A JUNGIAN FORMULATION OF INCEST AS REVEALED IN A CLINICAL CASE STUDY OF AN INCEST PERPETRATOR

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"Even the most absurd things are nothing other than symbols for thoughts which are not only understandable in human terms but dwell in every human breast"  

(Jung, 1960 a, p.178).
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ABSTRACT

The aim of the present study is to provide a psychological understanding of the issues pertinent to the perpetration of father-daughter incest. An analysis of incest in the context of Jungian theory provides the theoretical basis. To elucidate the unconscious meaning of incest, the relationship between the incest impulse, symbolic incest and actual incest is examined. It is argued that actual incest constitutes a gross distortion of the individuation process and, due to its regressive component, a defence against total psychic extinction. It is, at the same time, a plea for rebirth. What emerges from the theoretical analysis is that the essential motivation for sexual union with an adolescent daughter unconsciously represents an attempt at integrating the anima in her positive, nurturant and 'desirable' aspect. A clinical case study is then presented in which these themes are elucidated and discussed. It is concluded that the understanding of actual incest should be located in a symbolic/developmental framework and that the unconscious meaning of incest has implications for psychological, moral and legal definitions.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

1.0 THE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY ................................................................. 1

2.0 DEFINITIONS ............................................................................................................. 1

2.1 Psychiatric/Psychological and Legal Definitions ....................................................... 1

2.1 Psychodynamic Perspectives ...................................................................................... 3

3.0 INCEST IN THE CONTEXT OF JUNGIAN THEORY ...................................................... 3

4.0 THE CASE STUDY ...................................................................................................... 15

4.1 Methodological considerations ................................................................................... 15

4.2 The Case Formulation ................................................................................................. 16

4.2.1 Identifying Data ...................................................................................................... 16

4.2.2 Highlights of Present Illness .................................................................................. 16

4.2.3 Salient Sections of the History .............................................................................. 17

4.2.4 Highlights of History and Mental State Examination ............................................. 21

4.2.5 Differential Diagnosis ............................................................................................ 22

4.2.6 Further Investigations ............................................................................................. 22

4.2.7 A Jungian Aetiological Analysis ............................................................................. 23

4.3 The Dream Analysis .................................................................................................... 26

4.4 Analysis of essential Rorschach images ..................................................................... 33

5.0 DISCUSSION ............................................................................................................. 36

REFERENCES .................................................................................................................... 40

APPENDICES
1.0 THE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The principal aim of the present study is to provide a psychological understanding of the issues pertinent to the perpetration of father-daughter incest. It is suggested that even actual incest has meaning in relation to the process of individuation. To elucidate the meaning of incest as it relates to the overt and relatively consistent behaviour pattern of father-daughter incest, a Jungian perspective has been selected. Incest in the context of Jungian theory will be introduced by means of a critical consideration of psychiatric/psychological and legal definitions of incest as they relate to psychodynamic perspectives. In the theoretical section, the relationship between the incest impulse, symbolic incest and actual incest will be articulated. To examine the relationship between aspects of the individuation process and the manifest act of incest, a clinical case study of an incest perpetrator will be presented. In the Discussion section, it will be argued that the understanding of actual incest should be located in a symbolic/developmental framework and that the unconscious meaning of incest has implications for psychological, moral and legal definitions.

A working knowledge of Jungian theory and terminology is assumed and where necessary the reader will be referred to the original works of Jung and Neumann. In this study only essential links are articulated due to the 45-page limitation. When spelt with a capital, "Mother" refers to the archetypal Mother, whilst "mother" refers to the personal mother.

2.0 DEFINITIONS

2.1 Psychiatric/Psychological and Legal definitions

Incest is defined as the occurrence of sexual relations between close blood relatives (Kaplan and Sadock, 1981). Renshaw (1982) refers to incest as the "inappropriate sexualization of affection within the family" (p.xi), but asks, "Specifically, what constitutes incest? Is it only sexual intercourse between two people of family kinship or blood ties? Is mouth-to-mouth kissing or breast-caressing also incestuous? Could sexual arousal resulting from visual contact or seductive looks or signals be incestuous? Is a distressing or arousing dream or fantasy about
contact with a blood relative incestuous?" (p.9). Renshaw (1982) proposes a three-stage classification system to describe incest-cases (see Incest: Understanding and Treatment, p.21).

It might be useful to consider the legal parameters of incest as these have implications for psychiatric/psychological definitions. A definition of incest published in Child Sexual Abuse Within the Family stipulates that "The legal definition of incest applies to acts of sexual intercourse between a man and a woman within the prohibited relationships. These are (a) a man with a woman who is his daughter, sister or half-sister, mother or granddaughter; and (b) a woman over sixteen years of age with a man who is her father, brother or half-brother, son or grandfather. Illegitimate children are covered by the law of incest but adopted and step-children are not. Lesser sexual acts (i.e. not involving intercourse) between, for example, fathers and daughters constitute other offences such as indecent assault or gross indecency with or towards a child" (The Ciba Foundation, Porter, 1984, p.3-4).

From a psychological point of view the divergent speculations on the essence of incest have stimulated both fascination and confusion. A review of the literature reveals that clinical perspectives regarding incestuous dynamics, both individual and familial, have changed over the years (Gunthiel and Avery, 1972; Serrano and Gunzburger, 1983). According to Zuelzer and Reposa (1983), "Work in the area of incest was initially based on a unidimensional, epidemiological, descriptive perspective, which perceived the child essentially as victim of a parental sexual deviate. This view expanded to a psychologically investigative one, which conceptualizes incest as a collusive act, where the adult proponents (i.e., the parents) are driven to repeat childhood experiences or conflicts interactionally with the child, who may be an active, even seductive, participant" (p.98). Gaddini (1983) views incest as a developmental failure and as "one of the most pathological forms of arrest and the distortion of the maturational process, insofar as it is one of the most primitive and concrete ... The difficulty that so many have in seeing incest as an early developmental failure is due to the fact that it is masked with sexuality" (p.358). Tallent (1977) notes that in the absence of sexual objects the most widespread and spontaneous response to deprivation is masturbation. Since sexual conformity is demanded by cultural morality, it would appear that the unconscious meaning of actual incest is of great importance to
the perpetrator.

2.1 Psychodynamic perspectives

In relation to incest, Freud's view of the libido pertains to what is termed drive regression to the Oedipal phase through displacement and subsequent gratification of the Oedipal wish. A 'perversion' is therefore a literal enactment of a wish, whilst a neurosis is a wish censored through repression. In other words, the 'pervert' lives out the neurotic's fantasy. Freud treats the symptomatic act and the fantasy underlying the symptomatic act, namely incest, semiotically. Jung, on the other hand, disputed the solely sexual significance of the parents and questioned the literal versus symbolic nature of memories pertaining to the Oedipus complex (Samuels, 1985). If literal sexual intercourse is not the issue then what does the adult impulse and act of sexuality imply? Jung argued that adult neurotics retrospectively sexualize their childhood experiences. A child does not possess a fully developed sexuality and therefore, sexual images of, for example, the parents in bed, is an archetypal image symbolizing the union of opposites and, by implication, the individual's potential for psychic integration (Samuels, 1982). This suggests that sexuality is the 'carrier' of the 'uniting symbol', i.e. the Self, and the instinct for the creation of meaning (Jung, 1973).

Given the above definitions of incest, two interesting questions arise: What is the meaning of the sexualization of the father-daughter relationship? and, how does one define a sexual relationship?, i.e. the issue of the literal as opposed to symbolic meanings of sexuality need to be addressed. This necessitates the replacement of the reductive, semiotic interpretation of incest by a symbolic, or archetypal conception. The Jungian perspective will now receive detailed consideration.

3.0 INCEST IN THE CONTEXT OF JUNGIAN THEORY

Jung's definition of incest, as articulated in Symbols of Transformation, is as follows: "Incest is the urge to get back to childhood. For the child, of course, this cannot be called incest; it is only for an adult with a fully developed sexuality that this backward striving becomes incest, because he
is no longer a child but possesses a sexuality which cannot be allowed a regressive outlet” (1956, p.235n). Samuels (1985) summarizes Jung’s position, as stated in Symbols of Transformation, as follows: “Jung’s conception of incest is that of a symbol, revealing both the need to move on from mother, father and the family circle (the incest taboo) and, at the same time, the opposite, the need to regress (the incest impulse)” (p.166-167) (emphasis added).

The symbolic meaning of incest is predicated upon a proper understanding of Jung’s concept of fantasy.

Jung (1956) distinguished between two fundamentally different modes of psychological functioning, which he termed directed and non-directed thinking. The latter mode is synonymous with fantasy-activity, which can be manifested in three forms, delineated by Faber (1986) as follows:

(1) Fantasy as a conscious construction, i.e. an intentionally produced, ego constructed combination of elements, e.g. a “daydream”

(2) Perceptual imagery - denotes that class of perceptual images which constitute the psychical representations of perceptual objects, always influenced by subjective factors and often subliminally perceived

(3) Fantasy-imagery (unconscious fantasy) - (i) imagery which derives from the complexes, and in its ‘passive’ form may result in psychopathology due to an interference with a subject’s “reality-testing”; passive fantasy may also be archetypal in origin (ii) imagery which derives from archetypal activity. It is this latter category which is seminal to the current study.

