miniature from Fariduddin 'Attār, Manṭiq al-Ṭayr,
Staatsbibliothek, Marburg, MS or. oct. 268, fifteenth century

Figure 4.4. Figure 2 in Henry Corbin, *Alone with the Alone*. The image in Corbin's text is identified only as "*Joseph and His Brothers in Egypt*, Persian miniature from Fariduddin' Attar, *Mantiq al-Tayr*, Staatsbibliothek Marburg, MS or. oct. 268, fol. 114, 15th century." The image, however, is properly identified as: Folio from Farid al-Din `Attar's *Mantiq al-Tayr* (*Language of the Birds*), Ink, opaque watercolor, silver, and gold on paper, 33.2 x 21.4 cm, 15th century, Staatsbibliothek, Marburg (photo by the author from Corbin's *Alone with the Alone*).

4 *Three Angels Offering Three Cups to the Prophet*
Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, MS supplément turc 190

Figure 4.5. Figure 4 in Henry Corbin. The image in Corbin's text is identified only as "*Alone with the Alone. Three Angels Offering Three Cups to the Prophet*, Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, MS suppliment turc 190." The image, however, is properly identified as: Folio from Mir Haydar's *Miraj Nameh* (*The Book of the Ascension*), Ink, opaque watercolor, silver, and gold on paper, 15th century, Bibliothèque nationale de France (photo and identification from Corbin's *Alone with the Alone*).

Figure 4.6. Frontispiece of Henry Corbin's *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth*. The image in Corbin's text is unidentified and only referred to in the body of the text. The image is properly identified as: Fragment with Inscription, lampas weave, 171 x 65 cm, before 1962 (photo by the author from Corbin's *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth*).

Figure 4.7. Figure 1 in Henry Corbin's *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth*. The image in Corbin's text is unidentified and only referred to in the body of the text. The image is properly identified as: Folio from *An Anthology of Persian Poetic Texts*, Ink, watercolor, and gold on paper, 21 x 7.6 cm, 14th century, Istanbul Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art (photo by the author from Corbin's *Spiritual Body and Celestial Earth*).

Chapter Five.

Figure 5.1. "Phaistos. a. Mount Ida from the palace hill," photo and identification from Scully's *The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture*.

Figure 5.2. "Paestum. View south toward two temples of Hera," photo and identification from Scully's *The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture*.

Figure 5.3. Example of a human figure in photographs, photo from Scully's *The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture*, original caption reads "Mycenae. Lion Gate with Mt. Zara on approach."

FIG. 295. Sounion. Altar from temple

FIG. 296. Sounion. Temple of Poseidon. View west from altar

Figure 5.4. The only appearances of female figures in photographs, photo from Scully's *The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture*, the original caption reads "Sounion. Temple of Poseidon."

Figure 5.5. An example of often symmetrical and proportionate photographs that are only punctuated by trees against the backdrop of a sunny Mediterranean sky, photo from Scully's *The*

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Earth, the Temple, and the Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture, the original caption reads "Mt. Akontion and Orchomenos."

c

Figure 5.6. An example of the sense of reverie and awe created through the use of stark shadows and vanishing points in photographs of temples, photo from Scully's *The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture*, the original caption reads "North flank."

FIG. 184. Aigina. Temple of Apollo with the sea and the promontory of Methane

FIG. 185. Corinth. Temple of Apollo with Acrocorinth. From the east

Figure 5.7. An example of Scully's presentation of Greek landscapes as transcendental, photo from Scully's *The Earth, the Temple, and the Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture*, the original caption reads "Corinth. Temple of Apollo with Acrocorinth."
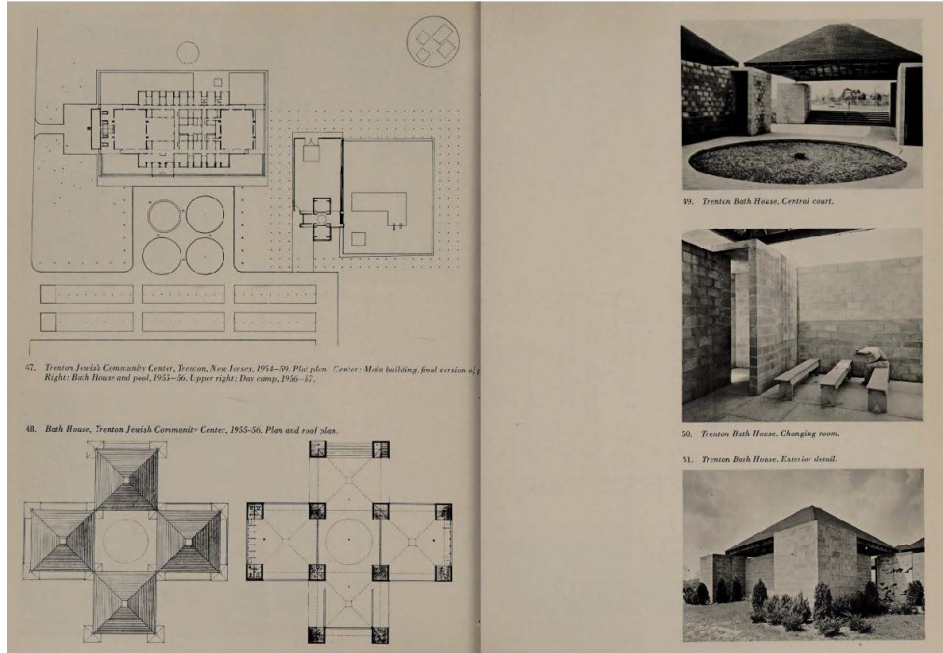
Figure 5.8. An example of the layout of Vincent Scully's *Louis Kahn*, photo by the author.
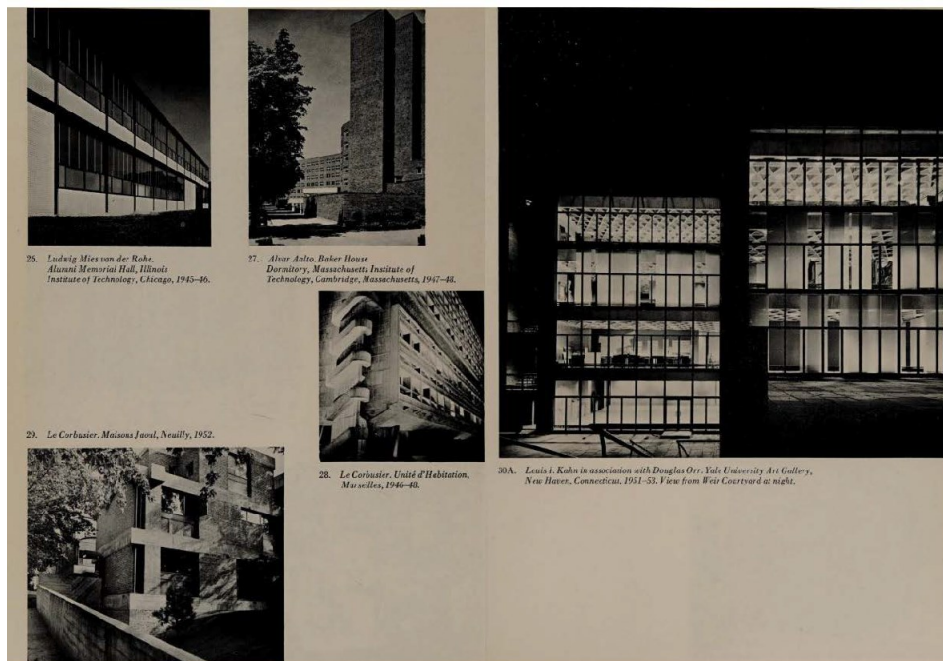
Figure 5.9. An example of how the photographs emphasize the monumentality of buildings through the use of stark vanishing points and extreme lights and shadows, photo by the author from Scully's *Louis Kahn*.

Figure 5.10. A 1928 sketch of Sienna by Kahn as appearing in Scully's *Louis Kahn*, photo by the author.

129. *Market Street East. Sketch plan.*

130. *Market Street East. Sectic*
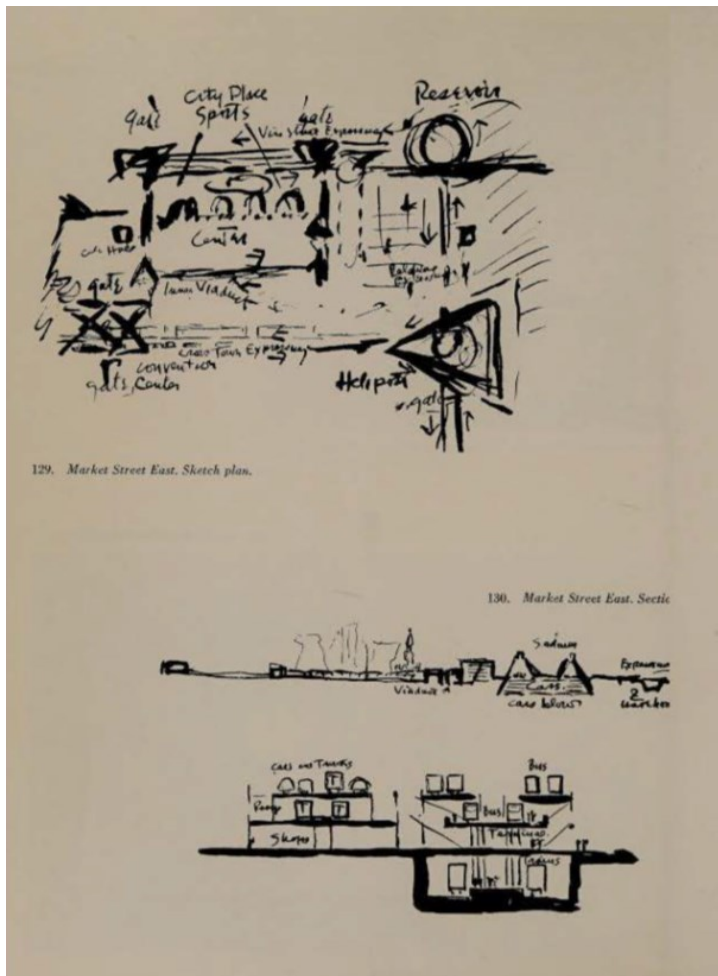
Figure 5.11. Kahn's sketches for the then-ongoing project of redesigning Philadelphia's Market Street East as appearing in Scully's *Louis Kahn*, photo by the author.
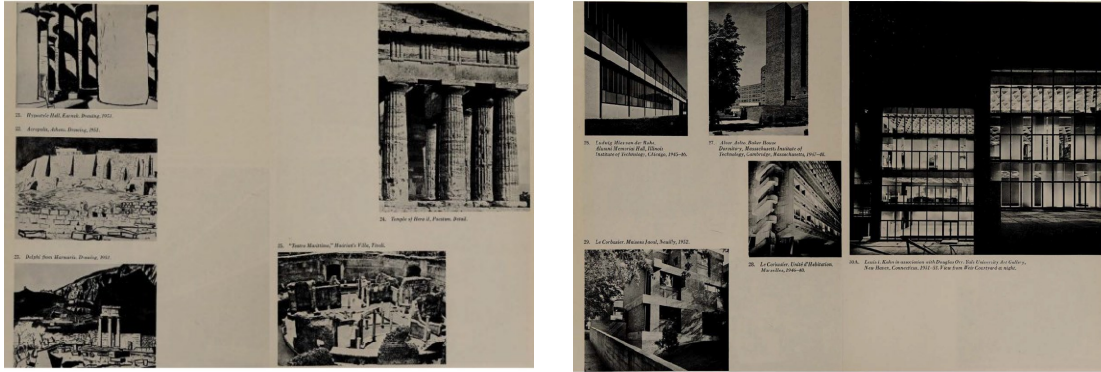
Figure 5.12. Two consecutive page layouts in which Scully demonstrates a visual continuity from Greek architecture to the modernist architecture of Mies and Corb, and then to Kahn's works, photo by the author from Scully's *Louis Kahn*.
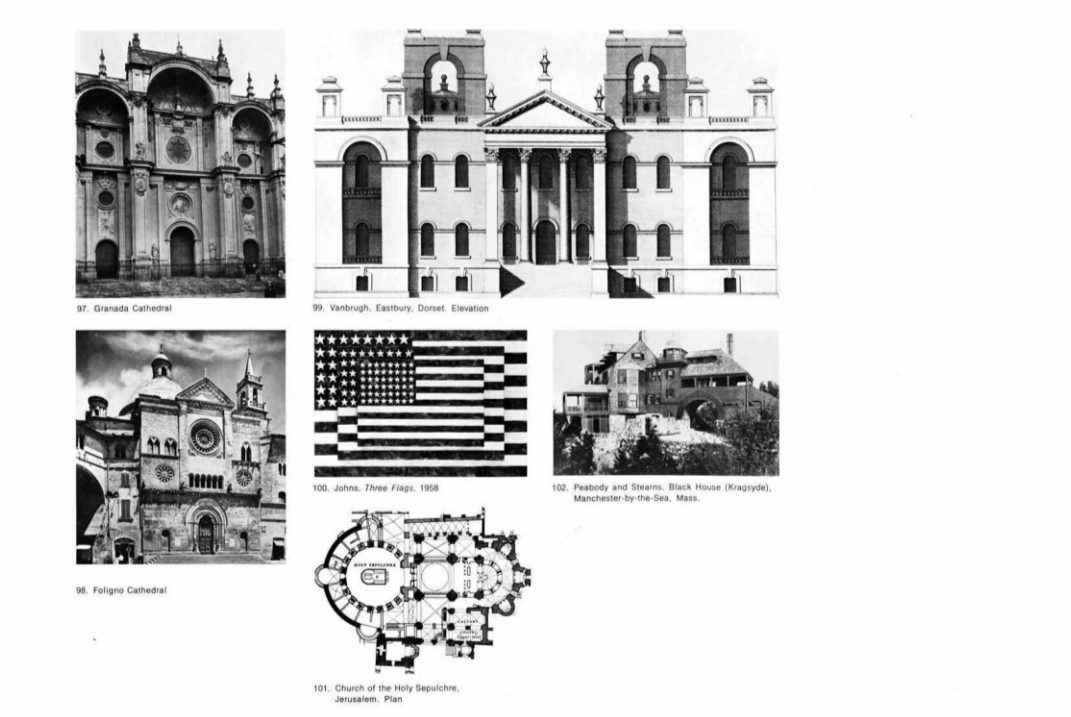
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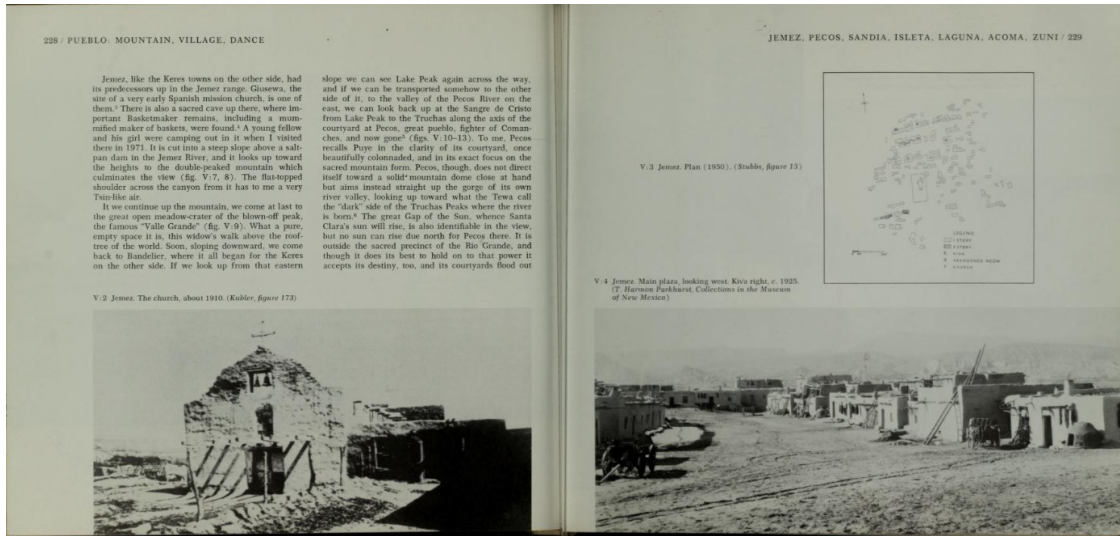
Figure 5.14. An example of a page layout with black and white photographs and maps, photo by the author from Scully's *Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance*.
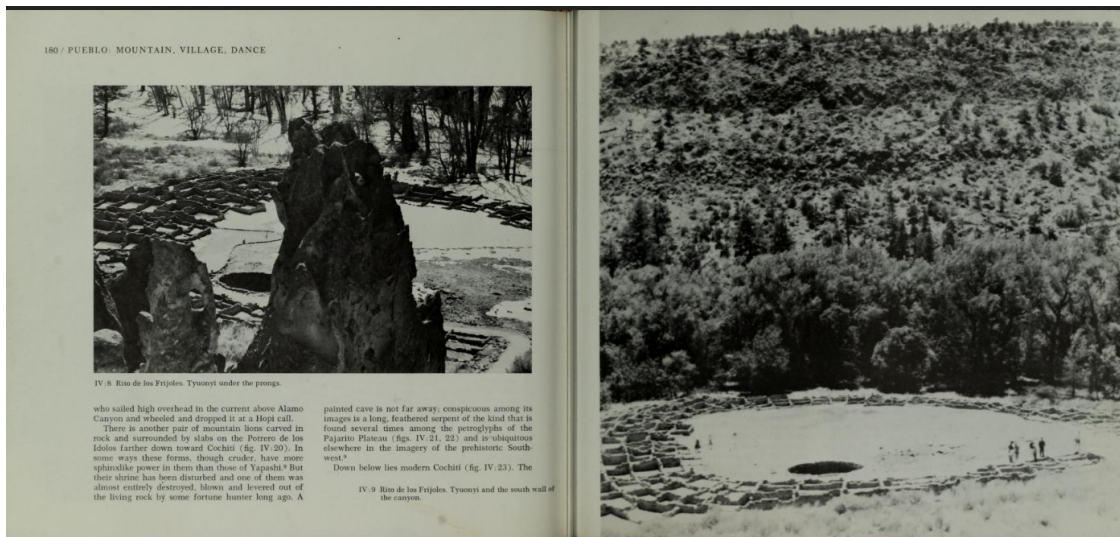
Figure 5.15. An example of a bird's point of view imagery employed in the book, photo by the author from Scully's *Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance*.
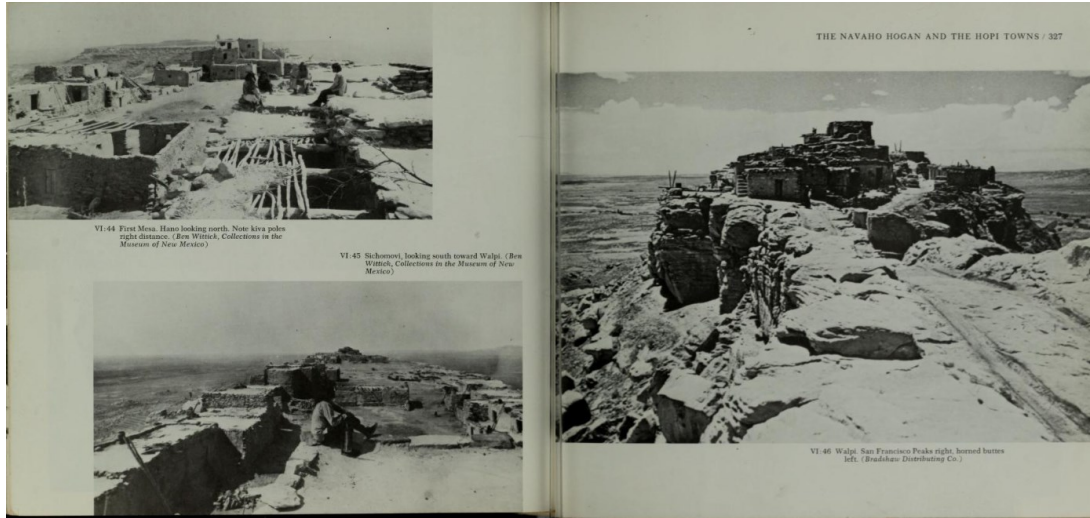
Figure 5.16. An example of stark vanishing points and shadows employed by Scully in *Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance*, photo by the author.

