STRUCTURAL FORMS
OF THE FEMININE PSYCHE

A Sketch (1)
Toni Wolff

For the self-knowledge and the self-realization of the modern woman it may not only be important to be aware of the attitude (introverted or extraverted) and of the basic psychological function (thinking, feeling, sensation or intuition) (2), but also to understand which structural form of the psyche corresponds best to her personality (3). This structural form must not necessarily coincide with the outer form of life, nor does it imply anything regarding the character or the human and cultural level. The outer form of life may be chosen for other than purely constitutional reasons (e.g. influences of time and environment, social circumstances, specific abilities), and more often than not the structural form of the psyche will fit into the outer form of life only with difficulty, resulting in insecurity and conflicts.

The man's problems are different, insofar as being more dualistic by nature (co-ordinative or formative abilities and instinctivity), his cultural achievements are determined by the spirit. Consequently his conscious attitude and his way

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of coping with reality are usually based upon the most dif-
ferentiated function.

A woman, on the other hand, is by nature conditioned by
the soul and she is more consistent in that her spirit and her
sexuality are coloured by the psyche. Thus her consciousness
is more comprehensive but less defined (4). The psychic
element tends to manifest itself in such forms of life as may
correspond to the female structural form and to the cultural
period concerned. Not every period offers optimal
possibilities for this; but we cannot here go into all those
historical, sociological, economic and religious causes which
nowadays hamper the realization of the structural form
inherent in a woman. A review of this kind would also be of
little avail, since it could merely show by what factors the
psychological problem is determined. What is of practical
importance is the awareness of the existence of this problem,
and the attempt to resolve the state of inner confusion by
attaining greater consciousness (5).

One historical fact only shall be mentioned here as
being the symbolic example of the modern woman's problems:
the insecurity of many a modern woman regarding her own
self and the essence of the feminine is less frequently found
in catholicism. Here, in the symbol of Mary, the cult of the
feminine principle as such has not only been associated since
ages with the male godhead and not only has this association
recently been proclaimed a dogma (as foreseen by Goethe in
the finale of "Faust"), but its various aspects are symbolic
representations of essentially feminine ways of existence:
maid of the Lord, virgin, bride of the Holy Spirit, mother of
God, fighter against the infidel, mediatrix, queen of heaven,
etc. (6). From an historical viewpoint the insecurity of the
protestant (and the Jewish) woman is due to the absence of
her own principle within the exclusively male godhead--the
metaphysical parallel to the patriarchal-masculine civil-
ization. But religious symbolism should embrace an individual
in his or her totality. However, in view of the fact that a
return to the past is impossible, those concerned can only
advance along the path of an intensified differentiation and a
deeper appreciation of the psychological problems involved.
The disappearance of the feminine (Chinese "Yin") principle in protestantism, including the figure of Mary, as well as meaning and mysticism in cult and myth, and the exclusive reliance upon the "word" as fundamental principle resulted in the promotion of science and technics, but also in the development of the "logos" into a purely rational instrument with the exclusion of the psychic factor. (The exponents of this trend in psychology are Freud and A. Adler, while in sociology and politics it is Marxism.) The "elimination of the psychic factor" from consciousness necessarily leads to exteriorization and collectivization, for the psyche is the inner life and the basis of individuality (7). In medieval mysticism the soul is the organ for the experience of God and the "birth of God"; man thus reaches the centre in himself and at the same time in the "primal ground". The modern "mystical" urge does not strive for "soul" but for "gnosis", for "superior knowledge", and thus imitations of "eastern wisdom" of all kinds are consequently in sway. The "soul", i.e. the psyche, is the feminine principle, the principle of relatedness, while "logos" abstracts and generalizes the individual (8). The valuation of the soul corresponds to that of the woman, as can be seen for instance during the other flowering of the Middle Ages, i.e. the minne period and the "cours d'amour". Dante belongs here, and so do the legends of King Arthur and the Grail in which the "enchanting minne" (Lady Venus, the fairy Morgane, etc.) has a place of her own (9).