Archetype, archetypal structure and archetypal image are the fundamental concepts pertaining to an understanding of unconscious processes and, hence, fantasy-imagery. Archetypes are transcendent forms, collectively and historically derived, capable of releasing uniquely human instinctual patterns of thought and behaviour (Jung, 1973). Jung (1973) drew a distinction between the archetypal representation (image and idea) and the psychoid archetype; the latter is, by definition, inherently irrepresentable and unknowable and must be inferred from the patterning of images, ideas and behaviour at the ‘level’ of psychic reality. Jung used the term “psychoid” (psycho-biological) to denote the condition of undifferentiated potentiality of the archetype per se (ibid). In On the Nature of the Psyche, Jung articulates the relationship between instinct and image as follows: “There are, in fact, no amorphous instincts, as every instinct bears in itself the
pattern of its situation. Always it fulfils an image, and the image has fixed qualities ... Such an image is an _a priori_ type" (1973, p111). This means that psychic processes are heavily influenced by _instinct_. It is only through volition and _conscious awareness_ that the compulsive, instinctual pattern of behaviour can be modified (ibid). With increasing detachment from instinct through conscious awareness, the 'force' is converted to a spiritual form (Jung, 1973). For Jung, 'spirit' should not be identified with the human intellect, but rather with the psychoid, archetypal threshold for psychical events (1973).

In psychic reality the psychoid factor appears in the form of _archetypal images_ (Jung, 1973). "We may say that the image represents the meaning of the instinct" (Jung, 1973, p.111). In other words, the psyche connects the instinctual and spiritual realms through the medium of the archetypal image. Archetypal images, constellated in dreams and fantasies, function as a compensation for a crisis engendered by a conscious 'imbalance' (Jung, 1980). According to Jung (1973), psychic processes seem to be balances of energy flowing between spirit and instinct and, whilst archetype and instinct are polar opposites as they manifest in the psyche, it is this 'state' which constitutes the _propensity_ for union. Moreover, "the spirit senses in sexuality a counterpart equal and indeed akin to itself ... Where would the spirit be if it had no peer among the instincts to oppose it? It would be nothing but an empty form" (ibid, p.57).

The bridge to sexuality originates in what is termed _libido_: an energetic conception of psychic phenomena or, rather, a "hypothetical, fundamental striving which I call libido" (Jung, 1960 a, p.190). It is not the sexual instinct, but a kind of 'neutral energy' which is responsible for the formation of symbols (ibid). An afflux of energy very often intensifies instinctual processes and 'pathological' phenomena, such as incestuous impulses or acts, cannot simply be explained as a disturbance in the sexual sphere (Jung, 1956). If fantasy is not solely sexual in nature it must have another referent. This will be elaborated below.

Firstly, signification must be distinguished from symbolization in relation to _fantasy_. For, as Jung (1983) states, "The instincts and their specific fantasy-contents are partly concrete, partly symbolical (i.e., 'unreal'), sometimes one, sometimes the other, and they have the same
paradoxical character when they are projected" (p11). In The Psychology of the Transference, Jung explains that it is possible to interpret the fantasy-contents of the instincts either as signs, as "self-portraits" of the instincts; or as symbols, i.e., as "the spiritual meaning of the natural instinct" (1983, p.11).

The development of what is conceptualized as the "symbolic attitude" is a universal potential which, through the introjection of 'good' and 'bad' objects in infancy, leads to a symbolic combination of opposites later in life (Samuels, 1985). Fantasy-activity is the medium through which the symbol is apprehended. The Self, which is the 'uniting symbol' epitomizing the total union of opposites, can only be expressed in symbols (Jung, 1983). Jung (1958) explains that "the self is an image of the goal of life spontaneously produced by the unconscious, irrespective of wishes and fears of the conscious mind ... the dynamic of this process is instinct, which ensures that everything which belongs to an individual's life shall enter into it, whether he consents or not" (p.459). A failure to integrate the positive and negative aspects of relevant archetypal images, regulated by the Self, would constitute a distortion of the individuation process (Jung, 1959). The essential bipolarity of the archetype, in this instance incest, can be conceptualized as having a dual aspect. On the one hand, incest is regressive, i.e. as manifested on an instinctual level; on the other it is progressive, i.e. it relates to union on a spiritual level (Neumann, 1954).

It is Jung's view that absence of symbolism overloads the sphere of instinct and that the creation of analogies frees instinct and the biological sphere from the pressure of unconscious contents (1983). Symbols give form to the instincts and act as "transformers" in converting libido to a spiritual form (Jung, 1956, p.232). Consciousness is both a transformation of the original instinctual image as well as its transformer (Jung, 1973). However, Jung (1956) suggests that it is not possible to discuss symbol-formation without reference to the instinctual processes because "it is from them that the symbol derives its motive power" and "hence a discussion of one of the strongest instincts, sexuality, is unavoidable, since perhaps the majority of symbols are more or less close analogies of this instinct" (p.228) (emphasis added).
Following Jung (1973), "Sexuality is not mere instinctuality; it is an indisputably creative power that is not only the basic cause of our individual lives, but a very serious factor in our psychic life as well ... We could call sexuality the spokesman of the instincts" (p.57). Sexuality and the images of sexuality (fantasy images which surround sexuality) are representations of the individuation process (Jung, 1956). If that is the case, then, what is the individuational basis of the unconscious fantasy of incestuous sexual union?

According to Jung (1983) the psychic image of an object is subjectively conditioned. "Experience shows that the carrier of the projection is not just any object but is always one that proves adequate to the nature of the content projected - that is to say, it must offer the content a 'hook' to hang on" (Jung, 1983, p.129). These 'ideas' are central to an understanding of the interpretive method of this study as well as the meaning and mystery of incest. The following serves to articulate the difference between subjective and objective level interpretation: "The appearance of figures closely associated with the subject in waking life generally requires objective level interpretation first; ... they will inevitably reveal a subjective or intrapsychic significance upon further analysis" (Faber, 1986, p.57).

With reference to the present study, a dream about a woman may refer to the actual person (objective level), a mother complex (subjective level/semiotic evaluation) and the anima and Mother archetypes (subjective level/symbolic evaluation) (ibid). Another aspect of subject-object interpretation is in terms of the parents because 'In reality the whole drama takes place in the individual's own psyche, where the 'parents' are not the parents at all but only their imagos: they are representations which have arisen from the conjunction of parental peculiarities with the individual disposition of the child" (Jung, 1956, p.328).

The major focus of this study is on the incestuous dynamics of a male in relation to what has been conceptualized as the Archetypal Feminine by Neumann (1963). It is proposed that the revelation of incestuous impulses accords with Neumann's contention that 'the term 'incest' is to be understood symbolically, not concretistically and sexually. Wherever the incest motif appears, it is always a prefiguration of the hieros gamos, of the sacred marriage consummation which
attains its true form only with the hero" (1954, p.16-17). The term *hierosgamos* denotes a sacred or spiritual marriage, depicted in alchemical texts as intercourse between the royal pair (Jung, 1983). The archetypal image of parental union, which symbolizes the union of opposites, represents the individual's potential for psychic integration (Samuels, 1982). In other words, "Incest symbolizes union with one's own being, it means *individuation* or becoming a self" (Jung, 1983, p.56) (emphasis added).

Since the life process in its psychological aspect is individuation, *meaning* is sought not only consciously, but unconsciously as well. Synthesis and integration of the personality is accomplished by means of the differentiation of consciousness out of the initial unconscious condition (*ibid*). If the goal of human existence is synthesis and integration then it must be understood historically and for this purpose the life cycle of the human being needs to examined. Jung (1983) explains that "Individuation has two principal aspects: in the first place it is an internal and subjective process of integration, and in the second it is an equally indispensable process of objective relationship" (p.72).

For Jung, the life cycle for a member of the human species has a certain typical species-specific form just as much as the life cycle of a fish, a moth or a reptile has a species-specific form (1960 b). The individuation process is therefore fundamentally collective, although the way in which this typical pattern is actualized in a given individual member of the human species will be heavily influenced by personal ontogenetic factors. The individuation process in any member of the human species begins with conception and ends with death (although, as far as we know, the unconscious does not appear to represent physical death as the end of a process, but rather as a transformation of identity (Von Franz, 1986)).

The primordial carrier of individual human life is always the mother. Jung regarded the state of biological-instinctual symbiosis characteristic of the intra-uterine condition as having its psychic counterpart in a state of fusion or 'Oneness' with the mother (1956). This is true of all members of the species and is by definition, therefore, an archetypal condition. This condition is the basis of archetypal images of the Great Mother, the Earth Mother, etc. (see Neumann, 1954, 1963).
Jung stressed the primary importance of the mother-infant relationship since "The carrier of the (mother) archetype is in the first place the personal mother, because the child lives at first in complete participation with her, in a state of unconscious identity" (1959, p.102). The Mother archetype forms the foundation of the mother-complex (ibid). This primordial condition of fusion with the mother can be understood as a form of undifferentiated 'wholeness' or integration anticipating the final 'goal' of individuation, i.e. synthesis of the Self. This original condition of 'Selfhood' is a fundamentally unconscious one.