Figure 5.17. An example of how human figures are depicted in the book, photo by the author from Scully's *Pueblo: Mountain, Village, Dance*.

7. **Bronze cross,** inscribed 'Antiqua/Postiqua'. Found attached to a stone block at the Temple of Aesculapius at Lambesis in North Africa
After Paul Monceaux, 'Note sur une Croix de Bronze trouvée à Lambèse' in 'Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres', Paris, 1920, pp. 179 ff.

8. **The surveyor's gnomon** (marked 'con mons') in relation to a centuriated area. This confusing diagram shows the surveyor's instrument set in a circle where it has been cut by seven shadows. It illustrates a passage in Hyg. Grom., and the lines of the shadows are misleadingly joined to the regular divisions of the land. The word on the far right should read *oriens* for *occidens*. The meridian line is the line joining the centre of the circle and the bisected chord, and the other *cardines* are parallel to it, while the *decumani* (only the principal one is marked here 'DM') are simply cut at right angles. The *umbra* are impressions and are not intended to coincide with the diagrammatic *cardines*. Codex Arcerianus 53 r.

Figure 5.18. An example of the elaborate way in which Rykwert's imagery are identified and explained in the *Idea of a Town*, photo by the author from the book.

2. Romulus and Remus.
Denarius of L. Papius Celsus
By courtesy of the
Warburg Institute

One **Town and Rite: Rome and Romulus**

Figure 5.19. The first image of the first chapter of the *Idea of a Town*, the original caption reads, "Romulus and Remus. Denarius of L. Papius Celsus By courtesy of the Warburg Institute," photo by the author from the book.

Figure 5.20. The second and third images of the first chapter of the *Idea of a Town*, the original captions read, respectively, "Naked man holding a crooked staff. Possibly an augur. Small bronze statuette found under the Lapis Niger in the Roman Forum Antiquario Forense Rome," and "Bronze statuette of man holding a crooked staff, with his head covered. Possibly an augur. Etruscan, c. 600 A.D. After D. Strong 'The Early Etruscans'. Evans Bros. London 1968," photo by the author from the book.
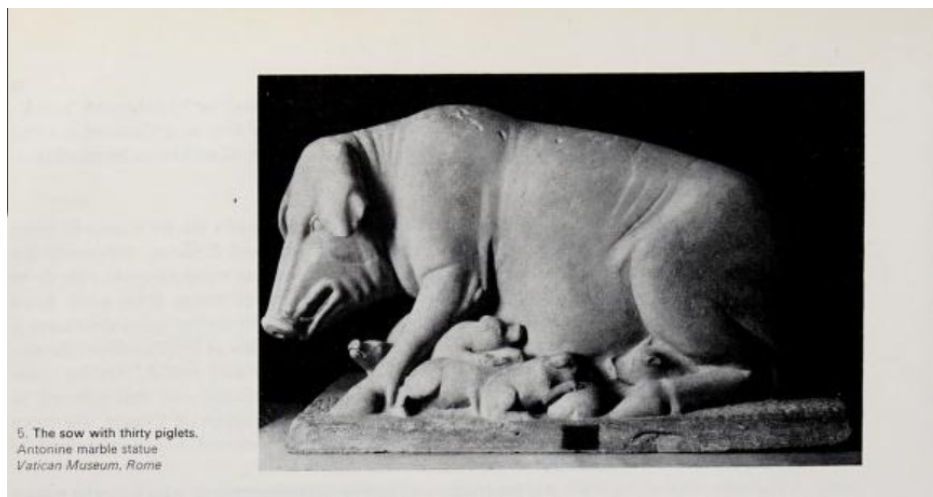
Figure 5.21. The fourth image of the first chapter of the Idea of a Town, the original caption reads "The sow with thirty piglets. Antonine marble statue Vatican Museum. Rome," photo by the author from the book.
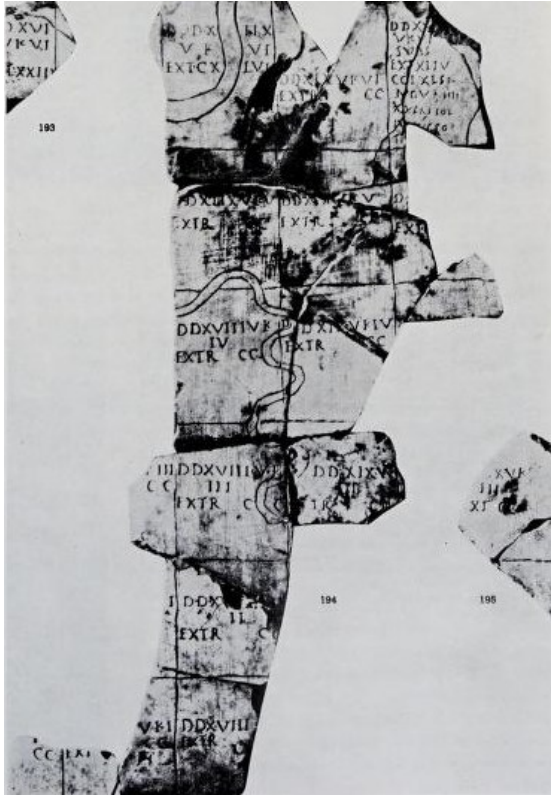
Figure 5.22. An example of an incomplete image included in the second chapter of the *Idea of a town*. The original caption reads, "Marble fragment of the Map of Orange, section B, frs. nos. 193–5 After A. Piganiol," photo by the author from the book.

8. The surveyor's gnomon (marked 'con mons') in relation to a centuriated area. This confusing diagram shows the surveyor's instrument set in a circle where it has been cut by seven shadows. It illustrates a passage in Hyg. Grom., and the lines of the shadows are misleadingly joined to the regular divisions of the land. The word on the far right should read *oriens* for *occidens*. The meridian line is the line joining the centre of the circle and the bisected chord, and the other *cardines* are parallel to it, while the *decumani* (only the principal one is marked here 'DM') are simply cut at right angles. The *umbra* are impressions and are not intended to coincide with the diagrammatic *cardines. Codex Arcerianus 53 r.*

Figure 5.23. The use of "confusing" in the identification and description of an image, the original caption reads "The surveyor's gnomon (marked 'con mons') in relation to a centuriated area.