Also this form of culture has disappeared and for the modern woman, contained as she is in the historical process, two factors are of particular importance: the freedom of choosing her profession and knowledge of birth control (although the latter can already be found with primitive peoples). In the Middle Ages two recognized ways of life were open to a woman: that of the wife and of the nun. The latter offered the possibility of manifestation to several structural forms: charity (caritas), divine "minne", visionary, and spiritual struggle. In this connection it is also necessary to mention the witch as psychic expression, independent of any way of life or confession—a heretical combination of magic and the devil.
With the revival of classical antiquity during the era of the renaissance, Olympus and its deities also rose again into consciousness—a many-figured soul image for the man, and for the woman a manifold symbolic expression of femininity: Hera, consort and queen; Demeter-Persephone, the mother; Aphrodite, the lover; Pallas Athene, the carrier of culture and protectress of the heroes; Artemis, the maidenly huntress; Hecate, the ruler in the netherworld of magic (10). However, the essence of the renaissance was not a return to ancient religion, but the discovery of nature and of man (11); it is the spiritual exponent of the since then irresistible trend away from the other world to this earth, a trend which eventually but mistakenly led to materialism. To be sure, considered positively this world is indeed reality in the truest meaning of the term, and its empirical investigation was bound to result in the rediscovery of certain given, though not necessarily obvious, facts: i.e. of the energetic concept of matter in physics, and in psychology of the psyche as the origin of consciousness and the creative matrix of all its realizations and manifestation in life. How greatly, besides the unconscious of the man, the psyche of the woman contributed to this knowledge is briefly described by C. G. Jung in "Die Frau in Europa" (Woman in Europe) and by Linda Fierz-David in Frauen als Weckerinnen seelischen Lebens (Women as Awakeners of Psychic Life) in: "Die kulturelle Bedeutung der komplexen Psychologie", Rascher, Zürich.

* These few historical side-lights were necessary as a basis for a schematic representation of the structural forms of the modern woman. In his book "Die Rolle der Erotik in der männlichen Gesellschaft" (The Role of Erotics in the Male Society) Diederichs, 1910, Hans Blüher postulated two female structural forms, the "consort" (Penelope) and the "free woman" (Calypso). Edouard Schuré presents a third one with his "Femmes inspiratrices et poètes annonciateurs" Perrin & Co., Paris 1907. In actual fact there are probably four forms. They must needs be characterized by names, but I am fully
aware of the questionable character of this terminology. They might be referred to as the psychic forms of the mother and spouse, the hetaira (companion, friend), the Amazon and the medial woman. In common with the psychological functional types is the contrary direction of their axes (i.e. personally or impersonally related) and the fact that, as a rule, one form is the predominant one, and may be joined by another, while the third and fourth are at first unconscious and can be made conscious and integrated only with difficulty and during the later part of life. In view of the fact that all four forms can be traced back in the history of culture, they probably are of an archetypal nature (12). They also correspond to the aspects of the male Anima.

The structural representation is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Medial Woman</th>
<th>Amazon</th>
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<td>Impersonally related</td>
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Hetaira

I shall now attempt to outline the most important psychic characteristics of the various forms.

The mother is motherly cherishing and nursing, helping, charitable, teaching. Her instinct reacts to all that in man is
in the process of becoming, or which is undeveloped, in need of protection, in danger, or must be tended, cared for and assisted. Without condescension it supports and consolidates what is unaccomplished and in need of help, and provides room for psychic development and greater security. The mother finds her fulfilment in her relationship to that which needs protection, help and development by endeavouring to strengthen it, so that in the normal case it can be dismissed from her care or, if this is not possible, it can be granted maximum security.

The negative aspect of the mother is mothering, anxious nursing and tutelage of the object when the latter never needed it or no longer needs it, lack of confidence in the latter's strength and independence, and interference with its development. The ego is only experienced in its motherly function and is empty without it. The specific danger involved is that unaccepted aspects of her own personality may infiltrate into the protégés and may tend to realize themselves through them—consciously in the way of guidance or, which is worse, unconsciously by infecting the objects and thus filling them with a life which is not theirs.

