JUNG AND MESOPOTAMIA

Archetypes, Symbolic Forms and Mythology

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Introduction

The central aim of the ensuing work is to explore if and how Carl Jung's theory of archetypes can be useful in exploring the unique mythological and symbolic background of specific cultural contexts. It is easy to get the impression when reading Jung and his students such as Neumann and Von Franz, that with all their use and explications on world mythology very little consideration of the specific instantiation of a myth or symbol within a specific cultural and historical context is actually considered. It is clear that these people, and other students or followers of Jung, use myth as a means for their psychology rather than for the sake of the myth itself. I found this point ringing true not only for myself but also for Henri Frankfort back in his 1958 article 'The Archetype in Analytical Psychology and the History of Religion' where he echoed similar sentiments. Furthermore, Smythe and Baydala (2012) point to the criticisms of Jung's approach to mythology where he extracts the myth and its symbolism out of their cultural and historical contexts to draw parallels between them. They suggest this reveals more of Jung's psychology than of the symbols, myths and the cultures that produced them (2012: 70). More about the purpose behind Jung's approach, his psychology and the archetypes, as well as how we may use them for our purposes, will be explained and expanded upon through the course of the work.

The purpose undergirding the aim of the present work, then, is to turn the tables upon this dynamic of the Jungian approach and to use his archetypal theory to do so. Simply put, the purpose is to make Jung work for the myth rather than the myth for Jung. That means putting the cultural and historical contexts back into myth within their respective instantiations within a specific

tradition. The following case study will focus upon the mythology of Mesopotamia and how Jung's psychology may be relevant.

Jung is an interesting and controversial figure whose work has found many detractors, but also many followers, which attests to his polarising legacy in psychology and the wider milieu. Sonu Shamdasani, editor of the Red Book and an extensive writer on Jung and 19th and 20th century psychology, wrote in his book 'Jung and the Making of Modern Psychology' (2003), that

> He has become a figure upon whom an endless succession of myths, legends, fantasies, and fictions continues to be draped. Travesties, distortions, and caricatures have become the norm. This process shows no signs of abating. (p.1)

Jung is, and was, a figure upon whom many adjectives and their antonyms were heaped which is part of the attraction to his thought and theory in that he garners such a reaction, delight in some, thoughts of taboo in others. Thus, debate is likely to arise from most sources dealing with Jung's psychology, and this is no less true for this work. There has already been debate around the use of Jung's archetypes in the capacity put forth later in this work, as some consider it to stray too far from Jung's theory. This will be considered later. It is prescient, then, that I acknowledge such points of contention later in the work when relevant. Furthermore, I should state at the outset that, considering the above mentioned polarising nature of Jung, the author's purpose is not as a dogmatic Jungian or as a detractor of him, but as someone concerned with interpreting the culture and traditions of Mesopotamia and the spheres of mythology and symbolism. With the amount of consideration Jung took of the mythology and symbolism of world cultures and with his focus upon the human mind, it is reasonable to question whether his thought is applicable in any way to considerations of specific traditions.

The following sections will deal with the biographical details of Jung as relating to his work and ideas. Biographical details, here, are sought after to illustrate the archetypes, their developments and the causes and reasons surrounding the circumstances of their development in his thought. With this we can draw out the purpose of the archetypes within his thought overall to justify the idea that his primary concern with archetypes was geared towards understanding the structure and function of the psyche, so this knowledge could be applied practically in therapy. Then we will explore the currency of his thought in and outside of his own discipline to contextualise his thought and how it is perceived. I will then chart a way into the possible cultural aspects of archetypes through Jung's own characterisation of them, and interpose the Cassirer's symbolic forms to explore how this cultural aspect may be developed. All of this will be the framework for applying this developed and updated theory of archetypes to Mesopotamian mythology through the mother archetype most notably in the figure of Tiamat in the Enūma Eliš.

Emergence of archetypal theory

Carl Gustav Jung was born on 26th July 1875 in Kesswil Switzerland (Stevens 1990: 5; Storr 1983: 13). Upon graduation from the Univeristy of Basel Jung would take a position as assistant to the physician Eugene Blueler at Burghölzli mental hospital (Stevens 1990: 6; Storr 1983: 13), he would later be promoted to senior staff physician (Storr 1983: 13). It was his work and experience at Burghölzli that would prove to be foundational for the theory of archetypes. At Burghölzli he noticed in the hallucinations, dreams and fantasies of his schizophrenic patients, similarities in content between individuals and mythological and religious images (Stevens 1990: 20). It was his time at Burghölzli in which Jung would begin the conceptualising the idea of a collective foundation of the human psyche from which such images arose. It was later when Jung drew on the similarities of some of these figures across individuals and in world mythology that the foundational ideas of archetypes and the collective unconscious would appear.

Théodore Flournoy proved an influential figure for Jung's thought as in 1900 he published his work on the medium Helen Smith which was said to expose the "mythopoeic capacities of the unconscious mind" (Stevens 1990: 15). Stevens (1990: 15) suggests that this study was among the most important in relation to the development of Jung's psychology as it investigated how the unconscious mind works on and manipulates memories only to burst into the conscious mind, and to reveal themselves in dreams. The influences upon Jung and his psychology extended back before the first decade of the 20th century. Stevens (1990: 12) suggest the 19th century figures of von Schelling, Hegel, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche furthered the idea of the unconscious and its

relation to consciousness, and in whose works, “many tenets of analytical psychology are prefigured” (Stevens 1990: 12).

In 1907 he published ‘The Psychology of Dementia Praecox’ which was an essential work in the study of Schizophrenia and led to his contact with Freud. The contact and friendship Jung struck up with Freud is among the most discussed parts of Jung’s life and psychology, which is unsurprising considering the outcome of this friendship and its breakdown was a sort of ‘creative illness’ for Jung, lasting between 1914-1918, and out of which the ideas and forms of his later though would arise as an elaboration of this period. From the beginning of the friendship, Jung was concerned with the emphasis upon sexual theory in Freud’s thought (Stevens 1990: 20). Furthermore, his fixation on the unconscious as made up of only repressed or currently non-conscious personal experiences proved difficult for Jung to accept. This ran counter to Jung’s work at Burghölzli which showed the wider reach of the unconscious mind (Stevens 1990: 20; Storr 1983: 17). Jung felt pressure to reject such ideas to preserve the friendship with Freud, but once that leap had been taken those ideas were able to burst through clearly, starting with Jung’s 1912 work later named ‘Symbols of Transformation’. Jung’s publication of this work set out the beginnings of an articulated concept of the collective unconscious which ameliorated his suspicions from his time at Burghölzli and from the work of Flournoy and others, and put the first step forward in archetypal theory. It also marks his rejection of Freud’s psychoanalysis and thus represents a clear new path in his work.

I was in a house I did not know, which had two storeys. It was “my house.” I found myself in the upper storey, where there was a kind of salon furnished with fine old pieces in rococo

style. On the walls hung a number of precious old paintings. I wondered that this should be my house, and thought, “Not bad.” But then it occurred to me that I did not know what the lower floor looked like. Descending then stairs, I reached the ground floor. There everything was much older, and I realised that this part of the house must date from about the fifteenth or sixteenth century. The furnishings were medieval; the floors were of red brick. Everywhere it was rather dark. I went from one room to another, thinking, “Now I really must explore the whole house.” I came upon a heavy door, and opened it. Beyond it, I discovered a stone stairway that led down into the cellar. Descending again, I found myself in a beautifully vaulted room which looked exceedingly ancient. Examining the walls, I discovered layers of brick among the ordinary stone blocks, and chips of brick in the mortar. As soon as I saw this I knew that the walls dated from Roman times. My interest by now was intense. I looked more closely at the floor. It was of stone slabs, and in one of these I discovered a ring. When I pulled it, the stone slab lifted, and again I saw a stairway of narrow stone steps leading down into the depths. These, too, I descended, and entered a low cave cut into the rock. Thick dust lay on the floor, and in the dust were scattered bones and broken pottery, like remains of a primitive culture. I discovered two human skulls, obviously very old and half disintegrated. Then I awoke.

MDR p.182-83

This was a dream Jung had on his trip in 1909 with Freud to the USA (Stevens 1994: 46). It is often quoted in works on Jung’s life and psychology as it is rather significant in demarcating his divergence with Freud, and in punctuating his conception of the collective unconscious. The house in which he continues to descend represents the structure of the psyche (see Figure 1 for a visual representation of the psyche– Stevens 1994: 49) where he begins in the conscious mind and makes his way down into the unconscious, into the personal unconscious and down into the deepest level of the psyche, the collective unconscious. The dream, then, presents us with the burgeoning of the suspicions Jung had from Burghölzli into a more conscious conception of the psyche and the collective unconscious, which would shape the direction of

his work for the rest of his life. Finally, the dream marks the break from Freud as Jung found his interpretation of it seriously lacking and far from the mark.