This confusing diagram shows the surveyor's instrument set in a circle where it has been cut by seven shadows," photo by the author from the book.
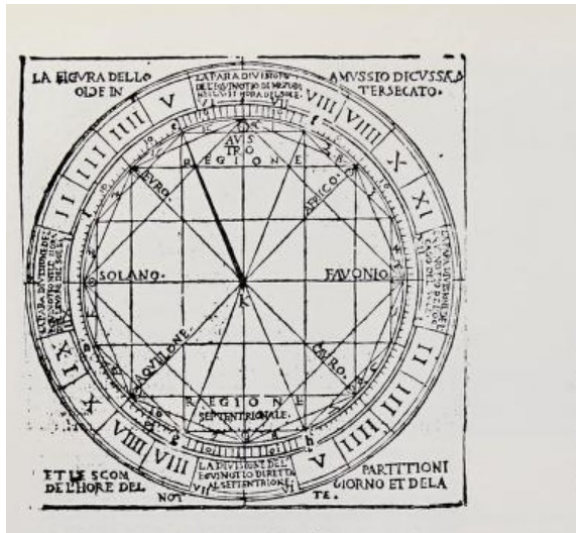
Figure 5.24. The use of question mark in the identification and description of an image, the original caption reads "La figura dello amussio dicussato oice (cioe?) intersecato et le scompartitioni del'hore del giorno et de la notte.," photo by the author from the book.
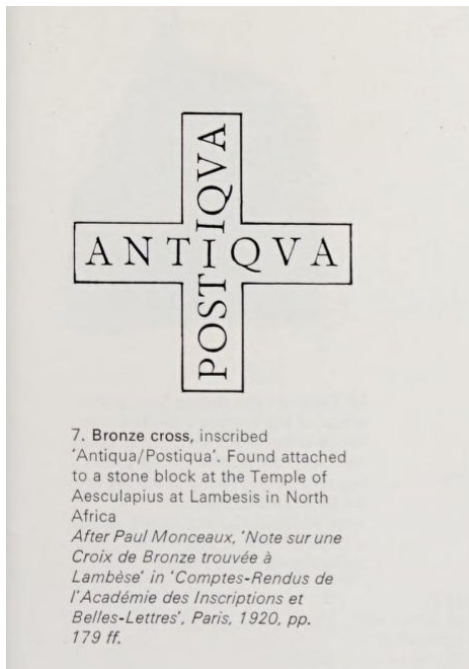
Figure 5.25. An esoteric symbol with no explanation, the original caption reads "Bronze cross, inscribed 'Antiqua/Postiqua'. Found attached to a stone block at the Temple of Aesculapius at Lambesis in North Africa," photo by the author from the book.
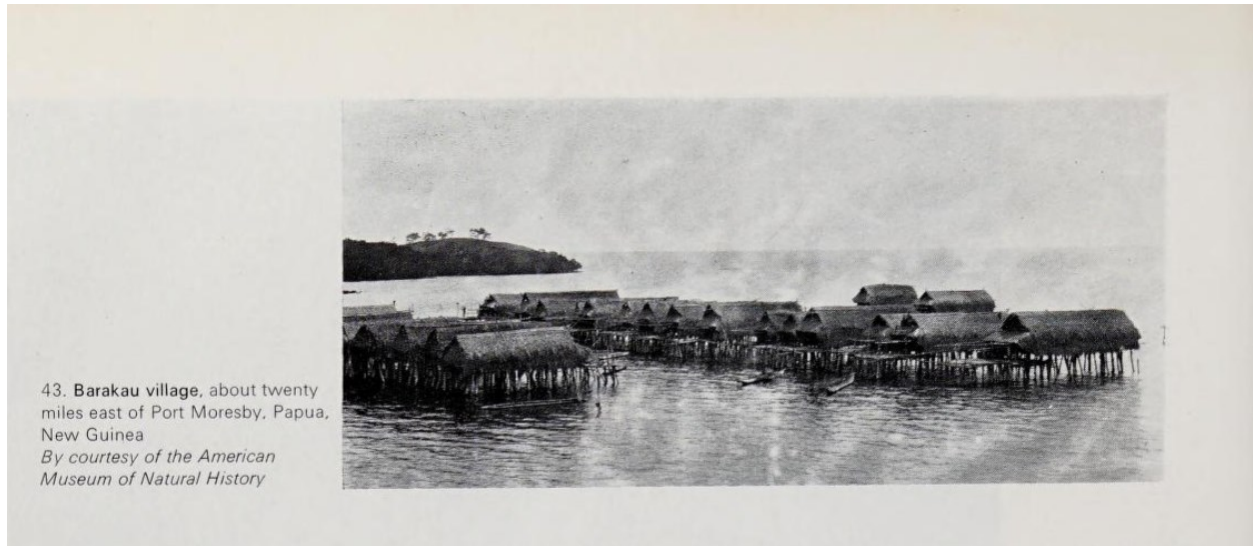
Figure 5.26. The only illustration pertaining to the Papuan culture, the original caption reads "Barakau village, about twenty miles east of Port Moresby. Papua, New Guinea By courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History," photo by the author from the book.
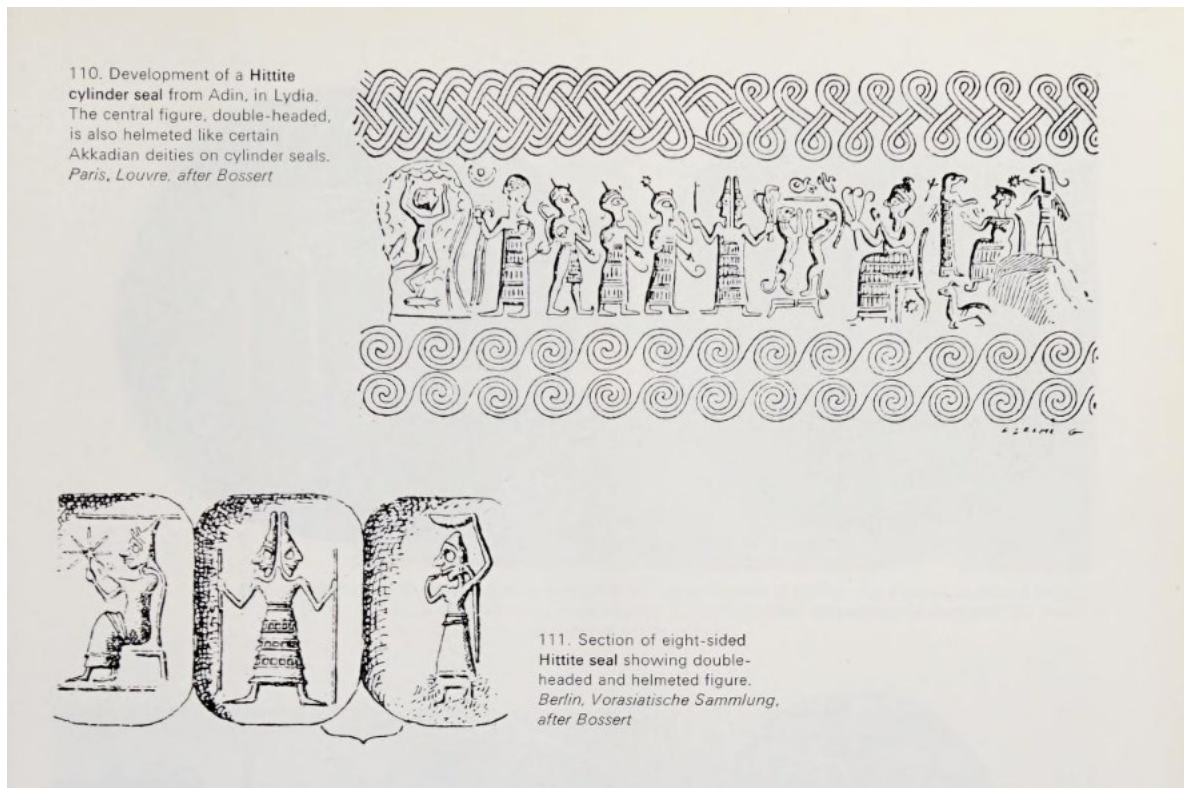
Figure 5.27. Two images of the Akkadian culture, the original captions read "Development of a Hittite cylinder seal from Adin, in Lydia. The central figure, double-headed, is also helmeted like certain Akkadian deities on cylinder seals. Paris, Louvre, after Bossert," and "Section of eight-sided Hittite seal showing double headed and helmeted figure. Berlin, Vorasiatische Sammlung, after Bossert," photo by the author from the book.

Figure 5.28. The image pertaining to the Nepalese culture, the original caption reads "Mandala of Amogha-Pasa. Nepalese. Dated 1504. British Museum, London," photo by the author from the book.

would be opened off the galleries and these certainly acted as chapels; they might be places where martyrs or bishops were buried, they might be chapels belonging to some influential family, occasionally three or four of them would occur close together and be interconnected so that they could contain a large congregation.

THE CHAPEL OF ST AGNES IN THE CATACOMBS

Catacomb burial originated with the Jews and certain pagan sects but became the principal form of Christian burial, and, in times of persecution, also of Christian assembly. In the end these catacombs became so extensive that if those in Rome alone were put end to end they would stretch for four hundred miles.

Figure 5.29. The plan of the Chapel of St. Agnes in the Catacombs as appearing in Joseph Rykwert's *Church Building*, photo by the author.
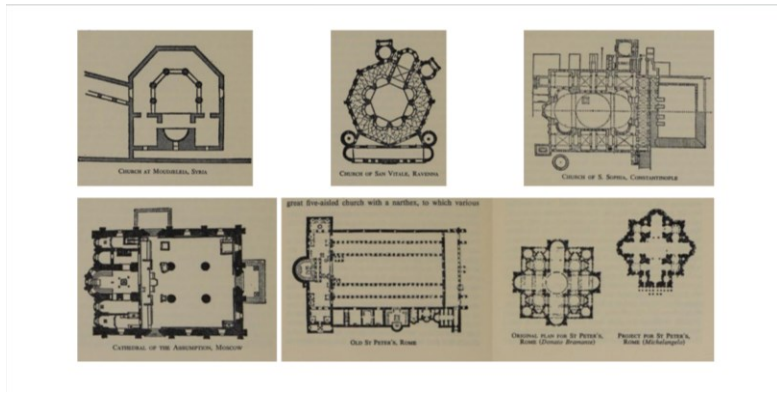
Figure 5.30. Images 2-8 of the *Church Building* beginning from left on top to right in the bottom row, photo from the book by the author.
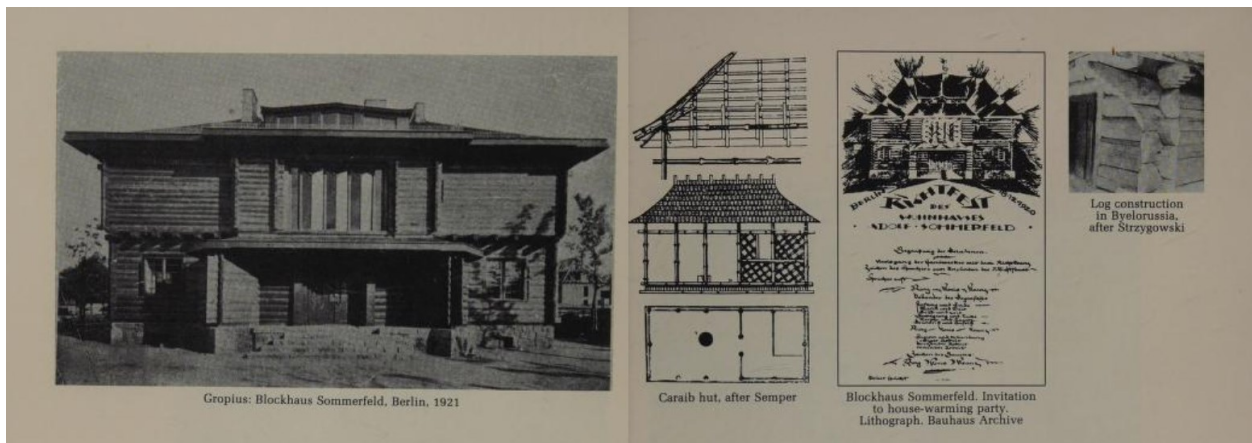
Figure 5.31. Gropius's 1921 design for the Blockhaus Sommerfeld as appearing in Rykwert's *On Adam's House in Paradise*, photo by the author from the book.
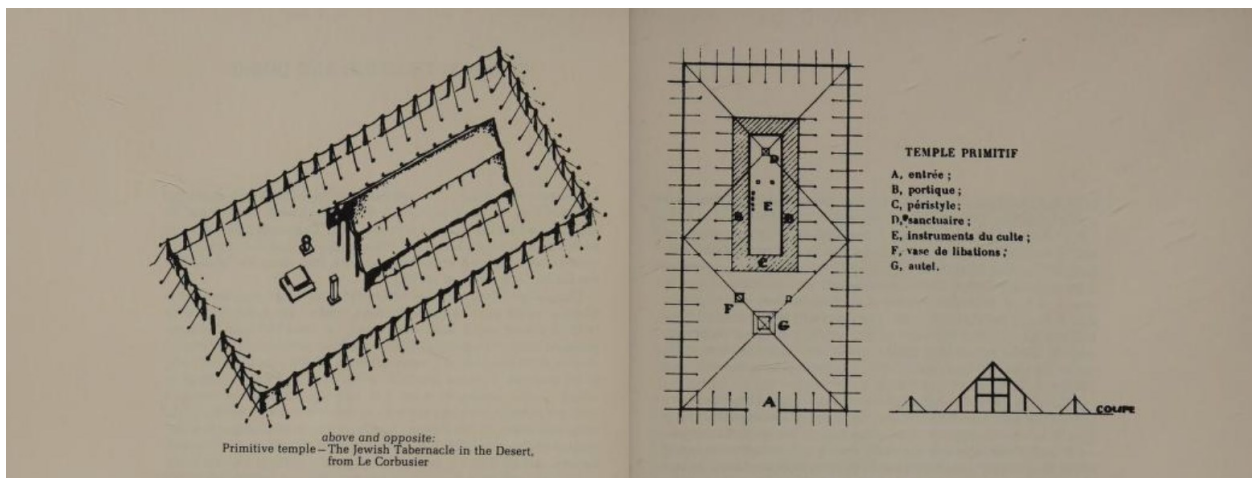
Figure 5.32| Le Corbusier's sketch of a primitive Jewish temple as appearing in Rykwert's *On Adam's House in Paradise*, photo by the author from the book.

Figure 5.33. Piranesei's painting as appearing in Rykwert's *On Adam's House in Paradise*, photo by the author from the book.
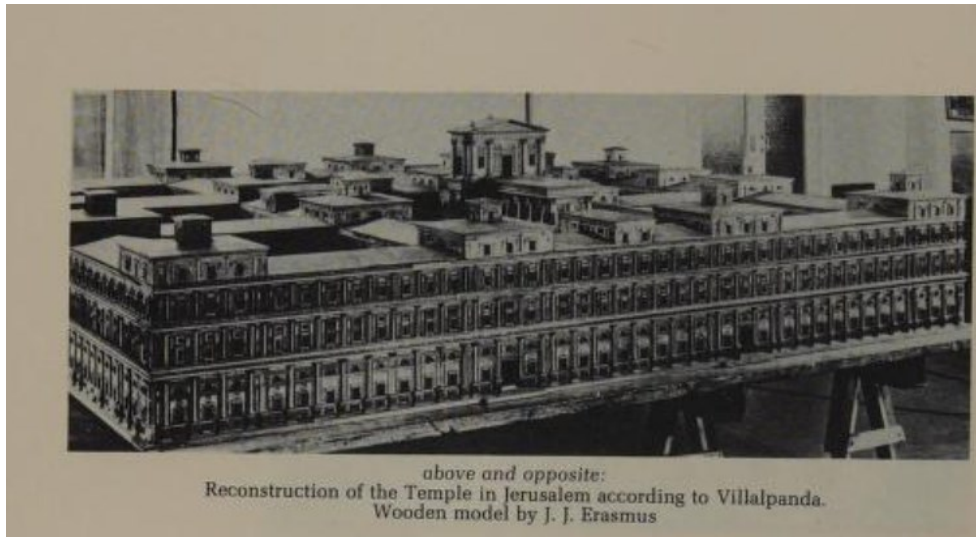
Figure 5.34. Reconstruction of the temple in Jerusalem by J. J. Erasmus as appearing in Rykwert's *On Adam's House in Paradise*, photo by the author from the book.

A modern cloth *huppah* at a Jewish wedding, after "Art Sacré"

Figure 5.35. Jewish Wedding as appearing in Rykwert's *On Adam's House in Paradise*, photo by the author from the book.

