

Eyes That Can See in the Dark

An Astrological Review of *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung: A Collaboration*
by Nan Savage Healy

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“We do not, of course, require a Queen of Heaven to express the archetype of the feminine principle, but corresponding to the problems of our times, we need a sort of earth mother who would distribute the seeds of the new differentiation and diversity which seems to belong to the modern woman.”

Toni Wolff, “A Few Thoughts on the Process of Individuation in Women”¹

The story of Toni Wolff’s life is a tale that has not been told enough. Wolff was a Swiss woman born near the end of the nineteenth century who dedicated her life to understanding the structures of the psyche, using her considerable intellect and intuition to shed light upon the deep mysteries of the collective unconscious. She had a profound interest in myth, and believed that the study of mythology could lead to the development of a new theory of the psyche. She was a teacher and analyst, and had the ability to guide others into the dark realms of fantasy and image and, like Ariadne with her shimmering thread, lead them back out to consensus reality once more. As once was said of her: “Toni had eyes that can see in the dark.”² Although she wrote and published less than she was capable of producing, what she did write was unique and even revolutionary, including a theory of the structural forms of the feminine psyche.

Toni Wolff had a flair for fashion, dressing with impeccable and unique style throughout the decades of her life. Smoking was one of her characteristic vices, and her distinctive way of lighting a cigarette left a crystal clear impression on one of her analysands: “I will never forget the way Toni lighted a cigarette, always placing the match carefully in the ashtray to let its flame burn to the end like a little offering to a god known only to herself.”³ She could be immensely charming when she wished, entrancing those with whom she interacted, and yet she also

had an intensely serious aspect, often appearing aloof, cold, distant, and severe, especially as she aged. Much of her life was defined by an unconventional relationship choice, unusual especially for her era—she was the “spiritual wife”⁴ and psychological collaborator in an alchemical soul marriage with C. G. Jung, the father of analytical psychology and one of the foundational thinkers in the discipline of archetypal cosmology. Jung was already married to Emma Rauschenbach, the mother of his five children, when his relationship with Wolff began, and thus after Jung’s death in 1961 the story of Wolff’s relationship with Jung was suppressed, and her significant role in the development of what she preferred to call “complex psychology”⁵ has been somewhat downplayed. However, a more comprehensive portrait of her life is at last surfacing—in large part thanks to the diligent, decades-long work of the scholar and biographer Nan Savage Healy.

In 2017, Healy published the biography *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung: A Collaboration* so that she might tell the life tale of the woman whose work had inspired her ever since she came across a slim, stapled copy of Wolff’s *Structural Forms of the Feminine Psyche* in the library of the Los Angeles C. G. Jung Institute. Although Healy waited years for a biography of Wolff to be written, she came to realize the calling was her own: “I felt compelled to write the book that I had wanted to read.”⁶ Nan Savage Healy’s own mother was an analyst who had trained with Toni Wolff, and therefore Wolff’s psychological theories had permeated Healy’s childhood home and family dynamics. This biography examines the personal and professional relationship between Wolff and Jung, and is a work of devotion, dedication, and love by Healy. Her careful and respectful analysis of Wolff’s life led her to receive access to the diaries, letters, personal papers, and photographs kept safely in Wolff’s family’s archives. Although Healy initially wanted to write a biography of Toni Wolff alone, it soon became clear to her that she had to tell Wolff’s story alongside Jung’s, and that their professional collaboration was key to their personal relationship. Wolff’s life could not be fully comprehended apart from Jung’s, and as the analyst Michael Fordham stated, neither can one truly “understand Jung without Toni Wolff.”⁷ Wolff referred to a collaboration such as hers with Jung as a “creative relation” of the man’s imagination with the woman’s psychic essence, that is, with her soul.⁸

The purpose of my article is twofold: both to provide a summary and review of Nan Savage Healy’s book, and also to offer my own archetypal astrological analysis of Toni Wolff’s natal chart to demonstrate some of the significant correlations between the planetary aspects in her chart and the unfolding of her life. *A Collaboration* is organized primarily chronologically, beginning with the chapters “Earliest Years” and “First Meeting,” moving through the “Professional Years” and “Middle Years,” and culminating naturally in the “Transitional Years” and “Elder Years.” The most time is spent on the first several years of Wolff’s and Jung’s relationship, laying the groundwork of their connection and focusing particularly on the pivotal era when Jung experienced his psychological descent

and “confrontation with the unconscious,”⁹ which led to the creation of his illuminated manuscript *Liber Novus*, better known as *The Red Book*. Wolff’s presence would prove pivotal not only for Jung’s survival through this ordeal, but also for his gaining the tremendous riches afforded by that descent: she acted as his guide and confidante, his “psychic compass,”¹⁰ through the dark years of fantasies and waking visions that engulfed him “like fiery liquid basalt.”¹¹ Although essentially chronological, Healy does weave throughout the book discussions of Wolff’s structural forms of the feminine psyche, as well as explorations of psychological types, analytical techniques, transference, archetypes, and alchemy.

Taken together, the book presents both a personal and professional portrait of Toni Wolff and her collaborative relationship with C. G. Jung that extends into the realms of their co-created psychological theories, as well as reaching forward to draw on the perspectives of contemporary Jungian scholars and analysts, while also including a wide range of commentary from members of Jung’s and Wolff’s families, colleagues, analysands, and friends. When reading the book, one has the impression of hearing a chorus of voices, illuminating through direct quotation the points that Healy wants to highlight: although her own voice remains present through her personal reflections and ideas, she also conducts an orchestra of numerous other perspectives to create a multidimensional portrait of both individuals.

Jung had begun studying astrology about two years before he met Wolff, and he kept a copy of her birth chart on file, along with the horoscopes of several others close to him.¹² Wolff herself had an interest in and aptitude for astrology, and thus it seems appropriate to view her life through an astrological lens. Antonia Anna Wolff was born on September 18, 1888 at 2:30 in the morning in Zürich, Switzerland, to upper class parents Anna Elisabeth Sutz and Arnold Wolff. Toni was deeply bonded with her father, his “favorite” child,¹³ and she spent a great deal of time with him in his study, learning about the years he had spent in the Far East, particularly Japan, before he married Anna and started a family in his forties. Her father’s death in 1910 sank Wolff into a severe depression, leading her mother to bring her as a patient to C. G. Jung, a meeting that would prove fateful for both.