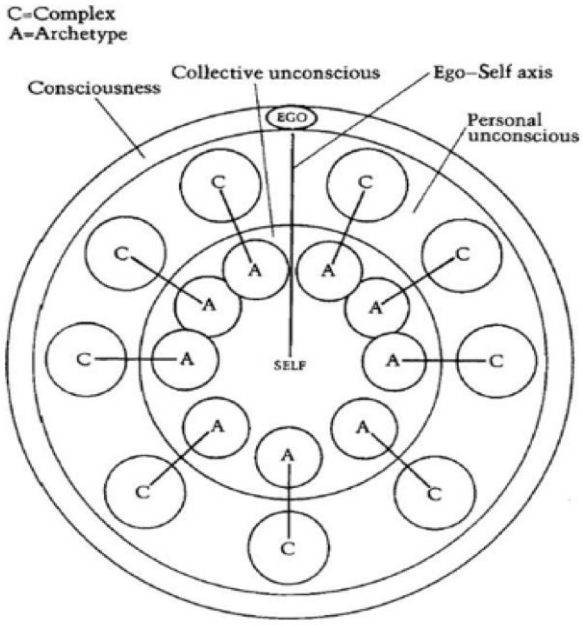

Figure 1

It is from this formulation of the collective unconscious that the archetypes emerged in Jung's thought as the contents of the collective unconscious (Stevens 1994: 47). The archetypes, a term first used by Jung in 1919 (Storr 1983: 16), are 'primordial images' or motifs common to humanity which appear in myths and fairy tales as well as in dreams and hallucinations and fantasies (Kerenyi and Jung 2001: 100), even in those of the mentally ill, which harks back to Jung's days at Burghölzli. They are not considered to be inborn ideas (Storr 1983: 16) but are a sort of background of "underlying ground themes" (Storr 1983: 16) that appear in varying forms in manifestations from the unconscious, and thus are shapers and organisers of ideas and images which are primordial and eternally reproduced in varying forms. They are not themselves conscious components of the psyche but an inherited 'myth-forming' part of the unconscious mind (Kerenyi and Jung 2001: 99) so that myths are not repeatedly reproduced fully formed. Rather, the psyche

produces common motifs such as the archetypes of the child; the hero; the wise old man; the mother; the father; the son and so on. These are examples of archetypes, however, they often have their own 'aspects' which are subcomponents and form altogether the whole nexus of the archetype around one centre. An example of this is the mother archetype which includes the great mother; the terrible mother; the goddess; the virgin; the grandmother; the mother-lover and a whole series of related images connected to the physical world and non-physical concepts. Frankfort understood the use of the archetypes and the idea of the disparate aspects connected to one centre when he looked to the example of Ishtar and the apparent confusion from philologists as to her differing titles. He found more comfort in Eric Neumann's – Jung's student – diagnosis of the roles of Ištar with his use of the mother archetype, and how it can incorporate these disparate oppositions and aspects (1958: 172).

An archetype such as this one is a collation of varying, sometimes disparate images and ideas that can coalesce under the central archetype. They manifest themselves in various forms in various ancient mythologies and according to Jung's observations, in people's dreams, fantasies and hallucinations. This included his own fantasies and dreams which is exhibited in the infamous Red Book, a journal of his 'confrontation with his unconscious mind'. These experienced from Burghölzli, in his own personal life and in his study of world religion and mythology suggested to him the collective universal motifs of the archetypes laying deep in the unconscious mind. Myth is considered primarily, as the concept of the collective unconscious shows, as a product or revelation of the human psyche since its content, the archetypes, are also manifest in other mental products such as dreams and fantasies.

The contention in this article is that Jung, with all his talk of myth, did not study it for its own sake, but as a psychologist for which the study of myth could shed light upon. Furthermore, that this approach led Jung to neglect the cultural and historical context of myth as his intention was not to develop a hermeneutical and cultural approach. Jung treated the unconscious imagination and its products as a "self-portrait" (Kerenyi and Jung 2001: 102) of the unconscious, and argued that the impersonal fantasies and products represent not something experientially acquired by an individual in their life, but something that arises from an inherited and impersonal part of the psyche. From this same part of the psyche springs the mythologemes, the archetypes or primordial images and motifs (Kerenyi and Jung 2001: 102). Thus, in the products of the patient's unconscious mind, dreams and fantasies, spring forth archetypal images analogous to mythological symbolism as they both arise from the same archetypal background source.

The study of myth is the study of a fundamental element of the psyche in Jung's formulation of it and is very much of interest to the Jungian looking to get a glimpse of the collective unconscious and its archetypal expressions. The archetypes become immensely relevant to the Jungian because they are thought to regulate the human life cycle mentally. Just as the body goes through a change in life, so does the mind go through what Jung termed 'life stages' (Stevens 1994: 60). Certain archetypes become the relevant pattern of behaviour and orientation of thought at separate stages of life and your relation to them depends on your stage, your sex and other factors. Therefore, an understanding of the archetypes, and the way they are expressed in myth, is paramount in understanding the patient's archetypal programme and their deviation from it and thus from a balanced and integrated self (Stevens 1994:

128). Such is the purpose of myth within Jungian psychology as an expression of the human mind and thus a tool for understanding it and relating that therapy however successful or possible that may be.

Criticism of archetypes and Jung's place in psychology

Jung's formulation of the archetypes did change as he made further elaborations of the theory throughout his life. One of the issues with archetypal theory, however, is said by Hunt (2012) to be present from his earliest to his latest work on the collective unconscious. The criticism is that of a conceptual tension in the collective unconscious. The tension is characterised as a conflict between the higher/lower aspects of the theory where you have two conceptions of its function and origin. The higher regards the collective unconscious as an imaginative tool which drives the symbolic creations of the human imagination (Hunt 2012: 78). The lower, then, refers to the biological inheritance of humanity in the unconscious (Hunt 2012: 78) where the archetypes represent the various impressions made on the human mind by millennia of life repeating similar or identical patterns of living (Jung and Storr (ed.) 1983: 70). The higher is the creative advance of the human imagination whereas the lower is the return to our origins (Hunt 2012: 78). Because of the nature of the biological dimension, some have criticized the archetypes as Lamarckist. Jung attempted to acquit himself of this charge by distinguishing the archetype-as-such from the archetypal representations themselves (Stevens 1994: 54; Pietikainen 1998: 334; Smythe and Baydala 2012: 63). This does not take biology out of the question as we will see later but it does dispel the idea of inherited traits and other long rejected ideas. Furthermore, this distinction will act as the central argument later for the value of archetypal theory in approaching mythology.

As to the value of Jung and his archetypes in the intellectual marketplace, it was not received enthusiastically when he proposed it. Stevens (1994) chalks

up to Jung's unconvincing initial presentation of the collective unconscious in 'Symbols of Transformation' (1994: 53) and to the predominance of ideas such as behaviourism in his career and other ideas that rejected or neglected biological factors (1994: 53). A similar scenario has repeated itself today as the biological factor in his archetypal theory has excluded him from parts of modern psychology such as with the broadly termed 'post-modern turn' in psychology which Jones (2003) suggested can be brought into comprehension through two concepts: first, the social mind where language mediated interactions are seen as the origin of mental processes (2003: 619); and second, the narrative self which views the individual as the collation of the stories we tell about ourselves (2003: 619). These ideas place the cultural and social realms above that of the biological, which Jung is identified with, in their understanding of human nature and mind. Jones does go on however, to suggest that Jung may be relevant in some way to the concept of the narrative self, so we are not alone in adapting the large wellspring of Jung's work to other means.

Jung was celebrated by Henri Ellenberger in 'The Discovery of the Unconscious' in 1970 as being a fundamental figure in the history of depth psychology worth studying in his own right (Charet 2000: 205). Jung is, however, increasingly excluded from textbooks and courses in psychology (Hunt 2012: 76). Jung has fared better outside of psychology and has attracted interest in other fields such as religious studies and literature (Charet 2000: 199). Furthermore, he found quite a following outside of academia which itself has received much criticism as a sort of cult of personality. One of the more well-known sources on this is Richard Noll's 1994 book 'The Jung Cult', which saw Jung's break from Freud as a turn to pseudo-science and to becoming a semi-religious

figure. This is unsurprising considering how Jung's work became appropriated by the 'New Age' movements of the 1970's – a source on this part of Jung's reception in the marketplace is David Tracey's 2001 work 'Jung and the New Age'.

