

0 1755 0034 0518



HELEN JEAN MOORE LIBRARY
POINT PARK COLLEGE

A vertical decorative border on the left side of the cover, featuring a repeating pattern of stylized, overlapping leaf or petal shapes in black and white.

The Passion of Perpetua

STORAGE

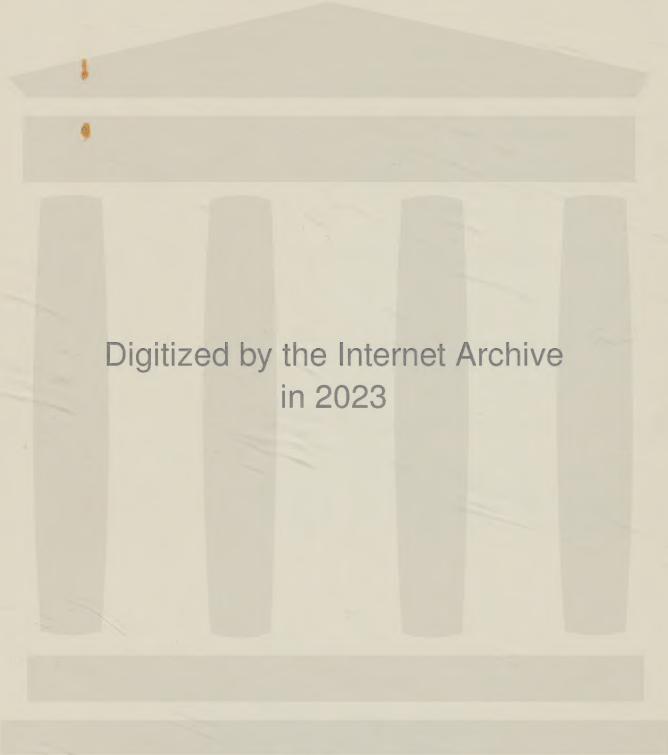
Marie-Louise von Franz

BX Franz, Marie-Louise von
8345 The passion of
.P45 Perpetua.
F8

DATE DUE

Helen-Jean Moore Library
Point Park College





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2023

THE JUNGIAN CLASSICS SERIES

THE PASSION OF PERPETUA

by

1915 -
Marie-Louise von Franz

1980



Spring Publications, Inc.
Box One
University of Dallas
Irving, Texas 75061

BX
83 45
P45
F8

Helen-Jean Moore Library
Point Park College

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The material in this book was first published in this English translation by the late Elizabeth Welsh in *Spring 1949*, pages 85-127. There it was titled "The 'Passio Perpetua.'" Only a minimum of changes have been made in the present text, those being mainly in order to bring some references up to date.

Designed and composed by Joni Caldwell, assisted by Mary Helen Gray and Virginia Gaines.

Cover by Kate Smith.

JUNGIAN CLASSICS SERIES, 3

ISBN 0-88214-502-9

Copyright ©1949, 1979, Spring Publications, Inc.

Manufactured in the United States of America

CONTENTS

I.	Introduction	1
II.	The Text	4
III.	The Problem of the Orthodoxy of the Martyrs	5
IV.	The Life of St. Perpetua	9
V.	The Visions	10
VI.	Interpretation of the First Vision	15
VII.	Interpretation of the Second and Third Visions	36
VIII.	Interpretation of the Fourth Vision	44
	Notes	76

THE PASSION OF PERPETUA

I. INTRODUCTION

The present essay originated in Professor C. G. Jung's psychological seminar at the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule, being the outcome of a report on a book which contained the visions of St. Perpetua, among other material. These visions made such an impression on me that I attempted the following interpretation.

One might well question both the sense of applying a modern form of psychological interpretation to this series of visions and the extent to which it is justifiable from the historical point of view. For such a method cannot fail to reveal connections which lie neither within Perpetua's own spiritual range nor within that of her time. Perpetua actually interpreted her own visions, as the text shows. For instance, to her, the dragon of the first vision was the devil, whose aim it was to deter her from going the way of her martyrdom; and the shepherd who gave her the sweet-tasting food represented Christ. Her interpretations were accepted by the nascent Church of her day, and also later. Considered in the light of the dogmatic creed of the Church, the meaning they provide is most impressive and thoroughly acceptable. Nevertheless, it seems to me that an attempt at an interpretation based on the scientific hypotheses of C. G. Jung's

Introduction

psychology might throw light on some new and perhaps important factors. If we assume that the divine hypostases in the Christian conception of the world which are accepted as absolute metaphysical reality in the dogma did not reveal themselves, as it were, in some place outside the human sphere (this would be a contradiction in itself, inasmuch as revelation implies the human being who receives the message), we are bound to conclude that these realities were experienced by man as a living totality — i.e., by the human *soul* (the psyche). In fact, it was only in this way that they were able to become the formulated content of a creed — thanks to the testimony of human beings. Thus, it was the record in the Gospels and the witness of St. Paul that built up the image of Christ as we know it. But, at the same time, it was above all the experiences of single individuals in visions and dreams (like those of St. Perpetua) which confirmed the collective faith — that is to say, the conviction that God had really become man in Christ. These individual experiences gave real foundation to the doctrine. But dreams and visions are statements made by the human soul in a realm where consciousness and its conceptions are excluded. Hence if we consider these spontaneous unconscious statements of the soul, we are able to perceive the Christian conception of the world originating in them as a phenomenon in itself. We can leave aside all that a philosophical knowledge, derived from the already existing cultures of antiquity, contributed to it, as well as all that was added by the theological interpretations and the theoretical and political deliberations of the ecclesiastical councils. It is true that these additions were creative acts of human consciousness which gave meaning and reality

Introduction

to the soul's spontaneous statements, but at the same time, these additions caught and imprisoned the statements of the soul in a formulation which was dependent on the historical situation and consequently transitory. Therefore we are justified in attempting a new and wider formulation of the same phenomena from a modern psychological standpoint, though we are fully aware that this new interpretation must perforce be equally transitory.

Viewed from this standpoint, it would be inadmissible to look upon the dragon of Perpetua's first vision simply and solely as the dogmatic figure of the devil. According to our scientific working hypothesis, we must take the dragon quite simply as it appears: that is to say, as a dream-image of a dragon, and inasmuch as this image occurs very frequently in myths and dreams, as the *archetype* of the dragon. In this case the interpretation has to be reached through amplification, i.e., by recalling similar images of dragons for comparison, a method which may not allow us to define the psychic meaning of the image by means of an abstract concept, but will enable us to describe it in a way which at least throws light upon the underlying energetic processes. For instance, the *a priori* interpretation of the dragon as the devil excludes every positive element in this figure from the outset, while the psychological way of considering it reveals quite unmistakably a positive as well as a negative aspect, a duality in the image of the dragon which throws a completely new light on the whole vision. The same argument naturally applies to all the images and motifs appearing in the visions. As most of these are archetypal — which means that we are confronted with a practically inexhaustible store of comparative material — I have confined myself principally to

more or less contemporary material and have endeavored to show how these same images appeared to other people of that time in their conscious minds, and even more in spontaneous manifestations of the unconscious which welled up quite regardless of the consciously held creed. This may perhaps lead to a new historical picture of that significant epoch, inasmuch as the unprejudiced eye will then be able to perceive the birth of the Christian faith at its very source: in the soul of the human being of that time.

II. THE TEXT

The text of the *Passio Perpetua et Felicitatis*, which describes the last days of the African martyr Perpetua and her fellow sufferers, was discovered about the middle of the seventeenth century by Lukas Holsten among manuscripts coming from Monte Cassino. It was edited by P. Poussines and soon afterwards — in the year 1668 — was included in the *Acta Sanctorum*. A Greek version was found in Jerusalem in 1889 and published the following year. Opinions are still divided as to which is the original version, but most scholars are inclined to look upon the Greek version either as an independent text or as a translation.¹ A great number of noted theologians attribute the account to the Father of the Church, Tertullian. (The visions, on the other hand, are recorded by the martyrs themselves.) The proofs given by

J. A. Robinson in his stylistic examination of the text are to my mind most convincing evidence in favor of Tertullian's authorship. Actually Tertullian's claim is disputed mainly because when making mention of the visions in his later writings,² he says that Perpetua met only martyrs in the next world, and this led to the conclusion that he had confused her visions with the vision of Saturus. In my opinion, however, this refers — as Robinson points out — to the many people clad in white whom Perpetua, in her first vision, meets in the World Beyond, so that this objection has not sufficient foundation. In any case, Tertullian was in close connection with the martyrs whose sufferings are described in the text. Perpetua, Felicitas and their fellow martyrs, Saturninus, Secundulus, Renovatus and Saturus, presumably belonged to Carthage itself and were put to death there in 202–203 A.D., during the time that Tertullian was its bishop.

III. THE PROBLEM OF THE ORTHODOXY OF THE MARTYRS

Another point on which the theologians have never been able to agree is whether the martyrs belonged to the sect of the Montanists to which Tertullian himself went over about 205–207 A.D., a step which led to his break with the Church. The author of the text appears to have had fairly strong Montanist leanings; it is only doubtful whether the martyrs

were of the same persuasion. The Montanist movement,³ which was by no means unimportant in Africa at that time, goes back to Lucius Montanus, a Phrygian from Pepuza who had presumably been a priest of Cybele before his conversion to Christianity. We hear of him first about the middle of the second century. In fits of frenzied ecstasy accompanied by ravings and convulsions (as was customary in the cults of Asia Minor's great Mother-Deity), he poured forth new revelations in the name of the Paraclete or even in the names of God the Father and God the Son. He proclaimed himself to be the founder of a new "Church of the Spirit." Among his followers, two women, Maximilla and Prisca, were particularly conspicuous, chiefly for spreading abroad prophecies concerning the approaching end of the world. The whole attitude of Montanism is closely bound up with this expectation of a coming end. The movement was called "new prophecy" and claimed that its oracles (imparted by the Spirit) marked a new era of revelation comparable to those of the Old and New Testaments. The Montanists divided history into three periods corresponding to the three hypostases of the Trinity — that of the Father, that of the Son and that of the Holy Ghost. Tertullian, for instance, says:

So too, righteousness — for the God of righteousness and of creation is the same — was first in a rudimentary state, having a natural fear of God; from that stage it advanced, through the Law and the Prophets, to infancy; from that stage it passed, through the Gospel, to the fervor of youth; now, through the Paraclete, it is settling into maturity.

Orthodoxy

Thus the new revelation takes place through the Paraclete, whose coming Christ had promised after his death:

And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter [Paracritum], that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of Truth whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him: but ye know him; for he dwelleth with you and *shall be in you*. (John 14. 16-17)

The author of the *Passio Perpetuae* also emphasizes the approaching end, inasmuch as he refers to the Acts of the Apostles (2.17): “ ‘And it shall come to pass in the last days,’ saith God, ‘I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams’ ”

He further admits that he recognizes later visions besides the prophecies of the Old and New Testaments as sources of revelation, by which he undoubtedly proves himself to be a Montanist. In view of the approaching second coming of Christ, the Montanists urged the observance of unusually severe penitential exercises and rigorously strict habits, and in this also Tertullian supported them. They called themselves *Pneumatikoi* in contrast to the Catholic *Psychikoi* and claimed, in opposition to the Catholic bishops, that they constituted the true spiritual Church of which only those who accepted the Paraclete could be members. In Rome also there were already Montanists about the year 200 A.D. (Their principal representatives were Proclus and Aeschines.) Judging by the papal decrees issued against the Montanists, the sect must have survived

far into the eighth century. In spite of the movement's dogmatic orthodoxy, the Church opposed it on account of its wildly ecstatic and all too rigorous element, its complete denial of the world, and the consequent danger that, on the ground of individual revelations, it might destroy the unity and temporal order of the Church — but above all because it recognized the right of women to teach. There is obviously here a connection with the orgiastic Mother cults of Asia Minor, and it would seem that the spirit of the latter must unconsciously have found its way into Montanism.

The Church itself, it is true, has never denied the possibility of divine revelations through dreams and visions, but these acquired far greater importance with the Montanists for they regarded them as the most evident manifestation of the Paraclete. In their religious ardor and true to their spiritual attitude which led them to shun the world, they often sought a martyr's death of their own accord. We are inclined, therefore, to assume that the martyrs whose ecstatic behavior is particularly striking must have belonged to the Montanists, but it is just as probable that they had only been influenced by them and had not yet gone far enough in this direction to be in conflict with the Church.

The psychological importance of the visions recorded in the *Passio Perpetuae*, which is our chief concern, lies above all in the fact that they enable us to gain a deep insight into the unconscious spiritual situation of the time. We find archetypal images constellated in them which we also encounter in the

St. Perpetua

literature of that epoch, when the *Weltanschauung* of antiquity was dissolving and the Christian conception of the world was breaking through. They appear here spontaneously in an unusual person, in an unusually tragic moment of her life, and lay bare the whole deep conflict of that time. This record of an ancient series of four visions or dreams, occurring within a relatively short space of time (c. fourteen days), is also quite exceptional; for usually the dreams handed down to us from antiquity — for instance by Artemidorus and Synesius — provide only single examples, and if there is any account of the conscious situation of the dreamer it is always insufficient.

IV. THE LIFE OF ST. PERPETUA

Where St. Perpetua is concerned, we are fortunately in possession of certain facts. She came of the family of the Vibii and at the time of her execution was twenty-two years of age. Her parents were still living, and her father — who was a convinced Pagan — fought desperately up to the very last in the hopes of prevailing upon his daughter to give up her resolve and recant. She married quite young and had a son, whom she was still nursing and who was brought to her several times in prison. Strangely enough, her husband is never mentioned. She also had two brothers, one of whom was likewise a catechumen.

Perpetua herself was baptized only twenty days before her death and is reported to have said at the time: "The Holy Ghost bade me expect nothing from the [baptismal] water but the sufferings of the flesh."