The psychological process of progressive differentiation of the ego-complex is initiated at birth with the literal separation from the mother. Infancy is a feminine-dominated condition because of the human neonate's biologically-based dependency and need for nurturance. This was characterized by Neumann (1954) as being an essentially matriarchal phase in which the germinal and unstable ego-complex functions in terms of greater or lesser symbiosis with the mother through the mechanism of projective identification. Neumann (1954) refers to the three consecutive stages of the development of consciousness as: the urboric, matriarchal and patriarchal phases. For separation of subject (ego-complex) and object (mother-Self) to occur, conscious recognition of the archetypally Masculine opposite must be effected. In both sexes identification with the father is of paramount importance for the differentiation of consciousness. Jung (1956) writes that "The father is the representative of the spirit, whose function it is to oppose pure instinctuality" (p.261).

Thus, for conscious realization of the Self to occur, differentiation of subject from object is essential. A viable ego-complex must crystallize out of the primordial Self. The ego complex is the central complex of the psyche, but is only one among many. If the complex is is very heavily charged and overpowers the conscious ego it leads to an identification between, for example, the mother complex and the ego. A complementary and reciprocal relationship exists between the concepts of complex and archetype. Since unconscious contents are projected, an impairment of the individual's ability to distinguish between subject and object is manifested. It is only when the complex becomes overinfluenced by excessive personal material and thus manifestly autonomous, that psychopathology results.
At the first level of fantasy and symptomatic acts the formulation of incest must take into account personal factors of an unconscious nature relating to the mother complex. For Jung, the crux is as follows: the basis of the mother complex is not sexuality. Given that, then what is it? The basis of the mother complex is individuation - the monistic drive towards synthesis and integration of the personality or the disparate elements of the psyche (1953). According to Jung (1956) the mother is "the gateway into the unconscious ... For regression, if left undisturbed, does not stop short at the 'mother' but goes back beyond her to the prenatal realm of the 'Eternal Feminine'", where "slumbers the 'divine child', patiently awaiting his conscious realization" (p.330). Regression, under the guise of symbolic incest, refers to the unconscious return to a condition of fusion with the mother as a preparation for psychological rebirth. Jung (1956) asserts that "in so far as the mother represents the unconscious, the incest tendency, particularly when it appears as the amorous desire of the mother ... or of the anima ... is really only the desire of the unconscious to be taken notice of" (p.294).

The core of the incest archetype is a longing to become whole again, "to return to his original state of oneness before separation and duality were forced upon him by the birth of consciousness" (Stein, 1973, p.30). Archetypally speaking, it is the separation from the Mother, who represents the collective unconscious, which assists in the development of consciousness (Jung, 1956). The incest taboo interrupts the security and dependency of the child's relation to the personal mother, who, in turn, symbolizes the archetypal Mother (ibid). Jung (1953) postulated that the differentiation of consciousness is heavily influenced by 'good' or 'bad' mothering. Due to the intimacy experienced in the family atmosphere, the incest taboo stimulates the formation of images pertaining to union between mother and father. This implies a relative degree of detachment from the unconscious and instinct (Jung, 1956). Stein (1973) writes that "As long as a child's basic instinctual needs are fulfilled, the psyche remains hidden and undeveloped. Thus, sexual inhibition is essential for the opening up of the imaginal world" (p.38). Jung (1956) explains that the symbol-creating process substitutes for the Mother and that the incest prohibition stimulates creative fantasy which then allows for a gradual exploration of alternative approaches for the transformation of the libido to a 'higher', i.e. spiritual, form. As
soon as detachment from the childhood state is indicated, the relation to the personal mother will be compensated by the Mother archetype (Jung, 1956).

Up to this point the analysis describes the conditions pertaining to infancy and early childhood. Since the focus of this study is on the adult perpetrator of incest, the dynamics of the later phases of the individuation process need to be grasped.

The Mother, personifying the unconscious, is the first embodiment of the anima archetype. Neumann (1954) writes that "The Great Mother stands between the Archetypal Feminine, which itself as maternal uroboros is close to the primordial, and the anima, which is already a part of the personality and thus occupies the middle position between the collective unconscious and the uniqueness of the individual" (p.37). The Archetypal Feminine has a dual aspect: on the one hand, she is a nurturer and giver of life, i.e. a propulsive force; on the other, she also holds fast and she takes back, i.e. devours, swallows into herself, inhibits differentiation (ibid). Whichever of these opposites predominates will determine the degree of differentiation of the subject. If the positive, nurturant aspects prevail over the negative, individuation will be relatively unimpeded, i.e. a progressively more functional, and hence a mature ego-complex will develop. However, if the negative, devouring aspects of the Archetypal Feminine predominate, differentiation of the ego-complex will be impeded and in severe cases, arrested.

As stated above, these respective outcomes are determined by the personality and attributes of the personal mother (Jung, 1959). Jung (1959) explains that "Because of the difference in sex, a son's mother-complex does not appear in pure form. This is the reason why in every masculine mother-complex, side by side with the mother archetype, a significant role is played by the image of ... the anima" (p.85). In a male subject with an overdetermined mother complex, the individuation process will be heavily tainted by a regressive pull for re-establishing the uroboric and matriarchal conditions of fusion and synthesis. On a personal level such a regressive motivation may be manifested in the form of unconscious fantasies of incestuous relations with the mother. Regarding the relationship between the regressing libido and the incest motif, Jung (1956) explains that "when the regressing libido is introverted for internal or external reasons it
always reactivates the parental imagos and thus apparently re-establishes the infantile relationship. But this relationship cannot be re-established, because the libido is an adult libido which is already bound to sexuality and inevitably imports an incompatible, incestuous character into the reactivated relationship to the parents. It is this sexual character that now gives rise to the incest symbolism" (p.204). The true significance of these fantasies are only revealed when they are interpreted symbolically, i.e. related to the relationship between the ego and the Archetypal Feminine. Incestuous fantasies and acts must be understood as an unconsciously motivated, regressive attempt to re-establish the primordial state of 'Oneness' with the Self in the symbolic guise of the Mother.

Theoretically, once identification with the archetypally Masculine opposite has been achieved during the patriarchal phase of early childhood, the consolidation of a viable, reality-oriented ego-complex becomes of paramount adaptive importance. This proceeds in the male by means of progressively stronger identifications with the Masculine with a concommitant repression and de-emphasis of the Feminine. This repudiated Feminine component constellates unconsciously as the anima, which is always contaminated to a greater or lesser extent by the residual forms of the projective identifications with the Archetypal Feminine in both her positive and negative aspects. Since, following Jung (1956), all unconscious factors are inevitably projected, the positive aspects of the Feminine-Mother-anima are responsible for the male's attraction to and subsequent mating with an appropriate female partner. As Jung (1959) argues, genuine adapted relatedness with an age-appropriate female partner depends upon an adequate differentiation between the archetypal and personal Mother. If this is not effected, the individual functions continually in the framework of the childhood myth of the dual mother. By this Jung means a splitting in relation to the image of the mother and "this can be understood in two ways: first as the duality between the human, personal mother and the mother archetype, and, second, as the duality between good and bad versions of either the real or the archetypal mother" (Samuels, 1985, p.151).

The negative, devouring aspects of the Feminine are, when experienced in projection, responsible for the male's fear of, and aversion to, women. In this way, the Feminine is
contaminated with shadow qualities. In the male the unconscious is essentially comprised of anima, maternal and shadow components which mask the Self. As long as the extraverted tasks of the first half of the individuation process require fulfillment, this potential must remain an experience which occurs in projection only. Once these adaptive tasks have been fulfilled - ideally by mid-life - the re-integration of the feminine-unconscious becomes of overriding importance. This means that the symbolic meanings of that which was previously experienced only in projection, must be realized.

Should this not occur, the individuation process is again arrested or in milder cases distorted. Clinically this may be manifested as a series of regressive attempts to restore the infantile and childhood modes of identification with the Feminine. This may be seen, for example, in the common phenomenon of middle-aged men who take much younger lovers. In its more obnoxious form it may be manifested in actual incest with an adolescent daughter. It should not be forgotten, however, that the essential motivation in such pathological cases is an attempt at realization of the Self. The perpetrator of incest is attempting to reclaim his repudiated and repressed feminine-unconscious. Sexual union with an adolescent victim, unconsciously represents an attempt at integrating the anima in her positive, nurturant and hence 'desirable' aspect. In such cases the negative, devouring and 'terrible' aspects of the Archetypal Feminine are split off and projected into the person of the wife who is experienced in a-sexual terms. The perpetrator of incest suffers unconsciously from an inability to integrate the maternal and sexual components of the Feminine archetype. "Whenever this drive for wholeness appears, it begins by disguising itself under the symbolism of incest, for, unless he seeks it in himself, a man's nearest feminine counterpart is to be found in his mother, sister, or daughter" (Jung, 1983, p.101).