What is more relevant to us in terms of the reception of Jung and his archetypes is Frankfort and Bing's 1958 article 'The Archetype in Analytical Psychology and the History of Religion'. The relevance of the article is its overlap with our approach to Jung and myth and our diagnosis of Jung's approach and use of myth and its consequences. The aim of the article is to attempt to answer the question of how applicable the work and results of the psychology of Jung is to the study and discipline of the history of religions (1958: 171). One overlap has already been mentioned, namely the characterisation of Jung's approach to myth and religion as one which seeks its therapeutic value rather than for its own sake (1958: 175). It is this disposition Jung has towards myth that Frankfort finds relevant. In Frankfort's estimation, Jung places too high an emphasis upon the individual psyche in relation to the growth of myth (1958: 177), which leads to the view that Jung sees the personal "intrapsychic facts" (1958: 176) of his patient's dreams, fantasises and hallucinations as the same, or significantly similar to myth. Frankfort's concern was Jung's overemphasis upon the individual in myth which he saw as something generated, negotiated by and kept living through the collective, the community and their tradition. Furthermore, he suggested that Jung's individual view means he does not grasp the historicity of a symbol and its changing meaning and function in a historical sense as embedded within a particular cultural tradition (1958: 177).

Frankfort proposed four alterations to Jung's thought which reveal his concerns as well as his belief that there was value in his work. The four included:

1- Mythology is concerned with the community and not the individual.
2- Natural phenomena acted as impetus for the activation of images rather than internal individual causes.
3- Their significance is not tied to repressed parts of the unconscious but in their manifest contents.
4- Mythological images are not universal nor are they necessary.

(1958: 178)

This list reveals Frankfort's concern over Jung's use of myth and religion for the purposes of his psychology and therapy. Furthermore, it demonstrates his concern over the supposed universality of archetypes that stem from biological origins. Similarly, my purpose is to make Jung's thought work for the myth, but it is the concern over the nature and origins of the archetypes for Frankfort implicit in the 4th alteration that will become relevant to our purposes later. Frankfort did state that Jung's school should not be excluded by the historian of religion particularly, when approaching alien forms of religion (1958: 175). He found great use for the archetypes, with the Mother archetype as an example, in revealing a "curiously entangled underground layer" (1958: 170) of a series of images, which shows how a large "variety of experiences… can be shown to converge on a simple demonstrable centre" (1958: 170). He accepted that mythological motifs and concepts emerge from the unconscious and are not just "contrived and sophisticated allegories" (1958: 177), and he found useful the Mother archetype and its aspects showed the variety of feelings which produce the contents of images and symbols (1958: 178). Frankfort

reflects some of our concerns about Jung's work and anticipates the need to alter, or in our case to further develop a strand of his thought.

Culture and Archetypes

So far, we have been concerned with the development of Jung's concept of the archetypes and the collective unconscious, what they are, how they are connected to his psychology, how myth plays into this and allows for neglect of the cultural and historical components underlying the archetypal expressions, and the reception and currency of these ideas. As previously mentioned, a weak point of Jung's use of myth with his comparative method aiming at proving the universality of the archetypes as products of the human psyche, is that it neglects fundamental historical factors important to the emergence of myths. These concerns are proven to overlap with Frankfort's concerns over Jung's work. If we can and must find a path out of this and elaborate a method of re-imbuing archetypal expressions with their cultural and historical peculiarities, we can then use the archetypes for cultural and historical analysis. With this re-casting or development of Jung's theory we must in the process acknowledge the controversy that surrounds it in the literature as we can proceed on this path towards an understanding of Mesopotamian myth from a revised archetypal perspective.

The path really begins with the aforementioned recasting of the archetypes by Jung in 1946, whose implications he did not develop further, where he distinguished between the archetype as such and the archetypal expressions themselves, suggesting a level of cultural and historical relativism to the archetypal expressions. It has been stated that this recasting of the archetypes as such and its description as a 'background' has significant implications for a hermeneutic understanding of archetypes (Smythe and Baydala 2012: 65) because the idea of background understanding, or pre-understanding, is

common in hermeneutic philosophy as “an essential precondition of meaningful human activity” (Smythe and Baydala 2012: 65). Smythe and Baydala expand upon this background as pre-understanding in that “human meaning making presupposes and rests upon a tacit background of shared practices, capacities, dispositions, and forms of life that constitute a fundamental condition of their intelligibility” (2012: 65). Much of the controversy that will be articulated later in this section revolves around the status of this background whether it is biological/genetic or culturally inherited.

What characterises this background is its inaccessibility to any kind of conceptual articulation. It has therefore been described as non-cognitive and non-discursive (Smythe and Baydala 2012: 65). Furthermore, Smythe and Baydala place this formulation of the archetype as such within Searle’s deep background, which he distinguishes from the local background, which include “embodied human capacities” thought to be common to human beings (Searle 1983: 143-144 via Smythe and Baydala 2012: 65). The deep background is shared and honed in on the primary and “perennial, existential concerns of human life everywhere” (Smythe and Baydala 2012: 66) such as mortality, love, hate and many more. It is concluded that because of its nature as non-cognitive and its resistance by its nature to conceptualisation, its most obvious path of expression is in the realms of ritual, myth, narrative, symbolic manifestations and metaphor (Smythe and Baydala 2012: 66). The archetype as such, then, can be hermeneutically construed as the deep background which is concerned with the basic concerns of humanity, and is resistant to articulation and similarly expresses itself in non-conceptual modes, including

myth and ritual, which makes the archetypal expressions and their meanings metaphorical and closed to conceptual analysis for truth values.
The concern here is what to make of and how to interpret these archetypal expressions which come forth from the deep background in non-conceptual manifestations such as myth and ritual. Clearly, we are unable, according to Smythe and Baydala, to derive truth-value from these expressions and thus we can only really make statements about them (2012: 69) and interpret them, i.e. interpreting the archetypal expressions of a text such as the Enūma Eliš from Mesopotamia. The question henceforth is how to interpret the archetypal expressions with any degree of reliability. The answer, is to embed these expressions within their cultural and historical contexts, which in this formulation of Jung's archetypes determines which archetypes are manifest and their meanings and purpose. What follows is a path towards re-imbuing the archetypes with their cultural and historical contingencies to provide a reliable hermeneutical base for the interpretation of archetypal expressions such as myths.

Smythe and Baydala are confident that a hermeneutics of archetypes is possible with critical inquiry. To achieve this we must contextualise with the archetypal expression within its cultural background with its cultural and historical components (2012: 69). They define this as *fit*, so that the interpretations of these archetypal expressions along with their reliability lie in consulting the relevant context, whether that be personal, such as a dream or fantasy, or collective, such as a myth, ritual, or visual symbolic image (Smyth and Baydala 2012: 70). Symbols are created and produced in contexts relative to a tradition (Smythe and Baydala 2012: 69). Even the symbols run counter to that tradition, their expression is still defined in its relation to that tradition.

Jung's own approach to assessing the cultural context of archetypal expressions was not actually focused upon the cultural and historical trajectory of symbols, but was more focused upon drawing parallels between various symbols from any cultural or historical background. This method has been criticized (Smythe and Baydala 2012: 70), but Jung followed this approach because he was seeking to draw parallels between his patient's dreams and fantasies and the symbols from myth and fairy tales to uncover archetypes. Jung's primary orientation was towards his therapy and his understanding of the mind, as well as of the archetypes themselves, but not so much toward the individual traditions they come from and their purpose and meaning within that context beyond what can be paralleled elsewhere.

A more fruitful approach to assessing fit in both the personal and collective contexts for interpretations of archetypal expressions is through *dialogue* (Smythe and Baydala 2012: 71), an idea which was developed in Jung's therapy (Smythe and Baydala 2012: 71). According to contemporary dialogical theory it is possible to dialogue with a cultural tradition as well as with individuals (Smythe and Baydala 2012: 71). An approach to this collective dialogue by Peterri Pietikainen was praised by Smythe and Baydala (2012: 71) as an example of how this dialogue may work, as he traces "the cultural transmission of archetypal expressions as collective symbolic forms" (Smythe and Baydala 2012: 71). Pietikainen also saw potential in Jung's recasting of the archetypes in that the purely formal structure of the archetype as such is distinguished clearly from the archetypal representations and expressions themselves which are "culture-bound… their actual content is culturally determined" (Pietikainen 1998a: 334), with the archetype as such only forming or structuring them. Pietikainen was disappointed by Jung's neglect of this distinction and its

consequences for developing a hermeneutics of his theory, and of relating this thought back to the culturally bound archetypal representations because of his continued focus upon the biological aspects of his theory. Thus, Pietikainen attempted to recast the archetypes as symbolic forms, that is, in the terms of the philosophical thought of Ernst Cassirer who laid bare this system in his three volume work 'The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms'. This would see the archetypes as functionary forms that are culturally determined and are "residues of cultural evolution, which give symbolic or non-discursive form to some of the basic concerns of humanities" (Pietikainen 1999a: 231) so that the unconscious now is the "source of symbolic representations of cultural practices and traditions" (Jones 2001: 575). It was Pietikainen's dissatisfaction with the continued insistence of Jung and his students upon the biological over this cultural realm of archetypal theory that is behind his motivation for this recasting of archetypes as residing in the ontological realm of culture/hermeneutics over the biological/scientific which he thought should be discarded.