V. THE VISIONS

Whereas the facts of her life and the description of her martyrdom are contributed by another hand, the visions — or rather dreams — are recorded by Perpetua herself. She had the first in prison after a visit from her brother. The text runs as follows:⁴

My brother then said to me: "Sister, thou hast already traveled so far on the Christian road that thou canst now ask for a vision, and it shall be shown thee whether the passion awaits thee, or thy release." And, mindful that I was in the habit of holding converse [colloquies] with God, who had so abundantly blessed me with his favors, and strong in faith and trust, I promised to report it to him [my brother] on the morrow. And I called [for the vision] and the following was shown to me: I beheld⁵ a ladder of brass, of miraculous size, which reached up to Heaven, and was so narrow that it could only be ascended *singly*. On either side of the ladder, all manner of iron implements were fastened — swords, lances, hooks, daggers and spears — so that any one who was careless, or who did not hold himself erect while climbing, was torn to pieces and remained hanging. Beneath the ladder lay a gigantic

dragon, lying in wait for the climbers and frightening them away. Satorus,⁶ however, went up before me (just as he later chose to be put to death first, for love of us, because he it was who had taught us but afterwards was not with us when we were thrown into prison). And he reached the top of the ladder and, turning to me, spake: "Perpetua, I am holding thee, but see that the dragon does not bite thee." And I answered: "He shall not harm me, in the name of Jesus Christ." And the dragon slowly lifted his head out from under the ladder, as if in fear of me, and I trod on it, as though I were treading on the first rung of the ladder, and ascended to the top. And I beheld a vast garden and, seated in the centre of it, a tall white-haired man, in shepherd's dress, who was milking sheep, and round about him many thousands of people clad in white. And he raised his head, looked at me, and spake: "It is well that thou art come, child!" And he called me to him and gave me also a morsel of the cheese which he was milking, and I received it with folded hands and ate. And all who stood round said, "Amen." And at the sound of this invocation I awoke, and was aware that I was still eating something sweet, I know not what. And I immediately reported the vision to my brother, and we understood that it meant the coming passion. And from that time we began to put no more hope in this world.

The second vision, which followed her condemnation, runs:

A few days later, as we were all praying, a word suddenly burst from my lips, in the middle of the prayer, and I said: "Dinocrates!" And I started, for he had never entered my mind before, and I was pained at the recollection of his fate. And I knew immediately that I was held worthy to pray for him, and I began to intercede for him, and prayed

at great length, lifting up my voice to God in lamentation. And forthwith, in the same night, the following was shown to me: I beheld Dinocrates, coming forth from a dark place, where there were many other people, glowing with fever and thirsty, his face dirty and pale, and showing the wound in it which he had when he died. This Dinocrates had been my own brother, who succumbed to a cancer of the face at the age of seven in the most frightful circumstances, so that his death was a source of horror and dismay to everybody. It was for this child that I had prayed; and between myself and him there was a great distance, so that we could not reach one another. In the place where Dinocrates stood there was also a *piscina* [basin], filled with water, whose rim was higher than the boy, and Dinocrates reached up as if to drink. But I was pained at the thought that the *piscina* was full of water, and yet that he could not drink on account of the height of its rim. And I awoke, and knew that my brother was in need, but I was confident that I would be able to help him in his need, and I prayed for him daily till we were taken over to the prison of the Proconsular palace; for we were to fight in the amphitheatre. That was [just] the time of Caesar Geta's birthday. And I prayed for him [Dinocrates], groaning and weeping night and day, that fulfilment might be granted me for his sake.

Third vision:

The day that we remained in the prison I was shown the following vision: I beheld the same dark place which I had seen before (now quite light) and Dinocrates, with a clean body and well clothed, was refreshing himself. And where the wound was, only a scar was to be seen; and the *piscina* which I had perceived before had lowered its rim to the height of the boy's navel; and he drank from it without ceasing, and

Visions

on its edge stood a golden flask filled with water, and Dinocrates went up to it and began to drink out of it and it never became empty. Content and happy, he then went off to play as children do — and I awoke. Then I understood that he had been removed from the place of punishment.

The fourth vision follows:

On the day before we were to fight [with the beasts], I saw the deacon Pomponius, in a vision, come to the prison door and knock violently; I went out and opened to him, and he wore a white festive toga, without a girdle, and manifold shoes,⁷ and he spake to me: “Perpetua, we are awaiting thee, come!” And he took my hand, and we began to walk through a rough and pathless country. Toiling and panting, we came at length to the amphitheatre and he led me into the middle of the arena and spake to me: “Fear not, I am here with thee and shall fight with thee,” and departed. And I beheld a huge crowd tense with expectation. And as I knew that I was to be brought before the beasts, I marvelled that they were not let in. [Instead] an Egyptian of horrible appearance came out with his attendants to fight against me. Fair young men, my attendants and friends, came to me also and I was undressed and was changed into a man. My attendants began to rub me with oil, as was the custom before an *agōn*; whereas I saw the Egyptian rolling himself in the dust. And there came forth a man of miraculous size, so that he almost towered above the whole amphitheatre, wearing a festive tunic, without a girdle, with a purple undergarment, which appeared across the middle of his chest between two other purple stripes falling from his shoulders and manifold shoes made of gold and silver. He carried a rod, like a trainer of gladiators [*lanista*], and a green bough, on which hung golden apples. And he called for silence and

spake: "This Egyptian here, if he is victorious, will kill her with the sword, and if she vanquishes him, she will receive this bough." Thereupon he withdrew. And we fell upon each other and began to deal blows with our fists. He endeavored to seize me by the feet. But I trod upon his face with the soles of my feet and I was lifted up in the air and began to trample him as if I myself no longer touched the ground. But when I saw that I was getting no further in this way, I clasped my hands together and seized his head, then he fell upon his face and I trod upon his head. And the people began to shout and my assistants to jubilate. I, however, went up to the *lanista* and received the bough. And he kissed me and spake: "Daughter, peace be with thee"; then, wreathed in glory, I began to go towards the gate of the pardoned [*porta sanavivaria*]. And I awoke and understood that it was not with the beasts, but against the devil that I should have to fight, but I knew the victory would be mine.

The main facts of the actual ensuing martyrdom which are contributed by yet a third hand were as follows: in reality, when Perpetua was led into the amphitheater, she sang psalms in ecstatic exaltation. She was immediately knocked down by a mad cow which was let loose upon her, so that her dress tore, whereupon she tried anxiously to hide her nakedness and to put up her hair, which had fallen loose. Then she gave her hand to her fellow martyr in order to rise. The crowd could not help being impressed by such a scene and pardoned her to the extent that she should be put to death by the sword. As she left the arena, she awoke as from a trance and evidently knew nothing of all that had gone before. She was then put to death when, seizing the sword which the gladiator — who was a novice — had thrust into her ribs with an unsteady hand, she groaned aloud

First Vision

and pointed to her own throat. "Perhaps," as the chronicler says, this was "because she could only be killed of her own will, for the unclean spirit feared her."

VI. INTERPRETATION OF THE FIRST VISION

The account of the *Passio Perpetuae* goes thus far. Concerning the problem of the genuineness of the visions, which is occasionally, if rarely, a subject of controversy,⁸ the general impression which they give seems somehow to banish any thought of their being a literary fiction. Moreover, seen from a psychological point of view, throughout the visions there is not a single purely Christian motif; they contain only archetypal images which were common to the Pagan, Gnostic and Christian worlds of that time. Had the visions been invented for the sake of edification, the author would most certainly have made use of exclusively Christian motifs. As it is, the Christian authors have not known what to make of Perpetua's transformation into a man in the last vision. One would hardly, moreover, invent such an incident as that of Dinocrates' name suddenly jumping into Perpetua's mind when she should have been attending to her prayers, to say nothing of her dream the following night. Apart from this, the interpretation reveals a connected inner thread running through all four visions which

First Vision

is by no means evident in the outer motifs. It only comes to light through the interpretation and, therefore, could not possibly have been invented by a person of that time.

Perpetua had the first of the visions or dreams as an answer to a definite question which had arisen in her consciousness: was she destined to suffer martyrdom or not? It was by no means uncommon at that time to “call for” visions in this way; indeed, it was a generally widespread custom in both the Pagan and the Christian worlds. In the so-called incubation oracles it was customary to call upon the Deity for dreams in answer to definite questions. This practice, moreover, was not limited to the sacred places, and thus numerous prescriptions for bringing about true dreams have been preserved for us in the *Magic Papyri*. Perpetua was confident of receiving an answer because, as she said, she “often held converse [colloquies] with God.”

The vision which was granted to her on the following night is a clear statement of her psychological situation: she stands before a narrow ladder at the foot of which lies a dragon. This ladder leads up to a heavenly Garden of Eden. At first glance, the picture immediately recalls Jacob’s ladder which “reached to heaven” (Gen. 28.12), but the conception itself appears originally to have been old Egyptian, figuring in the Egyptian mysteries as a stair with seven gates or seven steps, symbolizing the seven planetary spheres through which the soul after death had to ascend to God. A *klimax heptapylos* – expressing the idea of ascending out of the different metals belonging to the

planets (lead, tin, iron, mercury, an alloy for Venus, silver, gold) by means of a stair with seven gates — was likewise associated with the Mithraic mysteries,⁹ and the *heptaporos bathmis* (stair of seven steps) of the Chaldean oracles or the eighty steps of punishment in the cult of Mithras, mentioned by the mythographer Nonnos, were similar conceptions. A further parallel is to be found in the visions of the philosopher and alchemist Zosimos; he likewise sees in a dream an altar in the shape of a shallow bowl to which fifteen steps lead up.¹⁰ There he perceives the place of the *askese*, or punishment, where people are cooked in boiling water in order that they may become *pneūmata* (spirit beings). The stair or ladder has therefore the meaning of a process of spiritualization, a development in the form of steps, leading to a higher state of consciousness.¹¹ Thus, for instance (as Professor Jung brought to notice), an alchemist, Blasius Vigenerus, says that “through the symbols, or signs, or attributes of God,” which originate in the visible world, we “should be lifted up, as on a Jacob’s ladder or Homer’s golden chain, to the knowledge of the spiritual and intelligible things.”¹²

This ascending process of transformation was sometimes dangerous and a real torture (as may be seen in the Zosimos visions), and in Perpetua’s vision also there are iron implements fastened to the ladder to tear the unwary climber to pieces. Added to this, the ladder can only be climbed singly and there is no turning back. The picture undoubtedly contains a suggestion of the coming martyrdom. For instance, a contemporary source describes how the martyrs built, as it were, a ladder

leading up to the gates of Heaven out of the steps of their sufferings, the instruments of their torture. It is surely for this very reason that Perpetua's dream represents martyrdom in the form of a ladder (and not as it really took place) in order to convey that, seen from the psychic level, it has the meaning of a *transitus* to a higher state of consciousness — in other words, it enables the dreamer to perceive the inner meaning of the event, the realization of which prepares her to meet her coming fate. The fact that the ladder can only be climbed singly shows that this road to higher consciousness is an individual path which must ultimately be trodden without the help of another. The necessity of looking ahead — and on no account glancing back — is surely founded on the knowledge that when once the possibility of attaining a higher state of consciousness has arisen in man, he cannot return to a condition of unconsciousness without imperiling his soul. The undertaking is fraught with such difficulties that a single glance backwards (as in the cases of Lot's wife and of Orpheus) suffices for a weak nature to be again overpowered by the tremendous force of the unconscious past. The idea that climbing upwards on the ladder means a progress to a higher consciousness — and at the same time a painful *transitus* — is also expressed by the Syrian poet Jacob of Batnae in regard to Sarug's singular conception of Jacob's ladder as a prefiguration of Christ's death upon the cross:

The cross is set up as a wonderful ladder upon which
mankind is in truth led up to Heaven Christ arose

First Vision

upon earth as a ladder of many steps, and raised Himself on high, so that all earthly beings might be exalted through Him In the ladder, Jacob truly perceived the crucified one On the mountain, He [the Lord] made fast the mysterious cross, like a ladder, set Himself on the top of it and from thence blessed all the nations. . . . At that time, the cross was set up as a guiding ideal, as it were a ladder, and served all peoples as a path leading up to God.¹³

Saturus, later Perpetua's fellow martyr, now ascends before her and endeavors to instill courage into her. In reality this Saturus had not been imprisoned at the same time as Perpetua, Felicitas and their other fellow martyrs, but he subsequently behaved to the authorities in such an aggressive way that he likewise ended in prison. He did this deliberately in order to be able to help the others spiritually and strengthen them in their faith. So he was one of those who sought a martyr's death passionately and of their own free will. That is the reason why Perpetua interprets her dream – in this respect – objectively, as an anticipation of the real event, just as the instruments of torture attached to the ladder led her to conclude that she would have to face martyrdom. Undoubtedly the whole vision has a “prognostic” value, but when we compare the entire proceeding in it with the actual fulfillment, it becomes evident that it has been transferred to the mythological stage. For instance, martyrdom is not represented as such but as a ladder leading up to Heaven; and it is a dragon – in other words a purely mythological figure – that tries to hinder Perpetua's ascent. It is as though the dream were intent on

representing the real and deeper meaning of the event threatening the dreamer in the outer world in order thereby to prepare her for her inescapable fate. Therefore it displays the archetypal background of this fate.