To effect union with the wife-mother would, at an unconscious level, be synonymous with being 'devoured' or annihilated by the negative aspects of the Feminine which would be tantamount to a complete extinction of identity. In individuational terms, this would be equivalent to a complete regression to the uroboric and matriarchal conditions, and hence a psychosis. One way of avoiding this psychic catastrophe is a union with the split-off, positive aspects of the Feminine, concretized in sexual relations of an incestuous sort with his own offspring. The regressive,
'incestuous' need for merging with the Feminine-unconscious is satisfied in a relatively unthreatening form. However, since societal sanctions against this mode of resolution of a conflict are extremely strong, the strategy fails as an adaptive manoeuvre.

Samuels (1985), following Jung, asserts that in the first half of life "the heroic ego struggles to be free from the mother and to establish its independence; this leads to an inevitable one-sidedness which the psyche will seek to redress" (p.102). In the second half of life, "the task consists in integrating the unconscious, bringing together 'conscious' and 'unconscious'"; at this stage of life 'entry into the mother' refers to the establishment of a relationship between the ego and the unconscious (Jung, 1956, p.301). Jung (1956) explains that in the second half of life, the contrasexual tendencies (in this case, the anima) must be assimilated in order to keep the libido in a state of progression. In the darkness of the unconscious lies the 'treasure hard to attain', a metaphor for the anima (Jung, 1956). The 'hero' is a metaphor for ego-consciousness (ibid).

According to Henderson (1964) the hero image is not to be regarded as identical with the ego, but as "the symbolic means by which the ego separates itself from the archetypes evoked by the parental images in early childhood" (p.128).

A failure to negotiate certain critical stages in life, e.g. birth, marriage, approaching death, would result in varying degrees of psychopathology. These critical stages are related to the activation of archetypal potentiality and therefore involves intense symbolic activity on the part of the experiencing subject; the crisis entails the dual possibilities of successful or unsuccessful resolution (Faber, 1986). In extreme cases, a failure to integrate the opposite tendencies would result in an arrestation of the individuation process. Since, according to Samuels (1985), "Jung suggested that the psychologically regenerating endogamous tendency (the symbolic attempt to marry within the family) must be considered as a genuine instinct and not as a perversion" (p.167), it will be argued that actual incest constitutes a gross distortion of the individuation process and, due to its regressive component, a defence against total psychic extinction. It is, at the same time, a plea for psychological rebirth. From this perspective the thesis will be advanced that the adult male perpetrator of incest is attempting to 'release' the anima from the Mother archetype.
With this theoretical analysis as a basis, the psychological context of an incest perpetrator will be examined in the following section.

4.0 THE CASE STUDY

In an attempt to extend knowledge in the field, a Jungian analysis of the material that emerged in the psychological assessment of an incest perpetrator will be presented in this section.

Full details of the case, as well as additional psychological data, are appended for further reference (see Appendix I-IV).

Firstly, the Methodology will be discussed. The Case Formulation is followed by the amplification of Dream and Projective test images. Due to the limitations imposed on this study, only essential connections are documented.

4.1 Methodological considerations

The subject was selected on the basis of

(1) his committing incest; and
(2) the data that emerged during routine psychological evaluation following his referral to the Forensic Ward of a Psychiatric Hospital for a 30-day observation period.

The psychological and psychometric assessment included a full Psychiatric History according to the Maudsley format, Diagnosis according to the DSM III classification, an intellectual assessment, projective testing (Rorschach) and organic screening. The subject was also asked to keep a dream diary.

In the Case Formulation (cf 4.2) relevant sections of the History (cf Appendix I) have been extracted and included for further analysis (cf 4.2.3). Five dreams were recorded by the subject during the 30-day observation period and these are presented in chronological order. Typical or classical symbols have been isolated using the method of amplification (cf 4.3). Amplification involves "the enrichment of the symbol by means of association and analogy so that the dream or fantasy is amplified to the point of intelligibility" (Jung, 1980, p.289). To elucidate the meaning
of the Dream and Rorschach images, archetypal connections are documented (cf 4.3 and 4.4). Because of the psychoid 'nature' of the archetype (cf section 3.0), the symbolic approach as formulated by Jung, excludes a fixed interpretation and, therefore, the interpretations remain purely hypothetical.

McCully (1971) admits that "many aspects of the Rorschach experience remain shrouded in mystery" (p.30). It is likely that the Rorschach contains archetypal potentiating stimuli and symbols may emerge which allude to the subject's psychic functioning (ibid). The Rorschach imagery is a product of the interaction of conscious and unconscious processes and provides additional information which, through projection, makes itself available for interpretation (McCully, 1971). McCully (1971) asserts that it is important to consider the relation between the ego and the unconscious in the interpretation of the Rorschach material since most collective imagery has never been subject to ego processes. Part of the Rorschach experience is a 'confrontation' between the ego and the unconscious (ibid).

4.2 The Case Formulation

4.2.1 Identifying Data:

At the time of referral, R was a 35 year old, married man living with his wife and 4 children in a rented house. He was employed as a site manager for a construction company.

4.2.2 Highlights of the Present Illness:

R was referred to the Forensic Ward of a Psychiatric Hospital for a 30-day observation period following his appearance in Court on a charge of Rape, alternatively Incest.

The alleged offence occurred on a Saturday morning. R was found naked in his bedroom with his second eldest daughter, B, aged 15, when his wife returned home unexpectedly from work. The door had been locked. B started crying when her mother broke the lock. R admitted to having sexual intercourse with his eldest daughter, A, aged 16, and with B. He admitted to genital stimulation with his youngest daughter, C, aged 13, but denied penetration. According to R the
Incestuous relationship with his eldest daughter began approximately 3-4 years prior to the referral, shortly after the family returned to C.T. According to him all three daughters participated willingly. It appeared that he abused alcohol on the nights prior to committing incest.

4.2.3 Salient sections of the History:

PARENTS

Father: W, 63, lives in C. He owns a stall on G.S. R described him as "strict" and "vicious". As a child, father would beat him with his fists. On one occasion, after father had hit him in his face, R lost his sight for 2 weeks. R has one happy childhood memory of father presenting him with a cowboy outfit. Father used to insist that R attend Church since he used to say to R: "You don't have to go to Church to believe in God, but you must go to Church to learn about God". Thereafter, R says he came to believe "God is righteousness, the Devil is evil". In some ways, R feels he is similar to his father, e.g., he withdraws when upset and he finds it difficult to demonstrate affection. Although there has been very infrequent contact with father over the years, R feels their relationship has improved over the past few months. Father has a history of alcohol abuse.

Mother: G, died when R was 6 years old. Cause of death was reported to be heart failure. R remembers her as being "very sickly", always in bed. Her death was never discussed. R recalls accompanying father to her funeral. He says father would not cry in the presence of the other mourners and R went with him into his aunt's garden where they both cried. R says mother had a dark complexion and claims his daughter, B, resembles her.

Stepmother: X, 58, works as a supervisor. She and father were married when R was 7. As far as he can remember there were always problems with stepmother. She is described as "a wicked, terrible person who would forever run my father down; she's a funny type of person, forever wanting things. If you meet her you'll understand". R claims she was "terrified" of father and she would "always be nice" to R on a Friday as father would come home drunk and she would look to R for support. As a child R was required to do chores but stepmother was never satisfied with
the result. He was never allowed to bring friends home and R says "she caged us in". At the age of 14 R assaulted her after she and her brother had chained him to a bedroom window. He reports "hatred" between them.

**PSYCHOSEXUAL MATURATION**

*Sexual inclinations and practices:* First sexual intercourse at age 12 with "the girl next door". R reports that his attitude towards sexuality was "natural" and he never experienced any guilt with masturbation. He reports numerous sexual partners and extramarital affairs. He has never had any homosexual contact. Intercourse with one of his daughters occurs in the morning when his wife is at work. He prefers to have intercourse with his eldest daughter, A, since "I am so close to her and she is more of a woman to me". In general, he prefers sexual intercourse with adolescent girls because "they are innocent and do not know all the tricks of being aroused". It is important to him that they climax. He claims sex is "different with my wife, much more affectionate, more loving than with someone else". Regarding his extramarital affairs, he claims not to feel guilty when he has had sex with a married woman because he justifies this by "her husband's not looking after her well enough". However, he reports feeling guilty after having sex with "young girls", including his daughters, since he feels he is cheating his wife "out of something", mainly because they are younger and more attractive. He becomes sexually aroused "the morning after the night before", in other words, after a night of heavy drinking.

*Verbatim transcription of R's sexual fantasies:* "I don't actually know what to write about my fantasies when I have sex. Mostly I keep my mind on the woman I have sex with and will try any style or way, even oral sex, to let her reach the highest point of ecstasy. When she has climaxed I will start all over until she has another climax. I will carry on like that until she is completed exhausted before I would climax. It is only then that I would think that I am the only one that could do this to her. Sometimes if I find it difficult to climax with my wife I will think of other women that I would like to have sex with, but never had yet. Then I would imagine she is that woman.