Once a woman is conscious of her primarily motherly structure, she will arrange her outer way of life accordingly, either through marriage or through motherly professions and activities. Marriage is contracted from the point of view of ensuring optimal conditions for a home: paternal qualities of the husband, similar family and social conditions, social position, security and career. In the case of maternal professions the place of the home is taken by institutions and organizations of public utility. Important persons (Elisabeth Fry, Florence Nightingale, Mathilda Wrede and others) have accomplished pioneer achievements in this field. Apart from marriage and profession there is scope for maternal activity in countless unapparent forms of human relationship.

Her relationship with the male is determined by this aspect of husband and father of the children or charges, and consequently everything that has to do with his position in the world—which is important for his Persona—is protected and promoted. Whatever he may be in addition to this is often
viewed as a threat to the home and therefore ignored or suppressed, so that eventually he may have the feeling of being merely a son or a necessary fixture of the household and will probably exaggerate his virility in his profession or in male company in a compensatory way. If his role in marriage is that of "container" (13) his personal psychology remains unconscious and undeveloped, since for development he would need psychic living space (14).

The Hetaira or companion is instinctively related to the personal psychology of the male, and also to that of her children if she is married. The individual interests, inclinations and, possibly, also the problems of the male are within her conscious field of vision and are stimulated and promoted by her. She will convey to him the sense of a personal value quite apart from collective values, for her own development demands of her to experience and realize an individual relationship in all its nuances and depths. Schüür's "femmes inspiratrices", belong mainly to this structural form, but they are exceptions just as the creative man is (15). Blüher's Calypso type which can be found much more frequently is a fairly close equivalent, but does not sufficiently account for the psychological problems involved. The function of the Hetaira is to awaken the individual psychic life in the male and to lead him through and beyond his male responsibilities towards the formation of a total personality. Usually this development becomes the task of the second half of life, i.e. after the social position has been successfully established.

The Hetaira thus affects the shadow side of the male and the subjective side of his Anima—a problem which is not without its danger. Consequently she ought to be, and at best is indeed, conscious of the laws of relationship. Her instinctive interest is directed towards the individual contents of a relationship in herself as well as in the man. For the man, a relationship in all its potentialities and nuances is usually less conscious and less important, for it distracts him from his tasks. For the Hetaira it is decisive. Everything else
--social security, position, etc.—is unimportant. In this lies both the significance and the danger of the Hetaira. If she overlooks the Persona side of the man (or of her children) or adapts herself too blindly to it, she is bound to idolize the personal element, to incite it excessively and may bring the man to a point where he himself loses his clear vision of outer reality: he may for instance give up his profession to become a "creative artist"; he may divorce, feeling that the Hetaira understands him better than his wife, etc. She insists on an illusion or some nonsense and thus becomes a temptress; she is Circe instead of Calypso.

There is great confusion nowadays as a result of the wide-spread abolition of the sexual taboo. It is the order of the day to have relationships--seen from the part of the woman they may either be due to erotic misunderstandings or to professional necessities. For the man, sexuality is the self-evident manifestation of a relationship. For the woman, and in particular for the Hetaira, it is under certain circumstances its result or, according to the individual law of relationship, it should even be kept out of it altogether. In any case it is only appropriate when the relationship as such has been sufficiently developed. Instead of beginning with sexuality, as is frequently done, it may be the eventual result, once a relationship has reached a certain depth and psychic consolidation and may thus represent a psychic equivalent to the security offered in marriage. But since the security afforded by marriage or a profession is of vital necessity to a woman, this need may creep unconsciously into the Hetaira relationship and disturb its intrinsic course. One can therefore say that, paradoxically, the ideal Hetaira is that woman who in marriage represents the "containing", i.e. she who needs personal relationship beyond marriage. Given this, she will be able to realize the relationship, and with it her married life, more consciously and without any secret motives. On the other hand a married woman who is unaware of her Hetaira nature, or has repressed it, is bound to make secret lovers out of her sons and girl friends out of her daughters, binding them exactly as does the mother who is unconscious of her mother nature.
Everything in life must be learned, also human relationship, and it is therefore only natural that the Hetaira cannot begin with it on the most differentiated level. But once she has learned it, she will carefully observe the laws of individual relationship, she will notice what belongs to it and what not, and she will if necessary know when a relationship has become fulfilled and complete.