Toni Wolff was born during the rare Neptune-Pluto conjunction of the late nineteenth century, an alignment that only occurs every five hundred years and has been correlated with the rise and fall of great civilizations and the endings and beginnings of historical and cultural epochs.¹⁴ The spectrum of biographical correlations with the *fin-de-siècle* Neptune-Pluto conjunction range from the deeply profound imaginative and spiritual vision expressed through the high fantasy literature of J. R. R. Tolkien to the mass delusion of immense destruction woven by Adolf Hitler, both of whom were born during the same Neptune-Pluto conjunction as Wolff. Archetypally, Neptune-Pluto can be expressed as the transmutational psychological descent into the world of images and the realms of

the collective unconscious, an intense interest in the power of myth for understanding the depths of the psyche, and a deep connection to symbols, archetypes, and the spiritual world. Tellingly, Wolff has both the Sun and the Moon in major aspect with the Neptune-Pluto conjunction, inflecting both her solar and lunar (individual and relational) identities with these archetypal qualities. C. G. Jung, who was born in 1875 when the Neptune-Pluto conjunction was 20° apart, has the Moon situated between the two planets and spent his childhood growing up in the archetypal zeitgeist of the alignment and thus exemplifies many of the same qualities expressive of the complex. Furthermore, his exact Sun-Neptune square further correlates with many of the qualities described above, such as a personal relationship to the archetypes, images, dreams, and the soul.

Figure 1 Birth Chart, Toni Wolff

Toni Wolff

Natal
Sep 18 1888, Tue
2:30 AM -0.50 -0:29:44
Zürich, Switzerland
Tropical
Placidus

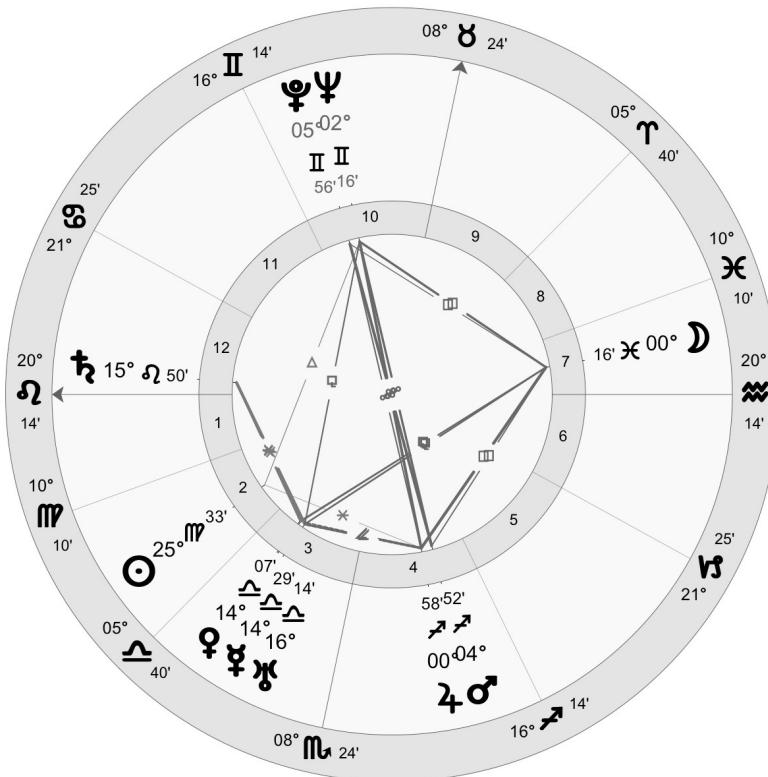
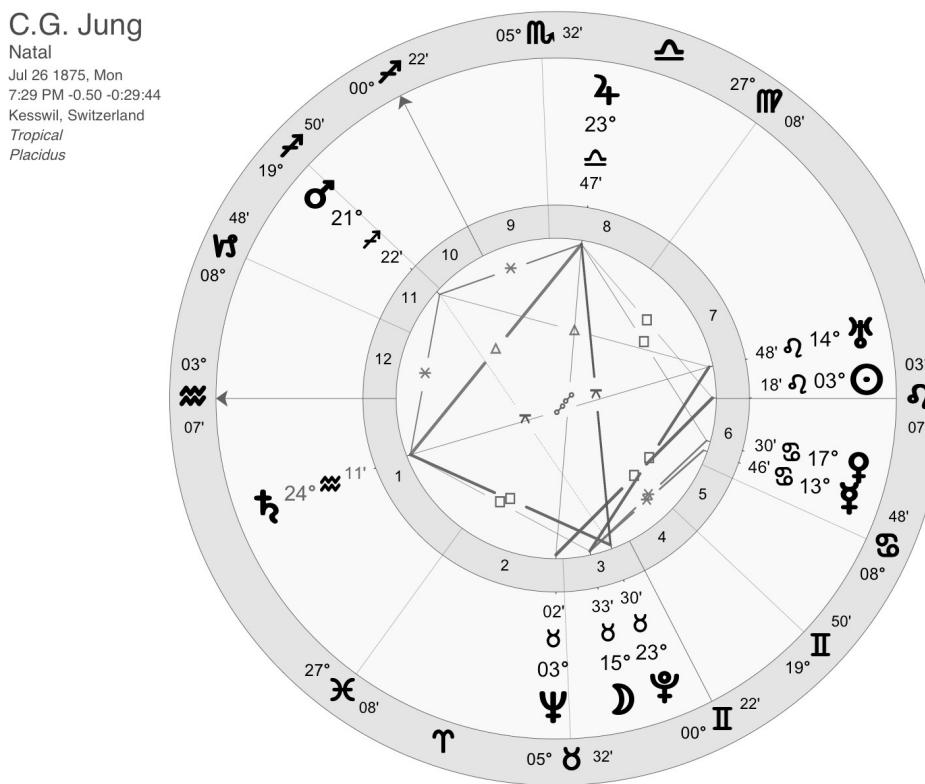