I was asked whether I prefer older or younger women. I said younger women because I think
that is only normal for a man of my age to prefer younger women as they are more fun and that they also don't know everything, the little tricks, and you can surprise them continuously. I also have more younger girlfriends than older women. But I have more problems with older women because they are usually married. I somehow also prefer just to take a whore because with them I can be rough. They enjoy it that way. With the younger woman you have to be very careful not to hurt them. Especially when they are like glass (fragile).

I could never hurt a beautiful young girl that is why I never tried to penetrate into my daughters. They were like princesses to me, very beautiful girls. I don't know how it started. Maybe because they were becoming woman and in my drunk state or, rather, hangover state. I must have tried to get fresh with one and when there was no resistance I went further until it got out of hand. When I would get sober I would worry terribly and would speak to them to make sure I never hurt them. Then when I got drunk again I would ask them and they would agree, only if the mother was not there. If I hurt them I would not know because they never told me. Really I don't know what to say. I never used to force them. I was under the impression that they enjoyed it just as much as I did.

I don't know what it is, but somehow I can easily get other women. My wife knows this, that is why we never really enjoy going to other people's parties, because I always manage to get one chick, sometimes more than one, spiked up that would go with me if I asked. Maybe I was taking advantage of this. I somehow can make them do what I want them to. I have experienced having more women than one at a time and have managed to let them women heat each other up before they have sex with me. In the younger women, I think they like me because I don't keep myself old. I ride bike. Younger girls love motorbikes. I sing and play guitar. I dress like a biker. Those things attract them. I have more young girlfriends than I wish to have. I don't say I'm handsome or a cassanova, but if you meet anyone of my friends and you speak about me you will quickly see what I am trying to tell you.

Maybe because of this way I tried my daughters and succeeded. But this will never happen again, I promise, because only now that I am by my full senses again I can see what a terrible
mistake I have caused. You must remember that for the last couple of years I was either drunk or babbelas, but I think that is over now. The other fantasy I have is that I am the best and I see myself as a very good lover. The younger girls love me, the older women seem to want me. They say it is my eyes. I don’t know, but I use their weak point. Me myself, for a man, I can climax more than once. I also can get very excited. It is then that I am very potent. My wife is a very jealous woman and she knows how I get along with other women - that is why she accuses me very easily. Maybe that is why I do these things. Ms de Kock, I am a rough guy, but also I try and be a very nice guy. Many times I am the centre of attraction. I enjoy this and will use these moments, like we say, to make the kill. I am not bullshitting, if you speak to anyone who knows me and ask what I am like, the answer most probably will be: "R, never, he would never do such things. Everyone loves him". So I can’t tell you anymore and I hope this will help to find out why I have done this terrible thing to my daughters. I hope to God that they will be OK and everything will come right. Thank you for helping me”.

Marriage: R met his wife, Z, aged 35, at school. He recalls his stepmother calling her a “black bitch” due to her dark complexion. R still resents this. They started dating at the age of 14. Five years later Z fell pregnant and they were married shortly after the birth of A. Z has been employed as a supervisor at C H for the past 3 years and, since starting work, R feels she has become “competitive”. He describes his wife as follows: “She can be a very nice person if you understand her, but she can also be a funny person in that she is very persistent, argumentative, dominating and very jealous”. Yet he feels she is “a good woman to have stuck it out with me”. He states that, although it is easy for Z to say ‘I love you’, he finds it extremely difficult and this makes her feel rejected. R reports that after the first year of marriage, constant arguing and occasional physical abuse characterized their relationship. He claims their sexual relationship is functional, but frequency of sexual intercourse has decreased over the past few years - says he is mostly “too tired”.
Children:

(1) A, 16, is in Std.7. R reports that A has a "light complexion, like me" and that he would do more for her than any of the others.

(2) B, 15, is in Std.8. She has a "dark complexion like her mother and is a very beautiful child". According to him, B resembles his mother and he reports the following: "For a long time I used to just sit and look at B and try and image my mother, but somehow I never could".

(3) C, 13, is in Std.5. She too has a dark complexion.

(4) A son, Q, aged 5, attends Pre-Primary. R reports that "all my life I wanted a son" and after the birth of each daughter he was disappointed and "shocked" that it was not a boy. R claims Q is "everything to me".

R says he is jealous of his daughter's boyfriends. He claims to have a close relationship with all 4 children and, although he is strict with regard to cleanliness and the completion of homework, he never resorts to corporal punishment.

4.2.4 Highlights of the History and Mental State Examination:

1. Very poor relationship with his father who was reported to have been strict and distant.

2. The death and loss of his mother at the age of 6.

3. Mother is reported to have had a dark complexion and is said to have resembled his daughter, B.

4. Very poor relationship with the stepmother whom his father married a year after his mother's death.

5. Stepmother is described as "a wicked, terrible person who would forever run my father down", who "caged" R in and chained him to a window at the age of 14 years. He professes hatred for his stepmother.

6. Frequent quarrels and physical violence between father and stepmother.

7. Loss of his stepbrother when R was 8; he also had a dark complexion.

8. His stepmother's favouritism towards her own son, P.

9. As a child, R was very afraid of the dark and of being left alone. Stepmother forbidding him to put on the lights when she was out.

10. The patient's leaving home at the age of 14 due to his poor relationship with his stepmother.

11. A poor and erratic scholastic history with frequent truancy culminating in his leaving school at the end of Std.7. R attributes this to his poor relationship with his stepmother.

12. First sexual intercourse at the age of 12, followed by sexual promiscuity.

13. His preference for sexual intercourse with adolescent females.
14. His wife has a dark complexion and was vilified as a "black bitch" by the stepmother.

15. His wife is described by R as "dominating, possessive and jealous". She is reported to have had an incestuous relationship with her own father.

16. R's 'worship' of his elder daughter, A, who has a light complexion like himself.

17. His intense desire for a son and his repeated disappointment when this was not fulfilled.

18. Long history of alcohol abuse with repeated blackouts and 3 episodes of delirium tremens.

19. Repeated antisocial behaviour in the form of his initiating fights.

20. Extraverted personality.

21. Unstable occupational history with 16 job changes in 20 years.

22. Reports diurnal variation in mood - feels depressed in the early morning (it is at this time that incestuous relations with a daughter occur).

4.2.5 Differential Diagnosis:

**AXIS I**: DSM III - 305.01 Alcohol Abuse
303.91 Alcohol Dependence
V61.20 Parent - Child Problem (Incest)

**AXIS II**: DSM III - Antisocial traits

**AXIS III**: Diabetes

**AXIS IV**: Severity of Psychosocial Stressors - 2 Minimal

**AXIS V**: Highest Level of Adaptive Functioning Past Year - 3 Good.

4.2.6 Further Investigations:

**Medical**: R was medically assessed and found to be in good health; his diabetic condition appeared to be under control. No medication was prescribed.

**Psychological**: Psychometric testing: On the SAWAIS, R's general level of intellectual functioning was in the High Average range. Projective Testing (Rorschach) revealed adequate reality contact, but there did appear to be intense underlying conflicts revolving around sexuality. His performance on the Bender Gestalt Test was within the normal range and there was an insignificant verbal-performance discrepancy on the SAWAIS: these results do not suggest any organic dysfunction.
Social: Collateral information was obtained from R's wife and his daughters, as well as from his employers. According to his wife they had very infrequent sexual intercourse. His eldest daughter revealed that incestuous relations with R began approximately 4-5 years ago. R's employers rated his occupational proficiency as good and they were keen to have him back as soon as possible.

4.2.7 A Jungian Aetiological Analysis:

R's incestuous relationship with his daughters must essentially be conceptualized as a manifestation of a severe distortion of the individuation process. As has already been pointed out in the theoretical introduction, 'healthy' individuation in the male depends upon the differentiation of an adaptive reality-oriented ego out of the primordial ground of the undifferentiated Self characteristic of the uroboric and matriarchal phases. At the same time, mature heterosexual interaction is predicated upon a withdrawal of the anima from the Mother and its relocation in an age-appropriate female carrier. In R's case, the principal dynamic appears to be an attempt to restore the infantile and childhood modes of identification with the Feminine in order to release the anima from the Mother archetype.