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The fact that the problem of relationship may be a vital, but certainly not the only vital one for the male, enables him, especially nowadays, to experience under a positive aspect a third structural form of the female, namely the Amazon. Like the man, the woman has always lived in relationship not only to human objects but also to objective cultural values. Our time which offers plenty of scope in this respect is favourable for the Amazon who is independent and self-contained in the positive meaning of the term. She is independent of the male, because her development is not based upon a psychological relationship to him. The conscious values represented by him are at the same time her own values. Her interest is directed towards objective achievements which she wants to accomplish herself. To be the wife of a distinguished man means nothing to her; she strives to win the laurels herself. The great sportswomen and travellers belong to this category, but also women who are less prominent in public life; e.g. those working scientifically, in the civil service or in business, the able secretaries who make themselves indispensable in their offices, those who do not feel sufficiently taken up by their families and so occupy themselves in a useful way with some objective interest or dedicate themselves to a task, who run a business enterprise (of which the husband is often an employee), or simply those who are "wearing the pants" at home and keep their household and family under military discipline.

The positive aspect of an Amazon can be that of a refreshing comrade of the man--a comrade who makes no personal demands--a competitor and rival who deserves to be
taken seriously, who incites his ambitions and inspires his best male achievements (16). Her negative aspect is that of a sister who, driven by "masculine protest", wants to be equal to her brother, who will not recognize any authority or superiority, who has not yet crept out of the egg-shell of woman suffrage, who fights by using exclusively male arms and is a Megaera at home. The social or society "hyenas" are also a sub-species of this kind. Personal complications are dealt with in a "masculine" way or are repressed. Patience or comprehension for anything still undeveloped or in the process of developing or gone astray is lacking both in respect to herself and others ("I am looking forward to the time when my children will be grown up"). Marriage and relationship are viewed under the aspect of achievement, primarily of her own achievements; success and efficiency are her watchwords. The Amazon is also in danger of misusing human relationships as a means of "business" or for the sake of her career.

Heinrich von Kleist in his "Penthesilea" has shed light into the depths of Amazon psychology. An instructive historic example is Lady Hester Stanhope (17).

Maybe "Amazon", like "Hetaira", is a somewhat misleading name, as it is linked with historical associations. But it is probably not easy to find a better term for this structural form which is characterized by the emphasis placed upon the individual's own personality and its development within the limits of the objective cultural values of our time, quite independent of other persons and of instinctive or other psychic factors. In as far as our present time offers widest scope to the Amazon structure, it is this form which, beside the "mother", can most frequently be found in the lime-light of public life, or which is perhaps chosen as the outer way of life whenever it corresponds to a necessity or an ideal, even though it may not be fully consistent with the natural structure.

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The present contains within itself the past and the future. The lucidity of consciousness rests upon dark, uncon-
scious seeds out of which have grown or will grow the objective cultural values. It is this unconscious background which is perceived by the medial structural form. In this connection one must not think of parapsychology, although the common medium represents its lowest, i.e. most unconscious level (18). Incidentally, it is of interest to note that the appearance of the first media known in more recent times, namely Fox and his sister, almost coincided with the beginning of female emancipation in 1848 which was a result of the industrial revolution (19). In the same revolutionary year of 1848 the "Communist Manifesto" was published by Marx and Engels and Pope Pius IX began to prepare the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary. The history of ideas follows the law of compensation.