Kana-Kana of the Mantuntara tribe
with the big *waninga*, after Roheim

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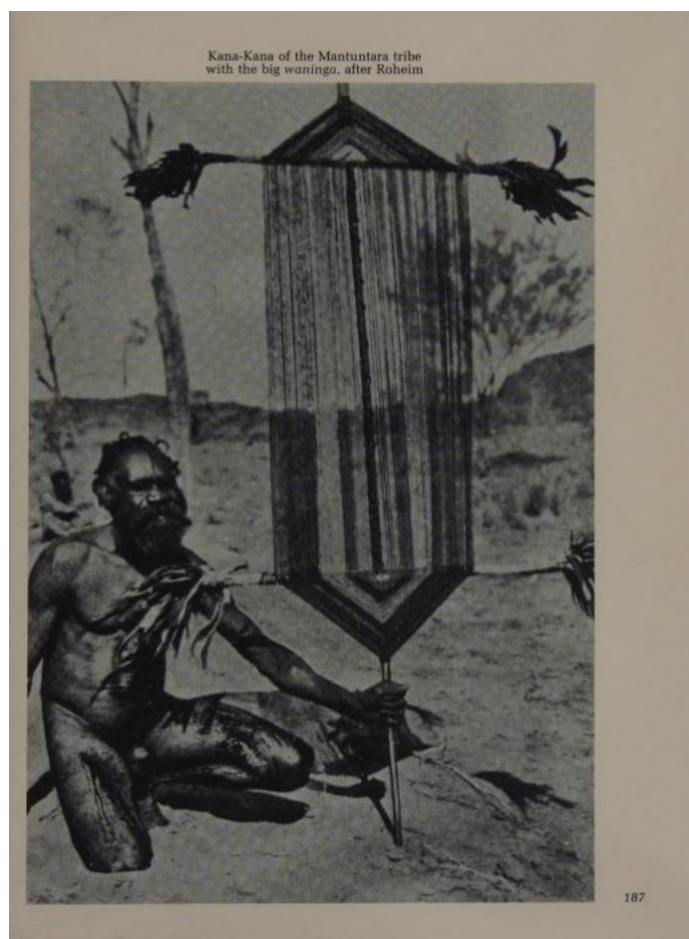
Figure 5.36. Australian Indigenous Man as appearing in Rykwert's *On Adam's House in Paradise*, photo by the author from the book.

Chapter Two—Table 1 | List of the annual themes, speakers, exhibition organization, and the source of funding of Eranos meetings (1933–1961)

Year	Annual Theme	Image-Archetype Exhibition	Source of Funding	Presenters
1933	Yoga and Meditation in East and West	Images available for consultation	Fröbe-Kapteyn	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Jung, Heinrich Zimmer, Caroline Rhys Davids, Erwin Rousselle, Gustav-Richard Heyer, Friedrich Heiler, Ernesto Buonaiuti
1934	The Psychopomp (guardian of the soul in its journey to the other world) in Eastern and Western Symbolism	Images available for consultation	Fröbe-Kapteyn	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Jung, Rousselle, Jakob Wilhelm Hauer, Zimmer, Rhys Davids, Heyer, Heiler, Buonaiuti, Martin Buber, Rudolf Bernoulli, Sigrid Strauss-Kloebe, Carl Moritz von Cammerloher, Swami Yatiswarananda
1935	The Psychopomp in Eastern and Western Symbolism	Yes	Fröbe-Kapteyn	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Jung, Heyer, Rousselle, Rhys Davids, Bernoulli, Buonaiuti, Robert Eisler, Joseph Bernhard Lang
1936	The Development of the Idea of Salvation in East and West	Yes	Fröbe-Kapteyn	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Jung, Paul Masson-Oursel, Rhys Davids, Buonaiuti, Henri-Charles Puech, Boris P. Vysheslavtzeff
1937	The Development of the Idea of Salvation in East and West	Yes	Fröbe-Kapteyn	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Jung, Puech, Buonaiuti, Louis Massignon, Masson-Oursel, Jean Przyluski, Andreas Speiser, Charlotte Baynes, Theodor-

				Wilhelm Danzel, John Layard,
1938	The Figure and Cult of "The Great Mother"	Yes	Fröbe-Kapteyn	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Jung, Zimmer, Massignon, Heyer, Buonaiuti, Przyluski, Charles Picard, Charles Virolleaud, Vera Christina Chute Collum,
1939	The Symbolism of Rebirth as a Religious Concept	Yes	The Bollingen Foundation	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Jung, Zimmer, Buonaiuti, Massignon, Virolleaud, Paul Pelliot, Walter Otto, Charles Robert Cecil Augustine Allberry, Hans Leisegang, Richard Thurnwald
1940	Trinity, Christian Symbolism and Gnosis	Yes	The Bollingen Foundation	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Jung, Speiser, Kerényi, Max Pulver, Buonaiuti.
1941	Trinity, Christian Symbolism and Gnosis	Yes	The Bollingen Foundation	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Jung, Speiser, Kerényi, Pulver, Buonaiuti,
1942	The Hermetic Principle in Mythology, Symbolism, and Gnosis	Yes	The Bollingen Foundation	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Jung, Kerényi, Pulver, Lang,
1943	Solar Cults in Antiquity and the Symbolism of Light in Gnosticism and Early Christianity.	Yes	The Bollingen Foundation	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Georges Hermann Nagel, Virolleaud, Kerényi, Walter Wili, Paul Schmitt, Pulver, Massignon, Hugo Rahner
1944	The Mysteries	Yes	The Bollingen Foundation	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Kerényi, Pulver, Wili, Nagel, Schmitt, Rahner, Pierre-Jean de Menasce, Fritz Meier, Wilhelm Koppers, Julius Baum

1945	The Spirit	Yes	The Bollingen Foundation	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Jung, Kerényi, Pulver, Wili, Schmitt, Rahner, Menasce, Meier, Massignon, Speiser, Karl Ludwig Schmitt
1946	Spirit and Nature	Yes	The Bollingen Foundation	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Jung, Portmann, Speiser, Kerényi, Karl Schmidt, Massignon, Meier, Kaegi, Dessauer, Paul Schmitt, Schrödinger
1947	Man	Yes	The Bollingen Foundation	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Portmann, Kerényi, Dessauer, Karl Schmidt, Rahner, Quispel, Massignon, White, Baeck
1948	Man	Yes	The Bollingen Foundation	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Jung, Portmann, Neumann, Rahner, Quispel, Gerardus van der Leeuw, Kerényi, Layard, Hermann Klaus Hugo Weyl, Markus Fierz,
1949	Man and His Mythological World	Yes	The Bollingen Foundation	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Corbin, Portmann, Scholem, Neumann, Radin, Jensen, Baum, Louis Beirnaert, Leeuw, Kerényi, Edwin Oliver James,
1950	Man and Ritual	Yes	The Bollingen Foundation	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Portmann, Scholem, Corbin, Eliade, Radin, Massignon, Neumann, Kerényi, Beirnaert, Raffaele Pettazzoni, Frederik Jakobus Johannes Buytendijk
1951	Man and Time	Yes	The Bollingen Foundation	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Jung, Neumann, Puech,

				Quispel, Massignon, Corbin, Eliade, Lancelot Law Whyte, Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough, Hellmut Wilhelm, Plessner, Knoll
1952	Man and Energy	Yes	The Bollingen Foundation	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Eliade, Scholem, Read, Portmann, Neumann, Quispel, Karl Löwith, Martin Cyril D'Arcy, Whyte, Knoll
1953	Man and Earth	Yes	The Bollingen Foundation	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Eliade, Portmann, Corbin, Scholem, Neumann, Quispel, Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, Giuseppe Tucci, Ernst Benz, Jean Guenolé Marie Daniélou
1954	Man and Change	No	The Bollingen Foundation	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Portmann, Eliade, Corbin, Neumann, Meier, Tillich, Suzuki, Benz, Whyte, Daniélou
1955	Man and the Sympathy of All Things	No	The Bollingen Foundation	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Scholem, Corbin, Portmann, Neumann, Massignon, Benz, Otto, Layard, Chung-yuan Chang, Knoll
1956	Man and the Creative Force	No	The Bollingen Foundation	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Corbin, Eliade, Scholem, Neumann, Portmann, Read, Benz, Reinhardt, Laurens Van der Post, Wilhelm
1957	Man and Meaning	No	The Bollingen Foundation	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Corbin, Eliade, Scholem, Portmann, Read, Neumann,

				Reinhardt, Wilhelm, Corti, Joseph Campbell
1958	Man and Peace	No	The Bollingen Foundation	Corbin, Eliade, Scholem, Portmann, Read, Benz, Chang, Hans Kayser, Schneider
1959	The Renewal of Man	No	The Bollingen Foundation	Corbin, Eliade, Scholem, Neumann, Portmann, Read, Layard, Campbell, Benz, Corti
1960	Man and Design	No	The Bollingen Foundation	Fröbe-Kapteyn, Corbin, Eliade, Scholem, Read, Portmann, Neumann, Wilhelm, Schneider, Victor Zuckerkandl, Sándor Végh
1961	Man and Conflicting Orders	No	The Bollingen Foundation	Eliade, Corbin, Scholem, Portmann, Read, Emil Preetorius, Speiser, Zuckerkandl,

Chapter Two—Table 2 | The Timeline of Eranos being established, how it is intertwined with the Bollingen Foundation, as well as the key moments in the shared history of both enterprises.

Year	Event
1927	First reference to the idea of Eranos by Fröbe-Kapteyn, writing that Eranos emerged in 1927 while she was working on a series of 200 geometrical drawings.
1930	Fröbe-Kapteyn establishes the School of Spiritual Research in collaboration with Alice Bailey.
1932	The School of Spiritual Research ceases its activities. Rudolf Otto suggests the name "Eranos" to Fröbe-Kapteyn.
1933	Fröbe-Kapteyn establishes Eranos at Casa Gabriella in August.
1934	Fröbe-Kapteyn starts planning an entire iconographical archive documenting pictorial manifestations of Jung's patterns of the unconscious.
1938	Mary and Paul Mellon meet with Jung for the first time. 1938 Eranos exhibit travels to New York City by American psychoanalyst Hildegard Nagel to be on view at the Analytical Psychology Club.
1939	Mary and Paul Mellon attend the Eranos meetings for the first time.
1940	The Mellons pledge to fund Fröbe-Kapteyn's 1941 trip to Italy and Greece in search of archetypes (1,000 Swiss Francs, equivalent of $4,153 today), and to contribute towards the completion of the compilation of the 1938 Eranos lectures on "Great Mother." The Mellons agree to help Eranos survive its financial crisis. Mary Mellon decides to publish Jung's essays in English through a new publishing enterprise that she there and then decides to name Bollingen.
1945	The Bollingen Foundation was established
1946	Mary Mellon dies. Adolf Portmann lectures at Eranos for the first time.
1947	Paul Mellon participates in the Eranos meeting and reassures Fröbe-Kapteyn that he will continue to support Eranos and her living and travels to collect archetypes as Mary Mellon had wished.
1949	Henry Corbin's first lecture at Eranos.
1950	Mircea Eliade's first lecture at Eranos.
1951	Jung's last lecture at Eranos.
1952	Herbert Read's first lecture at Eranos.
1956	Read begins working as the liaison between Eranos and Bollingen.
1959	Fröbe-Kapteyn and Swiss philosopher Walter Robert Corti work together to establish a Platonic academy that would share intellectual roots with Eranos. The plan is not successful. The Eranos Guardians form a group to support Fröbe-Kapteyn. The group includes Corbin, Eliade, Scholem, Read, and Portmann.
1960	Fröbe-Kapteyn's last lecture at Eranos.
1962	Fröbe-Kapteyn dies.

1963	Paul Mellon announces his decision to liquidate the Bollingen Foundation by 1967.
1967	The Bollingen Foundation liquidated, and its rights were transferred to the Princeton University Press.

Chapter Two—Table 3 | The list of Eranos papers published in English as edited volumes by the Bollingen Foundation. These papers were selected from the Eranos Yearbooks published in Switzerland by Rhein-Verlag and were originally edited by Fröbe-Kapteyn.

volume	Title	Year	Editor	Translator	Contributors
1	Spirit and Nature	1954	Joseph Campbell	Ralph Manheim & R. F. C. Hull	Buonaiuti, Dessauer, Fröbe-Kapteyn, Jung, Kaegi, Kerényi, Masson-Oursel, Meier, Portmann, Pulver, Rahner, Schrodinger, Wili
2	The Mysteries	1955	Joseph Campbell	Ralph Manheim& R. F. C. Hull	Baum, Fröbe-Kapteyn, Jung, Kerényi, Leisegang, Masson-Oursel, Meier, de Menasce, Nagel, Otto, Pulver, Rahner, Schmitt, Wili
3	Man and Time	1957	Joseph Campbell	Ralph Manheim& R. F. C. Hull	Corbin, Eliade, Jung, Knoll, van der Leeuw, Massignon, Neumann, Plessner, Portmann, Puech, Quispel, Wilhelm
4	Spiritual Disciplines	1960	Joseph Campbell	Ralph Manheim& R. F. C. Hull	Bernoulli, Buber, von Cammerloher, Danzel, Heiler, Jung, Kerényi, Layard, Meier, Pulver, Rousselle, Zimmer
5	Man and Transformation	1964	Joseph Campbell	Ralph Manheim& R. F. C. Hull	Benz, Corbin, Daniélou, Eliade, van der Leeuw, Meier, Portmann, Suzuki, Tillich, Whyte, Zimmer
6	The Mystic Vision	1968	Joseph Campbell	Ralph Manheim& R. F. C. Hull	Buonaiuti, Heiler, Koppers, Massignon, de Menasce, Neumann, Puech, Quispel, Rousselle, Boris Vysheslawzeff, Zimmer

Chapter Three—Table 1 | List of Bollingen fellows and their Bollingen-funded research topics[1]

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[1] For easier navigation, the category to which each research project belongs has been color coded.

FIELD of STUDY	YEAR	FELLOW	ASSOCIATION (at the time of fellowship and as indicated in the Bollingen archives	PROJECT DESCRIPTION (indicated by the scholars themselves)
Anthropology	1942	Maud Oaks	NY-based ethnologist	Research among Indians of the southwestern U.S. and Central America
Literature	1943	Paul Rosenfeld	NY-based writer and critic	Study of the evolution of literary genres
Philosophy	1945	Hermann Broch	Princeton-based writer	Preparation of a work on psychology and philosophy
Art + Architecture	1945	Max Raphael	NY-based scholar of prehistory	Research and writing of a book on the theory of art
Literature	1946	Alexis Saint-Léger Léger	Washington, D.C.-based poet	Writing in the field of poetry.
History of Religion	1946	Natacha Rambova	NY-based researcher in comparative religion and symbolism	Collection of material on comparative symbolism and for editorial work on Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations, translated by Dr. Alexandre Piankoff.
History of Religion	1946	Flavio Rodas	Curator and Inspector of Archaeological Monuments, Museum of Archeology, Guatemala City	Translation from the Quiche Indian language into Spanish of the *Popul Vuh*, the ancient bible of Quiche Indians.
Literature	1946	George Steindorff	California-based Egyptologist	Preparation of a Coptic grammar and other works on Coptic language and literature.
Art + Architecture	1946	Victor Zuckerkandl	Princeton-based musicologist	1) Preparation of a study of the nature of music. 2) Study of the creative process in music, based on the Sketchbooks of Beethoven.
Art + Architecture	1947	Rachel Bespaloff	Professor of French Literature, Mount Holyoke College	Preparation of a work dealing with consciousness of time and its relation to the subject of aesthetics.