In such an inner connection, Saturnus also becomes a symbolic image: he represents the Christian spiritual attitude of the fanatical believer, a Christian animus figure in Perpetua herself. As the contents of the unconscious consist in the first place of all the parts of the personality which — mainly for reasons of outer adaptation — have not been integrated into consciousness, its character is specifically complementary to that of consciousness. It is therefore usually embodied in an archetypal figure of the opposite sex which transmits the contents of the collective unconscious. Hence, by animus, we mean the personification of all the masculine components of a feminine personality, the unlived traits which have remained in the unconscious background. Whereas the anima, in a man's case, embodies chiefly his affects, feelings and emotions, a woman's animus represents rather an *a priori* opinion or conviction which, because it is never consciously thought but proceeds from the unconscious, is of a collective nature. A conviction of this kind can indeed take possession of a woman with such demonic and passionate force that it is capable of completely destroying her feminine existence. But the animus also possesses creative power: it is the *logos spermatikos* (generating Logos) which transmits new contents from the unconscious.¹⁴ Inasmuch as Perpetua — judging from the slender knowledge we possess of her personal life — had lived a thoroughly

feminine existence as a wife and mother, all her masculine traits such as courage, determination, the power to stand unflinchingly by a conviction even in the face of death — traits which break through to a striking extent in her martyrdom — are chiefly embodied in the unconscious animus figure and are projected onto Saturus who, we are told, first converted her to Christianity. In other words, she experiences and sees in him these qualities which he evidently actually possessed to a high degree. Hence it becomes apparent through the dream that Perpetua's Christian spiritual attitude was not mainly a consciously integrated one, acquired through the Christian teaching (which was indeed unlikely, seeing that the latter had been of such very short duration). It was rather a passionate conviction which arose from the unconscious, a spiritual state of emotional possession which took hold of her completely and drew her fatefully into the collective problem of her time — the problem to which her individual existence was destined to succumb.

When the dream depicts Saturus ascending the ladder before her, it shows precisely — considered on the subjective level — that this masculine spiritual attitude in Perpetua herself, which had hitherto remained unconscious, has now taken over the actual lead. The unconscious thus goes parallel with consciousness and supports the latter in the fulfillment of a new type, that of the Christian.

At the foot of the ladder, however, lies a dragon which endeavors to prevent her from climbing. In Christian imagery the dragon, or serpent, has become a symbol for the devil, as “leviathan . . . the dragon that is in the sea” (Isaiah 27.1), or

as the tempter in the Garden of Eden. In most dualistic religious systems the dragon generally plays the role of a chthonic, wicked demon, the enemy of light, usually of a feminine nature. As a cold-blooded animal, however, with a very small development of the cerebrum, the serpent chiefly signifies the system of reflexes (the basal ganglia and the spinal cord), the instinctive psyche or "nature-spirit," or simply the unconscious. As far back as the teaching of the Gnostic sect of the Perates, the serpent was identified with the cerebellum and the spinal cord. In the macrocosm the Father corresponded to the cerebrum, but the cerebellum was associated with the Son, the Redeemer — that is, with the serpent (as Logos). The serpent conveyed the pneumatic substance to the spinal cord which in turn brought forth the seed of all creatures.¹⁵ In pre-Christian antiquity, in the Gnosis and also in its medieval continuation, alchemy, the serpent has not only the significance of an ambiguous and concealed Deity but also that of a sacred demon, dispensing blessings, a true Redeemer. Thus the Perates say further that the all-encompassing serpent (that is, the Ouroboros, the tail-eater) which, as Oceanos, surrounds the earth like a ring, is the wise Logos of Eve, the *mysterium* of Eden, the river that flows out of Eden (Eden is the brain) and divides into the four origins. And as "the serpent of brass" which "Moses put upon a pole," (Num. 21.9) it becomes a symbol of Christ, the *Sotēr*-serpent. In Egypt also the dragon was principally worshipped as a serpent of salvation, as the outward form of the God of revelation, Hermes, as the *Agathodaimon*, or as Osiris, "lord of the Egyptian earth" and

husband of Isis. In the Roman catacombs, in the so-called *Balbina coemeterium*,¹⁶ there is a remarkable fresco which is looked upon as an illustration of Perpetua's vision: a human figure is ascending a ladder under which lies a serpent. The ladder rises out of a corn field consisting of single tall ears of corn. So the serpent stands here for the earth spirit connected with the corn field. This points even more clearly to the Egyptian *Agathodaimon* that was worshipped as "corn-field head" and *Pantokrator*. The Gnostic Ophites also interpreted the ear of corn which was shown in the Eleusinian mysteries as the Logos which rules the world. It is a symbol for all the dying and resurrecting Gods of vegetation — such as Attis, Osiris, Adonis, the Phrygian Papas and so forth.

In this connection the dragon clearly appears as the symbol for an "unconscious nature-spirit," as "the wisdom of the earth"; and therefore, seen from the Christian standpoint, it represents at the same time the Pagan conception of the world in which experience of the Deity, or of the spirit, was projected into the material reality of the world. In antiquity, man experienced the Deity through a feeling of being gripped and moved by the phenomena of nature: in the rustling of the Dodonean oaks, in the murmuring of a fountain, in the starry heavens and the glow of the rising sun. In these he saw the manifestations of the highest power. This form of experience, however, had obviously become unsatisfying, even destructive, and as the dream shows it had to be "surmounted" rather than overcome. The process of withdrawing the projection of the Gods, as dominants of the unconscious, from nature had

actually already begun in the Stoa, which interpreted the Olympians as the embodiments of definite psychic characteristics, but only again in favor of a “subtle material” conception of the spirit, as having a fiery, ethereal nature: the all-pervading and all-ruling Nous. But it was Christianity which first took the real step towards a purely spiritual, extra-mundane conception of God. It is the realization of this fact which is represented in Perpetua’s ascent over and beyond the dragon to a heavenly place. Consequently in the vision, the dragon stands for the danger of slipping back into the old Pagan spiritual attitude, out of which the ladder shows the way to higher consciousness. As a feminine and chthonic being, however, the dragon also means Perpetua’s own instinctive soul, her will to live and her feminine reality which she tramples underfoot and disregards as she steps beyond. In the *Shepherd of Hermas*, we also find — as Robinson has already pointed out — the image of a gigantic animal symbolizing the anti-Christian power. It is a beast resembling a sea monster, about a hundred feet in length with a head like an earthenware vessel. This recalls the demoniacal angel Amnaël in the old alchemistic text, *Isis to Horus*, who carries on his head as a *semeion* (sign or symbol) just such a vessel,¹⁷ containing the alchemical secret substance which Isis is seeking. The motif of the vessel as the head itself, or as on the head, points to a feminine *mysterium*, so that these parallels confirm that which is already clear to us — i.e., that Perpetua rejects her own feminine instinct in order to attain the spiritual transformation. In so doing she treads on the dragon’s head. This is the famous

First Vision

ancient gesture of triumph and, as St. Augustine (who often refers to the *Passio Perpetuae* and appears to have been very much impressed by it) already recognized, probably is also an allusion to Gen. 3.15: “ ‘And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between her seed and thy seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.’ ”¹⁸ The trampling of the dragon, according to Psalms 91.13, “the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample underfoot” (*et conculcabis leonem et draconem*), was also frequently looked upon at that time as a sign of martyrdom and as victory over the devil.

On reaching the top of the ladder, Perpetua finds herself in a garden in the center of which a gigantic shepherd, clad in white, is milking sheep. As this garden lies in Heaven above, it can be no other than the celestial garden Paradise, the Heavenly World Beyond; and this is also the reason why Perpetua immediately on waking interprets the dream as a premonition of her approaching death. It is in the garden that she is received into the bright company of the Blessed, robed in white.

The idea that Paradise should again become the abode of man after death is already foreshadowed in the Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament. Perpetua’s vision, and especially Satorius’ vision of Paradise which is included further on in the *Passio Perpetuae* — in which he enters into a heavenly garden with cypresses and roses, facing the east — are among the earliest known Christian conceptions of Paradise.

Curiously enough the idea of Paradise led to a long dogmatic discussion. According to the prevailing opinion, it is a *locus corporalis*, a material place occupying a definite space where

the souls abide, in contrast to the real extra-mundane Heavenly Kingdom, the "Father's Mansion," to which it forms a preliminary stage. According to the Church Father Hippolytus, it lies towards the east and is moreover on earth.¹⁹

Another conception, however, places it beyond the cosmos.

In the *Passio SS. Montani et Lucii*, for example, Christ appears – in the figure of a boy with a shining countenance – to a fellow martyr named Victor, and promises him eternal life.

When the latter asks him where Paradise is to be found, Christ answers: "*Extra mundum*" (beyond the world). Indeed Origen had to refute a conception according to which Paradise "is only an immaterial world, existing merely in the phantasies of the mind and in thought."²⁰ Philo was already familiar with this interpretation and himself held that Paradise is a symbol of God's wisdom. The localization of Paradise outside the cosmos is explained by the idea that its four rivers, with their purifying and fertilizing properties, had their origin in the "waters which were above the firmament" (Gen. 1) which very early became a symbol for the Holy Ghost in the patristic literature.²¹ From these primordial supra-celestial waters containing the creative power of God spring the four rivers of Paradise, so that the latter was somehow regarded as identical with them.

Since Perpetua does not journey over the face of the earth towards the east, but climbs up a ladder to Heaven, the Paradise of her vision must be the extra-mundane Paradise. In psychological language, the higher level of consciousness which

First Vision

she seeks to attain is thus revealed as an immaterial, spiritual reality, beyond the material world and the cosmos. In this reality ideas exist “in themselves” and are no longer experienced as projected into the universe. The curious uncertainty concerning the material position of Paradise in space no doubt comes from the fact that Christianity did not recognize that its own conception of God and its most important dogmas primarily had their existence inside the human soul as psychological realities (which indeed was quite impossible to realize at the time, as is proved by Origen’s refutation mentioned above), but projected them as absolute into a place beyond the world — with the result that these ideas again acquired a peculiar substantiality.

In the middle of the garden the “Good Shepherd” receives the Saint and gives her “of the cheese which he was milking.” The figure of the shepherd as a guiding spirit, a *Paredros* and Redeemer, was an archetypal conception common to the Pagan and Christian worlds of that time.²² In the Pagan world he was called the Poimandres, the “shepherd of men” (an aspect of Hermes) who leads them to enlightenment and redeems them. He became the prototype for the shepherd in the Christian text of *The Shepherd of Hermas*, which Robinson — quite rightly, it seems — looks upon as the source of the text under discussion.

The text entitled *Poimandres* begins with the following description of the ecstatic vision of a Hermitist:

. . . methought there came to me a Being of overwhelming and boundless proportions, who called me by name and

spake: "What do you wish to hear and see and know by thought? " "Who are you? " I said. "I," said he, "am the Poimandres, *the Spirit of Truth* [*ho tēs aūthēntias noūs*]."²³ I know what you wish, for indeed *I am with you everywhere*." "I would fain learn," I said, "the things that are, and understand their nature and acquire knowledge of God." He answered me: "Keep in mind all you desire to learn, and I will teach you!" When he had thus spoken, he changed his semblance, and forthwith all things were opened out in a moment, as by a sudden turn of the scale [*ropē*], and I beheld a boundless vision, I saw all creation as a most mild and joyous light.

It is not only in the Hermetic writings that this God of Redemption and leader of souls appears as a symbol of Nous, or Logos, in the form of a shepherd. Attis, who is interpreted as *Anthropos* and Logos in the Sermon of the Naassene, is a "shepherd of the shining stars." In like manner the Phrygian Zeus or Papas was pictured by the Gnostics as a goatherd. They interpreted the Greek word *Aipolos* (goatherd) as *Aeipolos* (the ever-rotating one): that is, the all-transforming and generating Logos. The same applies to the Egyptian God Anubis, and to the Egyptian sun-god, Horus. In the *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, the latter is the "good shepherd" who rules over the "four human races," which form his flock.

The shepherd is then a cosmic figure and is generally at the same time the first man, the *Anthropos*, in his cosmic significance. (Therefore in Perpetua's vision, as in the *Poimandres*, he is of supernatural stature.) As a text says, he is "the son of God, who can do everything and become everything as he will [and] appears to any one as he will." He extends throughout the universe

and is the redeemer from the compulsion of the stars, the *heimarmenē*.

But why should just the image of the shepherd have been chosen for this conception of God and as a symbol of Nous? Philo of Alexandria endeavors to explain it as follows:

The role of shepherd is such an exceedingly good one, that it is not only ascribed to kings and wise men, and to the souls which have been purified through initiation, but also, and rightly, to God himself, the leader of the universe. For, as if in a meadow or pasture, the Shepherd and King-God, with justice and law, leads his great flock: the earth and the water, the air and the fire, and all that in them is, plants and living beings, mortal and immortal, and also the nature of the heavens, and the circlings of sun and moon, and the rhythmic dances of the stars. He sets over them his upright Word [Logos], his first-born Son, who will receive the charge of this holy flock as the vice-regent of the Great King.²⁴

Thus the shepherd was a symbol of the ordering mind of God, the Stoic Nous or Logos, which pervades the whole universe. Therefore he carries the staff of king and judge, with which he rules. He is a “*pneuma* reaching from heaven to earth.” At that time, man looked upon the laws of nature chiefly as the effects of a semi-material and divine spirit pervading it. But this spirit had now “become man”; it was no longer merely the power of nature but also a *Daimon Paredros*, personally experienced by each individual. Numerous prayers in the Pagan *Magic Papyri* are addressed to this spirit which pervaded and ruled the cosmos: “Hail, thou who comest forth from the four winds, Pantokrator, thou who breathest the life-giving *pneuma* into man . . . whose

First Vision

eyes are the sun and moon, shining in the pupils of man . . . thou art the Agathodaimon, who generates everything and nourishes the inhabited earth.”²⁵ Or again: “Thou who sittest on the head of the cosmos, and judgest everything, surrounded by the circle of truth and faith. Thou who bearest on thy head the golden crown, and in thy hand the staff with which thou sendest forth the gods.” He was usually represented as a beggar with staff and knapsack, as the power that holds the cosmos together and as the “shepherd of the stars,” i.e., the center of all the innumerable celestial constellations. This primordial image of the shepherd represents – from the psychological point of view – the Self, whence all the other archetypal images of the collective unconscious receive their invisible regulation.