It was this discarding of the biological dimension that has caused the controversy that will be dealt with before we get into an outline of archetypes as symbolic forms. It the possible cultural realm of the archetypes which Pietikainen thought could be a more fruitful approach as it would make the archetypes open to historical and cultural analysis (Pietikainen 1999a: 232). Furthermore, it is this approach to the archetypes as culturally bound products of mind and of history that slots in with this idea of dialogue since the archetypal expressions are seen as depending more clearly and more closely upon this cultural and historical background which is said to produce them. With this we can do two things: first, understand these archetypal expressions

as having a level of dependence upon the culture and tradition behind them, rather than more fundamentally on biological determinants in their forms and purposes, so then, they do fit as products of a cultural backdrop and less so of biology; and secondly, we can assess the archetypal expression against the backdrop of history, and the history of archetypal expressions within that particular cultural context to determine its normativity and to secure a deeper understanding of the meanings of archetypal expressions within that context. This second point is reminiscent of Frankfort's comparisons of the mother archetype in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Frankfort noted the prevalence of the mother archetype and its expressions in one but not the other tradition. Frankfort this as a problem with Jung's formulation of the theory, because it emphasises universality through some murky notion of biological inheritance whilst giving too little consideration to the differences between traditions and cultures and thus between the archetypes expressed within these traditions. I believe this to be, in part, due to Jung's comparative approach, which emphasised similarities between traditions to uncover archetypes. Jung was, however, aware that archetypes were less active in some than others because of humanity's variety of circumstances in life that affect the relation of consciousness to the unconscious (Neumann 1974: 90).

Pietikainen's recasting of archetypes as symbolic forms has come under scrutiny from Jungians. In a series of replies to Pietikainen's article in the Journal of Analytical Psychology, Hester McFarland Solomon, George B. Hogenson and Anthony Stevens all articulated their reservations as to this recasting. Unsurprisingly, most of their criticism revolved around the issue of biology and what is seen as Pietikainen's cavalier dismissal of its role in archetypal theory. Anthony Stevens, for example, suggests that his work is an

attack upon the epistemological foundations of analytical psychology (Stevens 1998: 345). Stevens does expound upon Jung's reformulation from 1946 of the archetypes and suggests the archetype as such to be an inherited structure that is supported by mainstream evolutionary science (Stevens 1998: 346). Pietikainen in turn criticises Stevens' use of Socio-biological parallels with archetypes such as IRMs (Innate Releasing Mechanisms), maintaining that Socio-biology has found little support in social studies and the natural sciences (Pietikainen 1998a: 336). There is a clear distinction in the positions of Pietikainen and Stevens. Stevens explains the root of the issue is the idea of tabula rasa, meaning that people are born as blank slates. Stevens argues that this is incompatible with Jung's archetypes (Stevens 1998: 345-346) and is irreconcilable with his Jungian view of archetypes as biologically inherited functions. Indeed, Solomon suggests that the biological dimension of archetypes is indispensable to the theory (Solomon 1998: 374) and puts forward that Cassirer himself would not have been so dismissive of the biological dimension (1998: 376). Hogenson on the other hand sees both Pietikainen and Stevens undermining Jung or coming close to it. With Pietikainen it is the rejection of the biological dimension, but with Stevens it is that he rubs too close to biological reductionism (Hogenson 1998: 364). Ultimately, Hogenson sees Stevens and the biological dimension as more relevant than Pietikainen (Pietikainen 1998b: 386).

More interestingly, Hunt confronts Jung's evasion over the workings of the archetypes as biological functions. This comes down to the issue previously mentioned, the higher/lower issue. Are the archetypes produced by the lower characterised by phylogenetic factors developed over the course of human evolution (Hunt 2012: 79); or is it the higher in that it is a symbolic cognition

where archetypes are experienced as part of a metaphor based imagination (Hunt 2012: 79)? Hunt embraces the latter saying that it is more scientifically credible and would more manageable to test and understand (Hunt 2012: 80). He also suggests that the idea of a "cognitive psychology of metaphoric imagination" (Hunt 2012: 91) is implicit in Jung's later works on alchemy, and is supported by the latter option (Hunt 2012: 80). Significantly, Hunt remarks that philosophically this view is most commensurate with "Neo-Kantian attempts to identify different 'a prioris' of multiple separate intelligences" (Hunt 2012: 80) which he aligns with Pietikainen and archetypes as symbolic forms as an example. The debate is ultimately indeterminable since we cannot prove one way or the other one argument over another. What we may draw from this is that the archetypes and their exact function is itself not determined. This is the view of the archetypes which we will take forward.

Clearly controversy exists over Pietikainen's recasting of the archetypes. Any development or recasting is likely to cause controversy. In light of this, we should bear in mind Jung's own words as we proceed: "my concept of the archetype… is only an auxiliary idea, which can be exchanged at any time for a better formula" (Jung 1964: 20 in White 1964). Jung was clearly open to developing his archetypal theory, though this should not be taken as an impetus transform it without firm reason to do so. As to the uncertainty around the biological dimension of the archetypes, we can still take a biological form of the archetypes as symbolic forms where the archetype as such, or some propensity of symbolic cognition as Hunt may say, produces archetypal representations which we can see as symbolic forms that are culturally bound and transmitted so the emphasis remains on the higher function of the archetypal background (archetype as such) which Hunt related to Pietikainen.

Pietikainen does address this idea of a cognitive capacity which produces the archetypes as symbolic forms but similarly dismisses it (Pietikainen 1999: 220). Even with this possibility of the archetypes as symbolic forms being produced with a biological impetus but still remaining as products of that culture in meaning, form and its history, there is still much doubt over all of this. Thus, we take, for our purposes, the route of ambiguity as to the nature of archetypal background or archetype as such since we do not know whether it is purely a social/cultural product or a biological/genetic product. It is the idea of the archetypal representations as being culturally bound and distinct from that which shapes it, and the development of this line of thought potentially through the philosophy of symbolic forms, that is crucial to us placing the emphasis upon the myths themselves and the tradition that produced them so we can move on to our primary concern, the interpretation of Mesopotamian mythology through the archetypes.

Symbolic Forms

Pietikainen aims towards a recasting of archetypes as symbolic forms, the theory developed by Ernst Cassirer in the first half of the 20th century. This theory appeared in his three volume work *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms* (1923-1929), the first concerned with language, the second with myth and the third with the phenomenology of knowledge. Essential to this theory is the view of man as *animal symbolicum* over *animal rationale* in that our ability to create symbols and to use symbolisation is essential to what distinguishes us as it permits us to 'make ourselves' through the development and creation of cultural forms which articulates the spirit of man so as to contrast us with and to free us "from the narrow confines of nature" (Pietikainen 1999: 185).
In this theory "language, myth, art (etc.) are independent modes of growing into being" (Pietikainen 1999: 187) in that each "validates its functional meaning through constructing a specific and autonomous, self-contained world of significance according to an inherent formative law of its own" (Pitikainen 1999: 187). Each of these constitute a specific symbolic form through which man expresses his spirit in higher cultural forms which transcends the world of simple sense perception in nature. Cassirer said these symbolic forms were "concerned with all the forms assumed by man's understanding of the world" (Cassirer 1957: 13). These symbolic forms are symbolic expressions of mental contents revealed in signs and images (Pietikainen 1999: 187) in that they cannot be separated from consciousness and give form to these experiences of consciousness (Pietikainen 1999: 187).

When we refer to *form* what is intended is not substantiality but rather functionalism, in that it is the functional determinants which reveal the world

and reality to us through them, since they shape perception of the world and are not understood as essences or entities (Pietikainen 1999: 186). We can consider myth or religion, even language, when we consider the reality that is given to us by these functional determinants of forms. Such examples have implications upon our understanding and perception of the world, peoples, history and various other elements of reality because experience passes through these inherited processes of apperception. With the intended meaning of *symbolic* we mean the overcoming of the dualism of immanence and transcendence where the symbolic is not one or the other but exhibits each one within the other (Pietikainen 1999: 187). A visual and conceptual aid for this idea is the yin yang symbol of Taoism, where the opposites are contrasted yet contained in small portion within the other.

Cassirer also categorized symbolic forms into three dimensions/functions of symbolic formation in a Hegelian non-historical sense. They run as follows:

- *Expression* – Most elementary and concrete, linked to myth and magic
- *Representation* – Art, and higher forms of religion
- *Meaning or Signification* – Most conceptual and abstract, linked with mathematics and science

Pietikainen emphasises Cassirer's intention that this is not to be construed as an evolutionarily linear sequence of developments (Pietikainen 1999: 190). These functions/dimensions are differentiated instead by their representing "qualitatively different modes of significance" (Cassirer 1957: 57). With the passing of one function to another something such as mythical consciousness is not fully lost as its mental function does not disappear under a new function

but adapts or continues in some way, so that we are not rid of the mythical element in our thought and cultural forms (Pietikainen 1999: 191).