R's loss of his biological mother at the age of 6 and his father's introduction of the stepmother into the family at the age of 7 can be understood as having had a major effect on the individuation process. The early loss of his mother, whom he describes in exclusively positive terms and for whom he has an intense nostalgia, probably resulted in inadequate differentiation between the archetypal and personal Mother. After the loss of his idealized, good Mother, the introduction of a punitive, rejecting stepmother, who favoured her son at R's expense, resulted in a radical splitting of the Archetypal Feminine into highly polarized positive and negative aspects. R's experience of the personal mother was almost entirely negative. R remembers his biological mother as being "very sickly", always in bed. This suggests that he suffered more tangible deprivations even prior to her death. Since he never experienced positive nurturance from the Feminine in external reality, the good, positive aspects were projected onto his deceased biological mother and remained ensconsed in the their archetypal form.
That R's stepmother constellated the negative Feminine is corroborated by his description of her as "a wicked, terrible person who would forever run my father down". Her devouring, destructive qualities are evidenced by her requiring R to do chores continually, but never being satisfied; prohibiting him from bringing friends home; by his perception of her as "caging (him) in", and by her actually chaining him to a window. His "hatred" of and actual "assault" on her suggests a desperate and intense struggle to free the masculine ego from the clutches of the Terrible Mother. His wife too 'cages him in': she is described as "dominating and very jealous". R's exceedingly poor relationship with his stepmother at puberty and early adolescence, which culminated in him leaving home, probably intensified his longing for the good Mother. His choice of a female partner, i.e. his wife, who also had "a dark complexion" like his biological mother, corroborates this. R's desperate struggle for ego differentiation is evidenced by his continual search, mainly underground (by working on the mines), for more 'lucrative' prospects. It can be argued that R's choice of occupation symbolized his unconscious desire to re-unite with his dead mother.

His "shock" and "disappointment" at the birth of 3 daughters, instead of a son, attests to his intense desire to reproduce and redeem himself. It is significant that the birth of his son appears to have coincided with the onset of his incestuous relationship with his eldest daughter. It also appears that the birth of the long-awaited son, who R says "is everything to me", induced a regression in R. R reproduced 'himself' in the form of a son and, through the mechanism of projective identification with the son, R's wife became the Mother. From then on, union with his wife symbolized an incestuous union with the Mother and this had to be avoided at all costs. The availability of a daughter provided a vehicle for apprehending the positive Feminine for whom he longed and as a path for a projective relationship with the anima, which, as has already been argued, was never adequately differentiated from the maternal aspects of the Feminine in the first place. By committing incest with a daughter, R unconsciously re-unites with the positive, Good Mother through the medium of an anima projection. The fact that he views his daughters as "princesses" substantiates the anima projection (cf sexual fantasies) (Neumann, 1963).
The fact that R's problems with the Feminine occurred between the ages of 6-7 years would also have had major consequences for his Masculine identification. Following Neumann (1954), it is during this developmentally-critical, patriarchal phase that the male child must effect identification with the father who embodies the archetypal opposite of the matriarchal-Feminine incarnated in the personal mother. Because of the regressive pull exerted by the mother-complex, R's initiation into the Masculine was not adequately accomplished. This was exacerbated by a distant relationship with his father who was strict, punitive and violently rejecting of him on frequent occasions. His continuing need to identify with the Masculine is evidenced by his description of himself as being "like (his) father", his preference for provoking physical violence as a means of discharging instinctual tension and his aggrandized and inflated view of his own sexual attractiveness and prowess. This can be understood as a consciously contrived compensation for deep-seated feelings of masculine inadequacy.

This formulation is supported by his regressive preference for immature adolescent females as sexual objects. In other words, it attests to his immature masculine identity in that adolescent females are 'safer' objects as they do not constellate the maternal aspect of the Feminine. The inadequate Masculine identification can also be viewed as the aetiological factor underlying his psychopathic or antisocial tendencies. Neumann (1954) refers to 'the drunkard's craving for unconsciousness' as a return to uroboric incest, a form of entry into the Mother. This dynamic could explain R's long history of alcohol abuse. His diurnal variation in mood, the fact that he feels "depressed" in the early morning (after a night of drinking; it is at this time that incestuous relations with a daughter occur), suggests that he attempts to neutralize 'being sucked in by the Terrible Mother' by means of a distorted attempt to incarnate the positive Feminine through an incestuous union with a daughter.

R is a puer aeternus, the eternal youth. This is manifested in his view of himself: "I don't keep myself old" (cf sexual fantasies). "The puer's problem, in von Franz's view, stems from an attachment to the mother and a failure to separate from her and hence make any other commitment" (Samuels, 1985, p.204). It is further hypothesized that the "shock" of being diagnosed as having diabetes reinforced R's fear of death and hence his fear of uroboric incest.
In other words, he is defending against dissolution in the unconscious. The way in which R accomplishes this is by maintaining, at all costs, an extraverted disposition. However, this psychical attitude serves to reinforce the regression in that his libido clings to an external object, i.e. his anima as concretized in sexual relations with his daughters.

4.3 The Dream Analysis

The following analysis has been arranged in such a way that the relevant, essential images of the dreams are amplified against the background of the Case material. For further reference, a verbatim transcription of the Dreams have been included in Appendix III.

Dream 1: In this first dream of the series, R reported that he was “walking down a long passage". A long passage has reference to “a birth passage into another existence" (Von Franz, 1986, p.57), into the collective unconscious. It can also be understood as a womb motif and hence a symbolic representation of the maternal-Feminine. The dark passage is frequently depicted in tombs. Von Franz (1986) writes that "The grave chamber itself is like a womb in the earth, which the dead enter to await rebirth" (p.61). "It was dark with only one or two dim lights".

Darkness, an allusion to the Archetypal Feminine, is pre-existent to the determination of matter and is traditionally associated with regressive, unsublimated forces (Cirlot, 1962, p.76). The dim lights may allude to what Jung terms a "poorly developed consciousness" (1973, p.117). "At the end of this passage there was a man sitting. His eyes and nose and mouth were lit up like with phosphor. But he was of a dark colour, not completely black. He had a sneer on his face". Of note are the Masculine images which allude to elements of the head, consciousness, spirit. The radiance of fluorescence accords with the following: "the superiority of the spirit is immediately recognizable by its luminous intensity" (Cirlot, 1962, p.187). With reference to his dark complexion it appears that the Masculine is infused with darkness, but is not completely black. This conveys a sense of ‘light’, a kind of crystallization (Cirlot, 1962, p.57), but at the same time it has an implicit reference to aspects of shadow. The sneer has reference to what Jung termed the trickster-figure, a parallel of the individual shadow (1959). According to Jung (1959) the trickster also reflects a "rudimentary stage of
consciously" (p. 261) and "It is as though he were hiding meaningful contents under an unprepossessing exterior" (ibid, p. 270). Jung (1959) explains that, hidden behind the shadow is the anima; she in turn hides the "powerful archetype of the wise old man" (p. 270). Moreover, Jung (1956) asserts that "the anima always stands in the relationship of a daughter to the wise old man" (p. 333). 'Somehow I managed to walk towards him'. The Masculine image intensifies and 'he' appears in the guise of the wise old man with a 'very bright light behind him. He was smiling at me'. This alludes to "man of light" who is identical with the Logos in Gnostic and Christian symbolism and who was there before the creation" (Jung, 1983, p. 86). Jung explains that there is a direct connection between libido and light (ibid). In this instance, the light refers to 'trying to get to the light side', namely consciousness. Illumination also refers to spiritual strength (Cirlot, 1962). The reference to the wise old man personifies "meaning and spirit in its procreative sense" (Jung, 1956, p. 332). The smile provides the contrasting image to the dark man's sneer and reflects a compensatory attitude on the part of the unconscious. "He also had a very big book on his lap. He was wearing spectacles". The book alludes to "divine omniscience" and "Broadly speaking, the book is/related ... to the symbolism of weaving" (Cirlot, 1962, p. 31) (cf Dream 5 re weaving).

Dream 2: In the second dream, R reported: "It was night time. Then I saw my wife and stepmother coming towards me". A continuation of the theme of darkness which is again associated with the Feminine, this time in association with a more personal referent, namely, his wife and stepmother. This probably alludes to the Feminine in her negative, 'dark' aspects. "I remember I walked over all the beds". Beds refer to sleeping and hence a "passive potential" (Cirlot, 1962, p. 299), but walking has active connotations and as Jung (1956) writes: "Again and again an inner longing draws us back, but always the life of action must struggle in deadly fear to break free lest it fall into a state of sleep" (p. 326). The feet have a fertility significance and "the foot and the treading movement are invested with a phallic significance, or with that of re-entry into the womb" (Jung, 1956, p. 316). Then, "When we got outside it was daylight". Action brings 'light', "traditionally ... equated with the spirit"; 'light is the manifestation of morality, of the intellect" (Cirlot, 1962, p. 187). "Then we were at a race. I
had to run against a black man and D's life depended on it. A race implies competition and
time; time, according to Jung (1956) is defined by the "death and renewal of libido, the
dawning and extinction of consciousness" (p.280-1). "Since she governs growth, the Great
Mother is goddess of time" (Neumann, 1963, p.226). R has to save his friend's life by beating
a black man; the black man symbolizes the shadow and life in relation to 'time' appears to
have reference to conquering the shadow in order for individuation to proceed. On the other
hand, the anima is the archetype of life itself (Jung, 1956). A conflation of the shadow-anima
in relation to individuation. According to Cirlot (1962), "Black also comes to symbolize time"
(p.58), but black generally represents the "initial, germinal stage of all processes"; "related to
the primal (black, occult or unconscious) wisdom which stems from the Hidden Source" (ibid,
p.57)(cf Dream 1 re wise old man). Black is purported to stand for all preliminary stages,
representing the 'descent into hell' (ibid, p.58). Running is a continuing reference to the 'foot'
which is "supposed to possess a magical generative power" (Jung, 1956, p.126); it also refers
to earthly reality (ibid). The black man was clever. Black and clever refer to the relationship
between the anima (Feminine, unconscious) and the wise old man (clever, conscious); the
symbol of a "black man" also represents the Shadow (Jung, 1956, p.183). "At the finish line I
dived through the air to just win. I remember D jumping in the air, he was crying". In order to
triumph, R utilizes the air element. Air, as spirit (Jung, 1956), is regarded as an active,
Masculine principle and "the distinguishing characteristic of aerial nature is that it is based on
the dynamics of dematerialization" (Cirlot, 1962, p.6). "Tears were running down his face, but
not ordinary tears, like too much tears". Then he hugged and kissed me and cried all the
time. Tears (water) symbolize the Feminine-unconscious and have sacrificial implications
with regard to the Hero's struggle; it also alludes to: "the falling dew signals resuscitation and
a new light ... dew is synonymous with the aqua permanens, the aqua sapientiae, which in
turn signifies illumination through the realization of meaning" (Jung, 1980, p.119-20). "Then he
shouted at the Grand Stand that the people must come and meet the hero. His hero who
saved his life". The Hero is a symbol of the libido (Jung, 1956). Furthermore, "The hero
symbolizes a man's unconscious self, and this manifests itself empirically as the sum total of
all the archetypes and therefore includes the archetype of the father and of the wise old man"
(Jung, 1956, p.333). According to Cirlot (1962) "Every heroic characteristic finds its analogy among the virtues necessary to vanquish chaos and overcome the temptations offered by the forces of darkness" (p.147-8). This interpretation is supported by the preceding dream sequence: R has to 'beat' the black man, i.e. overcome the shadow. "But there was no-one there, the place was empty. I remember clearly that I stood by his side, like my hands were heavy next to my side and I kept saying - No-one will ever know". An implicit reference to the "teleological significance of the hero as a symbolic figure who attracts libido to himself in the form of wonder and adoration" (Jung, 1956, p.314), but R does not succeed.