Christ as the Good Shepherd and *Pantokrator* has taken over all the functions of the Pagan God. He is a liberator from the *heimarmene*; as *Kosmokrator* he likewise extends throughout the universe. He is called the all-powerful Logos of God, “who walking on earth, touches the heavens.” In contemporary art he often figures as a kind of Hermes, a lamb on his shoulders, over his head the seven planets, on either side of him sun and moon, and at his feet seven lambs, representing the seven nations. On an epitaph in the Domitilla *coemeterium*, he is even depicted as Attis with a shepherd’s staff and pipe. The *Martyrium Polycarpi* (Chap. 19), in fact, calls him “the shepherd of the Universal Church which extends all over the world”; and the Alberkios inscription, “the holy shepherd, who feeds his flocks of sheep on mountains and plains.” In a

saying such as the opening verses of the twenty-third psalm: "The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want," which St. John (10.11-16) applies to Christ, he is still quite definitely thought of as a kind of *Daimon Paredros* — that is, as a personal guardian spirit that accompanies each individual and dwells with him just in the same way as the Poimandres declares, "I am with you everywhere." In the *Martyrium Polycarpi* (Chap. 19), he is even called "the shepherd, the savior of our souls and *the guide of our bodies*." Thus he is, so to speak, a non-personal leading spirit, yet also in some way connected with the ego (almost in the sense of an apparition), which means that at that time the unconscious no longer appeared as a power projected into nature but rather as a daimon accompanying man. This is shown most impressively in the appearance of the shepherd described by Hermas:

While I was praying at home, seated on my bed, there entered a man of lordly appearance, *in shepherd's garb*, clad in a white goat skin, his pack on his shoulders and a staff in his hand; and he greeted me, and I returned the greeting. Forthwith he sat down by me, saying: "I am sent by the highest angel, that I may dwell with thee all the remaining days of thy life." I suspected that he had come to tempt me, and asked: "Who art thou? For I know into whose keeping I was given." He said to me: "Dost thou not know me? " "No," I replied. Then he declared: "I am the shepherd into whose care thou hast been given." And while he was still speaking he changed his semblance, and I knew that he was the one into whose keeping I had been given.

The shepherd then undertakes the function of strengthening Hermas in his faith and of instructing him.²⁶

Something of the same kind, as we shall see, takes place in Perpetua's vision, when in a scene which recalls the Holy Communion, the shepherd gives her a morsel of cheese and she receives it with folded hands. This scene in particular has been looked upon as a proof that the martyrs were Montanists, for a special group among these, the so-called Artotyrites — from *artos* (bread) and *tyros* (cheese) — are said to have celebrated their Eucharist not with wine but with bread and cheese. In any case, the manner in which the cheese is dispensed in the vision is entirely modeled on the partaking of the Holy Communion. Some writers have also seen a certain connection in this passage with the *Passio Montani* which describes the passion of "a certain Montanus" and his followers. As a result of the death of the proconsul these martyrs were doomed to linger a considerable time in prison, and several of their visions which have been recorded are not unlike St. Perpetua's. For instance, a woman named Quartillosia had the vision of a young man of supernatural stature who fed the prisoners with two bowls of milk which never became empty and promised them a third, after which he disappeared through the window.

The singular picture in the St. Perpetua vision of the shepherd milking cheese (which moreover could occur only in a genuine dream) probably comes from the fact that two conceptions overlap, the idea of Holy Communion, the receiving of the Host, as something "made by the hand of man," something

First Vision

solid; and on the other hand, the idea of bestowing a drink in the form of milk. In the ancient mysteries, milk plays an important role as the nourishment of the spiritually reborn (*in novam infantiam*). In the Phrygian mysteries, for instance, the mystic abstained from eating meat “and moreover he fed on milk as one newly born.” This is important inasmuch as Montanus himself was a Phrygian. Milk and honey were also looked upon as stimulating and inspiring, much the same as wine. In a magic papyrus we read: “Drink milk and honey before sunrise, and in thy heart there will be something divine.” Milk also stood for spiritual teaching in the Christian world: “. . . as newborn babes, desire the sincere milk of the word [*logikon*], that ye may grow thereby: if so be that ye have tasted that the Lord is gracious.” (1 Peter 2.2). And: “. . . ye have need that one teach you again which be the first principles of the oracles of God; and are become such as have need of milk, and not of strong meat. For everyone that useth milk is unskilful in the word of righteousness: for he is a babe” (Hebrews 5.12).²⁷ St. Paul described himself and his followers as “children in Christ” (*nēpioi en Christō*), and Clement of Alexandria even calls the Christians directly, *galaktophagoi* (milk-drinkers). Milk likewise stands for an emanation of the Deity. In the so-called *Odes of Solomon*,²⁸ we read:

A cup of milk was offered to me; and I drank it in the sweetness of the delight of the Lord. The Son is the cup, and He who was milked is the Father: and the Holy Spirit milked Him: because his breasts were full,

and it did not seem good to Him that His milk should be spilt for nought; and the Holy Spirit opened her bosom and mingled the milk from the two breasts of the Father; and gave the mixture to the world,²⁹ without its knowing it; and they who receive [it] are in the perfection of the right hand.³⁰

As Reitzenstein doubtless rightly interprets it,³¹ the drink of milk denotes the beginning, and the draught of wine, on the other hand, the complete fulfillment of man's divinity. According to the rules of the Church instituted by Hippolytus, the neophytes first received a cup of water, then a mixture of milk and honey, and finally wine and water as the real Eucharist.

The sweet-tasting morsel which Perpetua receives at the hands of the shepherd is thus a kind of spiritual food, or teaching, through which she is admitted to the bright company of the Blessed (those who stand round robed in white and say "Amen"), the company in the Beyond, from whence — in the second vision — the deacon Pomponius, in festive garb, comes to fetch her definitely away. It also has the meaning of a *cibus immortalis*, an immortal food, inasmuch as those "who worship God in spirit and in truth have a share in his glory and are immortal with him in that they are partakers of eternal life through the Logos." The Holy Ghost was indeed a life-giving breath.

If the Gods of antiquity were already dead — that is, if the highest value bestowing life and giving it meaning had sunk at that time into the unconscious and become dissolved — this

value had risen again in a changed form in the figure and teaching of Christ, the God become man and mediator. The unconscious life force streamed forth from the new teaching, enabling life to progress on a fresh course and bringing about a new step forward in culture.³² The first of Perpetua's visions describes this process in archetypal images. It is true that their complex meaning in their deeper connections could hardly have been accessible to the dreamer's consciousness, but they gave her the inner feeling of a meaning in her destiny and thus enabled her to accept her martyrdom.

Although the dream represents the Christian teaching as the highest value and as a new source of life, one can hardly assume that the unconscious intended to drive Perpetua into her martyrdom. The obstructing factor in itself, for instance, is by no means exclusively characterized as a power of evil — although Perpetua interprets it as the devil — but as a dragon, the unconscious animal side, which seeks to hinder Perpetua's ascent and which she tramples underfoot. The dream simply lays before our eyes the inner process which is taking place, quite objectively, in the supra-personal imagery which is the language of the collective unconscious. The impressive significance and depth of the images can no doubt be explained by the fact that they were called forth as a vital reaction of the unconscious to the fate threatening the dreamer in the outer world.

VII. INTERPRETATION OF THE SECOND AND THIRD VISIONS

The second vision, on the other hand, contains a piece of the more personal side of Perpetua's problem in a language more accessible to the dreamer's conscious world, although the same basic motifs that appeared in the previous vision are touched upon. This is the dream of the little brother, Dinocrates, in the underworld. The Roman Catholic Church takes such visions very concretely and uses them as a basis for its doctrine of the intercession of saints, which has the effect of succoring the souls in Purgatory. (Perpetua herself seems to have interpreted the dream in this sense.)

If, however, we consider the dream on the subjective level — i.e., as in the first place an inner event — Dinocrates (like Saturus in the preceding vision) undoubtedly embodies a spiritual content in Perpetua herself so that his suffering, as portrayed in the dream, is in some way identical with her painful condition. This suffering should therefore be understood as her own inner need that caused her to yearn for the “fountain of living water,” or the baptismal water. To Perpetua, this little brother who died in early childhood, together with all the memories which are linked with him, undoubtedly represents a piece of her own past, something child-like, a spirit in herself as yet unbaptised for whom the redeeming truth, symbolized by the water, is literally “too high,” as the

vision shows by the fact that the edge of the *piscina* is beyond the child's reach. Between Perpetua and this little brother there is a "great distance,"³³ which means that consciously she is far removed from this childish spiritual attitude belonging to her past although it still clings to her. And this is also corroborated by the fact that she tells us she had not so much as thought of him for a long time. This childish piece of Paganism in Perpetua, the dream figure Dinocrates, is suffering from a cancer: that is to say, he is subjected to a state of inner decay which cannot be arrested. The dream points to a regression, or rather to a difficulty which has arisen in Perpetua's inner development which is perhaps the danger of "allowing herself to be influenced" by her father, who strove to do so with all his might and all the authority he possessed. (This is no doubt why her resistance to the Christian attitude is represented as a "child in the family.") Apparently a more childish spirit is still alive in the dreamer, a more unconscious spirit threatened with decay for whom the Christian truth is out of reach so that she yearns in vain for its redeeming effect.

Dölger, in his essay on the Dinocrates vision,³⁴ pointed out that this picture of the underworld coincides exactly with the Pagan conception of Hades, rather than with the Christian notion of Purgatory, whereby the Pagan in Dinocrates is even more clearly emphasized. It also recalls the description of the underworld in the *Book of Enoch* (Chap. XXII), an underworld divided into a dark place for sinners, and a light place in the middle of which there is a "bright spring of water." The idea that the dead suffer from thirst in the underworld is

again an ancient and widespread conception and is likewise to be found in the third vision of the *Shepherd of Hermas*.

Dölger goes on to prove that the vision here refers to the belief, prevalent in antiquity, that those who had died before their time or had suffered a violent death, underwent particular torment in Hades and could only be delivered through the prayers of the living.³⁵ Looked at from a psychological point of view, it is the symbolic representation of the fact that contents of the unconscious, which are split off and unable to live fully in reality, become negative and appear as "ghosts seeking release." In other words, they call forth psychological disturbances, as seems to be the case here where just such a split-off content belonging to Perpetua's childhood is concerned.

When the Pagan attitude in Perpetua is represented as a child, the dream may possibly be alluding to the fact that Pagan consciousness is relatively infantile when compared to the Christian attitude. Rufinus, at all events, has expressed this view:

He [a saint] taught all men that they should direct their minds away from the visible and material things to the invisible and immaterial. "It is indeed time," he said, "that we turned to an occupation of this kind, for we cannot always remain boys and children, but must now once for all rise to the higher spiritual things and become grown men"

In a further vision shortly before Perpetua's death, Dinocrates again appears to her, transfigured and redeemed by the

Second and Third Visions

water of life. The decaying wound on his face is healed over, and "he goes off to play as children do." He has become, as it were, the image of one reborn *in novam infantiam* and, as such, his fate also represents a forecast of Perpetua's own development.³⁶ For whereas here she experiences everything, so to speak, only in the person of Dinocrates or as an onlooker, in the following dream she herself is confined in the dark prison and has to take up the fight with the spirit of darkness in order to receive the bough of the tree of life. A modern dream should be mentioned here, one which contains in a most striking way the same symbolism and which, moreover, arose out of a situation similar to Perpetua's.³⁷ It is the dream of the Roman Catholic student Sophie Scholl, a girl of twenty-one who was guillotined in Munich for spreading anti-Nazi propaganda. In prison the night before her death, she dreamed that on a beautiful sunny day she was carrying a child in a long white robe to its christening. The way to the church led up a steep mountain but, "firm and safe," she carried the child in her arms. Suddenly, without warning, a crevasse opened in front of her. She had only enough time to lay the child on the safe side before she crashed into the depths. In reality she died with imperturbable courage. She herself interpreted her dream in the sense that the child's white robe stood for the idea for which her own death prepared the way. The steep path up to the church recalls the ladder of Perpetua's first vision, which represented the difficult way of individuation. The fate of the child that has not yet been christened points to Dinocrates. The abyss is an

Second and Third Visions

image of the “jaws of death” which swallow up the mortal side, whereas the “Divine Child” – the Self in the process of becoming – lives on. One can hardly help being deeply moved and impressed by the way in which the unconscious reacts: without the faintest sentimentality but with unerring certainty, it represents the real, significant inner process and conveys symbolically the absolute knowledge which provides real support.

The pitiful condition of little Dinocrates in Hades and his redemption recall most vividly the contemporary alchemistic conceptions of those “bound in Hades” who yearned for the divine water, the *hydor theion*. In the *Treatise of Comarius to Cleopatra*,³⁸ for instance, we read that the holy waters descended from on high to visit the dead – prostrate, chained and crushed in the darkness of Hades – and that the *pharmakon zoēs* (medicine of life) penetrated them and waked them. And he (the spirit) clothed them in divine and spiritual glory, and they came out of the earth. And it was said:

. . . they array themselves in light and glory; in that they had increased in accordance with nature, and their figures had been transformed, and they had arisen from sleep, and had come forth from Hades. The body of the fire had given them birth. [Compare Dinocrates’ feverish heat (*aestus*)!] . . . and as they came forth from it they clothed themselves in glory, and it [the body of the fire] brought them complete oneness, and the image was fulfilled through body, soul and spirit, and they became one.

Second and Third Visions

Dinocrates drinks the water out of a golden phial (or bowl); this also strikes one as a remarkably alchemistic motif. It recalls the vessel of Hermes (*vas Hermetis*) which was in some way imagined to be consubstantial with its contents. In the Hermetic treatise *The Crater*,³⁹ we read that after God had created the universe, he filled a vessel, a kind of baptismal font (compare the *piscina*), with Nous and sent it down to earth, so that people who dipped themselves in it should receive a share of *ennoia* (consciousness, enlightenment). We find a Christian vision which is a parallel to Perpetua's in the so-called *Passio SS. Mariani et Jacobi*. A martyr named Marianus found himself translated in a dream to a heavenly grove of pines and cypresses:

In the middle there stood the overflowing basin of a pure and transparent fountain, and there Cyprianus [a martyr who had already died] took a phial [*fiala*] which lay at the edge of the fountain and drank, then replenishing it anew, he handed it to me and I drank with joy and, as I said "*Deo gracias*," I awoke at the sound of my own voice.