Figure 2 Birth Chart, C. G. Jung



The Sun in Toni Wolff's chart makes a 7° trine to Neptune, which can be recognized in the statement made by Jung's son Franz that "Toni was all spirit."¹⁵ Her very being, associated archetypally with the Sun, was entirely spirit, a reflection of Neptune. Meanwhile the Moon in her chart makes a tight 2° square to Neptune and a slightly wider alignment to Pluto, bringing the archetypal qualities of Neptune-Pluto into the core of her emotional, relational essence. She seemed almost to reside in the archetypal realm. As her colleague C. A. Meier surmised, Wolff lived her life "for the soul, and of the soul—faithful to the grave."¹⁶ As Healy herself writes: "Essentially a romantic, she was drawn to the world of fantasy and felt at home in its enchanted lands, the natural domain of the imagination, realms that she found more interesting than everyday reality."¹⁷ Her analysands attested that "she had a special gift; in her presence, inner pressures became images,"¹⁸ a statement that reflects how inner Plutonic pressures were transformed within her lunar presence into Neptunian images.

This extraordinary ability to summon forth images from the unconscious depths of others was most profoundly expressed in Wolff's relationship to Jung during his *Red Book* period, which began in the autumn of 1913. She became the reflective container, as is fitting for someone born with Moon-Neptune, in which

Jung underwent his personal alchemical transformation. He wandered in the realm of fantasy, and together they made sense of what he had experienced. *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, the autobiography of Jung edited by Aniela Jaffé and published after his death, makes no mention of Wolff by name, even though Jung had included her in the *Protocols* that were the basis for the book. Thus her essential role during *The Red Book* years was concealed, making it appear as though Jung undertook this psychological journal alone. Yet this was not the case.

Toni Wolff stood by him. She accompanied him on this treacherous journey, into the most remote depths of his psyche, into the regions that Jung came to regard as the most salient, the interior ones. . . . These were the years of radical immersion in the unconscious, the years of inner navigation, the years of preoccupation with the bones of the psyche.¹⁹

Jung met regularly with Wolff during this time, spending many hours together in his library discussing and interpreting his interior experiences. They would compare the images in Jung's fantasies with symbols from ancient myths and religions, looking for meaningful parallels so as to analyze the potential interpretations. They were translating the natural language of the unconscious, "the language of the imagination" as Toni Wolff herself called it.²⁰

Intimations of Jung's and Wolff's alchemical relationship can be recognized in the transits on the day the pair first met, September 20, 1910. A grand cross of the Moon, Jupiter, Uranus, and Neptune bound the sky, with the swiftly orbiting Moon aligning with the long Uranus-Neptune opposition of that era (which was in orb from 1899 to 1918) and Jupiter, which was making a T-square with Uranus and Neptune at the time. When Jung underwent his *Red Book* descent beginning a few years later in 1913, the Uranus-Neptune opposition was crossing his natal Sun-Neptune square, awakening the imagination and unleashing a world of images, symbols, and archetypes upon his conscious awareness. The woman who would act as his guide during this period happened to come into Jung's life on a day when the Moon, which symbolizes relationality and the nurturing, caring, maternal element, was aligning with the Jupiter-Uranus-Neptune T-square of the time: a perfect symbolic configuration for a nourishing and reflective presence to carry one successfully through a disruptive awakening to the primordial archetypes of the collective unconscious. Fittingly, Wolff was born with a Moon-Jupiter-Neptune T-square in her natal chart, a mirror of the alignment in the sky on that particular September 20 in 1910.

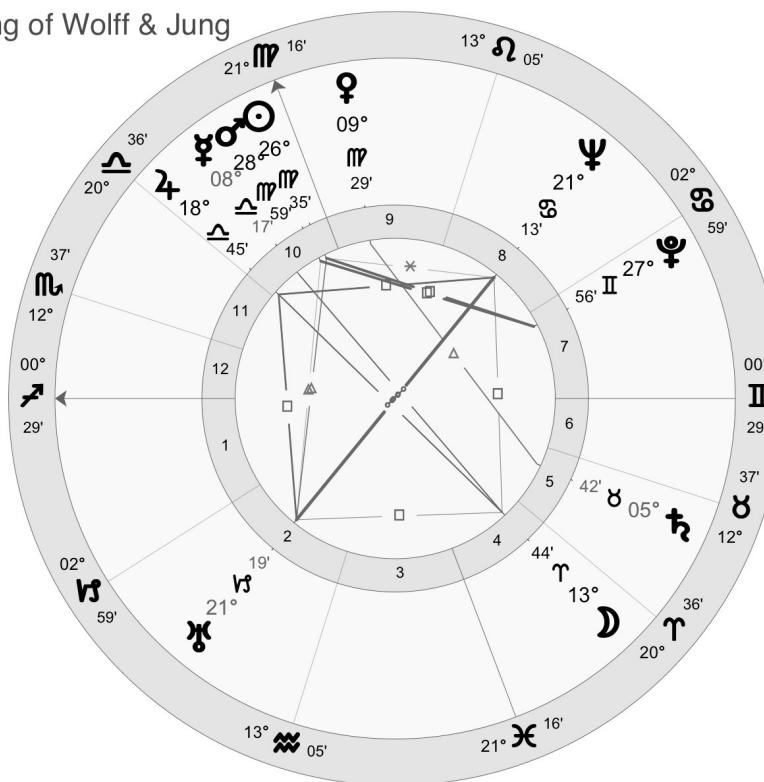
This Moon-Jupiter-Uranus-Neptune grand cross in the sky was transiting Wolff's natal Uranus, corresponding with a period of breakthrough and sudden opening (Jupiter-Uranus) through a relationship (the Moon) that engaged with the mythic and archetypal levels of the psyche (Neptune). Jupiter was just 2° past exact conjunction with Wolff's natal Uranus, while Uranus and Neptune were

completing their long squares to her natal Uranus, at the end of their 5° orb of influence. Furthermore, Wolff's first meeting with Jung took place just two days after her birthday, and this Solar return chart illuminates the long transit of Pluto square her natal Sun which was culminating at this time. The transit of Pluto-Sun correlated with the profound destruction, transformation, and rebirth of her identity, as well as the projected form of her *animus* figure, which corresponded with the death of her father and her newfound connection with Jung.