History of Religion	1947	Joseph Campbell	Professor of Comparative Mythology and Religion, Sarah Lawrence College	Editing and preparation for publication of four volumes based on the posthumous papers of Heinrich Zimmer, scholar in Oriental philosophy and religions.
Cultural History	1947	Walter J. Fischel	Professor of Semitic Languages and Literature, University of California at Berkley	1) Translation of the "Rihla," or Autobiography of Ibn Khaldun. 2) A study entitled "Ibn Khaldun in Egypt: The Man and the Scholar, 1383-1406.
Art + Architecture	1947	Walter Friedlander	Professor Emeritus, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University	Revision and Completion of works on the fine arts, including critical studies on Poussin and Caravaggio.
Literature	1947	Joseph Hergeshei mer	New Jersey-based writer	Autobiographical and literary studies.
Cultural History	1947	Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn	Director of the Eranos Foundation, Ascona	Organization of the annual Eranos Lectures held at Ascona, supervision of the Eranos Archives, and editing of the Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks.
Literature	1947	Erich Kahler	Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton	1) Preparation of a work on the evolution and transformation of human consciousness, 2) Study on the internalization of narrative.
History of Religion	1947	Kárlo Kerényi	Lecturer, University of Basel	Preparation of works dealing with archetypal images and institutions in Greek mythology.
Cultural History	1948	German Arciniegas	Visiting Professor of Hispanic Languages, Columbia University	Preparation of a work dealing with the Vespucci family.
Art + Architecture	1948	Margarete Bieber	Associate Professor of Fine Arts and Archaeology, Columbia University	Preparation of a critical work on Hellenistic sculpture.

Psychology	1948	Hedwig S. Boye	Basel-based psychologist and teacher	Preparation of a study dealing with various psychological aspects of criminology.
Art + Architecture	1948	Karl Geiringer	Professor of Music, Boston University	1) Preparation of a complete history of Bach family. 2) Study of the impact of minor contemporary composers on the shaping of Beethoven's style.
History of Religion	1948	Erwin R. Goodenough	Professor of the history of religion, Yale University	Preparation of a work on Jewish symbols in the Greco-Roman period.
Art + Architecture	1948	Fredrick J. Kiesler	NY-based architect	Preparation of a work on the basic problems of architectural design.
Psychology	1948	Eric Neumann	Tel Aviv-based analytical psychologist	Preparation of *The Great Mother* and of other archetypal studies.
History of Religion	1948	Alexandre Piankoff	Philologist and Egyptologist, Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo	Recording and translation f texts from the tomb of Ramses VI and other ancient tombs in Egypt.
History of Religion	1948	Gilles Quispel	Holland-based scholar in Patristic and Gnostic theology	1) Preparation of a book on the Gnostic Valentinus and his school and for the editing of newly discovered Gnostic writings. 2) New translation with commentary of the so-called "Gospel of Thomas," found at Nag Namadi, Upper Egypt, in 1945.
Art + Architecture	1949	Nicolas Calas	NY-based writer	Preparation of a critical study of the triptych "The Garden of Delights," by Hieronymus Bosch, in Prado Museum, Madrid.
Art + Architecture	1949	Walter W. S. Cook	Chairman of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University	Completion of a work on medieval Spanish painting.

Art + Architecture	1949	Charles De Tolnay	Princeton-based art historian	Completion of a five-volume work on Michelangelo.
Philosophy	1949	Paul Friedländer	Professor of Classics, University of California at Los Angeles	Preparation of works on Plato and on Greek mythology.
Art + Architecture	1949	Siegfried Kracauer	NY-based social scientist	Preparation of a work on the aesthetic significance of film.
Philosophy	1949	Wu-Chi Liu	Visiting Professor of English and Chinese Culture, Rollins College	Preparation of a study of Confucius and a history of Chinese literature.
Art + Architecture	1949	Colin McPhee	NY-based composer and music critic	Preparation of a book on the music of Bali.
Literature	1949	Marianne Moore	NY-based poet	Writing in the field of poetry.
Art + Architecture	1949	Isamu Noguchi	NY-based sculptor	Preparation of a study of leisure: its environment and relationship to the history of culture.
Art + Architecture	1949	David M. Robb	Professor of Art History, University of Pennsylvania	Completion of a book on the Occidental tradition in painting.
Cultural History	1949	Franz Rosenthal	Associate Professor of Arabic, University of Pennsylvania	Translation of the *Muqaddimah*, the introduction to the "History" of Ibn Khaldun.
Art + Architecture	1949	Berta Segall	Scholar in the Princeton University's Institute for Advanced Study	Preparation of a work on Hellenistic civilization in Egypt as seen through its art.
Art + Architecture	1949	Regina Shoolman	NY-based writer	Research for a work on 18th century art.
Art + Architecture	1950	Bernard S. Myers	Professor of Art History, University of Texas	Preparation of a study of expressionist paintings in Germany.
Art + Architecture	1950	Milton C. Nahm	Professor of Philosophy, Bryn Mawr College	Completion of books on the artist as creator and on originality in the art of criticism.
Psychology	1950	Harry Slochower	Associate Professor of German, Brooklyn College	Preparation of a study f the analytical psychology of C. G. Jung with especial reference to literature and music.

Art + Architecture	1950	Mai-Mai Sze	NY-based artist and writer	Translation with commentary of the *Chieh Tzu Yuan Hua Chuan*, or *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting*, published in China in 1679-1701.
Art + Architecture	1951	John Alford	Professor of Aesthetics and History of Art, Rhode Island School of Design	Preparation of a study of the functions of artifacts.
Art + Architecture	1951	Richard Bernheimer	Professor of Art History, Bryn Mawr and Haverford Colleges	Preparation of a book on levels of interpretation.
Philosophy	1951	David Baumgardt	Consultant in Philosophy, Library of Congress	Completion of a one-volume history of modern ethics.
Archaeology	1951	Stephen F. Borhegyi	Guatemala-based archaeologist	Research in Mayan archaeology, art, religion, and culture.
History of Religion	1951	Mircea Eliade	Paris-based historian of religion	Research and writing in philosophy, mythology, and comparative religion.
Psychology	1951	Molly Harrower	NY-based consulting psychologist	Completion of a book presenting the basic ideas underlying current diagnostic psychological techniques.
History of Religion	1951	Juan Larrea	Ny-based writer	Completion of a work on the religious myth of Santiago de Compostela.
Literature	1951	Jackson Mathews	Professor of English, University of Washington	Editing the collected works of Paul Valéry in English translation.
Art + Architecture	1951	Martin S. Soria	Assistant Professor of Art History, Michigan State College	Preparation of a book on painting and sculpture in Latin America from the 16th to the 18th century.
History of Religion	1951	Alan Watts	California-based writer and lecturer	1) Preparation of a work on the spiritual doctrines of the Orient. 2) Study of the relation of certain concepts found in

				Chinese philosophy and in the modern behavioral sciences.
Literature	1952	Erich Auerbach	Professor of French and Romance Philology, Yale University	Preparation of a study of differences among the cultural situations in America, Europe, and the Middle East.
Psychology	1952	Hans Banziger	Zurich-based analytical psychologist	Preparation of a study dealing with various psychological aspects of criminology.
Art + Architecture	1952	Harry Bober	Assistant Professor of Fine Arts, Harvard University	1) Research in Warburg Institute in connection with the completion of a catalogue of astrological and mythological manuscripts of the Latin Middle Ages. 2) Study of the basis of systematization in medieval imagery and its varieties of symbolic coherence.
Anthropology	1952	Milciades Chaves	Bogota-based anthropologist	Study of myth among the aboriginal cultures of Colombia.
Cultural History	1952	Dona Luisa Coomaraswamy	Boston-based scholar of comparative religion	Preparation for publication of various works of the late Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.
History of Religion	1952	Georges Dumézil	Professor of Comparative Religion, Collège de France	Research in Peru in the field of comparative religion.
Psychology	1952	Jolande Jacobi	Zurich-based analytical psychologist	1) Preparation of a study in analytical psychology. 2) Completion of an archive of pictures of the unconscious.
Philosophy	1952	Hans Kelsen	Professor of Political Science, University of California at Berkely	Preparation of a study of the idea of justice as developed in philosophy and religion.
Literature	1952	Adolf F. Leschnitzer	Assistant Professor of Germanic and Slavic Languages, College of the City of New York	Preparation of a study of the Goethe legend,

Archaeology	1952	Hallam L. Movius, Jr.	Curator of Paleolithic Archaeology, Peabody Museum of Harvard University	Research in Paleolithic art.
Psychology	1952	Ira Progoff	NY-based social scientist	Preparation of works on Jungian psychology.
Literature	1952	Karl Reinhardt	Professor Emeritus, University of Frankfort	Study of the Homeric problem.
Philosophy	1952	Philip Blair Rice	Professor of Philosophy, Kenyon College	Completion of a book on the philosophy of criticism.
Anthropology	1952	Carl Schuster	NY-based research scholar in comparative symbolism	Completion of a work entitled "The Sunbird, a Comparative Study of Design in Eurasia and Oceania."
Literature	1952	Heinrich Schneider	Professor of German Literature, Harvard University	Study of previously unavailable manuscript material bearing on G. E. Lessing.
Art + Architecture	1952	Otto Von Simson	Professor of Art, University of Chicago	Preparation of a study of the Gothic cathedral.
Literature	1952	Allen Tate	Lecturer, Division of General Education, New York University	Preparation of a study of contemporary poetic imagination against the background of the medieval symbolism of Dante.
Literature	1952	William Troy	Lecturer in Literature, The New School for Social Research	Preparation of a study of the American literary tradition.
Literature	1952	José García Villa	NY-based poet	Preparation of a work on the theory of poetry.
Art + Architecture	1952	Elizabeth B. Willis	Seattle-based expert on handicrafts	1) Research on the folk and popular arts of Japan. 2) Study of the indigenous costume arts and textile arts of India.
Philosophy	1953	Rudolph Carnap	Professor of Philosophy, University of Chicago	Completion of a work on the theory of probability.

Philosophy	1953	Chung-Yuan Chang	Professor of Chinese Philosophy and Religion, The Asia Institute, NY	Preparation of a book, "Creativity and Taoism: A Study of Chinese Philosophy, Art, and Poetry."
Psychology	1953	Lucile Charles	Associate Professor of English and Director of Dramatic Arts, East Carolina Teachers College	Research on the psychology of the primitive drama.
Anthropology	1953	Charles Upson Clark	Professor Emeritus of Languages, College of the City of New York	Research in European archives on unpublished material dealing with early American civilizations.
Anthropology	1953	Ella C. Deloria	South Dakota-based scholar of anthropology	Study of the concepts and practices of the native Dakota Indian religion.
Art + Architecture	1953	Ernst T. Ferand	Lecturer in Music, New School for Social Research	Preparation of a book on improvisation in music.
Cultural History	1953	Marija Gimbutas	Research Scholar, American School of Prehistoric Research, Peabody Museum of Harvard University	Preparation for the publication of "The Prehistory of Eastern Europe."
Art + Architecture	1953	Paul Jacobsthal	Late Reader in Celtic Archaeology, Oxford University	Completion of a work on Celtic art in the British Isles.
Literature	1953	Samuel Noah Kramer	Clark Research Professor of Assyriology and curator of the Tablet Collections, University of Pennsylvania	Preparation of translations and interpretations of Sumerian literary remains.
Literature	1953	Joseph W. Krutch	Professor of Dramatic Literature, Columbia University	Preparation of a volume on the present attitudes of Western man.
Art + Architecture	1953	Edward E. Lowinsky	Associate Professor of Music, Queens College, New York	Preparation of a book dealing with various phases of Renaissance and early baroque religious music.
Philosophy	1953	Jacques Maritain	Professor of Philosophy,	Preparation of a treatise on moral philosophy.

			University of Princeton	
History of Religion	1953	Fritz Meier	Professor of Oriental Seminary, University of Basel	Preparation of a book on "Islamic Vision Texts."
Literature	1953	Kathleen J. Raine	London-based writer	1) Completion of a book on prophetic symbolism in William Blake. 2) Critical study of Thomas Taylor, and selected edition of his writings. 3) Writing in the field of poetry.
Art + Architecture	1953	Michael Sullivan	Cambridge-based scholar of Chinese art and culture	Preparation of a study of early Chinese landscape painting.
Literature	1953	Mark Van Doren	Professor of English, Columbia University	Writing in the field of poetry.
Psychology	1954	Gerhard Adler	London-based analytical psychologist	Research and writing in the field of analytical psychology.
Psychology	1954	Irving E. Alexander	Assistant Professor of Psychology, Princeton University	Study in the field of developmental psychology.
Anthropology	1954	Inez de Beauclair	Pennsylvania-based ethnologist	Preparation of a work based on ethnological studies in Southwest China.
Psychology	1954	Robert A. Clark	Director, Mental Health Clinic, University of Pittsburgh	Research in analytical psychology.
Philosophy	1954	Gotthard Gunther	Virginia-based research scholar in philosophy	Completion of a work on non-Aristotelian logic.
Literature	1954	Eithne Wilkins Kaiser and Ernst Kaiser	Rome-based writers (citizenship?)	Translating and editing the works of Robert Musil, and for the preparation of a study of his works.
Psychology	1954	Alfred Kallir	London-based etymologist	Research on the psychogenetic source of the alphabet.

Literature	1954	Renée B. Lang	Associate professor of Romance Languages, Wells College	Study of the work of Rainer Maria Rilke in relation to French literature.
Anthropology	1954	John Layard	Oxford-based analytical psychology	Preparation for publication of an anthropological study based on fieldwork on Malekula, New Hebrides.
Art + Architecture	1954	Meyer Schapiro	Professor of Fine Arts and Archaeology, Columbia University	Completion of a corpus of painting, drawing, and ornament in the manuscripts of southern France from the 10th to the end of the 12th centuries.
Anthropology	1954	Rolf A. Stein	Directeur d'études, École des Hautes études, Sorbonne	Research in Tibet on the half-popular, half-lamaistic epic of Cesar.
Literature	1954	William Bysshe Stein	Assistant Professor of English, Washington and Jefferson College	Study of the poetry of Herman Melville.
Literature	1954	Willard R. Trask	NY-based writer and translator	1) Translation and study of selected medieval Portuguese and Galician lyric poetry. 2) Annotated anthology of primitive poetry.
Art + Architecture	1955	Bernard V. Bothmer	Assistant Curator of the Department of Egyptian Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	Research for the preparation of a corpus of late Egyptian sculpture.
Literature	1955	Irma Brandeis	Professor of Literature, Bard College	Completion of a study of the poetic and dramatic structure of Dante's *Divine Comedy*.
Literature	1955	Elias Canetti	London-based writer	Completion of a work entitles "Mass and Power."
Literature	1955	Chen-Chi Chang	Lecturer, New School for Social Research	Completion of a translation of "The Hundred Thousand Songs" of the Tibetan teacher Milarepa.
Philosophy	1955	Felix M. Cleve	Lecturer in Philosophy, New School for Social Research	Preparation of a work on pre-Platonic Greek philosophy.