Water, as C. G. Jung says,⁴⁰ is "an apt symbol for the living quality of psychic being"; it is also spiritual, and as such often of a fiery nature. The quickening influx of energy from the unconscious may well be looked upon as the effect of the Christian faith, and the water of the *piscina* is here an intimation of a kind of baptismal water, a symbol of Christ or of the Holy Ghost. Thus, for instance, Justin Martyr says:⁴¹

Second and Third Visions

As a spring of living water from God in the land of the heathen, barren of all knowledge of God, has this Christ bubbled up, who also appeared unto your people and healed those who from birth and according to the flesh were blind, dumb and lame He also awoke the dead He . . . did so to convince those who desired to believe in Him that, even if a man be afflicted with any manner of bodily failing, provided he keep His commandments, He will awaken that man at His second coming with an unmaimed body . . .

In the first Dinocrates dream, the Saint had felt herself to be in some way inwardly cut off from this living spiritual effect of the Christian teaching, entangled in unconsciousness and overpowered by the weight of outer events. But the following Dinocrates dream which she had in prison shortly before her death shows her little brother, cured of his ills and happy, playing in the Beyond. This clearly implies that in the meantime, as a result of her intercession – that is, through being consciously concerned with her problem which Dinocrates embodies – she has grown both inwards and upwards and has attained an attitude in which the Christian truth means a real inner source of strength, and in which her childlike side also participates actively. At the same time, this effect must be understood as an unconscious one, for it proceeds from the Beyond (depicted as Paradise or the underworld).

Between the Dinocrates visions and the preceding one, there is indeed no outward connection based on the actual motifs, but the inner structure certainly reveals a very striking parallelism. This is an important argument in support of the

fact that we are dealing with a genuine series of dreams and not with a fabrication. In both visions an obstructing element comes into play: in the first, the dragon, as the reaction of the instincts; in the second Dinocrates, as the “milieu of the past,” i.e., childishness. In both cases it is a matter of reaching something higher: the ascent of the ladder to an extra-mundane place, and Dinocrates reaching up to the *piscina* which is too high for him. Both visions depict the attainment of a symbol of the living spirit and communion with it by means of the milk as heavenly food and through the draught from the “fountain of life.” Finally, in both visions there is an allusion to rebirth: on the one hand, in the partaking of milk as food of the reborn; and on the other, in a dramatization of the process in the figure of little Dinocrates who “goes off to play as children do.”

Although the problem has undoubtedly come somewhat nearer to the dreamer’s consciousness in the second vision through being connected with a personal content (Dinocrates), Perpetua still sees the inner conflict projected into the figure of her little Pagan brother from whom, the dream says, she is separated by “a great distance” — which means that consciously she is far removed from its realization. In the following vision, however, she is quite personally and actively drawn into the problem. (It may be argued here that in the first vision she also played an active part, but there the dream only pointed to the path on which she was engaged, and there was no actual drama.)

VIII. INTERPRETATION OF THE FOURTH VISION

The last vision begins with Perpetua in prison, waiting to appear before the beasts. At first sight this is simply a statement of the dreamer's actual situation. By this the dream implies that the ensuing conflict, depicted in the course of the vision, is "most actual reality." Nevertheless we are also bound to look upon this imprisonment, figuring among the events of the dream, as referring to an inner situation.

In the mysteries of Isis and Serapis there existed a curious custom, that of the so-called *katochoi* (prisoners) of the Deity. *Katochē* principally means arrest or imprisonment, and consequently *katochos* means prisoner. On the other hand, however, the verb *katechesthai ek theou* (used in conjunction with *theophoreisthai* or *korybantian* and with the idea of Bacchic ecstasy) denotes a condition of ecstatic raving; *katochos* then similarly means possessed by a God, and *katochē* a state of possession. (Compare Perpetua's state of trance during her martyrdom.) Such *katochoi*, for instance, existed as early as the second century before Christ in the Serapium of Memphis. This state of imprisonment was one of free choice to which laymen voluntarily submitted, as novitiates, prior to their initiation into the priesthood. The *katochoi* also called themselves "slaves" or "servants of God." Some of them even wore chains and often did not leave the outer court of the temple for years. Others went about begging and lived a life

of the most rigorous self-imposed asceticism. Many of them interpreted their own dreams and took them into account, and the period of imprisonment often lasted till such a time as the novice and an already-initiated mystic had the same initiation-dream on the same night. This would admit the novice to initiation. It might occur suddenly, or perhaps after waiting ten years or more, or sometimes never at all. The novice also occasionally chose the spiritual father who initiated him.⁴² Whoever attempted initiation without being “called” was doomed to die. And only the man whom Isis had appointed in a dream might enter the *adyton* of the Goddess. All these ancient customs may undoubtedly be looked upon as the first steps leading to the Christian institution of monachism which, moreover, originated in Egypt. It is singular also that St. Paul should speak of himself as “a prisoner [*desmios*] of Jesus Christ,” or of being “in the bonds of the Gospel.”

The psychological meaning of such a confinement is unmistakable. Imprisonment under whatever circumstances implies restricted freedom of action and isolation from the surrounding world. It is a sequestration, a voluntary or involuntary state of introversion, which in certain cases may be brought about by a state of possession — that is, by being fascinated with an unconscious content. In this way the unconscious images (therefore the dreams) which formed the initiation process of the mysteries were activated. That is why the prison is often an initial symbol of the process of individuation in the dreams of modern people.

Fourth Vision

In the ancient mysteries the initiation took place under the guidance of a spiritual leader. On parallel lines, in Perpetua's vision, the deacon Pomponius knocks at the prison door. He wears a festive garment and manifold shoes. He takes her by the hand and leads her through dark and devious paths to the amphitheater. At that time, a deacon was an assistant to the bishop in his diocese, a kind of parochial assistant. Here we are dealing with a real personality with whom Perpetua is acquainted. By means of bribery he was able to bring about some alleviation in the conditions of her captivity, and he was also a spiritual support to her. In the dream Pomponius has evidently taken upon himself the function of a Christian animus figure (which is natural, seeing that Perpetua, who had been baptized only twenty days before, in all probability projected her Christian attitude onto the deacon of the place). He is now the leader of her soul (he takes her by the hand) and her spiritual father, a symbol of her Christian faith. The function which he fulfills is similar to that of Saturus in the first vision. Should there be any difference in their roles, it would mainly consist in the fact that Saturus seems rather to embody her temperamentally courageous inner attitude in the face of her martyrdom, whereas Pomponius is more of a "teacher" — that is to say, he stands more for the Christian faith as a spiritual doctrine.⁴³ In the dream he is characterized as one who is already initiated (which clearly does not answer to his description in real life and proves the projection): he wears a festive garment and manifold shoes. In the ancient

Fourth Vision

mysteries the festive garment plays an important role, as the “celestial garment” of the glorified “celestial body,” which the mystic “puts on.” Thus before his third initiation, Apuleius⁴⁴ was exhorted in a dream to be initiated anew in order to attain further enlightenment, as he could no longer wear “the garment of the Goddess which he had put on in the province and had then laid aside in the sanctuary there.” In Egypt the resurrected one wore the headdress of the sun-god Râ, a sun-diadem. The Mithraic mystics received a garment on which animals were embroidered. It signified the glorified resurrection after death, the state of full enlightenment through the Gnosis and of becoming one with the Deity; at the same time it meant a *metasomatosi*s, a complete transformation. In the Christian conception of Paradise, the Blessed are robed in white — as a symbol of joy and innocence, according to one of the Fathers of the Church. Here the deacon Pomponius is likewise an already fully enlightened mystic, a spirit from the Beyond — that is, a figure arising from the unconscious. At the same time he is a forecast of Perpetua’s own coming development. He says: “Perpetua, we are awaiting thee, come!” From the World Beyond, Paradise or the land of the dead, he brings her the message that they are expecting her there. He is also the one whose office it is to usher her into this place. The animus is indeed the figure that transmits the contents of the collective unconscious, a psychopomp on the path of the unconscious. The words which he addresses to her in the amphitheater where he leaves her (“Fear not, I am with thee and shall fight with thee”) prove

Fourth Vision

especially that he stands much less for a concrete figure than for an unconscious, spiritual power. In the dream, however, he disappears, and in his place enters the gigantic *lanista* who promises her the bough of the Tree of Life. Thus in the function which he fulfills he goes over, as it were, into this bigger, more archetypal figure which (as we shall see) is clearly a symbol of an absolute faith and of a positive attitude.

At first Pomponius leads Perpetua through a rough and pathless country; it is only with great effort and panting that they reach the amphitheater. Such straying about on tortuous paths recalls the plight of Dinocrates in Hades. A disorientation has obviously set in at this point, a condition of perplexity and distress resulting from the state of introversion symbolized by the prison. Perpetua is evidently assailed by doubts and resistances at the thought of her martyrdom. In the midst of this disorientation of her consciousness, the deacon undertakes to lead, as a guiding Christian animus — that is to say, as a symbol of the Christian faith. He takes her to the amphitheater. The amphitheater is a circular figure, a magic circle or mandala. As a symbol of the Self which embraces the conscious and unconscious sides of the personality in a totality, the amphitheater naturally includes both the opposing attitudes (of the Pagan Egyptian and of Perpetua's Christian assistants) besides the conscious portion of the personality (Perpetua herself, who stands between the two) and the *lanista* holding the value of the Self. In the ritual mandala, the circular boundary surrounding the center always has the purpose of preventing an outburst or a disintegration, as

Fourth Vision

well as preventing any interference from the outside. It is inside this enclosure that the final contest, as it were, now takes place. Inasmuch as the ritual mandala also aims at reconciling the opposites, the very appearance of this symbol is already an intimation of a possible solution of the conflict. This doubtless consists in the fact that Perpetua will be “withdrawn” into the supra-personal meaning of the process to such a degree (compare her trance during her martyrdom) that she will be able to endure the destruction of her individual existence.

Historically, the amphitheater was actually a circular building devoted to a cult, and the games which took place in it were religious ceremonies in honor of Pagan Gods. Therefore Tertullian rightly called it the “*temple* of all demons.”⁴⁵ It is here that the crowd in the vision now flocks together to witness the fight between the Saint and the Egyptian. One might say that the Christian, guiding, inner principle leads to a concentration of the conflict in Perpetua herself, around which all the formerly dissociated forces of the collective unconscious (the people) gather together. All the various parts of the personality collect around a supra-personal center, in which the final conflict of the opposites will be decided.

At first Perpetua expects the wild beasts to be let in. Interpreted on the subjective level, this means that she believes the fight is to be waged against the unconscious in the form of the animal world of the instincts — i.e., against the same forces which, as we have seen, she has already encountered

Fourth Vision

in the guise of the dragon. But the dream shows that, in reality, the conflict is far more complicated: a gigantic Egyptian of horrible appearance comes towards her with a sword. This Egyptian embodies a number of remarkable and complex facts belonging to the situation. In late antiquity Egypt meant the land of ancient wisdom. It was looked on in much the same way that the modern European looks upon India. As far back as Herodotus, Egypt and her priests held this meaning; Plato, for example, was wont to give out his most important ideas and myths as the secret wisdom of the Egyptian priesthood. According to Hekataios of Miletus, the Egyptians were "the oldest and most religious people" in the whole world. The Greeks projected, as it were, their own unconscious on Egypt and as a result it became the source of all secret revelation, the land where an archaic religious attitude was to be found which their own enlightened consciousness had lost. Thus, in a satire, Lucian says:⁴⁶ "The oldest philosophers were the Hindu Brahmans, or Gymnosophists. Philosophy went direct from them to the Ethiopians, from thence to the Egyptians." The Cynics especially saw the realization of their ideals in these Indian and Egyptian sages. Egypt was therefore the land *par excellence* of all dark magic, and the cult of the animal which was practised there made a particularly deep impression upon the Greek philosophers and sophists. In the *Treatise Asclepius III* of the *Corpus Hermeticum*, Hermes says:⁴⁷

Do you know, Asclepius, that Egypt is an image of heaven, or, to speak more exactly, in Egypt all the

Fourth Vision

operations and powers which rule and work in heaven have been transferred to earth below? Nay, it should rather be said that the *whole Kosmos dwells in this our land [Egypt] as in its sanctuary . . .*

If the Pagans thus looked to Egypt as the land of the great mysteries, the most religious land of ancient wisdom and magic, in the eyes of the Christians it was bound to become the prototype of all that was evil, of the “clouded, obscure, misleading Pagan spirit.” For the Gnostic Perates, however, Egypt also meant the transitory world, the passage through the Red Sea, the way to immortality. In their allegorical interpretation of the Bible, the Fathers of the Church very soon explained the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt as an exodus out of “spiritual darkness.” (Such things can hardly have been unknown to Perpetua, who came of an educated family.) In a certain sense the Egyptian also constitutes an analogy to the dragon in the first vision, since both — as Hugo Rahner so beautifully demonstrates — became images of the devil in the patristic symbolic language.⁴⁸ The Fathers of the Church found support for this in the passages in Ezekiel (29.3 and 32.2) in which God causes the Egyptian Pharaoh to be addressed as “the great dragon that lieth in the midst of the rivers,” as “a whale [dragon] in the seas.” Thus the Egyptian king (sunk in the Red Sea) also becomes an image of the devil. From the psychological point of view, on the other hand, a difference exists between the image of the devil as dragon and as Egyptian, inasmuch as the latter embodies a more spiritual content which is nearer consciousness.