Archetypes and Symbolic Forms

Pietikainen's recasting of the archetypes as symbolic forms is controversial since he seeks to eliminate the biological element of archetypes and see them purely in cultural and historical terms. As mentioned previously, we are of the opinion going forward that ultimately these arguments are undetermined and are not likely to be settled. Although Hunt does endorse the higher function of archetypes and aligns this with Pietikainen's project. This link made by Hunt may shed a new light upon Pietikainen's dismissal of the possibility of the production of symbolic forms as having a biological basis. Going forward, however, we take the view of indeterminacy in this matter in that it is entirely possible there may be a biological element at play on some level rather than it being wholly a matter of social and historical contingencies. The intent is to show how archetypes as symbolic forms can develop the culturally and historically dependent component of Jung's 1946 formulation of archetypes, so we can then understand the mythological expressions of Mesopotamia from a Jungian perspective, with an emphasis upon the cultural and historical contingencies contained within them.

As symbolic forms archetypes are placed in the realm of culture and history – with the biological and the 'background' understanding being indeterminate in this so far – and are then in a context with myth, religion, and art as a cultural product and constituent (Pietikainen 1999: 224). They become, like other symbolic forms, a product of man and his 'growing into being' where he comes to symbolize his spirit and develop himself out of nature through such cultural forms. As a form among other forms we can "contextualise them and relate a study of archetypes to other modes of cultural interpretations" (Pietikainen

1999: 225). Archetypes become a symbolic form, a cultural product – again the extent of this is unknown, however Jung did see a certain level of this interpretation in his 1946 reformulation – which is like myth, art, religion, and language but can be used to interpret cultural phenomena and forms. This is unsurprising considering that it is the method of archetypal expression in myth and religion. Pietikainen underlines the complementary nature of Jung and Cassirer's theories in that Jung brings the non-cognitive, unconscious elements of humanity and his cultural products into the theory of symbolic forms, whereas Cassirer brings and develops the concept of culture within the theory of archetypes, something which Jung hinted at in 1946 but left undeveloped or discarded (Pietikainen 1999: 227). Furthermore, a student of Cassirer, David Bidney, has referred to symbolic forms as 'organs of reality' (Pitikainen 1999: 227), to which Pietikainen responds by suggesting that if Jung's talk of archetypes as 'organs of pre-rational psyche', as 'forms' and 'categories' of imagination were to be within the same context as Cassirer and symbolic forms as 'organs of reality' then they would "give a new sense to each other's theories" (Pietikainen 1999: 227).

There is room, then, for the cultural sphere within archetypes and for the unconscious in cultural forms such as myth and religion in Cassirer's formulation. Pietikainen goes on to discuss Jung's cultural conceptions of the archetypes through the child archetype, which he wrote about in an essay included in a volume co-authored with Carl Kerenyi called 'The Science of Mythology'. This will further highlight the concept of the archetype as a symbolic form, and give precedent and shape to our relation of archetypes to Mesopotamia later on. The child archetype is found in various forms such as in the child Apollo, Hermes, and Zeus but also features heavily in Christianity.

According to Jung, it develop in non-Christian contexts from chthonic animals including crocodiles, serpents, and dragons (Jung and Kerenyi 2001: 108). The child can appear in the cup of a flower, out of an egg or at the centre of a mandala, and can take various shapes such as a jewel, pearl, flower, chalice, a golden egg, a quarternity, and a golden ball (Jung and Kerenyi 2001: 108-109). It has an individual and a collective meaning, where at the collective level it represents the pre-conscious state of man, a distant but related past. At the collective level this is tradition, so that the confrontation and conflict with this image becomes a revelation of and connection to tradition, and occurs when these roots of the child are frayed and torn (Jung and Kerenyi 2001: 112).

The child image changes over time according to Jung but its function remains the same. It provides a new understanding at every stage of change and development in consciousness as it connects us to this past, original pre-conscious condition, to tradition (Pietikainen 1999: 229). It is through religious observances and the re-enacting and retelling of the event or narrative around the child image that this original condition is brought continually back into view of the conscious mind (Jung and Kerenyi 2001: 112). So, to Jung this now exist in the past and the present and its function remains, but now within the context of the present (Jung and Kerenyi 2001: 112). In short, it is an antidote to the destructive potential of the cult of progress in history, so it serves an important function for cultural cohesion and continuity.

The significance of this to Pietikainen is that if the collective nature of archetypes such as the child are seen as culturally transmitted symbolic forms – or at least in some part – we can see them as functioning “as a more or less unarticulated but active constituent of human life” (Pietikainen 1999: 231).

Pietikanien invokes John R. Searle's concept of the unconscious as representing the 'reality unspoken' of the majority of beliefs, desires and worries not being conscious at any one time, but still potentially conscious (Searle 1992: 173 via Pietikainen 1999: 232). The archetypes such as the child give "symbolic or non-discursive form to some of the basic concerns of humanity" (Pietikainen 1999: 231), which are part of this 'reality unspoken', with these basic concerns considered universal enough to be thought of as archetypal according to Pietikainen (1999: 231). He amplifies here his view that the archetypes, such as the child, as representations of these concerns is not related to any biological factor, but purely to cultural and historical ones.

The outcome of archetypes as symbolic products of the 'reality unspoken' is that they can become symbolic forms, as they represent the symbolisation of humanity's concerns and emotions, and thus become a way of giving form to man's spirit and a way through which we 'grow into being'. They also become divorced from the lower, phylogenetically inherited forms that Hunt dismissed that has been an attempt at explaining the pervasiveness of certain motifs in world myth and religion. This divorce also gives credence to Jung's formulation of the culturally determined element of archetypes, in that they can be transmitted culturally and not genetically, and that the presence and relevance within a culture, such as the child archetype or the mother in Mesopotamia, is historically and culturally determined upon the conditions of those determinants, and thus the archetypes are then open to analyses from these perspectives. Furthermore, as symbolic forms they are both collective and continuous. Collective because of the basic conditions that produce them, such as the example of the child, are supra-individual (Pietikainen 1999: 232); continuous in that "an archetype signifies a Casseririan 'unity in multiplicity'"

(Pietikainen 1999: 232) in that the diversity of the cultural expressions are considered as a unity, this case as an archetype. Finally, continuous because they are functional determinants in that they shape our beliefs and values as they provide them a symbolic outlet (Pietikainen 1999: 232). The task now is to relate this theory of archetypes of symbolic forms to Mesopotamian myth so that the archetypal expression can be studied with the view of their imbued cultural and historical contingencies as symbolic forms.

The Mother Archetype

As an example of how we relate this idea of the archetypes and their neglected cultural and historical emphasis to Mesopotamia, we will utilise the example of the mother archetype in the Babylonian Epic of Creation, or Enūma Eliš. We will establish the fit – which Smythe and Baydala talked of in relation to archetypes as symbolic forms – of the archetype in the Enūma Eliš, as well as the archetypal expression itself in that text, that being Tiamat. Firstly, however, we must outline Jung's conception of the mother archetype and its many variations. In terms of the basic concerns of, it is clear that what is invoked by the mother archetype is very real, just as birth, fertility, life, and death are all real and ultimately tied up with the reality that everyone has a mothers. This, ultimately, gives the mother and the concerns associated with her a universal basis. In Jung's view, the mother appears under many variations and has both positive and negative aspects, but appears under three main categories:

- Her cherishing and nourishing side (Goodness)
- Her orgiastic emotionality (Passion)
- Her stygian depths (Darkness)

She is often associated with things that can inspire awe: sea; still waters; the underworld; the moon (Jung 2011: para 156). Quite naturally she is associated with things and places signifying fertility and fruitfulness including the cornucopia, ploughed fields and the garden (Jung 2011: 156). The motif of the ploughed field is, in fact, very common in Mesopotamia and can be found in Sumerian and Babylonian erotic lyrics with various lines invoking this image

(Stol 2000: 1). The mother is connected to various deep and hollow objects and features such as wells, the vessel shaped rose and lotus flowers, ovens and most things of such a shape (Jung 2011: 156). Negative aspects include the witch, dragons or any devouring animal like a serpent, deep water, and a sarcophagus and death (Jung 2011: 158). This negative side connotes secrets, something hidden, dark, the abyss, the world of the dead, something that seduces, poisons, and devours (Jung 2011: 158). Some final qualities include growth and fertility, protection, helpful instincts, wisdom of spiritual exaltation that can transcend reason, compassion, and magical authority (Jung 2011: 158).