Philosophy	1955	Lucy Kramer Cohen	Washington-based editor	Preparation for publication of the collected essays of the late Felix S. Cohen, philosopher and jurist.
Art + Architecture	1955	K. A. C. Creswell	Cairo-based archaeologist	Completion of a work on Muslim architecture in Egypt, and of a bibliography of the architecture, arts, and crafts of Islam.
Cultural History	1955	David Diringer	Lecturer in Semitic Epigraphy, University of Cambridge	Research on illustrated manuscripts in England and on the Continent.
Philosophy	1955	Emma J. Edelstein	Baltimore-based translator	Translation and editing of a manuscript on Pythagoras by the late Professor Erich Frank.
Anthropology	1955	Robert C. Euler	Curator of Anthropology, Museum of Northern Arizona, Flagstaff	Study of the Cerbat branch of the Patayan root, a prehistoric culture in northwestern Arizona.
History of Religion	1955	William R. Farmer	Assistant Professor of the New Testament, Drew University	Archaeological research in Palestine bearing on the history of the Essence community at Qumram, and for a study of the bearing of recent manuscript discoveries upon the understanding of Christian origins.
Philosophy	1955	Waldo Frank	Massachusetts-based writer	Completion of a work entitled "The Rediscover of Man."
Art + Architecture	1955	Violet De Laszlo	NY-based analytical psychologist	Preparation of a study tentatively titled "The Substructure of Art."
Cultural History	1955	Gerald Heard	California-based writer and lecturer	Study of Asian methods of psychological training and their significance to the psychology of human history.
Psychology	1955	Max Knoll	Professor of Electronics, Technical Institute, Munich	1) Preparation of a study of the neurophysiological aspects of C. G. Jung's concept of psychic energy and its relationship to time. 2) Study of the conditions of existence and the basic

				forms of physiologically induced archetypal patterns.
Anthropology	1955	A. Lemozi	France-based archaeologist	Preparation of a volume on prehistoric paintings and inscriptions found in the cave of Cougnac.
Literature	1955	Francisco García Lorca	Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Queens College, NY	Preparation of a critical edition of the works of the late Federico García Lorca.
Anthropology	1955	Alice Lee Marriott	Oklahoma-based ethnologist	Completion of a biography of a Hopi Indian woman.
History of Religion	1955	Samuel A. B. Mercer	Worcester-based Egyptologist	Study of ancient Egyptian and Babylonian conceptions of the dualistic nature of universe.
Literature	1955	Lucius G. Moffatt	Professor of Romance Languages, University of Virginia	Preparation of a definitive edition of *El Libro de Buen Amor*, by Juan Ruiz.
History of Religion	1955	Marijan Molé	Geneva-based Iranist	Editing and interpreting the Pahlavi texts relating to the myth and legend of Zoroaster.
Literature	1955	Konstantin Reichardt	Professor of Germanic Philology, Yale University	Preparation of a work on runology.
Philosophy	1955	Hellmut Wilhelm	Professor of Chinese History and Literature, University of Washington	1) Preparation of a volume on "Trends of Thought in 19th-century China." 2) Studies on the *I Ching* (Book of Changes."
Psychology	1955	Werner Wolff	Professor of Psychology, Bard College	Completion of a work entitled "The World of Symbols."
Art + Architecture	1956	William R. B. Acker	Massachusetts-based Sinologist	Translation of early Chinese texts concerned with the graphic arts and the preparation of a volume on Chinese philosophy and art.
Anthropology	1956	Cottie A. Burland	Executive officer, British Museum	Preparation of a full commentary, with comparative reference material, on the ancient Mexican "Codex Laud."

History of Religion	1956	Philipp K. Eidmann	Lecturer in Anthropology, Ryukoku University, Tokyo	Writing of a history of Japanese Buddhism.
Art + Architecture	1956	George M. A. Hanfmann	Associate Professor of Fine Arts, Harvard University	Research towards the preparation of a history of Greek art and culture.
Literature	1956	Charlton Hinman	Research Fellow, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.	Completion of a study of Shakespearean texts based on the detailed collation of approximately eighty copies of the first folio edition of the plays.
History of Religion	1956	Marcel Leibovici	Paris-based Assyriologist	1) Edition of a corpus of religious cuneiform texts in Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. 2) Research in Sumerian astrology.
Psychology	1956	Margaret Lowenfeld	Physician-in-charge, Institute of Child Psychology, London	Preparation of a work based on the "Lowenfeld world technique" of projective tests for children.
Anthropology	1956	Suzanne W. Miles	Research Ethnologist, Peabody Museum at Harvard University	Writing of an analytical synthesis and interpretation of Highland Maya history, religion, and mythology.
Anthropology	1956	Sheila E. Moon	San Francisco-based psychotherapist	Preparation of a volume interpreting the Navaho Indian emergence myth.
Art + Architecture	1956	Anita R. Orientar	NY-based art historian	Completion of a manuscript titled "Five Hundred Years of Old German Art: A Study of Expression."
Literature	1956	Fredric Prokosch	Paris-based writer	Study and translation of the poetry of Novalis.
Art + Architecture	1956	Jakob Rosenberg	Professor of Fine Arts, Harvard University	Preparation of a work on the Gothic woodcut in its early monumental phase, from about 1390 to the invention of printing.

History of Religion	1956	Walter T. Stace	Stuart Professor of Philosophy, Princeton University	Research and writing on the nature and growth of religious consciousness.
History of Religion	1956	Daisetz T. Suzuki	Visiting Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University	Preparation of a volume of selections from Zen "mondo," with explanations, and the compilation in English of a glossary of Zen Buddhism.
Literature	1956	Stanley T. Williams	Sterling Professor of American Literature, Yale University	Study of the influence of Italian culture upon American literature.
History of Religion	1957	Phyllis Ackerman	Connecticut-based cultural historian	Completion of studies in Persian and Sumerian art and religion.
Literature	1957	William Arrowsmith	Assistant Professor of Classics, University of California at Riverside	Study of heroism and its meaning and function in Greek tragedy.
History of Religion	1957	Frederick P. Bargebuhr	Hillel Professor of Judaism, State University of Iowa	Investigation of the secularistic movement in Byzantium and of their influence upon Muslim and Jewish groups in Spain in the 11th century.
Anthropology	1957	Harold F. Blum	Visiting Professor of Biology, Princeton University	Study of paleolithic cave paintings in France and Spain.
Philosophy	1957	Robert S. Brumbaugh	Director of Graduate Studies in Philosophy, Yale University	Study of the medieval manuscripts of Plato's *Parmenides*.
Literature	1957	David R. Clark	Instructor in English, University of Massachusetts	Study of the development of W. B. Yeats as a dramatist.
Psychology	1957	Anton Ehrenzweig	London-based psychologist and artist	Research in psychology of creative activity.
Art + Architecture	1957	Charles L. Fabri	Lecturer on Indian Art, Punjab University	Completion of a book on the history of Indian art.
Art + Architecture	1957	Wen Fong	Instructor in Art, Princeton University	Preparation of a monograph on a group of paintings by Buddhist monks.

Psychology	1957	Kurt Goldstein	NY-based psychiatrist and neurologist	Preparation of a work on the nature of man.
Philosophy	1957	Hans Kayser	Bern-based writer	Completion of a work tentatively entitled "Orphikon, a Harmonic Symbolism."
Anthropology	1957	Nancy O. Lurie	Michigan-based anthropologist	Recording and transcribing the recollections of Winnebago life by an elderly member of the tribe.
Literature	1957	Perry Miller	Professor of American Literature, Harvard University	Research toward a projected history of the life of the mind in America.
Literature	1957	Edwin Muir	London-based poet	Study of the Scottish ballad and its sources in Christian and pagan myth.
Art + Architecture	1957	Thomas Munro	Professor of Art, Western Reserve University	Writing a book on aesthetics, tentatively titled "Form in the Arts."
Art + Architecture	1957	Lydia Nadejena	Instructor in Art, Finch College	Research in the pre-Mongolian period of Russian medieval painting.
Art + Architecture	1957	Marvin C. Ross	Research scholar, The Dumbarton Oaks Library, Washington DC	Research and writing in Byzantine art.
Psychology	1957	Gustav P. Schmaltz	Analytical psychologist, Frankfurt on the Main	Preparation of a volume of case material in analytical psychology.
Art + Architecture	1957	Vincent Scully	Assistant Professor of Art, Yale University	Study of the meaning embodied in the form and site planning of archaic and classic Greek temples.
Literature	1957	Herbert Steiner	Professor of German, Pennsylvania State College	Completion of a biographical study of Hugo von Hofmansthal.
Anthropology	1957	Paul Tolstoy	NY-based archaeologist	Study, from the standpoint of cultural history, of the manufacture of bark cloth.
History of Religion	1958	Ernst Benz	Professor of Church History, University of Marburg	Completion of a work on types of Christian visionaries and visions.

Archaeology	1958	Giorgio Buchner	Italy-based archaeologist	Research based on excavations in the archaic Greek necropolis of Pithecusa, on the island of Ischia.
Archaeology	1958	George E. Fay	Assistant Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, Southern State College, Magnolia, Arkansas	Archaeological research on the western coast of Mexico in connection with a study of the prehistoric cultures of the region.
Archaeology	1958	Claireve Grandjouan	NY-based archaeologist	Preparation of a type catalogue of the terra-cotta figurines of the first 1st through the 5th centuries AD from areas in or influenced by the Roman Empire.
Anthropology	1958	Brooke Grundfest	NY-based anthropologist	Study of the folklore, religious customs, and worldview of the inhabitants of a village in southern Provence.
Art + Architecture	1958	Ralph Gilbert Ross	Professor of Humanities, University of Minnesota	Completion of a book on aesthetics.
History of Religion	1958	Michael Hamilton Jameson	Assistant Professor of Classical Studies, University of Pennsylvania	Study of classical Greek sacrifices.
Psychology	1958	Joseph L. Henderson	San Francisco-based analytical psychologist	1) Study of the archetype of initiation as defined by C. G. Jung. 2) Analytical study of the aspects of culture in reference to a basic archetypal pattern.
Literature	1958	N. I. Herescu	Paris-based philologist	Preparation of a work on Latin poetics and on the origins of Latin literature.
Literature	1958	Helge Kökeritz	Professor of English, Yale University	A history of English language from its proto-Germanic stage.
Cultural History	1958	James T. C. Liu	Professor of Classics, Wilson College	Book of the schoolmasters of the 10th century in northern Europe.

Literature	1958	Justine Lynn	Assistant Professor of English, Western Kentucky State College	Study of the poetry of Robinson Jeffers.
Literature	1958	Paul Roche	Lecturer in English, Smith College	Investigation of the difference between the English and Greek languages as vehicles of poetry and drama, and for translations of Greek drama.
Archaeology	1958	Maria Santangelo	Rome-based archaeologist	Completion of archaeological work at Satricum and the preparation of resulting material for publication.
Archaeology	1958	John J. Simons	Switzerland-based archaeologist	Biblical studies based on topographical research at Jerusalem and surrounding territories.
Philosophy	1958	Irving Singer	Assistant Professor of Philosophy, University of Michigan	1) Completion of a volume on the sense of reality in modern literature. 2) Preparation of a work on the concept of love in the modern world.
Literature	1958	Gerald Sykes	NY-based writer	Completion of a literary evaluation of scientific psychologies.
Archaeology	1958	Alan J. B. Wace	Director Emeritus, British School of Archaeology, Athens	Continuation of research and studies in the field of Aegean archaeology.
History of Religion	1958	Alexander Wayman	Research Assistant in Oriental Studies, University of California at Berkeley	Translation and research in Tibetan sources of philosophy, mythology, and religion.
Anthropology	1958	Gene Weltfish	Professor of Anthropology, Fairleigh-Dickinson University	1) Preparation of a work tentatively entitled "The Life of the Skidi Pawnee Indians, Plainsmen of Nebraska," 2) Development of a method of mathematical plotting of whole cultures in terms of their integrative functions.

History of Religion	1958	Paul Winter	London-based philologist	1) Completion of a work tentatively entitled "The Origins and the Composition of the Lucan Nativity and Infancy Narratives." 2) Continuation of research into historical, theological, and cultural problems in relation to his study of the trial of Jesus.
Philosophy	1958	Wolfgang Yourgrau	Senior Lecturer in Philosophy, University of Natal	Completion of a work on the nature of constants.
Psychology	1959	Stephen I. Abrams	Chicago-based psychologist	Research at the Institute of Experimental Psychology at Oxford.
Art + Architecture	1959	Bruno Adler	London-based writer	Writing in the fields of art history and aesthetic theory.
Cultural History	1959	Andrew Alfoldi	Scholar in the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton	Research in connection with a comprehensive work on monarchy in antiquity.
Cultural History	1959	Elias J. Bickerman	Professor of Ancient History, Columbia University	Preparation of archaeological material for a history of the fall of the Roman Empire.
Anthropology	1959	Anne Chapman	NY-based anthropologist	Field work and research on the mythology and folklore of the Jicaque Indians of Honduras.
History of Religion	1959	Henry Corbin	Professor, École des Hautes Études, Sorbonne	Studies in the phenomenology of Iranian religious consciousness.
Philosophy	1959	Walter R. Corti	Editor, Archiv für Genetische Philosophie, Zurich	Study of the development and influence of the Platonic Academy.
Anthropology	1959	Stanley Diamond	Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Brandeis University	Study of the folk traditions of the Ashanti (Ghana).
Literature	1959	Leon Edel	Professor of English, New York University	Preparation of an edition of the letters of Henry James.
Literature	1959	Michael Hamburger	Lecturer in German, University of Reading	1) Critical study of the works of Hugo von Hofmannsthal.