Fourth Vision

Accordingly, Perpetua's vision reveals that the central conflict does not consist solely in overcoming the animal instincts but implies a fight against the spirit of Paganism, against the Pagan experience of the spirit projected into nature, against the spirit of the most ancient tradition and against the spirit of the earth from which the Christian endeavored to tear himself free.

In this connection the four visions show a gradual development of the Pagan counter-attitude in the unconscious: at first it is embodied in a lower, cold-blooded animal; then it appears in human form, as an ill child; and lastly as a full-grown warrior, in the figure of the Egyptian. So the conflict is continuously being brought nearer to consciousness, and at the same time the menacing factor grows increasingly important, appearing in ever more spiritual forms. It is in this last form that Paganism proved most dangerous to the Christian faith. Therefore St. Paul says:⁴⁹

Put on the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers [*archas kai exousias*, i.e., the domination of the spirits of the planets], against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual darkness in high places [*pros ta pneumatika tēs ponērias en tois epouraniois*].

By this he means the *pneuma* projected into the cosmos and into nature, the Pagan experience of the spirit. The Christian devil is in truth no other than the *Agathodaimon* of the Pagans, once worshipped as "lord of the black Egyptian

earth” and husband of Isis. Referring to this scene, we also read in a sermon ascribed to St. Augustine:⁵⁰ “There the Egyptian appears who was once the beautiful morning star [Lucifer *speciosus*] in heaven.” This is clearly an allusion to the bright, spiritual side of this divine opponent of Christ.

The fact that the Egyptian in Perpetua’s vision “wallows in the dust,” and that Perpetua, as she conquers him, treads him to earth, stresses precisely the earthly quality, the state of being imprisoned in the earth, which is characteristic of this *pneuma*.⁵¹ According to Philo of Alexandria, the kingdom of the air, against whose demons St. Paul fights, is black;⁵² and in the *Epistle of Barnabas* (IV:10; XX:1) the devil is already called the black one. Besides this, the blackness of the Egyptians — and particularly of the priests of Isis who were imported into Rome to celebrate the mysteries and whose dark complexions were singularly striking there — strengthened the conception of the devil as an Egyptian, a symbol of the dark, chthonic mysteries of departing antiquity.

In the event of defeat Perpetua was to be killed by the sword of the Egyptian. But it is she herself who conquers him in that she treads on his head, which again proves the mental function of this enemy. During the fight he endeavors to lay hold of her feet. Psychologically, this means that he is seeking to undermine her “standpoint,” to make her doubt her convictions and thus to cause her to waver. A passage in the writings of Origen, who calls the Pagan attitude a “spiritual Ethiopian,” also points to the spiritual character of this dark Egyptian, who is at the same time a figure parallel to

Fourth Vision

the serpent:⁵³ “He who partakes of the supernatural bread, and strengthens his heart thereby, will become the son of God. But he who partakes of the dragon is himself no other than the spiritual Ethiopian, in that by the snares laid for the dragon, he is himself transformed into the serpent” (Perpetua treads on the Egyptian’s head, just as she stepped on the head of the dragon.)

When the Egyptian throws himself at Perpetua’s feet, the dream seems to suggest a connection with Perpetua’s father. The latter never ceased to pursue her with his entreaties, and his exhortations appear to have affected her deeply, for upon one occasion she says: “I thanked God, and recovered when he had departed.” Among the many arguments he used, he once pleaded with her as follows:

Daughter, take pity on my white locks! Have mercy on thy father, if I am worthy to be called thy father, I who brought thee up hitherto with these very hands and preferred thee to all thy brothers. Do not expose me to public shame! Think of thy brothers, thy mother, thy aunt, thy son who will never survive thee! Lay aside the stirrings of thine anger [*Depone animos*]. Do not destroy us all!

Perpetua goes on to say: “My father spoke thus prompted by his affection, as he kissed my hands and *threw himself at my feet*, and wept and no longer called me daughter, but mistress [*domina*].”

This moving passage sheds a profound light on the way inheritance affected Perpetua’s fate. Her relation to her father

appears to have been a particularly close one. In the case of a woman, the father stands for the first image of man in general, the first embodiment of the animus and as such he determines her spiritual temperament, her relation to spiritual contents generally. Therefore, through her relation to her father, Perpetua seems to have been in great measure fated to suffer the conflict and to come to terms with the religious problems of her day. Perpetua's father, on his side, appears to have been just as unusually attached to her, and seems to have had an anima transference to her. (He addresses her as *domina*.) Upon one occasion, when she turns a deaf ear to his entreaties, he falls upon her, screaming, and endeavors to tear her eyes out. As Perpetua is very closely bound to him, his arguments against Christianity wound her very deeply. Once when he leaves her after a scene such as the one described, she says of him: "He departed beaten, with his diabolical arguments [*cum argumentis diabolis*]." So there is some justification for drawing a certain psychological parallel between the Egyptian who throws himself at Perpetua's feet and upon whom she looks as the devil, and the figure of her father. St. Augustine likewise recognizes this connection and therefore says that the devil made use of the father and instructed him with deceiving words in order to bring about Perpetua's downfall by appealing to her feeling of filial piety. It is the spirit of her father — that is, the spirit of tradition — in Perpetua herself which rebels against the new creed. When the dream substitutes the more general figure of the Egyptian for that of the father, it expresses the fact that the fight is not only against

the individual father but against that which he means to Perpetua in an inner sense: a fight against a universal spirit, a Pagan animus, which must be overcome. His threat is to pierce her with his sword — that is, to penetrate her spiritually and to enter her; and when he throws himself at her feet it is not with the intention of entreating her, as in the case of her real father, but of bringing about her fall, of shattering her standpoint.

The Saint is then surrounded by fair youths who befriend her; they unclothe her and massage her body with oil, as for a Greek *agōn* (contest). And she is transformed into a man. This “unveiling of her masculine nature” at this particular time appears to be in some measure connected with personal considerations. About the year 200 A.D., the persecutions of the Christians in Africa were of a local character and very much encouraged by the aggressive attitude of the Christians themselves. Perpetua, as a young woman of twenty-two with a tiny son, would hardly have had to suffer such a fate had she not adopted the strong, masculine, aggressive spirit of the believer and thrown herself actively into the spiritual battle. It is also obvious that she sought a martyr’s death to demonstrate her faith, as her remark at the time of her baptism shows: “The Holy Ghost bade me expect nothing from the [baptismal] water, but the sufferings of the flesh.” Perhaps one may therefore be justified in looking upon her prison (*katochē*) as a kind of state of possession. In any case the dream shows that in the conflict which now breaks out she adopts a masculine, war-like attitude and identifies completely with the Christian

animus figures which had appeared only as unconscious parts of her personality in the earlier dreams. She becomes a *miles Christi*, a soldier of Christ, just as also in the Pagan world the initiation into the mysteries was frequently interpreted as a *sacramentum* (military oath). In the mysteries of Mithras, for instance, the initiates of a certain degree were called *milites* (soldiers). Their service was a military service dedicated to the God, and the Pauline conception of the *militia Christi* likewise grew out of these ideas. St. Paul describes himself as a *stratitēs* (soldier) and speaks of the “armor of light.”

But the laying off of Perpetua’s garment has a still deeper meaning. In the *Corpus Hermeticum* we read:⁵⁴

Seek for yourselves one who, holding you by the hand,
leads the way [here it would be Pomponius] to the gates
of the Gnosis, where the shining light, clear of all dark-
ness, is to be found; where no one is ever drunk,
but where all are sober, looking into their hearts towards
Him who wishes to be seen. For He cannot be heard,
nor read, nor yet is He visible to the eyes, but only to
the spirit and the heart. First, however, thou must rend
the garment which thou wearest, the web of unconscious-
ness [*to hyphasma tēs agnosias*], the stronghold of
wickedness, the bonds which thou bearest, the dark veil,
the living death, the visible corpse, the surrounding
grave [For this is] the hostile garment, which
narrows thee down to thyself, so that thou canst not
raise thine eyes above to the beauty of truth

Therefore as the mystic in this initiation receives, on the one hand, the glorified celestial garment of light, so must he first

take off and tear up the garment of his earthly materialness (*sōma* – *sēma*) and of the *agnōsia* (unconsciousness). In the apocryphal *Odes of Solomon*, which were influenced by Gnosticism, we likewise read:⁵⁵ “I forsook the folly which is cast over the earth; and I stripped it off and cast it from me: and the Lord renewed me in His raiment, and possessed me by His light.” And further:⁵⁶ “I put off darkness and clothed myself with light.” And again:⁵⁷ “I was clothed with the covering of thy Spirit, and thou didst remove from me my raiment of skins.”

So this laying aside of the garment means stripping off the unconscious animal nature, the unconscious “state of imprisonment in illusion,” and even under certain conditions, the earthly material existence. Through it Perpetua becomes, so to speak, entirely a “spirit” (hence her masculinity). In the *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, quoted by Clement of Alexandria,⁵⁸ we likewise read that the masculine always unites directly with the Logos, but that the feminine, after a process of becoming masculine, enters the *Pleroma* together with the angels; wherefore it is said that woman is transformed into a man and the earthly Church into angels. This means the redemption of the “psychical” through its transformation into the “pneumatical.” The belief that in the Beyond the sexes cease to exist as opposites and are united is also alluded to in a *logion* transmitted by Clement of Alexandria:⁵⁹ “When ye shall have trodden underfoot the cloak of shame [compare the laying aside of Perpetua’s garment] and when the two will have become one, and the outer like the inner, and the

masculine like the feminine, neither masculine nor feminine.” This idea is based on the supposition that man unites the two sexes in himself not only physiologically but also as a psychological totality, seeing that the unconscious invariably contains the opposite quality. (Hence, in Hermetic philosophy, the hermaphrodite becomes the symbol of totality.) In Perpetua’s case, however, no real union of the opposites takes place, but an absolute inversion which corresponds to a complete extinction of the previous ego-consciousness, in place of which, in the state of ecstasy, another spiritual consciousness appears.

The amazing extent to which St. Augustine intuitively grasped these psychological facts and expressed them in the language of his time is almost unbelievable. Referring to Ephesians 4.13 (“Till we come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, *unto a perfect man . . .*” and so on), St. Augustine says that because the devil “felt himself to be in the presence of a woman who behaved to him like a man” (*viriliter secum agentem feminam sensit*)⁶⁰ he determined to tempt her by means of a man and chose for this purpose her father, who besieged her with his arguments. And in *de Anima* (IV:18, 26), he even adds:

In a dream, Perpetua saw herself *changed into a man*, fighting with an Egyptian. Who, however, can doubt that it was her soul that appeared in this [masculine] bodily form, not her actual body, which latter, having remained completely feminine, lay unconscious, whereas *her soul* fought in the aforesaid form of a masculine body.

Fourth Vision

She becomes identical with the animus. The Montanist prophetess Maximilla provides another striking parallel when, in her prophecies inspired by the Spirit, she speaks of herself in the masculine form. Inasmuch as the Christian symbols rose to the light of day as a new and creative content coming from the depths of the collective unconscious, the people of that time were drawn by them into the unconscious. In Perpetua's case also the Christian symbols appear in the unconscious (the shepherd in the Beyond and the fountain of life in the underworld). The conflict is not one between a consciousness newly converted to Christianity and the still-Pagan unconscious; on the contrary, the Christian symbol itself also appears in the unconscious, and it is there that the opposites clash. The same phenomenon occurs in a reversed form in the case of the author of the *Shepherd of Hermas*: thanks to a woman, to his meeting with the anima, he is initiated into a new doctrine. This whole period of evolution, when a Christian world was coming into being, is characterized by a powerful influx of the collective unconscious. Miracles were in the air; and in the catacomb pictures, the people of that time wear a peculiarly eager expression, their glance directed inwards as though they expected something tremendously fascinating to emerge from that direction.

The young men who anoint Perpetua with oil after her transformation are helpful figures like Pomponius but split up into a plurality – which is most typical of the animus figure.

Fourth Vision

Oil, especially in the form of scented ointment (*unguentum*), plays an important role in all primitive rites, as a fluid charged with power and as a means of healing, of beautifying, of preserving the dead, and so forth. The ancient images of the Gods were also anointed with oil as a method of bringing them to life. The Roman Catholic Church likewise uses scented oil (*myron*) which has been consecrated by the priest, especially in the case of extreme unction, to impart spiritual strength. Thus Cyrillus, a Father of the Church, says:⁶¹ "The oil which has been consecrated by the priest is no longer mere oil, but in the same way as the bread becomes the body of Christ, the oil becomes the *charisma* of Christ and of the Holy Ghost in an energized form [*energetikon charisma*]." It becomes the archetype of the Holy Ghost, who was frequently thought of as a nourishing, satisfying perfume. Therefore oil also meant Gnosis. Honorius of Autun says:⁶² "Naked of all vices and anointed with the oil of the *charisma*, must we fight the devil!" (So here likewise the laying aside of the garment is a laying aside of vices, of the *agnōsia* or unconsciousness.) This passage in the vision bears a close resemblance, moreover, to a part of the Slavonic *Book of Enoch* (22.8):⁶³ before entering into the highest Heaven, Enoch is divested of his earthly garments by the angel Michael, anointed with fine oil, and arrayed in the garment of God's majesty. This ointment "resembled a great light . . . and shone like the rays of the sun." According to the rules of the Church established by Hippolytus, the catechumens were also anointed by the bishop with the laying on of hands as a transmission of the spirit.

Fourth Vision

So this anointing with oil means a spiritual strengthening and enlightening by means of these animus figures. (In the Greek text they appear as a youth who sends forth flashes of lightning, and other fair youths. To send forth lightning means to enlighten.) These unite, as it were, to form the figure of the *lanista*. He is of such enormous size that he almost towers “above the whole amphitheater.” He carries a rod or staff in one hand, and in the other a green bough bearing golden apples which he promises as a reward of victory. Like Pomponius, he has a loose toga with a broad purple stripe across the middle of his chest between two others, and he wears “manifold shoes made of gold and silver.” Since Pomponius promised to help Perpetua, we may assume that he has, as it were, been transformed into the *lanista*, or that he was an early form of this figure.