Medium means: in between, neither this nor that, something intermediate, general, neutral, in the middle, a means, agent, mediator, conveyor. The medial woman is immersed in the psychic atmosphere of her environment and the spirit of her period, but above all in the collective (impersonal) unconscious. The unconscious, once it is constellated and can become conscious, exerts an effect. The medial woman is overcome by this effect, she is absorbed and moulded by it and sometimes she represents it herself. She must for instance express or act what "is in the air", what the environment cannot or will not admit, but what is nevertheless a part of it. It is mostly the dark aspect of a situation or of a predominant idea, and she thus activates what is negative and dangerous. In this way she becomes the carrier of evil, but that she does, is nevertheless exclusively her personal problem. As the contents involved are unconscious, she lacks the necessary faculty of discrimination to perceive and the language to express them adequately. The overwhelming force of the collective unconscious sweeps through the ego of the medial woman and weakens it, while on the other hand the ego of the Amazon is strong, just because she keeps herself out of this abysmal background. By its nature the collective unconscious is not limited to the person concerned—further reason why the medial woman identifies herself and others with archetypal contents. But to deal with the collective
unconscious demands a solid ego consciousness and an adequate adaptation to reality. As a rule the medial woman disposes of neither and consequently she will create confusion in the same measure as she herself is confused. Conscious and unconscious, I and you, personal and impersonal psychic contents remain undifferentiated. This may at first be inspiring for the others and in particular for the man, since the medial woman who senses the archetypal foundations of his spirit will activate and, maybe, even represent them for him. She will often personify the impersonal side of his Anima and thus unknowingly draw him into chaotic turmoil by which she will be carried away herself. She scents and animates those psychic contents which should be made conscious, but which do not belong to the partner's ego and cannot therefore be assimilated without adequate preparation. In this case her influence is destructive and "bewitching". As objective psychic contents in herself and in others are not understood, or are taken personally, she experiences a destiny not her own as though it were her own and loses herself in ideas which do not belong to her. Instead of being a mediatrix, she is only a means and becomes the first victim of her own nature. But if she possesses the faculty of discrimination, the feeling or the understanding for the specific values and the limits of the conscious and the unconscious, of the personal and the impersonal, of what belongs to the ego and what to the environment, then her faculty to let herself be moulded by the objective psychic contents will enable her to exert a positive cultural influence, comparable to that of the Amazon. In that case, she consecrates herself to the service of a new, maybe yet concealed, spirit of her age, like the early Christian martyrs (20), the female mystics of the Middle Ages (21) or, within a smaller sphere, she devotes herself to the lifework of an individual man, like Gottliebin Dittus, who, out of being possessed, became the collaborator of Blumhardt, whose victory over her demons released his own best forces (22). Whenever the medieval witches were not merely the victims of male projections and of greed, they represented the split-off evil and the unacceptable heresy of their times.
Our age with its manifold irrational interests offers the medial woman a good many possibilities of expression, e.g. graphology, astrology, chirolgy, etc. But these are arts or even professions and are unsuitable for those who have no special talent. Consequently it is still more imperative for the medial woman than for the other structural forms to become conscious of her characteristic psychology and to acquire discrimination, so as to become a mediatrix instead of a mere medium. Instead of identifying herself and others with collective-unconscious contents--quite unrelated to reality--she ought to appreciate her medial faculty as an instrument and receptacle for the reception of these contents. But to achieve this she will have to find an adequate language. Medial women had a social function as seers, sibyls, medicine women or shamans in previous cultures--and still have nowadays with primitive peoples. Today, at least, we have the language of psychology in which the unconscious is an important and often vital factor whose inclusion into one's life can not only have a healing effect, but may even lead to greater consciousness and to being rooted meaningfully in the laws of the psyche. Mention may be made in this connection of Stewart White's books on his wife Betty. It is true that Betty still expresses herself to a certain degree in the language of the spiritists, but as a human being she was an exceptionally vital person with a positive outlook on life, who lent herself only hesitatingly and with sound criticism to the messages from the unconscious. They are therefore easy to translate into the language of modern psychology (23).