				2) Completion of translations of Hölderlin's poems and a critical work on the origins and development of modern literature after 1850.
Art + Architecture	1959	Arnold Hauser	Visiting Professor of Art, Brandeis University	Completion of a work on mannerism as the expression of the spiritual crisis of the 16th and 17th centuries in the Western world.
Literature	1959	Irving Howe	Associate Professor of English, Brandeis University	Study of recurrent social and mythical themes in American fiction and poetry.
Literature	1959	Alfred Kazin	Professor of American Studies, Amherst College	Study of American literature since 1920.
Anthropology	1959	Ursula Knoll	Munich-based ethnologist	Study of rituals among Indians of Yucatan, Oaxaca, and Chiapas.
History of Religion	1959	Ferdinand D. Lessing	Professor Emeritus, Institute of International Studies, University of California at Berkely	Study of the Lamaist cult and iconography and the preparation of a dictionary of Buddhist terms and phrases in the Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan, Mongolian, Chinese, and English languages.
Literature	1959	Willa Muir	London-based researcher	1) Completion of a study of Scottish ballads, begun by late Edwin Muir. 2) Preparation of a memoir of Edwin Muir.
Anthropology	1959	Udo Posch	Visiting Assistant Professor of Far Eastern and Slavic Languages and Literatures, University of Washington	Translation of Nogai and Kazakh manuscripts.
Anthropology	1959	Kenneth E. Read	Visiting Associate Professor of Anthropology,	Study of the culture of the Guhuku-Gama, a people of New Guinea.

			University of Washington	
Art + Architecture	1960	Milton W. Brown	Associate Professor of Art, Brooklyn College	Study of the art and writings of James McNeill Whistler in relation to the sources of modern art and contemporary aesthetic theory.
History of Religion	1960	Tze-Chiang Chao	Assistant Professor of Chinese Language and Literature, American Academy of Asian Studies, San Francisco	Preparation of a new translation of and commentary on the *I Ching* (Book of Changes).
Literature	1960	Emile M. Cioran	Paris-based writer	Studies on utopian thought and the experience of time.
Anthropology	1960	Warren L. D'Azevedo	Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of California at Berkley	Study of the culture of the Washo Indians of California and Nevada.
Literature	1960	Robert Y. Drake, Jr.	Instructor in English, Northwestern University	Completion of research on the genre of the English comedy manners.
Anthropology	1960	Svend Frederiksen	Research Associate, Catholic University of America	Study of Skimo religious beliefs.
Literature	1960	Guy Jean Forgue	Instructor in French, Yale University	Completion of a study of H. L. Mencken.
Archaeology	1960	Elizabeth Wace French	London-based archaeologist	Analytical index of pottery from Mycenae.
Archaeology	1960	Theresa B. Goell	NYC-based archaeologist	1) Preparation of a book on excavations at the tomb of Antiochus I at Nemrud Dagh in eastern Turkey. 2) Preliminary survey and soundings at Samosata on the Euphrates.
Anthropology	1960	Irving Goldman	Professor of Anthropology, Sarah Lawrence College	Completion of a study on the relationship between status rivalry and cultural evolution in Polynesia.

Philosophy	1960	Errol E. Harris	Professor of Philosophy, Connecticut College	Philosophical study of methods and an interpretation of the results of contemporary science.
Psychology	1960	Rivkah Schärf Kluger	Los Angeles-based analytical psychologist	Completion of a comprehensive study and commentary on the Gilgamesh Epic from the point of view of Jungian psychology.
Literature	1960	Bernard M. W. Knox	Associate Professor of Classics, Yale University	Research for studies in Sophoclean tragedy.
Art + Architecture	1960	George R. Loehr	New Jersey-based art historian	Study of the life and works of Giuseppe Castiglione, a Jesuit artist employed in Peking by three Chinese emperors from 1715 to 1766.
Literature	1960	Christopher Logue	London-based poet	Preparation of a translation of the *Iliad*.
Philosophy	1960	Ernst M. Manasse	Professor of Philosophy, North Carolina College	Completion of a critical survey of French Platonic studies.
History of Religion	1960	Senchu Murano	Chief Priest, Myochoji Temple, and Professor, Rissho University, Tokyo	Completion of an English translation of the Chinese version of the Lotus Sutra.
Literature	1960	Renato Poggioli	Professor of Comparative Literature, Harvard University	Study of pastoral poetry and the pastoral idea.
Art + Architecture	1960	Benjamin Rowland, Jr.	Professor of Fine Arts, Harvard University	Research on the classical tradition in Western art.
Anthropology	1960	Shirley Kling Silver	Research linguist, University of California at Berkley	Preparation for publication of Shasta Indian texts left by Roland B. Dixon.
Literature	1960	Mark Schorer	Professor of English, University of California at Berkely	Completion of a critical study of the works of Sinclair Lewis.
Philosophy	1960	E. W. F. Tomlin	Cultural Attaché, British Embassy at Ankara	Preparation of a study of the metaphysical implications of biological inquiry, provisionally entitled "The Concept of Life."

Literature	1960	Charles R. Walker	Senior Research Fellow, Yale University	Preparation of a new translation, for acting, of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles.
History of Religion	1960	Adolf Weis	Zurich-based writer and researcher	Completion of a study entitled "The Virgin Mary, Personification of the Christian Vita Nuova: The Symbolism of the Madonna's Images in Art."
History of Religion	1960	Marian B. Wenzel	Archaeologist, Courtauld Institute, University of London	1) Completion of research on medieval tombstones in Bosnia and Herzegovina. 2) Study of a Roman mystery cult of the second and third centuries AD., with an iconographic analysis of Apuleius' *Golden Ass*.
Art + Architecture	1960	Edith Hoffman Yapou	Jerusalem-based art editor of Encyclopedia Herbraica	Study of the subject matter of 19th century paintings, especially in relation to the transformation of certain ancient symbols.
Archaeology	1961	Emmanuel G. Anati	Jerusalem-based archaeologist	Comparative study of prehistoric and protohistoric art in Europe, from the end of Paleolithic times to the beginning of the great civilizations.
Art + Architecture	1961	Walter K. Beckett	Dublin-based musicologist	Writing a comprehensive history of the growth and development of Irish music.
Archaeology	1961	Maurice Broens	Professor of History, International College of Barcelona	Archaeological research on the rural cults of the dead existing in the Middle Ages in Western and Central Europe.
Anthropology	1961	Edmund C. Carpenter	Associate Professor of Anthropology, San Fernando College	Study of the arctic art collections in Copenhagen and Leningrad as part of a comprehensive study if arctic art.
Psychology	1961	Edith McK. Cobb	NY-based writer	Completion of a study of the role of aesthetic logic in the natural history of perception.

Cultural History	1961	Francisco De Solano Perez-Lila	Assistant Professor of History, University of Madrid	Research in Spanish archives on the historically important manuscript of Bishop Diego de Landa's "Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán."
History of Religion	1961	Van Austin Harvey	Assistant Professor of Philosophy of Religion, Southern Methodist University	Study of the impact of historical (i.e., Biblical) criticism upon religious belief since 1834 as a contribution to the history of ideas.
Cultural History	1961	Frank Hawley	Kyoto-based writer	Study and translation of the 9th-century Japanese religio-historical text *Kujiki*, a mythological account of the genesis of Japan.
Literature	1961	Klaus W, Jonas	Professor of Germanic Languages, University of Pittsburgh	1) Completion of a bibliographical study of the literary career of Hermann Broch. 2) Research in the Kurt Wolff Archives at Yale.
Literature	1961	David Jones	London-based essayist and poet	Research and writing in the field of aesthetics.
Philosophy	1961	Lotte M. Labowsky	Editorial Assistant, Corpus Platonicum Medii Avevi, London	Work in the preparation for publication of the "Corpus Platonicum Medii Aevi."
Cultural History	1961	Ernest R. Lachman	Professor of Biblical History, Wellesley College	Comprehensive study of the Hurrian civilization of ancient Nuzi in Iraq (second millennium BC), with a translation of texts and an index of names and works.
Art + Architecture	1961	Phyllis W. Lehmann	Professor of Art, Smith College	Study of Renaissance merchant-humanist Cyriacus of Ancona and his role in providing contemporary artists with a knowledge of antique art.
Anthropology	1961	Alexander Lesser	Professor of Anthropology, Hofstra College	Study of social evolution among the American Indians north of Mexico, entitled "Trade and Division Labor."

Philosophy	1961	Aline Lion	England-based philosopher	Completion of a philosophical study entitled "Approaches to a New Individualism."
Anthropology	1961	Alexander W. MacDonald	France-based anthropologist	Study of Nepalese bards, their training and their repertory.
Philosophy	1961	Shlomo Pines	Professor of General and Medieval Philosophy, Hebrew University, Jerusalem	Comprehensive history in English of Arabic and Jewish medieval philosophy.
Anthropology	1961	Peter John Powell	Chairman, Committee on Indian Work, Chicago Diocese of the Protestant Episcopalian Church	Study and transcription of the North Cheyenne Sun Dance.
Anthropology	1961	Doris Woodward Radin	California-based anthropologist	Preparation of various works in American anthropology.
Cultural History	1961	Giorgio de Santillana	Professor of History and Philosophy of Science, MIT	Study of the relations between artistic and scientific thought in the early Renaissance.
Literature	1961	Noel Stock	Melbourne-based writer	Classifying and editing the letters and papers of Ezra Pound stored at Schloss Brunnenburg, Tirolo, Italy.
Literature	1962	Yves Bonnefoy	Paris-based writer	Study of the power of words and its interpretation and application in 19th century French poetry from the Romantics through the Symbolist period.
History of Religion	1962	Lydia Cabrera	Miami-based writer	Preparation of a work on the religion of the Orishas of Cuba, their priesthood, rites, and methods of divination.
History of Religion	1962	William Carroll Bark	Professor of Medieval History, Stanford University	Study of Dionysius Exiguus, 6th-century authority on canon law, and the part he played in the Theopaschite controversy between Rome and Byzantium under Justinian.

Archaeology	1962	Frank E. Brown	Professor of Classics, Yale University	Archaeological research at the site of the early Roman Republic city at Cosa, Italy.
Literature	1962	Hayden Carruth	NY-based writer	Study of the works of Albert Camus, with particular attention to their philosophical importance.
History of Religion	1962	Marie-Mageleine Davy	Paris-based medievalist	Study of medieval symbolism and visionary and apocalyptic literature in relation to medieval psychology.
Literature	1962	Ursula Dronke	Lecturer and Tutor, Somerville College, Oxford	Completion of a critical edition of the Poetic Edda, a 13th century collection of Icelandic mythological and heroic poems.
Cultural History	1962	James E. Duffy	Associate Professor of Spanish, Brandeis University	Study of the influence of Portugal's overseas expansion on the life and thought of that country.
Anthropology	1962	Anthony Forge	Assistant Lecturer in Anthropology, London School of Economics	An analysis of the art of the Abelam in the Sepik District, the last tribe in eastern New Guinea still producing art for traditional reasons and on a traditional scale.
Archaeology	1962	Clara S. Hall	Research Assistant, University of California at Berkley	Chronological and stylistic study of the still largely unpublished excavated mural art at Teotihuacán in the valley of Mexico.
History of Religion	1962	Thalia P. Howe	Assistant Professor of Classics and Humanities, Brandeis University	Study of the three Greek hero myths of Perseus, Theseus, and Jason from earliest sources through the 4th century BC.
Anthropology	1962	Alex D. Krieger	Research Professor in Anthology, University of Washington	Completion of a book involving a synthesis of late Pleistocene climates, environmental changes, and human cultures in North and South America.
Art + Architecture	1962	Gerhart B. Ladner	Professor of History, Fordham University	Completion of the second volume of *Papl Iconography*, a comprehensive study of

				contemporary portraits of the medieval popes.
History of Religion	1962	Allan Ludwig	Assistant Instructor in History of Art, Yale University	Study of the iconography and iconology of the tombstones of New England between 1653 and 1800.
Archaeology	1962	James Mellaart	Assistant Director, British Institute of Archaeology, Ankara	Archaeological research at Çatalhöyük in Anatolia, the important early Neolithic site containing the earliest wall paintings found on man-made walls.
Archaeology	1962	Judith Porada	NY-based researcher in ancient Near Eastern art and archaeology	Preparation and editing of a corpus of Near Eastern seals in North American collections.
Literature	1962	Norman T. Pratt	Professor of Classics, Indiana University	Preparation of a comprehensive critical study of Senecan drama and the major change it brought about in the tradition of Western tragic drama.
Literature	1962	Alex S. Preminger	Humanities Librarian, Brooklyn College	Completion of editorial work on the *Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics.*
Philosophy	1962	William J. Richardson	Assistant Professor of Philosophy, St. Peter's College	Completion of a study entitled "Heidegger: From Phenomenology to Thought."
Psychology	1962	Rudolf Ritsema	Netherlands-based Orientalist	Commentary on the system of archetypal situations in the *I Ching* (Book of Changes).
Anthropology	1962	Ralph L. Roys	Research Professor of Anthropology, University of Washington	Transcribing from the original Maya the text of the colonial manuscript known as "Ritual of the Bacabs," with an annotated translation into English.
Art + Architecture	1962	Eta Harich Schneider	Professor of Harpsichord, Vienna Academy for Music and the Performing Arts	Writing of the first fully documented history in any language of Japanese music from the earliest times to the present.

| Philosophy	1962	Philip O. A. Sherrard	Assistant Director, British School of Archaeology, Athens	Preparation of a study on the influence of Platonism on Byzantine thought, tentatively entitled "Platonism and Mythical Theology: A Contrast in Traditions in the Later Byzantine World."
History of Religion	1962	H. Roy W. Smith	Professor Emeritus of Latin and of Classical Archaeology, University of California at Berkley	Completion of a study of the religious developments in the funerary vase painting of the regional potteries in southern Italy in the 4th century BC.
Art + Architecture	1962	Leo Steinberg	NY-based writer and lecturer in the history of art	Study of the multilayered symbolism of Francisco Boromini, foremost architect of the Roman baroque.
Psychology	1962	Anthony Storr	London-based consultant psychiatrist and analyst	Study of the creative process in terms of the analytical psychology of C. G. Jung, with special reference to literature and music.
Literature	1962	Walter A. Strauss	Associate Professor of Romance Languages, Emory University	Preparation of a study of the Orphic theme in modern poetry since 1800.
Literature	1962	Werner Vordtriede	Professor of German, University of Wisconsin	Preparation of a study of the symbols and symbolic motifs used by German Romantics.
Art + Architecture	1962	Robert Erich Wolf	France-based musicologist	Study of the 16th and 17th century music as a part of cultural history with an emphasis on its relations with the other arts and the thought of the time.
Literature	1963	Valborg V. Anderson	Associate Professor of English, Brooklyn College	Study of Wordsworth, tentatively entitles "The Universe of Man."
Art + Architecture	1963	Gertrude Bing	Professor Emeritus, University of London	Study of the life and writing of Aby M. Warburg, founder of the Warburg Institute.
Literature	1963	Pascal Covici, Jr.	Associate Professor of English, Southern Methodist University	Study of the uses and meanings of sensationalistic materials in

				19th and 20th-century American literature,
Literature	1963	Joseph Frank	Assistant Professor of English, University of Minnesota	Research on the contemporary cultural background of Dostoevsky's works.
Philosophy	1963	Gerald Holton	Professor of Physics, Harvard University	Study if the thematic components in modern science.
Archaeology	1963	Diana V. W. Kirkbride	Research Fellow in Near Eastern Archaeology, Oxford University	Archaeological research at the Pre-Pottery Neolithic village at Seyl Aqlat, Beidha, in East Jordan.
Art + Architecture	1963	Vivienne C. Mader	NY-based dance teacher	Preparation of a permanent written record from personal notions of traditional Hawaiian dances with chants.
History of Religion	1963	Gershom Scholem	Professor of Jewish Mysticism, Hebrew University of Jerusalem	1) Preparation of a work on the mystical Messianic movement around the cabalist Sabbatai Zevi in the 17th and 18th centuries. 2) Study of the literature and development of later cabalism.
Literature	1963	Peter Viereck	Professor of History, Mount Holyoke College	Translation and research in connection with studies of Nietzsche and Stefan George.
Archaeology	1963	Jennifer A. W. Warren	London-based numismatist	Study of Peloponnesian coin hoards and of the coinage of ancient Sicyon.
Anthropology	1963	Gordon Wasson	---	Study of the role of hallucinogenic agents in primitive religion.
Literature	1963	René Wellek	Sterling Professor of Comparative Literature, Yale University	Preparation of Volumes II and IV of his *History of Modern Criticism.*
Literature	1963	Samuel Frederic Will, Jr.	Assistant Professor of Classics, University of Texas	History of selfhood on ancient Greek literature.
Cultural History	1964	Herbert Bloch	Professor of Greek and Latin, Harvard University	Study of Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages.