Figure 3 Transits, First Meeting of Wolff and Jung

First Meeting of Wolff & Jung

Natal
Sep 20 1910, Tue
12:00 PM CET -1:00
Zürich, Switzerland
Tropical
Placidus



Toni Wolff was at home and comfortable in the realm of the psyche, a characteristic reflective of her natal Moon-Neptune square, especially with Jupiter involved; Moon-Neptune alignments can correlate with an innately intuitive capacity, a sensitive ability to feel and perceive the emotional and psychological state of others without such states necessarily being directly articulated. Interestingly, for one so trusting of the dark realms of the unconscious, waking visions did not come easily to Wolff, and she was not adept at eliciting her own active imagination fantasies. Rather, she was more like a mirror to the images emerging through others, like the Moon reflecting a Neptunian light from the beyond. She did, at one point, receive what Jung called a “psychic infection” from the fantasies he was perceiving, seeing the same visions that he saw and becoming

as entangled and disoriented as he was.²¹ Michael Fordham refers to such psychic infection as “syntonic counter-transference,” which can occur between analyst and analysand, guide and journeyer.²² Such a situation may be especially likely for a person born with a Moon-Neptune alignment such as Wolff, as the archetypal qualities of Neptune tend to dissolve and make permeable the psyche of the individual to the experiences of others with whom they are connected.

From the moment of their first meeting, Jung said he felt immediately “involved” with Toni Wolff.²³ Their chemistry was profound, and he could share with her the depth and breadth of his ideas regarding the psyche as he never had with anyone else before. Yet they withheld from deepening their relationship at the time, and after Wolff’s analysis ended they had no contact for about a year. However, Jung had a dream about Toni, in which a group of mountain elves tried to lure her away into a cave. He knew somehow that if he did not call her back she would be lost forever. Thus he initiated contact once more, first by letter, and the beginning of their “love relationship”²⁴ began to bloom. Jung believed that the unconscious itself had willed the connection with Toni Wolff to develop, and he felt he must follow its calling. Their love touched the center of Jung’s self-described No. 2 personality, the ancient part of him that felt eternal, timeless, and connected to “God’s world.”²⁵ Yet from Nan Savage Healy’s perspective, Jung’s choice to enter into this mystical or alchemical marriage with Toni Wolff—while maintaining his marriage and family with Emma—took his own “divided self”²⁶ and projected it variously onto the two women with whom he was in relationship. As Healy writes: “By effectively shifting his inner dichotomy onto them, he asked each woman to carry half of his psyche, depriving either of them of a fully articulated human relationship with him.”²⁷ The issue of projection is paramount here, seeing relational tensions as internal projections rather than as genuine issues stemming from the relationship dynamics themselves. In some ways, one can see in Jung’s life choice his primary focus on the needs of the individual, and the process of personal individuation, over and above the importance of relationships—a criticism brought against his psychology by Maria Moltzer, Martin Buber, and others.²⁸ Indeed, a recognition of the importance of relationship to psychological development, in addition to individuation, appears to be exactly what *A Collaboration* is trying to remedy: instead of focusing upon Jung as an individual, we see the development of analytical psychology through the lens of his relationship with Toni Wolff, and to a lesser extent other contributors and collaborators as well.

Toni Wolff’s choice to enter into this “left-handed marriage,”²⁹ as such mystical or soul relationships were called at the time, is reflective of the close Venus-Uranus conjunction in her natal chart. This alignment is part of a larger configuration: an exact Mercury-Venus conjunction forming a stellium with Uranus, connected to Saturn on the Ascendant through a tight sextile. Venus-Uranus alignments can correlate with unconventional relationship choices, expressing the Uranian desire for freedom, liberation, radical opening, and

rebellion through the Venusian sphere of romantic connection. Wolff felt she was not suited for traditional marriage, as it would likely hamper her intellectual pursuits. Here we can see how intimately connected the placement of Mercury in Wolff's chart is to the Venus-Uranus alignment: her relationship with Jung was highly intellectual in addition to being romantic, a collaborative partnership which had a tremendous scholarly output. The Mercury-Uranus conjunction in Wolff's chart can be recognized in her "exceptional intellectual gift" which was apparent from her earliest years.³⁰ Jung stated that the "genius" of her intelligence was an "innate gift," and that she had a "beautiful mind" and was unquestionably "brilliant."³¹ The archetype of Uranus shines through in the statements of genius and brilliance, and the Mercury-Venus alignment can be recognized in Jung's assessment that Wolff had a beautiful (Venus) mind (Mercury). She was an exquisitely talented poet in her early years. Even her expressive handwriting carried these Mercury-Venus qualities, with some saying her lettering resembled an art form more than a written script.

The archetype of Venus is expressive not only of romance and relationship, but also art, beauty, and aesthetics. Wolff's Venus-Uranus flair came through in her unique sense of fashion: in conjunction with her blossoming relationship with Jung, Wolff "refined her outward image," developing a "distinctly feminine style of dress that combined an elegance with an exotic flair."³² The "uniqueness of her costumes"³³ would often inspire "surprise and pleasure"³⁴ from others, who described her style as "dramatic," "elegant" and "immaculate"³⁵; her outfits were always paired with a "strikingly different hat"³⁶ and "exquisite" shoes.³⁷ While the Venus-Uranus conjunction can be seen correlated most prominently with Wolff's aesthetic style, the sextile with Saturn provides the sense of elegance, composure, immaculateness, and close attention to detail. She was also said to be unusually but strikingly beautiful, with "very changeable looks."³⁸ Barbara Hannah said of her: "She was not beautiful in the strictly classical sense, but she could look far more than beautiful, more like a goddess than a mortal woman."³⁹ Jane Wheelwright described Wolff as "handsome in an odd way," reminding her of the Egyptian Queen Nefertiti.⁴⁰ Here too the juxtaposition of Wolff's natal Venus-Uranus placement, in connection with her Venus-Saturn sextile can be seen in the unusual quality of her looks that could make her appear as not beautiful in the classical sense (Venus-Saturn) but also more than beautiful, breaking out of the usual descriptions of beauty (Venus-Uranus).