Another example of a medial woman, in this case a creative one, is Ricarda Huch whose mediality, supported by extensive historical knowledge and poetic qualities, evoked historic situations and persons. Among the great actresses one could mention Eleonora Duse. Strangely enough, women painters whom one might believe to be best qualified to give expression to the images of the collective unconscious, are missing. They probably depend too much on the spirit of the age and consequently imitate the prevailing style; and they thus remain on the surface and within the personal sphere. The objective and collective psychic contents, however, can
only be adequately expressed in an objective language which, apart from art, would have to be a psychological or symbolic one. Just as the Amazon absorbs the impersonal cultural values of her period and forms her ego accordingly, the medial woman perceives, and is formed by, the unconscious, germinal background elements of a person, a situation or a period. And just as the modern Amazon at first concretely mistook mannish behaviour for masculine activity, so the medial woman concretely mistook spirits for the unconscious spirit. Immersed as she is in the collective unconscious, it would be her cultural task to find and express its meaning, and in this way to accomplish a life-promoting compensatory function.

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Similar to the four basic psychological functions, all the four structural forms are inherent to every woman. If possible she will realize the one which is the most consistent with her nature. By and by, a second form will assert itself from within. This process, too, runs parallel to the gradual differentiation of the four basic functions, in so far as the second form is not the opposite one in our schematic representation except for those cases where the opposite presses up from the unconscious. Consequently, for the mother for instance, this second form will be the Amazon or the medial woman; the personal relationship is thus joined by an impersonal one or, vice versa, by a personal one in the case of an initially impersonally related woman (24). If the gradual integration of the next structural form does not take place, the original one will be exaggerated and turn negative. In the further course of life a third form will have to be dealt with, which usually lies upon the same axis as the second, but has more of a shadow character and can be less easily reconciled with the first one. Again similar to the four functions, the fourth form causes the greatest difficulty. The fourth structural form cannot as a rule be lived concretely, representing too great a contrast to the original character and to reality. Like the fourth "inferior" basic function it
must therefore be expressed on the symbolic level. And just as the coming to terms with the fourth function is the way to psychic totality, the integration of the fourth structural form of the woman is an approach to the Self.

This task also requires a whole life--whole both in respect of time as well as in the intrinsic meaning of a process of change which cannot be described here. The woman who can intelligently submit herself to it will find her proper place in this modern world and will fulfill her cultural task, thus gaining the inner security which is reached when one's psychic contents--the Shadow, the Animus, the "Great Mother", the "Wise Woman" and even the Self (25)--are no longer projected into the environment. As the woman is related to life, it is indeed her task to get the male involved in life and to make ideas life. But involvement and realization can take place positively or negatively, consciously or unconsciously, with or without responsibility.
Endnotes

1. The present paper was first read in 1934 in the Psychological Club, Zürich, and a more detailed version of it in 1948 at the C. G. Jung Institute in Zürich. Here the topic can only be dealt with schematically and it is assumed that the reader has a knowledge of the principles of Analytical Psychology.


3. Instead of "structural form" one might just as well use the term "structural types" since the meaning is that of imprinting or "typification", i.e. an abstraction of individual qualities into a formal denominator of common characteristics. But in view of the fact that the concept of types in Analytical Psychology, as mentioned above, has by now its classic application, it may prevent conceptual confusion, if the term structural forms is used throughout.


12. The popular confusion of biological potentialities with psychic structure, according to which all women are thought to be primarily mothers, is refuted by ethnological investigations: cf. int. al. Hilde Thurnwald: "Menschen der Südsee" (People of the South Seas), Ferdinand Enke, Stuttgart 1937, and Spencer and Gillen: "The Arunta", MacMillan & Co., London 1927. Equally untenable is the postulation of physical motherhood without husband and family ties, which shows how the lack of instinct in our time results in a regression to matriarchal views.


15. The creative and artistic is a category of its own, distinct from the attitude, functional and structural types. --Also the Animus problem is not included here, as it concerns all women in the same way. Cf. Emma Jung: "Ein Beitrag zum Problem des Animus" in C. G. Jung "Wirklichkeit der Seele".

16. An historical example is Catharine of Siena who, both


24. Of course, this is no judgement of value regarding the capacity to love of the four forms, but a reference to the different types of their relatedness. Love, moreover, is a complex structure, not only instincts and feelings, but also a particular attitude.