The staff is evidently a sign that this daimon is also a guide. The staff is generally looked upon as belonging especially to Hermes, the messenger of the Gods and leader of souls; it is a golden rod which is similar to the magic wand of the magician. The shepherd-deity likewise carries a staff and shares the characteristic of supernatural size with the *lanista*. At bottom, it is the same figure. The staff gives him the quality of a guiding and judging principle. Honorius of Autun, for instance, interpreted the bishop’s staff as *auctoritas doctrinae* (the authority of the doctrine).⁶⁴ The staff characterizes the *lanista* as a personification of the right faith, the *pistis* — that is, the personification of a guiding principle which will settle

the conflict and be the absolute judge of the life and death of the soul. Judging also plays a remarkable role with St. Paul.

According to him: "He that is spiritual [the *pneumatikoi*] judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man."⁶⁵

This absolute infallibility of the *pneumatikoi* is based on the fact that he possesses, so to speak, the mind (Nous) of Christ, and the Nous of God judges absolutely. In the *Magic Papyri*, as we saw before, the Egyptian *Agathodaimon* is addressed as "Thou that sittest on the head of the cosmos, judging all things, surrounded by the circle of faith and truth."⁶⁶ On the last day Christ will also appear as such a judge of the world.

Thus the *lanista* carries the symbol of unshakable faith which definitely settles the conflict. In this sense, he is truly the "spirit of truth" which "shall be with you." In the presence of such an inviolable faith, every human criterion comes to an end: the individual is enabled to suffer even death willingly for its sake.

The golden shoes of the *lanista* point to an analogous psychic factor. As part of man's clothing which mirrors his attitude to his surroundings, shoes stand for a component of man's inner attitude which is especially concerned with the earth — i.e., with reality. In this sense shoes might be looked upon as representing how one relates to earthly things. The German saying "to lay aside children's shoes," for instance, symbolizes the laying aside of an infantile attitude to reality. In folklore shoes often have an erotic meaning, particularly as the feminine, receptive principle. That they are also the symbol of power is most clearly expressed in the phrase "to

Fourth Vision

be completely under a man's heel." The shoes of the *lanista* thus symbolize a psychic attitude which is receptive to reality, and at the same time they express unshakable steadfastness. They show that the *lanista* not only embodies a directing principle but also bestows a standpoint which is both incorruptible and secure. The *lanista* also wears a white garment with three purple stripes across the chest. According to Shewring, this means that a purple undergarment was visible between the two end stripes of the toga. White and red are the colors of the priests of the African Saturn and of the Egyptian mysteries in general, and in alchemy they represent the two highest stages — the *albedo* and *rubedo*. (In the present case the *nigredo* appears separately in the form of the Egyptian.) White indicates the first transfiguration in alchemy and also the dominance of the feminine principle; red implies the dominance of the masculine principle and is the color of the new "Sun-King." According to the Mithraic texts also the god Helios wears a white garment and a scarlet mantle.

Therefore the garment of the *lanista* contains an allusion to the highest stages of initiation into the mysteries and also to the reconciliation of the opposites in the unconscious. The presence of the three red stripes might point to the fact that here an upper triad has detached itself from a lower fourth element. A higher triad has appeared in opposition to the dark power represented by the Egyptian, which was looked upon in alchemy,⁶⁷ for instance, as the fourth factor and the foundation of a uniform development. The dark *materia prima*

Fourth Vision

was frequently described in alchemy as *caput draconis* (dragon's head), or as *draco*, whose head represented man as the *vita gloriosa* to which the angels minister. The *prima materia* was also occasionally portrayed as an Ethiopian.

The vision of one of the martyrs in the *Passio Mariani et Jacobi* provides a strikingly close parallel to the *lanista*:

I saw a youth of incredibly gigantic stature, whose loose garment shone with such a bright light, that our eyes could not dwell on it. His feet did not touch the ground and his countenance was above the clouds. As he hastened past us, he threw us each — into thy lap, Marianus, and into mine — a purple girdle, and spake: “Follow me!”

The martyrs interpret this apparition as Christ. According to the *Apocalypse of Peter*,⁶⁸ also, the bodies of the righteous “were whiter than snow and redder than any rose, and the red thereof was mingled with the white.”

Thus the conflict in the middle of the magic circle which Perpetua has reached reveals itself as a clash between two supra-personal, spiritual powers: the Egyptian as the spirit of Paganism, of the *pneuma* projected into the cosmos, and a new spiritual power which confronts him, tending entirely in the opposite direction, towards the Beyond, and laying claim to the absolute truth. But this spirit is nevertheless also a *kosmokrator* and *pneuma* “which reaches from heaven to earth.” Like the lord of the Egyptian earth it is also an *Agathodaimon* and a shepherd of men. Indeed, perhaps the most singular feature in this vision is that, when one probes deeply

Fourth Vision

into the conflicting, opposite principles, one is confronted with their peculiar similarity. This comes from the fact that they are both in the unconscious. It is really astounding that the spiritual power which has the casting vote in this conflict should be personified by a figure belonging most unmistakably to the Pagan world, the trainer of gladiators, and not by a Christian figure such as Saturus or Pomponius, for instance, or Christ himself. This can only be explained by the fact that the unconscious as a whole, in its still Pagan aspect, was actually working to build up a Christian consciousness. Hence, to be a Christian in those days meant unconditional obedience to the inner voice. We might also say that had Christ appeared as the *lanista*, he would, so to speak, have been taking sides in the fight. But the decisive factor which desired Perpetua's victory was the Self in a form which showed itself to be beyond the opposites, *Christus et eius umbra*. The non-Christian nature of the *lanista* is again expressed in a significant detail — in his garment. His dress, with the peculiarly broad purple stripes on the toga and the scarlet undergarment, is very similar to that worn by the African priests of Saturn, who was especially honored as a God of vegetation and of the underworld: it represented the very Deity against whom the Christians had to fight the hardest battle. Saturn was looked upon as the special tutelary God of animal fights⁶⁹ — so that he was also a *lanista* and umpire *par excellence* — the spirit of the amphitheater. One could almost fancy that it was this spirit which appeared to Perpetua as the *lanista*. It is remarkable how extraordinarily similar the images and texts of

Fourth Vision

budding Christianity were to those of the Gnostic and Pagan mysteries which it fought against with such ardor. Indeed, the Fathers of the Church themselves who inveighed against Paganism were not blind to this fact and could only explain it as a subtle *diabolica fraus*. The then widespread conception of a *Daimon Antimimos* (hostile and mimicking) who stands in the Redeemer's way was doubtlessly founded on such facts. For instance, Zosimos says:⁷⁰

Jesus Christ appeared to the wholly inefficient man as a scourged man, capable of suffering; and after he had secretly stolen the men of light belonging to him he proved — for in reality he did not suffer at all — that he had trodden down and pushed away death Thus they [the men of light] kill their own Adam. But this happens until the Spirit *Antimimos* comes, who is jealous of them and he wants them to fall into error as they did before, and he claims to be the Son of God himself, although he is formless [*amorphos*] both in body and soul.

(In the Greek text of the *Passio* the Egyptian is likewise called *amorphos*.)

Curiously enough the *Poimandres* of the *Corpus Hermeticum*⁷¹ is opposed by a similar “fire-breathing” daimon of vengeance and punishment, a similar power of destiny. We meet the same idea when St. Paul draws a comparison between the first “earthly” (*choĩkos*) Adam and the second Adam, who is “a quickening spirit” (*pneuma zoōpoion*). And lastly this opposition appears also in the idea of the Antichrist.

Fourth Vision

Perpetua herself does not use the designation *Antimimos* but simply calls the Egyptian *diabolus*; yet he possesses this peculiar quality of an anti-God in matter, a nature-spirit which, while aping the Christian spirit, is its opponent. If we ask ourselves what is actually taking place autonomously in the collective unconscious, we can perceive a splitting-up, as it were, of the archetype into a light and a dark aspect. This happened first of all to the image of God itself, inasmuch as the ambivalent, primordial father Yahweh approached the human sphere in the form of the two Sons of God, Satan and Christ. For a fuller description of this inner divine drama, I must refer you to C. G. Jung's interpretation in *Symbolik des Geistes*.⁷² This tearing apart of the light and dark aspects of the image of God, as it is described by Jung, can be proved to be true of all the other symbolical images. In Rhabanus Maurus' list of *figurae*, for instance, nearly all the *typi* (allegorical images),⁷³ such as fire, eyes, and lion, have one aspect which alludes to Christ and another which alludes to the devil.

The splitting-up of the image of God, and at the same time of all the other archetypal images, into two aspects appears to be connected — as C. G. Jung states in his Eranos article on the mother archetype⁷⁴ — with the differentiation of feeling and, consequently, of moral judgment in Western man, which subsequently made it impossible for him to endure the paradoxical character and moral ambivalence still retained, for instance, by the Indian gods.

Fourth Vision

However, the moral reaction of man appears to have been preceded and induced by the constellation of the new archetypal situation itself. This new constellation first revealed itself in the form of a “transcendent psychic presence,” as Perpetua’s visions show so clearly. The splitting-up of the image of God into the opposites, *Christus-Diabolus*, constellated a problem of the opposites which was to lead to a schism in times to come. The one-sided belief in the light side which characterized the exponents of early Christianity – such as Perpetua – was bound, in obedience to the law of enantiodromia, to be followed by the problem of the Antichrist, “Lord of this World.” This question, however, was only to arise in the second era of the astrological Pisces.

It is particularly interesting in the visions of St. Perpetua to be able to observe this splitting-up process in the unconscious psyche itself, but an equally remarkable fact is that the *lanista* still incorporates a remnant of Pagan spirit in which the opposites are still united, but whose aim is unmistakably to urge man to be a partisan of the light side.

The daimon who guides Perpetua in the person of the *lanista* carries yet a third attribute, the green bough with the golden fruit. This is a bough of the Tree of Life, a general archetypal image which is to be found all over the world. It is the tree of the Hesperides, which stands in the west and whose fruit signifies eternal life. In alchemy also it plays a big role, as *arbor solis et lunae*. It is not merely chance that Perpetua receives this bough at the hands of the leader of souls, for the tree grows in the west, the way of the night-sea-journey.

Fourth Vision

In the *Aeneid* (VI:140 ff.), before the hero can enter the land of the dead he must break the "golden bough." So the bough is at the same time the promise of eternal life and a means of passing over into the kingdom of the dead, of descending into the unconscious. This incident takes on a peculiarly impressive aspect when one considers that Perpetua had the dream on the eve of her actual death. In the *Passio Mariani et Jacobi*, a boy who had been put to death three days before appeared to one of the martyrs, wearing a wreath of roses round his neck and carrying the greening branch of a palm tree (*palma viridissima*) in his right hand. He tells them that he is feasting merrily and that they will soon eat with him. The bough of the Tree of Life with the golden fruit corresponds to the milk in the first vision and to the water of life in the Dinocrates dream. Gold is a symbol for the highest value (Dinocrates also drank out of a golden phial). The green bough points to the fact that this highest value is living, something which has grown naturally. Accordingly, the new spirit which towers above humanity fills Perpetua with absolute and unshakable conviction, and at the same time it transmits to her from the unconscious the highest living value, which one may surely look upon as the Deity. This spirit gives her the inner "conviction of God's existence" which makes it easy for her to die. But again, for this very reason, her actual death becomes a mere accident in the inner development which is implied.

It is the Saint herself who now wins the victory as, "lifted up in the air," she tramples her foe, singing hymns as she

Fourth Vision

does so. She is thrown into a state of enthusiasm, an ecstatic condition in which she sings hymns as a means of banishing her doubts — which are embodied in the Egyptian. Praising God meant at the same time making a mental sacrifice (*thysia logikē*) for the purpose of receiving the divine help. It was really a means of fighting. In this connection, Clement of Alexandria says:⁷⁵ “Out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem, the heavenly word, a true fighter crowned in the theater of the whole cosmos.” Ecstatic prophesying played a particularly important role among the Montanists. Montanus even once said of himself:⁷⁶ “Behold, man is like a lyre and I myself play on it as the plectron [being himself the Paraclete]. Man is asleep, but I am awake.” It is interesting that the Montanist prophetess Maximilla should also have said of herself:⁷⁷ “I am the word, *pneuma* and *dynamis*.” Thus, Perpetua also becomes the pure Logos (hence her masculinity). In this way she overcomes the spirit of doubt and attains the living, unquestionable faith, symbolized in the bough which the *lanista* presents to her with a kiss. This is the kiss of peace, which was a custom in the early Church; the kiss of life, of which the twenty-eighth *Ode of Solomon* says:⁷⁸ “Immortal life has come forth and has kissed me and from that life is the Spirit within me, and it cannot die, for it lives.”

As the outer destruction draws nearer, the comforting images in the dreams increase. It is also doubtless owing to the general compensatory function of the unconscious that it

Fourth Vision

was particularly the martyrs in prison and the monks who gave themselves up to a life of asceticism in the desert who enjoyed frequent dreams of wonderful banquets and beautiful heavenly gardens.

The terrible events actually connected with the martyrdom of Perpetua and her fellow-sufferers appear in a curious relation to the dream-images: in a certain measure, they are their outer fulfillment and, at the same time, their denial. As Satorus takes the lead in the dream, so he is the first to be put to death; as Perpetua lays aside her garment in the dream, so the mad cow tears her dress to shreds, exposing her nakedness; and just as the Egyptian threatens to pierce her with his sword, so is she actually pierced by the sword of the gladiator (and this contrary to all expectation, thanks only to the intercession of the crowd on her behalf). Therefore one might even say that in outer reality the Egyptian conquered. But his triumph was like the victory of Hell and death when Christ was crucified. Through suffering these, Christ remained victorious. ("Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" 1 Cor. 15.54-55). Therefore, in a certain sense, Perpetua suffers the very fate of Christ; in the words of St. Paul, "Christ" is "formed in" her (Gal. 4.19). Because, consciously, she is entirely on the side of one of the pairs of opposites in the unconscious and becomes identical with it, the other appears as her outer fate. Yet the very fact of being torn by the conflict (whose truest symbol is the cross of Christ) holds at the same time the possibility of a new life (alluded to in the vision as the bough with the golden fruit).