Some of these aspects will become evident through examples from Mesopotamia, however, we can see for now the positive aspects of fertility, birth, compassion, wisdom, and wisdom of instinct and spiritual strength; and the negative aspects such as death, devouring, control, negative strength of magic, the deep and abyss which we can call the unknown, that which is inescapable, and which can be unreasonably violent and destructive as well as creative. Some examples include the Virgin Mary, the paradoxical Kali as Jung describes her as both the loving and terrible mother (Jung 2011: 158). Some of these aspects can appear within a single figure as an expression of the various sides of the mother, but figures can also exemplify a particular set of aspects associated with that which is good, or dark, or the passionate such as with Ištar, who displays contradictory and paradoxical elements to her personality.

The figure of the mother is evident within the Enūma Eliš with the role of Tiamat. The Enūma Eliš was a Babylonian creation myth, although there was an Assyrian version too and there were a variety of creation stories throughout

Mesopotamia. A date for composition cannot be fixed but the majority of texts come from the 1st Millennium BC (Dalley 2008: 228), with the earliest text found dating to the 9th century BC (Beaulieu 2018: 162). The epic become near canonical during this time and was part of the New Year festival in Babylon (Beaulieu 2018: 161). Dalley (2008: 229) suggests it could not have been composed before Sumula-el's reign from 1936-1901 BC. Beaulieu (2018: 162) suggests the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I for the date of composition, but admits it remains debatable. This text survived into the Selucid period and used by Berossus in his 'Babyloniaca' (Dalley 2008: 228). The Enūma Eliš is a good source for our purpose as it demonstrates the mother archetype in her creative, destructive, and terrifying forms. It also displays other archetypes, notably the hero archetype seen through the figure of Marduk. It is also a text of great importance in its popularity, and in its innovation. It represents the first time we encounter a single god creating and organizing the cosmos, and creating humanity in the Ancient Near East (Beaulieu 2018: 162-163). An elaboration of the story and of her role is given below so we can identify so of her aspects later.

The beginning of the Enūma Eliš recounts the creation of the world and the heavens out of the defeated Tiamat by Marduk. It starts by invoking distant and primordial times, when the sweet waters of Apsû and salt the waters of Tiamat mingled in a time before the gods, and before the "meadow-land had coalesced reed-bed was to be found" (Enūma Eliš 1.6 – Lambert 2013: 51). They would originate the gods within them and beget several generations of gods, each stronger than the last. Anu the sky god who was one of the most important deities in Mesopotamia, for example, was a product of one of these generations and could rival his father (Enūma Eliš 1.14 – Lambert 2013: 51).

Tiamat and Apsû both were frustrated with the disturbances the young gods created, they "jarred the nerves of Tiamat" (Enūma Eliš 1.23 – Lambert 2013: 51). To resolve the issue, Apsû consults with his vizier Mummu. Apsû and Mummu plan to destroy the younger gods to gain silence and thus sleep. Tiamat, however, is unhappy with the idea of destroying their progeny and thus refuses. Ea, the god of knowledge and wisdom, hears of Apsû's plan which he intended to go through with despite Tiamat's protest, and so he "poured sleep upon him" (Enūma Eliš 1.64 – Lambert 2013: 55) and killed him in his sleep, taking his crown. "He set his dwelling upon Apsû" (Enūma Eliš 1.71 – Lambert 2013: 55) and begat with his wife Damkina the hero of the story, Marduk. He was given the four winds by Anu, and caused disturbances against Tiamat with them.

The primeval gods confronted Tiamat over her lack of support for Apsû in his demise, and accuse her of carelessness, saying, "you do not love us" (Enūma Eliš 1.120 – Lambert 2013: 57), and suggest battle to resolve their restlessness from Marduk's winds, and the younger gods, which Tiamat agrees to. Mother Hubur – another name for Tiamat – creates weapons such as giant serpents, the Hydra, the Dragon, the Scorpion-man, demons and other dangerous monsters for the battle. Kingu become their leader, and the younger gods become aware of what is going on and become dejected at the prospect of destruction. Ea convinces his son Marduk to fight and defeat Tiamat as it is his destiny, and Marduk agrees on the condition that he shall become the ruler and primary god, who decrees destinies and is unquestioned. Ea agrees to Marduk's conditions, and then Marduk goes to confront Tiamat. At first Marduk trembles before the Tiamat who "cast her spell without turning her neck" (Enūma Eliš 4.73 – Lambert 2013: 91), but then engages Tiamat in single

combat. He blows the winds into her belly so she could not close her mouth, he fires arrows at her belly, tore her open. Her forces retreated but Marduk captures Kingu and the Tablet of Destinies. This is where the body of Tiamat is split up to create the heavens, the constellations, the zodiac, the moon and the realm of the gods, then he makes the earth from the lower body of Tiamat. Marduk also used her two eyes to "let the Tigris and Euphrates flow" (Enūma Eliš 5.55 – Lambert 2013: 101). They execute Kingu and create humankind out of his blood, placing man upon the earth to work for the gods so they can rest. The gods then built a temple for Marduk on earth naming it Babylon. Most of the rest is made up of the fifty names of Marduk. Thus goes the basic story of the Enūma Eliš and the mother archetype in Tiamat.

Fit of the mother and Tiamat in Mesopotamia

In determining the fit of this story and of the mother Tiamat in its cultural and historical context, we return to Frankfort and Bing's article on Jung, where we find a brief outline of the mother archetype within Mesopotamia which picks up upon the three main categories and aspects of the mother and associated figures from mythology to them. They begin with a statement of the extent of the significance of the mother, and the basic human concern underpinning it – birth, death, fertility, compassion, devouring etc. – along with its significance to the history and culture of Mesopotamian peoples. They contend that, "In Mesopotamia the female principle is considered the primary source of all life" (Frankfort and Bing 1958: 171). They do, however, later supplement this by suggesting that the predominant powers of the universe are not female in that they are not among the most powerful forces since the main triad pantheon of Anu, Enlil, and Ea are male (Frankfort and Bing 1958: 173).

Frankfort suggests that even in light of this, the female is indispensable to Mesopotamia especially in the realm of creativity, birth and fertility suggesting that life is always connected to and results from a goddess (Frankfort and Bing 1958: 173). We see this in the figure of Enki in that his creative power has been seen as "inert and has to be activated by the goddess" (Leick 1998: 40) as well as the Aspû which he is connected with, and that which is mingled with the salt water in the Enūma Eliš, where the world is created out of the body of the mother figure of Tiamat so that again creation follows from the female principle. Of course, the mother is a basic concern in that it is very real with birth, life and fertility as real associations, however it is the cultural element that is emphasised by Frankfort and by archetypes as symbolic forms, in that in

contrast to Egypt the mother features significantly more and in a greatly pronounced way in Mesopotamia over Egypt. The inevitable fact of birth coming from the female is part of all human life, but it became, or remained, much more significant in Mesopotamia than Egypt because of cultural and historical differences which archetypal theory should consider, and should be able to as the archetypes can be culturally determined to some extent, as has been argued thus far.

Tiamat is associated quite justly with the concept of the darkness of the mother, commonly known in Jungian parlance as the 'Terrible Mother', which is unsurprising considering Tiamat's link to the deep primeval sea, and to her personification as a dragon/serpent (fig.2), a large, dark, and terrifying figure who is linked to chaos in the deeply ancient cosmos. Although Neumann does suggest she is not simply this one-dimensional monster figure in that she spawns star gods, and gods of the night sky, not just evil figures, but also that this perception is facilitated to some extent by the contrast with the patriarchal hero Marduk and the perspective the story takes upon the dynamic between the two figures (Neumann 1974: 214). We also see in the Enūma Eliš the monsters created by Mother Hubur such as the dragon, and giant serpents which are creatures Jung would associate with the negative or dark side of the mother. Frankfort and Bing invoke both Ereškigal and Tiamat as representations of the terrible mother. It is clear with Tiamat that this association is justified, and so too with Ereškigal with her realm being the underworld, a feature of the mother pointed out by Jung.