Dream 3: "I dreamt I had sex with a young woman who was dressed all in black. But I did not see her face. I don't know who she was. As I was about to climax I woke with such a fright that my heart beat unnaturally". A further reference to union with the anima (young woman); in this context, black refers to the Mother in her negative, shadow-contaminated aspects. According to Jung (1980) the motif of the 'unknown woman' personifies the unconscious, whilst the motif of the 'veiled woman' may symbolize the anima. The invisibility of the woman signifies death (Jung, 1956), whilst the dream affect (fright) supports the juxtaposition of 'black over anima'. In other words, a further allusion to the conflation of shadow-mother-anima. The Mother is preponderant over the anima. i.e. the detachment of the anima from the Mother archetype is incomplete. Considering R's deep-seated feelings of masculine inadequacy, the 'idea' of integrating the Feminine, i.e. the anima emmeshed with the shadow, 'terrifies' him.

Dream 4: "I also dreamt I had sex with my wife but she was pregnant and the baby inside bit off my penis. I screamed and saw I was dying so I woke up. I was soaked with sweat". "The death of the phallus in the female is symbolically equated with castration by the Great Mother, and in psychological terms this means the ego's dissolution in the unconscious" (Neumann, 1954, p.158). The motif of dismemberment alludes to the myth of Osiris whose phallus could not be found and therefore "lacked vital force" (Jung, 1954). The destructive qualities of the Feminine are manifested in relation to R's wife. Since the phallus is recognized as the source of life and as the symbol of creative forces (Jung, 1956), R 'loses' this potential, he is dying.
The insignia of death is representative of uroboric incest, signifying union with the Mother in her womb (Neumann, 1954). Neumann (1954) states that "A male immature in his development, who experiences himself only as male and phallic, perceives the feminine as a castrator, a murderer of the phallus" (p.172). "Death and dismemberment or castration are the fate of the phallus-bearing, youthful god" (Neumann, 1954, p.58). The juxtaposition of the devouring aspects of the wife-mother with the destructive quality of the baby denotes the potential for the destruction of the ego. The dream affect appears to support this.

Dream 5: "I dreamt last night that my daughter, B, disappeared from the house. I went looking for her. My father, stepmother and myself. My wife was not with". The daughter represents the split-off, positive aspects of the Feminine, and the anima, which R intends to 'find'. Disappearance is a symbol of repression, especially when the object is malign (Cirlot, 1962). The father corresponds to consciousness as opposed to the negative, maternal (unconscious) implications of R's stepmother. "In this forest I picked up a spade and went looking all over for her, but I kept going back to this one specific spot. It was like I knew she was there". A forest symbolizes the Great Mother and hence, the unconscious, but due to its dense foliage is regarded as opposed to the sun's power (Cirlot, 1962). Moreover, the meaning of the forest coincides with that of the tabooed tree and has maternal significance (Jung, 1956). Masculine consciousness and 'reason' is in danger of being 'obscured' or 'devoured' by the Feminine unconscious (Faber, 1986). A spade, a sharp-edged metal instrument for digging, alludes to a descent into the earth, to the maternal-Feminine. Psychologically, this corresponds to "profound introversion" (Jung, 1956, p.341). "After I have gone back a couple of times I stood at this spot between the trees. There was a lot of old branches which was plaited into some kind of big flat lid". In the Egyptian system of hieroglyphs, the branch means "to give way" or "bend" (Cirlot, 1962, p.32); the "plucking of the branch" hints at an infringement of the incest-taboo (Jung, 1956, p.319). Plaiting is symbolic of intimate relationship and interdependence (Cirlot, 1962). The interdependence of meaning in this symbol is significant. The branches were plaited and hence the motif of entwining arises; this image alludes to the story of Sleeping Beauty or the legend of the girl who was
imprisoned between the bark and the wood of the tree (Jung, 1956). "Sleeping Beauty and the captive princess, as well as the active inspiration of the Feminine presiding over the birth of the new, are exponents of the transformative character that achieves its purest form in the figure of the anima" (Neumann, 1963, p.32). In relation to R, the significance of entwining refers to the conflation of the Mother-anima; the motif of entwining is a mother-symbol (Jung, 1956, p.245). "The function of shelter and preservation, which was incumbent on woman ... was embodied in the activities of plaiting, weaving, binding and knotting" (Neumann, 1954, p.284). The *plaited branches* appear as an 'overdetermined' phenomenon in this dream. The *big flat lid* alludes to a 'secret treasure' hard to attain; the treasure points to the anima and "The secret treasure which the hero fetches from the dark cavern is life: it is himself, new-born from the dark maternal cave of the unconscious where he was stranded by the introversion or regression of the libido" (Jung, 1956, p.374). "I lifted the lid, and my daughter was there, lying in some kind of mud. I thought she was dead". The disappearance of B has reference to the motif of the hieros gamos and its "rejuvenation magic"; this is related to rebirth (*ibid*, p.244). The *mud* in which he finds his daughter alludes to the two feminine elements, earth and water, the union of the purely receptive principle (earth) with the power of transition and transformation (water) (Cirlot, 1962). Moreover, mud is regarded as the typical medium of the emergence of matter (*ibid*). This suggests a concretization of the libido. Jung (1956) explains that the Latin *lutum*, which means 'mud', had the metaphorical meaning of 'filth'; it was also used as a term of abuse. This alludes to R's sexual abuse of his three daughters. In the more positive sense, the 'death' of his daughter suggests transformation and dematerialization. According to Jung (1956), "The parallel to the motif of dying and rising again is that of being lost and found again. It appears ritually at exactly the same place, in connection with the hieros-gamos-like spring festivities, where the image of the god was hidden and then found again" (p.343). "I lifted her out of the mud and laid her down. I washed her face. She had a cut in her face and in her neck. I cried, my mother and father also cried". According to Neumann (1954), the unearthing of the treasure relates to the 'freeing' of the anima and, therefore, to a discovery of the reality of the psyche. Washing (ablution) is symbolically linked with sacrifice; "Washing, then, symbolizes the purification ... of subjective and inner evils"
The neck is said to have an astrological association with sex (Neumann, 1954, p.227). A development of the preceding theme (cf Dream 2) of 'crying' with sacrificial connotations. The above dream sequence could relate the incident after the burial of his mother, when he accompanied his father into his aunt's garden where they both "cried" (cf section 4.2.7). Furthermore, the burial of the dead in consecrated ground ("garden of the dead") presupposes the hope of resurrection through a return to the Mother (Jung, 1956, p.372). "I caught all our tears in a bowl and washed her face with it. As I washed her face with our tears the cuts disappeared and she started to breathe". A krater (mixing-bowl) symbolizes the maternal vessel of rebirth and this is associated with sacrificial rites (Jung, 1956, p.431). The dream sequence reminds one of the following: "In order to mollify the wrath of the Terrible Mother the most beautiful girl was sacrificed as a symbol of man's concupiscence" (ibid, p.430). The sacrifice of a valued object allows for a transformation of the libido to a 'higher' form. Symbolically, to breathe is to assimilate spiritual power (Cirlot, 1962). In other words, R, as the hero, is the renewer of life. The conqueror of death is the "holder of the secret of resurrection and rebirth, through which the lower power is transformed into the higher" (Neumann, 1954, p.239). "I picked her up and started walking home with her in my arms. She started talking to me but all I could hear was 'Daddy'. As we walked I cried, and she cried, our tears mixed together on her face and the more we cried the more our tears mixed, and as the tears ran off her face she started to glow like gold". Walking home has reference to the "return to the material home" which is symbolic of death in the sense of reintegration of the spirit (Cirlot, 1962, p.273). Holding B in his arms confirms the "rejuvenating embrace" alluded to in the motif of the hieros gamos and hence rebirth (Jung, 1956, p.244). All R could hear was Daddy - this constitutes a reference to the father which is linked with the Masculine principle and consciousness. Gold is the symbol of the hidden or elusive treasure, of the spirit (ibid), but it is also the 'highest' and final stage of the alchemical opus (Jung, 1980; Faber, 1986); there is another reference to the theme of illumination (light) or incandescence: glow like gold. God, symbol of the Self, is "known in the gold" (Jung, 1980, p.343). "The whole town started to follow us. When we got home it was pitch dark. We could not see anything, not even the house. Only B stood there and glowed like an
enormous light which shone all over us*. The symbol of a streaming mass of people in motion "expresses violent emotions of the unconscious" and indicates an incipient dissociation between it and the ego (Jung, 1956, p.207). This sequence alludes to the following: "Is there not [in Eleusis] the dark descent, and is not the solemn communion of hierophant and priestess between him and her alone? Are not the torches doused, and does not the great multitude see their salvation in that which is consummated by the two in the darkness?" (in Jung, 1956, p.341). This image accords with the hieros gamos which was celebrated underground (ibid). It is also a continuing reference to the womb symbolism (cf Dream 1).