Fourth Vision

When the deepest layers of the collective unconscious are stirred, as they were at that time, with a new symbol of God coming into being, it would seem as if outer events also take part in the process — miracles come to pass. For instance, when the martyrs were put to death, incidents occurred whose unconscious logical sequence seems hardly credible to rational consciousness: not only did the Egyptian apparently conquer with his sword, but also at first it was even decided by the organizers of the games that the women martyrs should appear in white robes, as priestesses of Ceres and the men, in scarlet, as priests of Saturn. The martyrs protested on the grounds that they gave their lives precisely to avoid having to do anything of the kind. The suggestion was finally dropped. It was, in fact, a widespread custom at that time to make criminals who had been sentenced play such roles in the amphitheater, but the extraordinary thing is the choice of the Gods whose priests the martyrs would have had to impersonate. The women were to serve Ceres, the greatest Mother-Deity of antiquity, the earth mother and mother of the corn, the protectress of young women. It was just this principle, however, that Perpetua and her fellow-martyr had repudiated: Perpetua forsook her infant son; Felicitas gave birth to a child in prison only shortly before her martyrdom. And what is still more amazing: they were thrown to a mad cow. The cow itself is a widespread ancient symbol of the feminine and maternal principle. The author of the *Passio* seems somehow to have sensed the singularity of this coincidence, for he says: “As to the young women, the devil had kept a mad cow in store for

Fourth Vision

them — which had been provided quite exceptionally [*praetor consuetudinem*] — in order by means of the animal, to insult their sex still further by aping it [*sexui earum etiam de bestia aemulatus*].”

An equally astonishing coincidence of outer circumstances is to be found where the men martyrs are concerned. They were to appear as priests of Saturn, and two of them bore names which happen to be derivations of the latter: the one was called Sатурus, the other Saturninus.

In Africa, the Roman Saturn was identified with a native Punic-Phoenician deity and played a significant role in the cult of the country. On the old inscriptions he is called *frugifer* (fruit-producing) or *deus frugum* (God of fruit) and is compared to Ceres. The cult of this God was quite exceptionally widespread in Africa, as the apologetic writings of Tertullian show.⁷⁹ In a list of bishops recorded by Cyprian (*Epist.* 57), no fewer than four bear the name Saturninus. According to Tertullian,⁸⁰ the priests of Saturn had particularly broad purple stripes on their togas, also a loose garment in Galatian red. So they wore exactly the same clothing as the gigantic *lanista* in Perpetua's vision — this trait being a further proof of the bewildering similarity of the opposites. As Saturday was the day consecrated to Saturn and coincided with the Sabbath of the Jews, the opinion prevailed in antiquity that Saturn was the highest God of the Jews. Since no distinction was generally made between Christians and Jews, he was also thought of as the God of the Christians. So the idea which occurred to the organizers of the games — i.e., to dress up the

Fourth Vision

martyrs particularly as priests of Saturn — undoubtedly had its origin in these connections.

Thus the law of the enantiodromia of all archetypal opposites fulfilled itself in the martyrs up to the bitter end, and the tension of the wrenching apart of those opposites produced a new life-energy with which the Christian culture of the following centuries was to build afresh. But the unconscious itself sustained the martyrs with images which held the promise of a new life, thereby giving them the inner strength to stand unwaveringly by their decision.

These visions of the *Passio Perpetuae* therefore reveal in a singularly complete form the whole unconscious situation of humanity at that time, Pagan as well as Christian, and show the conflict which the Christians experienced in endeavoring to tear themselves free from the spirit which was bound up in nature and in matter. Martyrdom itself had indeed no other meaning than to demonstrate to the Pagan world this complete severance and absolute belief in a World Beyond. But the visions also show what hard battles the believers had to fight within themselves, how deep the inner struggle went, which in reality had broken out between two divine, that is, supra-personal, unconscious powers. In truth, viewed from the psychological standpoint, the martyrs appear in many respects as the tragic, unconscious victims of the transformation which was then being fulfilled deep down in the collective stratum of the human soul: the transformation of the image of God, whose new form was to rule over the aeons to come.

NOTES

1. For the history of the text, see among others J. A. Robinson, *Texts and Studies, Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature*, Cambridge, 1891, Vol. I; and P. Franchi de Cavalieri, *La Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, Rome, 1896.
2. Tertullian, *de Anima* 55, 4. For English, see A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, editors, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*, New York, 1885.
3. P. de Labriolle, *La crise montaniste*, Paris (Leroux), 1913.
4. My own rendering of the text. See also W. H. Shewring, *The Passion of SS. Perpetua and Felicity*, London, 1931; and E. C. E. Owen, *Some Authentic Acts of Early Martyrs*, Oxford, 1927.
5. Literally, "I behold." The Saint uses the present tense of this verb both here and in the following visions.
6. A fellow martyr of whom an important mandala-vision is also recorded in the same text.
7. In this translation, I have followed Shewring.
8. Cf. Joh. J. Zimmermann, *Disquisitiones Historicae et Theologicae, de Visionibus*, Tiguri, 1738.
9. Cf. F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, Brussels (H. Lamertin), 1896-99, II:27.
10. Cf. C. G. Jung, "Einige Bemerkungen zu den Visionen des Zosimos." *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 1937, Zürich (Rhein), 1938; (CW 13, "The Visions of Zosimos").
11. Cf. C. G. Jung, *Psychologie und Alchemie*, Zürich (Rascher), 1944, pp. 90 ff., (CW 12, *Psychology and Alchemy*).

12. Blasius Vigenerus in "Tractatus de Igne et Sale," *Theatrum Chemicum*, 1661, VI:31.
13. Jakob von Batnae, "Die Vision Jakobs von Beth-El" in *Ausgewählte Schriften der syrischen Dichter*, P. S. Landesdörfer, editor, Kempsten, 1913, p. 87. As Professor Jung brought to my notice, the Virgin Mary was also described as *scala effferens a terra in coelum* (Pitra, *Analecta sacra* I, p. 264).
14. Cf. C. G. Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, London (Bailliere, Tindall and Cox), 1928, p. 230 (CW 7, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*). For the phenomenology of the animus, cf. especially Emma Jung, "On the Nature of the Animus," in her *Animus and Anima*, Spring Publications, 1978.
15. Hippolytus, *Elenchos* V, 17, 11 ff.
16. Fernand Cabrol, editor, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris (Letouzey et Ané), 1907, Vol. II, col. 151, and also under "Balbina."
17. Cf. M. Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, Paris (Ministry of Public Information), 1887.
18. Germ. 280. J. P. Migne, editor, *Patrologiae cursus completus: Latin Series*, XXXVIII, col. 1282.
19. Hippolytus, *Hexaameron*. J. P. Migne, editor, *Patrolog: Graeco-Lat.* X, col. 585.
20. Origen, *de Principiis* 1, II, chap. 3. For English, see Roberts and Donaldson, *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*.
21. Cf. C. G. Jung, *Psychology and Religion*, New Haven (Yale University Press), 1938, p. 129, note 32; (CW 11, "Psychology and Religion").
22. See R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, Leipzig (B. G. Teubner), 1904.
23. My own rendering of the Greek text in *Corpus Hermeticum*, Bk. I; W. Scott, editor, *Hermetica*, Oxford, 1924. Scott endeavors to

prove that *authentia* means sovereignty, omnipotence, but the meaning of genuineness, truth, which he merely touches upon, is nearer the sense in this case, from my point of view. Perhaps the nearest rendering would be Spirit of Absoluteness.

24. Philo, *de Agricultura* 50. My rendering of the Greek text.
25. Karl L. Preisendanz, editor, *Papyri magicae Graecae*, Leipzig (B. G. Teubner), 1928, I:107.
26. My rendering of the text published in Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 11.
27. Cf. also 1 Cor. 3.2.
28. J. H. Bernard, editor, *The Odes of Solomon*, in J. A. Robinson's *Texts and Studies*, op. cit., Vol. VIII, no. 3, Ode XIX.
29. Literally, "aeons."
30. Literally, "on the right hand in the *Pleroma*."
31. R. Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Mysterienreligionen*, Leipzig (B. G. Teubner), 2nd ed., p. 330.
32. For the problem of the death of the God, cf. C. G. Jung, *Psychology and Religion*, p. 104. More fully treated in the German version, *Psychologie und Religion*, Zürich (Rascher), 1939, pp. 159-162 (CW 11, "Psychology and Religion" §§145-49).
33. Cf. Luke 16.26.
34. Cf. Franz Josef Dölger, *Antike Parallelen zum leidenden Dinocrates in der Passio Perpetuae*, *Antike und Christentum*, Münster i.W., 1930, II:1-40.
35. *Idem*.
36. Concerning the anticipatory character of the child archetype, cf. K. Kerényi and C. G. Jung, *Essays on a Science of Mythology*, Princeton Univ. Press Paperback, 1969, pp. 83-4.
37. For this material, I am indebted to Miss Hildegard Nagel.

38. Cf. Berthelot, *Collect. des anc. alch. grecs*, op. cit., II:297.
39. Cf. Scott, *Hermetica*, I:149 ff; cf. also Jung, *Psych. u. Alch.*, op. cit., pp. 405 ff.
40. Jung, *Psych. u. Alch.*, p. 113.
41. Quoted from E. Preuschen, *Antilegomena*, p. 129; also quoted in *CW* 12, p. 390, n. 141.
42. Cf. Reitzenstein, *Hist. Monach. u. Hist. Lausiaca*, pp. 107-110.
43. Cf. Emma Jung. "On the Nature of the Animus," op. cit.
44. Apuleius, *Metamorph.* XI. For English, see *The Golden Ass of Apuleius*, translated by W. Adlington, 1566, New York (Modern Library), 1932, pp. 299f.
45. Tertullian, *de Spectaculis*, 12. For English, see Roberts and Donaldson, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. III.
46. See Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, Leipzig (B. G. Teubner), 1906, pp. 41-45.
47. Scott, *Hermetica*. I:340-41.
48. Hugo Rahner, "Antemna Crucis II," *Zeitschrift für Kathol. Theologie*, 1942, p. 111.
49. Eph. 6.11-14; see also Eph. 2.2.
50. Isaiah 14.12.
51. This is also a trick that the wrestler uses in order to make it difficult for his opponent to lay hold of him. Cf. Tertullian, *de Pallio*, 3. For English, see Roberts and Donaldson, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*.
52. Philo, *de Opificio Mundi*, 7.29. For English, see F. H. Colson and the Rev. G. H. Whitaker, *Philo with an English translation*, New York (Putnam's), 1929.
53. Origen, *Peri euchēs*, 27.12. For English, see Roberts and Donaldson, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*.

54. Scott, *Hermetica*, VII, S 2, 3.
55. Bernard, *Odes of Solomon*, Ode XI.
56. *Idem*, Ode XXI.
57. *Idem*, Ode XXV.
58. Cf. J. A. Robinson. *The Fragments of Heracleon in Texts and Studies*, op. cit., I:57, n. 28.
59. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* III, 13.92.
60. Quoted from van Beek's edition of the *Passio*, p. 155.
61. Cyrillus. J. P. Migne, editor, *Patrolog. Graeco-Lat.* XXX, col. 1089.
62. Honorius of Autun. J. P. Migne, editor, *Patrolog. Lat.* CLXXII, col. 857.
63. For English, see Morfill & Charles, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, 1896; also Forbes & Charles, *Apoc. and Pseudepigrapha*, 1912.
64. J. P. Migne, editor, *Patrolog. Latin Series.* CLXXII, col. 610.
65. 1 Cor. 2.15.
66. Preisendanz, *Papyri magicae Graecae*, I:107.
67. *Scriptum Alberti super arborem Aristotelis, Theatrum Chemicum*, 1602, II:525.
68. Cf. A. Dieterich, *Nekyia*, Leipzig, 1893, pp. 3 ff; also M. R. James, editor, *The Revelation of Peter in Two Lectures on the newly discovered Fragments, etc.*, London, 1892, 2nd ed., p. 46.
69. Cf. Lactantius Firmianus, *Divinarum Institutionum Libri Septum* VI, 20. For English, see Roberts and Donaldson, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. VII.
70. Cf. Berthelot, *Collect. des anc. alch. grecs*, Vol. III, XLIX; also quoted in Jung, *CW* 12, p. 366.
71. Scott, *Hermetica*, Vol. XIII.

72. C. G. Jung, *Symbolik des Geistes*, Zürich (Rascher), 1948. Cf. in English, *CW* 13, "The Spirit Mercurius"; *CW* 11, "A Psychological Approach to the Dogma of the Trinity," "The Psychology of Eastern Meditation"; *CW* 9, i, "The Phenomenology of the Spirit in Fairytales."
73. Migne, *Patrolog. Latin Series*, Vol. CXII, col. 907 ff.
74. C. G. Jung, "Psychological Aspects of the Mother Archetype," *CW* 9, i.
75. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protreptikos* I. 3.
76. See Epiphanius, *Panarion* XLVIII. 4.
77. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* V, 16. 17. For English, see Kirsopp Lake, *The Ecclesiastical History with an English Translation*, New York (Putnam's), 1926-32.
78. Bernard, *Odes of Solomon*, Ode XXVIII. Literally, "for it is life itself."
79. See Franz Josef Dölger, *Ichthys* II, Münster i.W., pp. 277 ff.
80. Tertullian, *de Pallio*, 4. For English, see Roberts and Donaldson, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*.

Helen Jean Moore Library
 Point Park College

 08-AOY-296