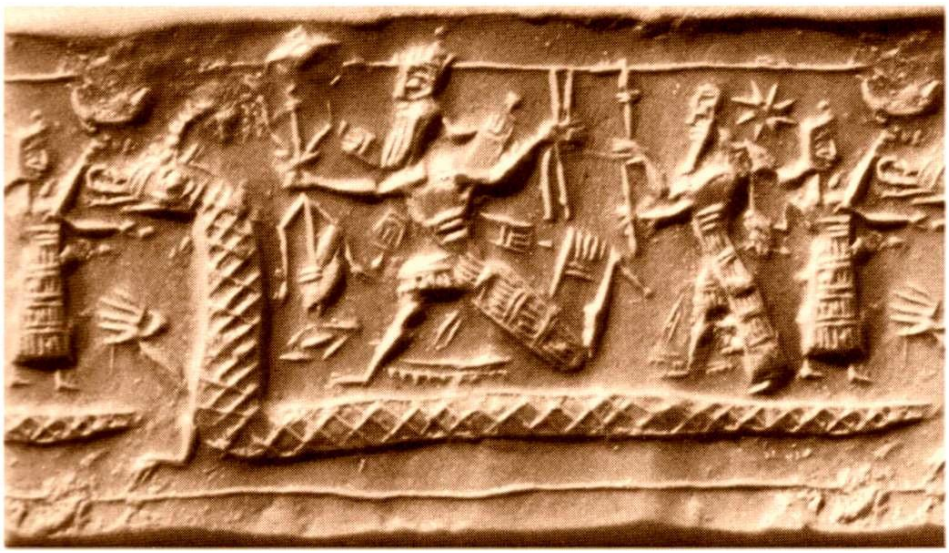

Figure 2 – Thought to be Tiamat on a cylinder seal

Ereškigal is a great example of how Tiamat and the Enūma Eliš fits into the Mesopotamian cultural and historical backdrop, since she is the clearest example besides Tiamat of the terrible mother in Mesopotamia. As the ruler of the dead in the underworld, she is considered as terrifying figure who "fastens the 'eye of death' upon those who enter her domain" (Leick 1998: 55). Leick (1998: 55) considers the idea that she is a sort of mirror-image of her sister Inanna the goddess of procreation in that her sexual deprivation apparent, and thus is in contrast to Inanna and her sexuality and fertility. In Old Babylonian times, we come across the Nergal and Ereškigal myth where Ereškigal loses her throne as ruler of the underworld to Nergal who forcibly removes her as "He seized her by her hairdo, And pulled her from the throne" (Dalley 2008: 176). In Leick's view, it is arguably her sexual and emotional vulnerability that allowed this (1998: 55) as after he removes her from the throne "The two embraced eacj other And went passionately to bed" (Dalley 2008: 176). She matches Tiamat as the figure of the terrible mother which attests to Tiamat's fit in Mesopotamia, but they do share a more clear similarity in that they can

evoke feelings of dread and terror such as with Marduk's trembling before her and before his eventual defeat of Tiamat.

The 'Great Mother' or the 'Good Mother' is a figure associated with various mother-goddesses such as Ninhursag. She was given epithets such as 'mother of all children' and 'mother of the gods' (Leick 1998: 132) and kings sometimes referred to themselves as 'beloved of Ninhursag' (Leick 1998: 132). Such a figure as Ninhursag and Nintur ('Lady who gives birth'), who was often equated to Ninhursag, most examples of the mother goddess display aspects of the good mother and can be associated with creation, birth, compassion and protection of man and of the city and community which worship her (Frankfort and Bing 1958: 171). We may recognize this in the mother goddess Mami from the flood narrative Atrahasis who created mankind out of clay and the blood of the god Ilawela (Dalley 2008: 4), and is referred to as "Belet-ili the womb-goddess" (Dalley 2008: 13). Frankfort argued that the worship of this type of figure was connected to the changing of the seasons which are equated to the change of fortune of the goddess where she goes from the lows of lamentation to ecstatic highs, all being linked to fertility and nature (Frankfort and Bing 1958: 171-172).

The passionate, destructively emotional side of the mother is most clearly linked to Ištar by Frankfort who displays epithets and characteristics of the harlot, virgin, fertility, war, sexuality, violent and destructive love, death, and hubris. Ištar/Inanna, the Semitic Ištar being equated to the similar figure of the Sumerian Inanna, displays her hubris and destructive disregard for moderation and patient action in Inanna/Ištar's Descent where she sought to extend her reach into the underworld. The story reveals her hubris from the beginning as

it reveals her determination to go to Kurnugi 'the land of no return' (Dalley 2008: 155). She reached the gate to the underworld and threatened to break down the gate if it were not opened for her (Dalley 2008: 155). This proceeding action leads ultimately to a situation where her only hope of staying out of the underworld is to choose someone to take her place. She ultimately picks her husband Dumuzi over various other figures you would consider less significant to her than her husband. In the Sumerian version, it is only when Dumuzi's sister Geštinanna offers herself up in her brother's place does a compromise get proposed where the siblings would split their time in the underworld, half the year there each (Dalley 2008: 162). Furthermore, in the 'Great Hymn to the Queen of Nippur' Ištar is praised for her ability to 'become angry and then to relent' and 'to punish then to show compassion', and is consider to be a fierce warrior (Leick 1998: 97). These figures are representations of fertility rather than birth, and of sexuality. Ištar especially is connected to love, sex, war, destruction, and death but also of mercy and compassion (Leick 1998: 97). It is these violently extreme ends of emotion that characterise this figure as an excellent representation of what Jung means by the passionate side of the mother.

The mother seems to have had a more significant role in pre-historic times across the region and beyond through various mother goddesses. Also at later times we find the famous site of Çatalhöyük from which many figurines depicting women with large hips, breasts and bellies, emphasising their fertility and pregnancy, have been discovered (Leick 1998: 120) which parallels Neumann in his consideration of the early representations of the Great Mother – before Tiamat and such – asserts the emphasis of such characteristics (1974: 215). The cult of the mother-goddess appears to be ubiquitous in pre-historic

times, and it is thought that prehistoric societies were much more matriarchal in their religion and society. Ian Hodder (2010: 33) suggests, however, that research at such sites has focused too much upon female symbolism and has overlooked the male aspects. Hodder does not intend to replace this idea of the centrality of the female figure and all her associations of fertility, but to bring light to the overlooked male figures, recognising her importance and the recognition of this by scholarship since at least the 19th century (Hodder 2010: 34). These mother goddesses were seemingly linked to fertility, agriculture, and reproductive processes. Leick (1998: 120) underlines the argument that such mother goddess cults became less significant, and were over taken by male centred pantheons once we see the development of urban civilisations which greatly affected social structure and coherence, and thus the relation of people to the community and social structure.

Although the figure of the mother was always significant in Mesopotamia it appears to have been subsumed into a patriarchal structured universe over time, like with the Enūma Eliš. Veneration of the mother goddesses certainly did not disappear and there existed several names for the mother goddess in Mesopotamia – who are often simply the same figure – including Ninhursag 'Lady of the Mountain'; Ninmah 'Exalted Lady'; Nintur 'Lady who gives birth'; and Damgalnunna 'Great wife of the Lord' (Leick 1998: 120, 135). However, the majority of Sumerian divine names are male, yet many male god's names are composed of the female 'Nin' meaning 'Lady' such as Ninurta and Ningirsu (Leick 1998: 120). It seems, then, that over time the male gods became more prominent and significant which we see through the place of the female gods in the Mesopotamian pantheon where they sit outside of the most significant triad of Anu, Enlil, and Ea. It is argued that this occurred by marriage or by

suppression (Leick 1998: 121), and that through this they take on less prominent roles and become mediating forces and that their compassionate and forgiving aspects are emphasised. Arguably this is reflected in Inanna who is said to have only become capable of empathy in later or post Sumerian times due to her own suffering and humiliation (Leick 1998: 88).

We can say, as do Frankfort and Bing, that the three categories of the mother archetype are represented in Mesopotamia, with Tiamat fitting well with the Jungian concept of the terrible mother. She personifies the primeval salt waters at the beginning of the myth, and her name is linked to the Akkadian for 'sea' (Jacobsen 1968: 105), immediately connecting her to the mother. This link is further displayed in her role as the creator and progenitor of the gods, and the ultimate use of her body to create the heavens and the earth which suggests an underlining unconscious, creative, and chaotic nature to world. Tiamat's body is often depicted in art and cylinder seals as a serpentine figure, or as a great dragon like creature, which further aligns with the Jungian concept of the negative aspects of the mother. Finally, the dread she inspires in the cosmic hero Marduk before her defeat at his hands not only lends itself to the drama of the story that would have been retold each year at the new year festival – named Akītu – but also emphasises her characteristic as a terrible chthonic deity whose power can be overwhelming. The Akītu festival took place over several days in Babylon and is thought to have included the recitation of the Enūma Eliš. This would bring all the contents of the narrative back into mind just as Searle discussed with the 'reality unspoken' coming into view again. This underscores the role and the importance of the Enūma Eliš in its perception of itself as a social and political entity, and of their god Marduk.