Literature	1964	Carvel Collins	Professor of English, MIT	Critical biography of William Faulkner
Philosophy	1964	Norbert Guterman	NY-based writer and translator	Study of F. W. J. von Schelling, with special emphasis on his aesthetic theories.
Cultural History	1964	Samuel Hynes	Associate Professor of Literature, Swarthmore College	Study of the Intellectual history of England, 1895-1914.
Art + Architecture	1964	Ernst Kitzinger	Director of Studies, Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, Harvard University	Preparation of a posthumous volume of the notes of Professor Wilhelm R. W. Kohler on medieval book illumination.
Archaeology	1964	Dorothy Menzel	Lecturer in Anthropology, University of California at Berkley	Study of the late Ice pottery of Peru, establishing chronological sequence in close connection with cultural evidence.
Psychology	1964	Julie Neumann	Tel Aviv-based analytical psychologist	Editing the papers of the late Erich Neumann.
Cultural History	1964	Morton Smith	Professor of History, Columbia University	Research toward a history of Greco-Roman magic.
Art + Architecture	1964	Walter Spink	Associate Professor of History of Art, University of Michigan	Study of the development of art in India from the 4th to the 8th century AD.
Art + Architecture	1964	Emanuel Winternitz	Curator of Musical Instruments, Metropolitan Museum of Art	Study of Leonardo Da Vinci as a musician.
Philosophy	1965	Reginald E. Allen	Professor of Classics and Philosophy, Indiana University	Translation into English of Plato's *Parmenides* and for a commentary on it.
Art + Architecture	1965	Lotte Brand Philip	Assistant Professor of History of Art, Queens College, CUNY	Study of Hieronymus Bosch.
Literature	1965	Robert S. Fitzgerald	Poet and Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory, Harvard University	Verse translation of the *Iliad*.
Literature	1965	Michael F. Holroyd	London-based writer	Revaluation of Lytton Strachey's critical and biographical writings and a re-

				interpretation of the Bloomsbury Group.
Cultural History	1965	James Kritzeck	Assistant Professor of Oriental Languages, Princeton University	Study of the Collectio Toletana, early translation from Arabic into Latin, sponsored by Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, in the 12th century.
History of Religion	1965	Mordecai Margalioth	Professor of Midrashic and Geonic Literature, Jewish Theological Seminary of America	Preparation of a scientific edition of "The Book of Secrets" and other magical writings of the first centuries.
Anthropology	1965	Alexander Marshack	NY-based writer and researcher	Continuation of research in Upper Paleolithic notations.
Art + Architecture	1965	Edwin M. Ripin	NY-based restorer of antique keyboard instruments	Study from the 15th century of the relationship between the development of stringed keyboard instruments and that of keyboard music.
Literature	1965	Charles Ryskamp	Associate Professor of English, Princeton University	Preparation of a complete edition of the letters of William Cowper.
History of Religion	1965	Gary S. Snyder	Kyoto-based poet	Preparation of a study of present-day monastic life and training methods of the Rinzai Zen Buddhist sect of Japan.
Cultural History	1965	Schuyler W. J. Watts	NYC-based designer	Preparation of a history of 20th century handwriting reform in England, based on italic handwriting.
Art + Architecture	1966	Horst De La Croix	Associate Professor of Arts, San Joe State College	Study of Renaissance military architecture in Italy (1450-1550) within its cultural, political, and economic context.
Literature	1966	David V. Ederman	Editor of the *New York Public Library Bulletin*	Study of Blake's handwriting and engraving for new facsimile edition of his *Notebook*.
Literature	1966	Edith Kern	Professor of French and Comparative Literature, University of Washington	Study of the concretization of metaphor in the *commedia dell'arte* and in the modern theatre.
Cultural History	1966	Henry Kraus	Paris-based writer and researcher	Study of the factors influencing middle-class patronage of

				French church construction and ornamentation in the 12th and 13th centuries.
Art + Architecture	1966	Laurence P. Roberts	Italy-based scholar of Oriental art	Preparation of a guide to Japanese museums of archaeology and art.
Art + Architecture	1966	Joseph Rykwert	Librarian and tutor at the Royal College of Art, London	Study of the Roman and Etruscan town plans in relation to their foundation rituals.
Anthropology	1966	Rosa C. P. Tenazas	Senior Instructor I Anthropology, University of San Carlos, Cebu	Study of protohistoric warehouses and maritime activities of the peoples of Southeast Asia.

FIELD of STUDY	NUMBER OF FELLOWS
Art + Architecture	67
History of Religion	41
Anthropology	40
Philosophy	31
Psychology	25
Archaeology	20
Cultural History	26
Literature	81
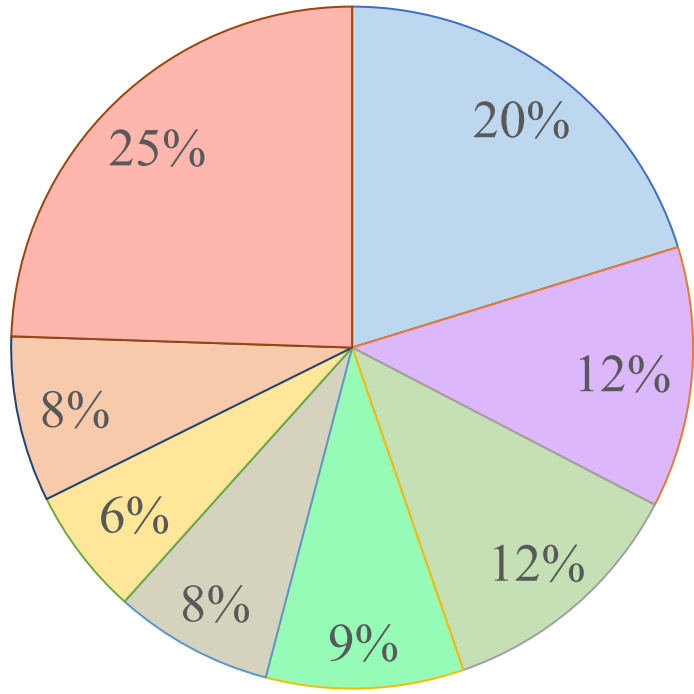
Art and Architecture   History of Religion   Anthropology   Philosophy
Psychology   Archaeology   Cultural History   Literaturre

Chapter Three—Table 2 | List of Bollingen Special Projects

YEAR	NAME of the PROJECT	INSTITUTE	PERSON in CHARGE
1945–1966	Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo	Alexander Piankoff
1947–1967	Eranos program	Eranos, Ascona	Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn
1951–end date unidentified	Archive for Research in Archetypal Symbolism[1]	Kristine Mann Library	Jessie E. Fraser, head librarian
1957–1967	French translation of works of C. G. Jung	--	Roland Cahen, analytical psychologist
1962	Jung film project (2.5 hours of conversation with Jung)	University of Houston	Joseph L. Henderson, analytical psychologist
1953–1960	Indian Religious Symbolism	University of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia Museum of Art	Stella Kramrisch, scholar of south Asian art
1955–1956	Sculpture Photographic Project	National Gallery of Art	F. L. Kenett, photographer
1958	Chinese Painting Research Project	The Metropolitan Museum of Art	Aschwin Lippe, associate curator of Far Eastern Art, MET
1962–1964	British Art Project	Paul Mellon Foundation for British Art	Basil Taylor, art historian

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[1] According to the Bollingen records, in 1951 head librarian of the Kristine Mann library Jessie E. Fraser was chosen to catalogue and "expand" Olga Fröbe-Kapteyn's image archive (*Bollingen Foundation Report*, 82).

Chapter Three—Table 3 | The list of the contributions made by the Bollingen Foundation to other institutions, 1945–1967

CATEGORY	YEAR	NAME of the INSTITUTION	MONETARY AMOUNT of the CONTRIBUTION (US$ in 1965)
Humanities	1959–1965	American Academy in Rome	136,400
Humanities	1957–1959	American Academy of Asian Studies	25,000
Humanities	1947–1957	American Council of Learned Societies	220,000
Humanities	1958	American Federation of Arts, Inc.	4,500
Humanities	1955–1958	American Folklore, Inc.	4,811
Humanities	1947	American Library in Paris	1,000
Humanities	1963	American Philological Association	3,500
Humanities	1948	American Philosophical Association	2,000
Humanities	1957–1964	American Research Center in Egypt	88,600
Humanities	1950–1963	American School of Classical Studies at Athens	27,000
Humanities	1949–1951	American Society for Aesthetics	1,500
Humanities	1949	Archaeological Institute of America	500
Humanities	1958	Association Guillaume Bude	1000
Humanities	1960–1962	Blaisdell Institute for Advanced Study in	15,300

		World Cultures and Religions	
Humanities	1964	Bryn Mawr College	731
Humanities	1954–1961	Cambridge University	8,564
Humanities	1954	Centre de Documentation d'Histoire des Religions	500
Humanities	1956	Centro Mexicano de Escritores	1,720
Humanities	1951–1952	Classical Association of the Atlantic States	550
Humanities	1952	Classical Association of New England	750
Humanities	1957	College Art Association of America	1,300
Humanities	1952–1963	Columbia University	26,900
Humanities	1959	Committee for Promotion of Advanced Slavic Studies	3,000
Humanities	1950	Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe, Inc.	500
Humanities	1954–1963	Emory University	55,000
Humanities	1965	Encyclopedia of Islam	5,000
Humanities	1949–1965	Eranos Foundation	54,837
Humanities	1961–1964	First Zen Institute of America in Japan	20,000
Humanities	1954–1964	Fondation Hardt Pour l'Étude de l'Antiquité Classique	17,000
Humanities	1949–1964	Harvard University	102,594
Humanities	1947–1949	Indiana University	2,400

Humanities	1955	Institute for Advanced Study	3,600
Humanities	1962	International Organization for the Study of the *Old Testament*	1,500
Humanities	1947–1963	The Johns Hopkins University	41,687
Humanities	1949	Keats-Shelley Memorial Association, Rome	1,000
Humanities	1951	Kenyon College	1,800
Humanities	1946–1962	Library of Congress	44,500
Humanities	1957–1958	Long Island University	2,250
Humanities	1958–1960	The Edward MacDowell Association, Inc.	9,000
Humanities	1965	Metropolitan Museum of Art	5,000
Humanities	1947–1962	Modern Poetry Association	82,500
Humanities	1949–1950	Mount Holyoke College	900
Humanities	1953–1958	Museum für Völkerkunde (Basel)	3,200
Humanities	1955–1964	Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art	33,990
Humanities	1959–1964	New York University	23,200
Humanities	1960–1965	Oxford University	25,600
Humanities	1954–1955	Philosophical Research Society	4,950
Humanities	1948–1963	Pierpont Morgan Library	105,200
Humanities	1961–1963	Poetry Center, Young Men's and Young	22,787

		Women's Hebrew Association	
Humanities	1951–1965	Princeton University Press	49,563
Humanities	1961	Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautores	5,225
Humanities	1958	Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland	2,806
Humanities	1958	Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences	2,806
Humanities	1957–1964	Smithsonian Institution	18,000
Humanities	1957–1958	The Spanish Institute, Inc.	6,000
Humanities	1958–1960	University of California	8,200
Humanities	1949–1964	University of Chicago	28,100
Humanities	1950	University of Denver	625
Humanities	1950	University of Illinois	8,000
Humanities	1948–1965	University of North Carolina	2,000
Humanities	1962	University of Paris	63,072
Humanities	1950–1951	University of Pennsylvania	5,000
Humanities	1957–1958	University of Texas	4,500
Humanities	1960	University of Toronto	500
Humanities	1950–1952	University of Virginia	1,500
Humanities	1959–1963	University of Washington	35,850
Humanities	1953–1960	Warburg Institute	9,500
Humanities	1958	Worcester Art Museum	6,000
Humanities	1947–1965	Yale University	224,776

Archaeology	1951–1953	American Academy in Rome	5,500
Archaeology	1965	American Committee to Preserve Abu Simbel	25,000
Archaeology	1949–1959	American Museum of Natural History	2,500
Archaeology	1953–1964	American Schools of Oriental Research	241,000
Archaeology	1951	American School of Prehistoric Research	2,000
Archaeology	1958–1961	British Institute for Archaeology at Ankara	12,000
Archaeology	1962–1963	British School at Rome	6,000
Archaeology	1953–1964	British School of Psychology at Athens	23,500
Archaeology	1952–1959	Byzantine Institute	85,000
Archaeology	1960	Harvard University	5,000
Archaeology	1948–1956	New York University	117,000
Archaeology	1955–1964	Princeton University	65,000
Archaeology	1955–1965	Società Magna Grecia	31,000
Archaeology	1955–1962	University of Chicago	45,000
Archaeology	1963	University of Minnesota	15,000
Archaeology	1960–1963	Yale University	48,200
Psychology	1948–1950	Foundation for Child Care and Nervous Child Help	7,500
Psychology	1953–1957	Sigmund Freud Archives, Inc.	34,000
Psychology	1953–962	International Study Centre for Applied Psychology	95,725
Psychology	1949–1965	B. G. Jung Institute	156,640

Psychology	1955–1960	Society of Analytical Psychological, Ltd.	4,531
Psychology	1957–1960	Swiss Psychological Association	3,000
Psychology	undated	University of California	1,000

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