The role that Saturn played in relation to Wolff's Mercury-Venus-Uranus stellium is considerable, and likely strengthened by Saturn's placement on the angle of the Ascendant, the planet rising at the moment of her birth. The Ascendant archetypally relates to the persona, the face, the first impression, the appearance, what one leads with, and the appearance. One overarching correlation with Wolff's Saturn on the Ascendant alignment is the suppression and negation of her life story, keeping her role and identity hidden within the history of analytical psychology. The full configuration of Mercury-Venus-Uranus

sextile Saturn can be correlated with Wolff's unconventional romantic and intellectual relationship with Jung that was nonetheless steadfast and devoted, particularly on her part—a commitment lasting until the end of her life.

The archetype of Saturn can negate and block whatever it aspects, which can be recognized in Wolff's life in connection to the Mercury-Venus-Uranus stellium in her chart. Although highly intellectual, as a woman from an upper class Swiss family Wolff was unable to pursue her education or acquire the doctorate she clearly deserved and was capable of earning. Indeed, she was intensely self-conscious of not having a formal certification, especially in the social and psychological circles she moved through as Jung's companion and collaborator. Thus, her work and relationship with Jung actually liberated (Uranus) her intellectual capacities (Mercury) in ways that otherwise would not have been possible considering her circumstances. And yet, although she poured her heart and mind into their collaborative container, she herself rarely wrote or published under her own name—reflective of negating Saturn at the Ascendant while in the sextile to her Mercury-Uranus. As Healy notes: "Writing very little on her own, she had allowed her ideas to flow seamlessly into his."⁴¹ This situation also is expressive of the Moon-Neptune alignment in Wolff's chart, which can allow one's inner world to flow porously into another's. Irene Champernowne, who was personally acquainted with both Wolff and Jung, felt that "she was in some ways the inner side of his work."⁴² Wolff in part carried the inner lunar side of the psychological model Jung was developing.

From early in their relationship, Wolff aided Jung in his intellectual undertakings, assisting him in the research for *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido*, published in two volumes in 1911 and 1912. Wolff noted in her diary on January 18, 1912 that she offers answers for the psychological questions Jung poses, and even lives them out until they are resolved.⁴³ From 1913 through 1917, the same years when Jung was experiencing the fantasy visions he recorded in *The Red Book*, Jung worked with Wolff to craft the foundations of analytical psychology: "By 1916," Healy writes, "he had conceived the concepts of the psychological complex, individuation, the collective unconscious, the *persona*, the repressed *shadow*, and the transcendent function. The notions of extraversion and introversion had also taken shape."⁴⁴ These theories, to a certain degree, were emerging from the psychological experiences Jung was undergoing at this time and the interpretations he and Wolff brought to bear on them.

Wolff contributed significantly to the research for Jung's book *Psychological Types*, published in 1921, which was one of the great fruits of this period. Chapter XI of that book, which is a systematic list of definitions, interestingly does not resemble Jung's style of writing, which is "naturally circular, rather than linear, imaginative rather than didactic, symbolic rather than rational."⁴⁵ Toni Wolff's style of writing, on the other hand, was precise, structured, "compact,"⁴⁶ "trenchant and exacting,"⁴⁷ as is fitting for someone born with a Mercury-Saturn aspect as she was. Regula Rohland-Oeri corroborates this, saying: "She didn't lose

many words. She didn't say many words.”⁴⁸ Nan Savage Healy presents a strong argument that the definitions in *Psychological Types*, which are “organized, linear, and deliberately sequential,” and composed in a style quite unlike Jung’s usual narratives, may in fact have been written by Toni Wolff, or at least largely prepared by her.⁴⁹ Some of the definitions are clear exceptions: those for Soul, Symbol, Phantasy, and Image are likely entirely composed by Jung. They are written in his style and are much longer than the other, more concise, definitions. Furthermore, they are concepts that were quite important and deeply meaningful to Jung. But Healy argues convincingly that the majority of this highly structured chapter of definitions may have been prepared by another hand.

One of the few pieces of writing Toni Wolff did publish under her own name was her essay “Structural Forms of the Feminine Psyche.”⁵⁰ Wolff developed her feminine structural forms independently of Jung, and Nan Savage Healy feels they help balance out his masculine psychological perspective. The forms are four principal orientations that define the feminine viewpoint, a unique female attitude in relation to the world. These forms, as Wolff herself writes, characterize the “essence of woman” and are “inherent to every woman.”⁵¹ Wolff arranges the four structural forms across two perpendicular axes, mirroring the arrangement of the psychological types of thinking and feeling, intuition and sensation developed by Jung. Wolff’s four forms of the feminine psyche are: 1. the *hetaira*, the woman as soul mate or lover; 2. the *maternal*, the woman as wife and mother; 3. the *amazon*, the woman as self-directed and independent achiever; 4. the *medial*, the woman as prophetess and psychic seer.⁵² The *hetaira* and *maternal* stand upon one axis, while the *amazon* and the *medial* stand on the other. Healy spends a great deal of the book exploring these forms deeply, and applying them at various stages to understanding Wolff’s life and her relation to Jung. Wolff primarily saw herself as a *hetaira* woman, the soul mate and lover, in contrast to the *maternal* woman, a role clearly carried in Jung’s life by his wife Emma.