Tiamat, and the mother archetype in general fits well within Mesopotamia, as we can see with the good, terrible, and passionate aspects of the mother examples which exemplify this archetype. There appears then, great cultural precedent behind the Enūma Eliš and we can see how Tiamat fits guidelines of the Jungian archetype of the mother. Furthermore, we can see a great reflection of history and cultural/religious momentum within the Enūma Eliš. The transition of the pre-historic mother goddess cults, emphasising the matriarchal into the patriarchal and the predominance of powerful male deities in the long transition into increasingly urban and complex civilisations with the rise of cities in Mesopotamia is implicit in the Enūma Eliš. It is as if this transition we mentioned of male gods taking over through marriage or suppression, such as with Nergal dragging Ereškigal of off her throne, is used deliberately as a plot point in the story. With Tiamat, the use of her body to construct the world and heavens suggests not only the creative force within the female principle, but also that underlying our reality is a festering chaos at its root (Tiamat), and that there then exists the need for order and strength in the face of this chaos that could threaten to undo all order sustained thus far. It is the figure of Marduk in this instance which sustains it, and the king of Babylon who models himself upon Marduk to sustain this order. It is interesting, then, that it is the female principle of Tiamat being put forward as the deeply primeval chaos that was defeated and tamed, and kept under control by a patriarchal figure.

The male principle over the female principle as a cultural/religious and historical phenomena is evident in the Enūma Eliš, and reveals these factors as underpinning elements in this archetypal expression. The Enūma Eliš does come across almost as a political/cultural/religious dialectical tool for the

Babylonians in that it establishes the centrality of the Babylonian deity Marduk and thus the city itself, although Bottéro would argue that Marduk never replaced Enlil in the main triad of the Mesopotamian/Babylonian pantheon (2001: 88). It is revealing that the Assyrians also had a version where Marduk was replaced with Assur which makes it appear as an extremely self-affirmative statement of confidence for the city, its people, religion and culture. Ultimately, this point only further underlines the cultural and historical significance behind this archetypal expression of the mother in the figure of Tiamat.

The mother archetype of course is not the only archetypal expression we could discuss the Enūma Eliš. In fact, Pietikainen argues that archetypal meanings can depend upon the relation between archetypes (1999: 228). The clearest example of this in the text would be Marduk, as the hero, overcoming the Tiamat, the mother representing darkness, evil, and the terrifying. A hero in this sense is that which overcomes and confronts something great and terrifying, and obstacle or an evil and powerful figure. This becomes a narrative of self-overbecoming as by confronting all this the hero gains something like a treasure or some other kind of reward. For Marduk he is rewarded with the role as king of the gods. Neumann (2014: 165) argues part of this archetypal pattern of the hero to be the tremble or capture before the victory. With the Enūma Eliš Marduk trembles before the terrible countenance of Tiamat and her allies: “As he looked, he lost his nerve, His determination went and he faltered” (Enūma Eliš 4.67-68 – Lambert 2013: 91). Marduk overcomes this and then defeats Tiamat.

For Jungian psychology, a story such as this is one where the hero represents the triumph of consciousness over unconsciousness (Jung 2014: 167). Furthermore, it is the self-assertion and self-willing of ego consciousness that also corresponds to an important life stage to Jungians with the child's similar establishment of independence and confrontation with the world. It is the break with the primordial and with that which came before. Therefore, represents the primacy of the hero and of his own established domain from his creative will. Marduk, similarly, is the hero, overcoming the primordial and the chaotic, using his creative will to establish his order and governing as lawgiver and as the king of the gods. It is the interplay of these archetypes in the text that generates the feeling of the primacy of Babylon, of its essential nature to the cosmos, of its link to the hero and primary god Marduk. Both psychologically and culturally this text provides this sense of Marduk and Babylon's independence and significance as the essential city, the centre of the world and a point of great cosmic significance where gods may move between heaven, earth, the netherworld and the Apsû (Beaulieu 2018: 161). This is the advantage of viewing these texts through Jungian eyes as we can gain both psychological and cultural/historical insight into them and their archetypal components. Finally, Frankfort realised and understood the psychological end of this potential: "What we learn to understand in the first place is not the contents of images and symbols but the variety of feelings which produce them" (Frankfort and Bing 1958: 178). He recognised how the psychological/emotional significance of these symbols can allow insight into them and to see connections between them such as with the various symbols of the mother archetype.

The Enūma Eliš and Tiamat display archetypal patterns coinciding with the mother archetype. In Smythe and Baydala's view we must assess the fit of this archetypal expression in the cultural and historical milieu from which it arose to be able to make claims about it, and tracing it as a symbolic form, as Pietikainen proposes, is a way of achieving that end. We have made clear that Tiamat and the Enūma Eliš fit within the cultural and religious background of Mesopotamia where the female principle is not the primary agency, but is indispensable to life and creation like with the example of Enki, and how Tiamat's body is used as the stuff of creation. The basic concerns of the mother archetype, birth, fertility, compassion, protection, and death, clearly comprised a large part of the Mesopotamian imagination and world view. In terms of archetypes as symbolic forms, this was a symbol, culturally produced to some undefinable degree, that reflected a non-discursively articulated component of the Mesopotamian world view, and acted as a functional device as a shaping force in this view. Thus, it constituted a symbolic way of conceiving an understanding of the world which facilitated a 'growing into being' by transforming natural sensation and phenomena into a higher, and symbolic form. Whatever may be said of Jung, you cannot say he and his work is not interesting, although certainly bizarre.

We assessed the significance of the mother in Mesopotamia and thus came to understand that the Enūma Eliš is an example of a cultural form in its archetypal expression, and therefore can properly assess assertions about this expression as Symthe and Baydala suggested. This means that Jungian notions of the Enūma Eliš and other Mesopotamian myths can be assessed in light of the cultural and historical background that played a great role in its formation. This may take attention away from a focus on archetypes to look beyond the

peoples that produced and elaborated them, and to focus less on the psychology of the archetypal expressions and more on the cultural and historical forces behind them.

Conclusion

The depth, integrity and the exact scope and potential of Jung's work is still indeterminate, however, these facets of the legacy of his work have been fought over in scholarship and in popular culture movements for most of the 20th century. We noted this at the beginning with the controversy around Jung's work past and present and the varying responses to his work in scholarship and beyond. It is entirely unsurprising that Jung's work can provoke such a variety of responses of a polarizing nature for several reasons. For example, his work dealt with, for many people, to positively bring the mythic and religious spheres back into the imagination of the modern secular whereas others are cynical about Jung's work on religion. Moreover, although Jung talked much of biology and the mind I would not characterise him as a materialist, yet he was a man of science but also with a deeply religious and mystical orientation. It seems to be the butting of these two ends that causes such friction in his work and legacy, since his thought then seems too ambiguous and obscure. For many this gives the impression of a phony sense depth and meaning with questionable scientific justifications. Finally, he was like a pioneer in exploring many obscure corners of history and thought and integrating them into his works. The clearest example is in Jung's later years when he saw great psychological potential in the obscure traditions and texts of the alchemists in whose texts he saw great psychological significance.

The ultimate justification for this work was Jung's potential in the sphere of Mesopotamian mythology since he extensively investigated the field of world mythology as it related to his psychology. We have explored quite clearly and justly from Jung's own conception of the archetypes, the potential of his ideas

and approach in this realm. We noted the development of this theory of archetypes, its orientation toward the psychological and away from the cultural and historical elements contained within them. We sought to find a way of teasing out these elements within an archetypal context. Cassirer's theory of symbolic forms augmented the cultural aspects of the archetypes that Jung talked of in 1946 so as to develop this part of the archetypes neglected by Jung. Difficulty debate remains around the interplay of biology, culture and history in the future conceptions of archetypes and thus a great indeterminacy remains in this work. For our purposes, we need only make room for the cultural and historical within archetypal theory and therefore did not determine an outcome since we could manage our task without making assertions about what is essentially unknown.

At last the familiar shores of Mesopotamia were reached after this journeying through theory. We explored the mother archetype through the Enūma Eliš and the character Tiamat as well as the hero archetype in Marduk. It remains unclear, however, as to the true depth of the theory we laid down in this work and how much it really can elucidate Mesopotamian mythology. It was necessary to trudge through the theory and to understand Jung's orientation, and the archetypes and their origins to find a way to apply them in the way we intended. However, this left little room to explore the real depth of the archetypes as symbolic forms as expressed through myth. Although our exploration of the mother archetype reveals how we can open up the archetypes to cultural and historical analysis, the feeling remains that more examples of the archetypes and their expressions and interrelations within the Mesopotamia context are necessary to further grasp exactly the depth of the theory and its worthiness as opposed to other theories and approaches. The

advantage of this theory, nevertheless, was its blending of the psychological material as Frankfort suggested and its ability to be anchored to the cultural and historical factors behind it. This work hopes to have produced some advancement between Jung and Mesopotamia and to have correctly justified its intentions and theoretical wanderings.

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Figures

Cover page – https://www.ancient.eu/image/3131/mesopotamian-epic-of-creation-tablet/

Figure 1 – https://livethequestions.net/2015/01/16/art-of-the-self/

Figure 2 – https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tiamat#/media/File:Tiamat.JPG