Toni Wolff did reach a point in her thirties when she expressed her desire to marry C. G. Jung, and not only to be his *hierodule*, the female sacred partner who leads a man to enlightened wisdom through a blend of sexual and spiritual connection.⁵³ Yet, using Wolff’s own structural forms, Jung argued that a woman cannot be both a *hetaira* type and a *maternal* type. The *hetaira* is meant to be the inspired muse for a man, and her children are spiritual rather than literal: a body of work birthed in concert with the man with whom she is in relationship. Supposedly a *hetaira* woman would not be satisfied with marriage either. A woman cannot be both *maternal* and *hetaira*, Jung asserted. This argument appears to have convinced Wolff no longer to seek marriage with Jung, for she herself went on to write that if a man leaves his wife for the muse, then he falls victim to the spell of the *femme inspiratrice*, which will lead to his undoing. Yet, even though Wolff espouses these ideas, they are grounded in a male perspective, based on his individuation process rather than a woman’s own individuation. A more balanced approach would be to focus on the individuation processes of both women and

men, looking at how they can complexly conjoin in relationship—rather than unconsciously prioritizing the man’s individuation and the woman’s relational role to him.

Letting go of her dream of marrying Jung was the single most difficult challenge Toni Wolff faced in her life, she confessed to Barbara Hannah.⁵⁴ Their professional collaboration also began to wane because Wolff refused to follow Jung into studying alchemy, and he instead worked in concert with Marie-Louise von Franz. Wolff’s lack of interest in alchemy meant that she was also no longer necessary to Jung’s “creative instinct.”⁵⁵ Jung and Wolff still remained connected to a certain degree until the end of Wolff’s life, but the romantic element had died and disappointment turned to bitterness. The archetypal qualities associated with Saturn at the Ascendant grew ever more apparent as Wolff aged, and she became “acidic, bitter, and closed in spirit,”⁵⁶ a woman who could be “cold as ice.”⁵⁷ She turned toward an ascetic, spiritual form of suffering, and she rigidly limited herself to a degree even beyond the circumstances of her life. Her appearance was “strict, disciplined, and cheerless,” Healy details.⁵⁸ “As time went by, she became even harsher in her manner—drier and perhaps, more sour.”⁵⁹ Wolff could be so sharp and cold that Jung once remarked: “Her mind is the only thing moveable in her. If she had not that mind she would be hard-stone.”⁶⁰ The archetype of Saturn was dominating her bearing, and yet the quick, alive movability of her Mercury-Uranus mind still remained to her.

The relationship with C. G. Jung came to an end when he was hospitalized for five months in 1944, and Emma Jung refused to allow any visitors. At the time, Saturn was transiting square to Wolff’s natal Sun, before coming into a square with her natal Venus-Uranus in late 1944 and 1945. This succession of Saturn transits can indicate a period of hardship for the individual (Saturn square Sun), followed by the sudden ending of a committed relationship and the accompanying feelings of disappointment and heartbreak (Saturn square Venus-Uranus). After Jung left the hospital, Wolff’s regular visits to his home were discontinued. However, Jung could not cut her out of his life completely—she was single, and she had given her life to him. Toni Wolff did not grieve the relationship, but rather held onto the scraps of it, the “barest threads.”⁶¹ She was a person who rarely cried, and the process of mourning did not come to her easily. As Healy writes, Wolff would not consider allowing herself

... the human option of simply grieving the loss of our dreams and mourning the “death” of our hopes—allowing ourselves to experience the full disillusionment. Then, even in the face of supreme disappointment, after fully experiencing our loss, we can still reach out to the world in love, in the form of a redeeming grace.⁶²

Toni Wolff had committed herself to living out a symbolic role in an archetypal relationship, disavowing the *maternal* woman within her to remain fully the *hetaira*.

As Healy observes: “The archetypal syzygy of a male-female relationship, while highly potent at the archetypal level, extracts a high price for the individual woman involved, not only in terms of anonymity and lack of public recognition for her contributions, but also in terms of her personal human sacrifice.”⁶³ Wolff confined herself to a singular archetypal role, when really—like all human beings—she was multi-faceted. One cannot live as a single archetype. Not only the *hetaira*, she longed for the *maternal*. Furthermore, Healy also saw Wolff as a *medial* type: “a true explorer of the psyche, and a seeker after its mysteries.”⁶⁴ This would make her opposite or unlived structural form the *amazon*, the independent woman, rather than the *maternal*. Near the end of her life, Wolff recognized that a new generation of women was emerging who showed the potential to integrate all four structural forms of the feminine psyche, rather than adhering only to one, which might create “*a new form of feminine life*.”⁶⁵

When Toni Wolff died on March 21, 1953—under a Saturn-Neptune conjunction in the sky, and with Pluto crossing her natal Descendant—the news came as an intense shock to Jung. He had received no premonitions, no signs from the unconscious that her death was coming, although several others close to Wolff had experienced intimating signs and dreams. Barbara Hannah said upon seeing Wolff’s body laid out in the casket: “I have never seen anyone look more peaceful and fulfilled or so strangely alive than Toni did after death.”⁶⁶ Here too, one can recognize a different archetypal expression of Saturn on Wolff’s natal Ascendant, with death itself bringing a look of fulfillment to her appearance. Jung did not accompany Emma to attend Wolff’s memorial service, and there has been some speculation about the reasons why: whether he was too distraught, or did not trust himself in public with his feelings of loss. Many years later, Jung’s son Franz said the reason was “because he felt guilty—that in some way he had caused her death.”⁶⁷ C. G. Jung himself later said: “The loss of Fräulein Wolff has hit me very hard indeed. She has left behind in her circle a gap that can never be filled.”⁶⁸

Several weeks after her passing, Jung did have a dream about Toni Wolff as a young woman exquisitely dressed in a rainbow gown, with kingfisher blue as the most prominent color. The figure of Philemon, who had been Jung’s imaginal guide during the years when he was intensively engaging with active imagination, first came to Jung in a dream with kingfisher wings. A symbolic connection seems to exist between Jung’s two guides from this period, Philemon as the inner guide and Toni Wolff as the outer. Indeed, Jung carved a memorial stone in honor of Wolff after her death, on which he depicted five ginkgo leaves at different stages of life, and a small figure of Philemon holding a staff at the bottom. As Healy observes, both Wolff and Philemon linked Jung back to his Self, concluding the process recorded in *The Red Book*.⁶⁹ Without Wolff, C. G. Jung would likely not have made it through the period of his psychological descent. As his son Franz said: “You know Toni Wolff more or less saved my father’s life and sanity. . . . She was his constant companion.”⁷⁰ Jung expressed deep gratitude for all she had

done for him, saying her guidance and support were “nothing short of heroism. Such things stand forever, and I shall be grateful to her in all eternity.”⁷¹

Nan Savage Healy’s *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung: A Collaboration* presents a story that foregrounds a woman whose role has been overlooked in both the life of C. G. Jung and in the development of analytical psychology. As Janice Hocker Rushing notes: “Biographies are unveiling how many women gave up their own genius to their male partners in art and in science, Camille Claudel with Auguste Rodin, Marie Bonaparte with Sigmund Freud, Toni Wolff with C. G. Jung.”⁷² Yet in Healy’s attempt to balance the scales, one may wonder if at times Wolff’s collaborative role with Jung’s work is overemphasized, as the extent of her direct contributions must necessarily be surmised since Wolff published so little under her own name, and is only acknowledged by Jung in a handful of footnotes throughout his works. Wolff’s own acceptance of traditional essentialist gender roles, and her confinement of herself to the singular structural form of *hetaira*, likely contributed to her own relative silencing as she poured her creative impulses into Jung’s. Yet, late in her life, Wolff also recognized that a different way of inhabiting the world as a woman might be possible and was opening up for future generations. I cannot help but wonder how Wolff’s story might have played out today, not just in terms of the opportunities afforded a brilliant woman who might have been able to pursue her own education, but also in terms of how an unconventional relationship such as the one she participated in with C. G. Jung and Emma Jung might have unfolded. In an age when the inherited dynamics of relationship and the traditional structures of marriage are being questioned, this is an important book to emerge.

As the Jungian and feminist scholar Susan Rowland brings up in her own review of *A Collaboration*, the person whose story is far too marginalized from the biography is that of Emma Rauschenbach Jung.⁷³ C. G. Jung’s relationship with Toni Wolff put enormous strain on his family, for although Emma knew of the relationship she did not like it. Although both women experienced great tension within their triangular relational dynamic, all three of them publicly presented a surface of ease and held the challenges of the relationship within their own strongly maintained container. Emma and Toni even came to work together at times, and were both members of a women’s group that formed to discuss specifically female psychology. Considering Healy’s desire to write a biography solely about Toni Wolff, and who only reluctantly came to the realization that Jung was a critical part of that tale, it makes sense that Emma’s own life would fall to the background. And yet this opens up the call for another work, which could treat all three biographies in an interwoven narrative, attending to each individual and their complex relational dynamics in equal measure.⁷⁴

The primary critique that arose for me in relation to *A Collaboration* was a certain recapitulation of essentialist gender norms without explicitly questioning them. When Healy discusses Wolff’s structural forms of the feminine psyche (and by feminine, Wolff clearly meant women and not the archetypal feminine that can

be expressed within the psyches of women as well as men), she does not overtly question whether these four structural forms might not also limit the possible expressions of self that are available to women. Indeed, it was these very structures that Jung used to persuade Wolff to remain defined by her *hetaira* role, neither seeking to integrate all four forms, nor to strive beyond them. As several people have suggested, by the end of her life Wolff seemed to carry Jung's *shadow* for him, just as earlier in their relationship she carried his *anima*.⁷⁵ As Healy states, Wolff "became the *shadow* figure in the history of analytical psychology."⁷⁶ In Wolff's writings she called for an acknowledgement of the dark feminine in the individual psyche and in the collective. Healy felt that Wolff personally embodied that call, in her own life as C. G. Jung's dark feminine, as well as the *shadow* and dark feminine in the history of analytical psychology. But what did she embody, or could she have embodied, in relationship to herself? Throughout the book Healy draws on a variety of perspectives, such as Liliane Frey's, which state that for women the individuation process is focused on relationship, of bridging between one individual and another, and discovering love at the center.⁷⁷ Toni Wolff very much agreed with this perspective, that for women relationship is the primary guiding principle. The central role of love in the individuation process of women is the beautiful yet heartbreak note upon which Healy concludes the biography. But does this not reiterate, to a certain degree, the conditions by which Wolff found herself giving over her own life force and creativity to Jung, sacrificing her own individuality on behalf of his?

An archetypal image Healy draws upon to illustrate Wolff's relationship with Jung is that of the Moon's mirroring of the Sun. She writes: "In alchemical symbolism, the moon, which embodies the feminine spirit, reflects back the light of the sun, which is masculine, thus helping him to comprehend himself. . . . The moon assists the sun in understanding his essential nature. Only by reflection of the moon does the sun become fully conscious."⁷⁸ Just as the fullness of Wolff's life and potential was done a disservice by her attempts to confine herself to living as one archetypal form, the *hetaira*, so too the traditional limiting of the feminine to the archetypal symbolism of the Moon and the masculine to the archetypal symbolism of the Sun does a disservice to the potential expressions of solar and lunar within each one of us. As astrology shows, each individual is born with the Sun and the Moon in their natal charts, and thus the archetypal potential of both are present within all of us. Jungian psychology seeks to recognize these polarities within each psyche by recognizing an archetypal feminine and masculine principle within each person. And yet, because the words feminine and masculine themselves derive from female and male biological form, the terminology unconsciously reiterates essentialist qualities. In returning to Healy's statement that "only by reflection of the moon does the sun become fully conscious," one must ask: who was reflecting Toni Wolff back to herself? Who carried the lunar role in relation to her solar identity? Only when both the solar and lunar are

honored—emanated and reflected—within each individual, can the possibility of a balanced relational individuation process be possible.

One can have a powerful emotional response to reading this book, for all that it unveils about C. G. Jung, Toni Wolff, the origins of analytical psychology, the role of women in early twentieth century Swiss culture, and what the enduring legacy all of these intersecting dynamics has to bear on Jungian psychology as it is practiced today. The first time I read this book I found myself throughout having the dawning realization and recognition of the humanity of the people involved. Particularly in relation to Jung, I found that while the narrative certainly pulls him off of any presumed pedestal, it also compassionately humanizes him. His relationship with Toni Wolff, even as it aspired toward an alchemical syzygy, an archetypal sacred marriage, was deeply human, with all of its mistakes, tenderness, inspiration, challenges, and beauty.

The physical book that Nan Savage Healy has crafted is a work of art, brimming with family photographs, portraits, alchemical drawings, and diagrams that tell the story of Wolff's and Jung's relationship through image as well as text. The book even includes an ethereal portrait of Wolff sketched by Healy herself. The front cover portrays an evocative image of Toni Wolff and C. G. Jung dressed in work clothes, hands laden with tools for the manual labors of life at Jung's Bollingen Tower. Wolff is clothed in a striped dress and large, clunky shoes, with a scarf on her head, while Jung wears an enormous pair of overalls, a little checkered cap, and has a tobacco pipe balanced on his lip, a small puff of smoke escaping the side of his mouth. The photograph recalls Grant Wood's painting *American Gothic*, but in a Swiss setting and with gentle, half-perceptible smiles flickering across the lips of both individuals.

Nan Savage Healy has done a great service, not only to the life and memory of Toni Wolff, but to her legacy within the field of analytical psychology. As Healy said of Wolff: "With her natural brilliance, her keen intuition for the psyche, and her instinctive understanding of archetypal patterns, she brought a creative discernment to her undertaking with Jung, as well as a distinctive feminine perspective—qualities that made Jung's early theories transformative—even timeless."⁷⁹ Toni Wolff's contribution to the field is a hidden root supporting the great tree of psychology, and the ongoing recovery and even reimagining of her work can not only inform female psychology and depth psychology as a whole, but also the developing discipline of archetypal cosmology.

Notes

¹ Toni Wolff, quoted in Nan Savage Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung: A Collaboration* (Los Angeles, CA: Tiberius Press, 2017), 219.

² Laurens van der Post, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 127.

³ William Alex, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 232.

⁴ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 85.

⁵ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 282.

⁶ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, xi.

⁷ Michael Fordham, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 315.

⁸ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 316.

⁹ C. G. Jung and Aniela Jaffé, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, trans. Richard Winston and Clara Winston (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), 170.

¹⁰ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 3.

¹¹ C. G. Jung, trans. Wolfgang Giegerich, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 115.

¹² Healy states that Jung did not start studying astrology until after he met Toni Wolff, but Liz Greene's more recently published research on this very subject indicates that Jung began studying astrology at least two years earlier. Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 46; Liz Greene, *Jung's Studies in Astrology: Prophecy, Magic, and the Qualities of Time* (New York, Routledge, 2018), 38, 48.

¹³ Thomas Kirsch, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 10.

¹⁴ Richard Tarnas, *Cosmos and Psyche: Intimations of a New World View* (New York: Viking, 2006), 417–18.

¹⁵ Franz Jung, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 18.

¹⁶ C. A. Meier, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 113.

¹⁷ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 21.

¹⁸ Tina Keller, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 135.

¹⁹ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 115.

²⁰ Toni Wolff, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 134.

²¹ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 137.

²² Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 137.

²³ Jung, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 77.

²⁴ Joseph Henderson, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 79.

²⁵ Jung and Jaffé, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, 72.

²⁶ D. W. Winnicott, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 82.

²⁷ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 82.

²⁸ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 179, 234–38.

²⁹ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 95–96.

³⁰ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 23.

³¹ Jung, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 23.

³² Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 44.

³³ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 44.

³⁴ Henderson, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 44.

³⁵ Kirsch, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 44.

³⁶ Kirsch, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 44.

³⁷ Keller, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 44.

³⁸ Helena Henderson, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 17.

³⁹ Barbara Hannah, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 17.

⁴⁰ Jane Wheelwright, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 17.

⁴¹ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, xi.

⁴² Irene Champernowne, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 2.

⁴³ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 40.

⁴⁴ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 175.

⁴⁵ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 181.

⁴⁶ Robert Hinshaw, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 182.

⁴⁷ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 182.

⁴⁸ Regula Rohland-Oeri, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 182.

⁴⁹ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 182.

⁵⁰ Toni Wolff, *Structural Forms of the Feminine Psyche*, trans. Paul Watzlawik (Zürich, Switzerland: Students Association of the C. G. Jung Institute, 1956).

⁵¹ Wolff, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 90.

⁵² Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 91.

⁵³ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 109.

⁵⁴ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 205.

⁵⁵ Fowler McCormick, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 253.

⁵⁶ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 288.

⁵⁷ Wheelwright, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 288.

⁵⁸ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 284.

⁵⁹ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 284.

⁶⁰ Jung, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 284.

⁶¹ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 288.

⁶² Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 256.

⁶³ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 209.

⁶⁴ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 213.

⁶⁵ Italics in original. Wolff, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 223.

⁶⁶ Hannah, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 294.

⁶⁷ Franz Jung, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 296.

⁶⁸ C. G. Jung, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 296.

⁶⁹ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 304.

⁷⁰ Franz Jung, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 144.

⁷¹ C. G. Jung, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 151.

⁷² Janice Hocker Rushing, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 318.

⁷³ Susan Rowland, “Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung: A Collaboration,” *International Journal of Jungian Studies* 10, no. 3 (July 25, 2018): 273–76.

⁷⁴ The anthology *C. G. Jung, Emma Jung, and Toni Wolff: A Remembrance*, a volume contributed to by many authors and edited by Joseph Henderson, lays the groundwork for such an interwoven biography.

⁷⁵ Robert Johnson and Laurens van der Post both saw Wolff as carrying the weight of Jung’s shadow. Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 301.

⁷⁶ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 321.

⁷⁷ Liliane Frey, quoted in Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 6.

⁷⁸ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 301.

⁷⁹ Healy, *Toni Wolff & C. G. Jung*, 1–2.

Birth Data and Sources

Astro-Databank (www.astro.com/astro-databank):

Antonia Anna Wolff. 18 September 1888, 2:30. Zürich, Switzerland. Source: Birth certificate in hand (Rodden Rating AA).

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