4.4 Analysis of essential Rorschach images

The analysis that follows attempts to elucidate archetypal motifs. In this section only essential connections are made due to the limitations imposed on this study. For further reference the subject's verbatim responses to the Rorschach plates have been included in Appendix IV.

Plate 3: In this Plate, R 'sees' "two Bantu women mixing food in a pot". The reference to 'black' (Feminine, negative) and pot, as container, can be understood as a continuing allusion to the Great Mother (Neumann, 1963). "These look like dead monkeys*. The monkey can be understood as a personification of the dark, pre-human instinctual shadow (Faber, 1986), but the fact that they are dead suggests the incipient sacrifice of the 'old' instinctual mode.

Plate 4: Generally regarded as the Masculine/Father card, "it takes us into the patriarchal world, including fatherhood, as it is related to the family" (McCully, 1971, p.108). R's response was as follows: "It's a deformed creature*. A negative identification with the Masculine and, as a father, this would have reference to his relationship with his own 3 daughters. "Here where his head is supposed to be, he's got a long neck with his head down here at the bottom". The inversion of the head, accords with the 'recessive' spiritual attitude on the part of R, whilst the neck's association with sex (cf Dream 5) can be understood as further allusion to the instinctual mode. "Two fangs*. Neumann (1954) writes that "Familiarity with this 'higher' aspect of woman helps man to overcome his terror of the fanged and castrating womb"
(p.203). The 'higher' aspect refers to the anima.

Plate 5: According to R "this outside here looks like the shape of a woman. Looks like a tail coming out, maybe it can be a devil woman". A tail is a personification of the pre-human, instinctual side; yet this image refers to a woman. The devil woman personifies the Terrible Mother who is mythologically symbolized as the underworld (Neumann, 1963); the aim of the devil is "regression or stagnation in what is fragmentary, inferior" (Cirlot, 1962, p.80). "This Tarot mystery-card is related to the instincts and to desire in all its passionate forms, the magic arts, disorder and perversion" (ibid). However, Jung (1956) writes that the "demon-woman of mythology is in truth the 'sister-wife-mother', the woman in the the man, who unexpectedly turns up during the second half of life" (p.300). "Looks like she's lying on her back with her arms crossed". The motif of 'the woman with her arms crossed' has a connection with that which the mother does with her child when it asks for help or protection, and what binds the child to its mother; this relates to the concrete meaning of the word 'comprehend' (Jung, 1956). Alternatively, it may also represent a 'shutting out' of the child.

"Then if you look at it again it can be something that is flying, wings, little horns, face there". "Flight is related to space and light; psychologically it is a symbol of thought and of imagination" (Cirlot, 1962, p.109). Wings symbolize spirituality and thought; in alchemy, "wings are always associated with the higher, active, male principle" (ibid, p.375). According to Cirlot (1962) in the Egyptian system of hieroglyphs, the horn-symbol alluded to "what is above the head and, by extension, 'to open up a path for oneself" (p.151). Jung (1980) explains that the horn is a dual symbol: "as an emblem of vigour and strength (it) has a masculine character, but at the same time it is a cup, which, as a receptacle, is feminine. So we are dealing here with a 'uniting symbol' that expresses the bipolarity of the archetype" (p.471). R 'sees' little horns. Little could be associated with the dwarf motif, i.e. "it may represent unconscious formative powers or it may at the same time allude to his still childish condition" (Jung, 1980, p.190).

Plate 8: This card is recognized as a 'vessel, a container' and has Feminine connotations (McCully, 1971, p.138). "Then looks like this creature's hand is holding on to the animal's -
maybe they're helping the animals". Animals are representative of the instincts and the motif of the 'helpful animals' suggests a compensation from the unconscious; this motif may also be connected with the parental imago (Jung, 1956). "This could be a lady standing in the crevice of two mountains with a rope and here's another lady hanging on the rope, a lady with long hair". Although 'mountain' is generally equated with the ascent to the realm of the spirit (Cirlot, 1962), there is a reference to the Feminine, namely, crevice. The 'crevice in the earth' alludes to the Mother and signifies the place of the treasure, associated with 'womb' or 'cavity' (Jung, 1956). R refers to it as between two mountains: this has an allusion to "The interior of a mountain has frequently been taken as the location of the Land of the Dead" and further to the hero asleep inside a mountain who will "one day emerge and renew all things sublunar" (Cirlot, 1962, p.220). The suspension motif - lady hanging on a rope - has "an unmistakable symbolic value, since suspension is the symbol of unfulfilled longing or tense expectation" (Jung, 1956, p.383). The rope symbolizes "binding and connection" and has reference to the connection between the "outer consciousness of man with his spiritual essence" (Cirlot, 1962, p.275). Hair represents the concept of spiritualized energy (ibid). "Then if you take the animals away, that whole section looks like a Japanese warrior•. According to Cirlot (1962), a warrior symbolizes the "latent forces within the personality ready to come to the aid of the consciousness" (p.364). A warrior points to conflict (Jung, 1980), i.e. conflict between the conscious and unconscious. It also has reference to the hero motif.

Plate 9: R's response to this plate was as follows: "This looks like two devils coming out of the ground. They're spitting stuff at each other". In patriarchal Christianity ... the underworld is feminine as hell and masculine as the Devil" (Neumann, 1963, p.179). Jung (1980) writes that "the devil is the 'strange son of chaos' who can most readily be trusted to deal effectively with his mother" (p.91). Further, "like they're coming out of something - fire, smoke". Fire is recognized as a symbol of transformation and regeneration (Cirlot, 1962, p.105), whilst smoke (combination of air and fire) is the antithesis of mud (combination of earth and water) (ibid, p.299)(cf Dream 5 re mud). The images of fire and smoke allude to Jung's commentary on an alchemical text: "fire destroys all composite things and infuses their images back into the air in
the form of smoke" (1980, p.282). "Then this looks like some slime running down here. The slime is running into some crevice". The slime alludes to semen and hence it may have a fertility or transformative significance. The above sequence suggests that transformation is occurring and that the Masculine principle is in the ascent.

Plate 10: 'This can look like the guy's head is split open here. Looks like it's been bleeding here'. This image has reference to 'the magician's topknot, the only vulnerable spot. It is situated on the crown of the head, at the point where the mythical 'head-birth' takes place" (Jung, 1956, p.353). The 'wound', the fact that it's bleeding, can be interpreted as a sacrificial symbol and Cirlot (1962) explains that wounds have an association with "the inner conscience of man with its ability to inflict terrible self-chastisement" (p.29). On the other hand, the above image may refer to injury to the spiritual principle, symbolically residing in the head. "These little creatures look like they're eating this stuff here, this massa or whatever it is". Little creatures alludes to the animal-instinctual realm. The 'treasure hard to attain', whose presence was suspected in the dark prima materia, is symbolized in various ways (Jung, 1980); an essential understanding of the alchemists was that "the precious substance" is potentially contained in the chaos as a massa confusa of all the elements rolled into one and that man must diligently apply his mind so that "our heaven" may come into reality (ibid, p.340). The massa or "life-mass stands for the mass of the inherited unconscious which is to be united with consciousness" (Jung, 1980, p.145).

In the final section, a brief discussion serves to highlight the relevance of a symbolic/developmental approach to an understanding of incest.

5.0 DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to examine the unconscious meaning of incest as it relates to the overt and relatively consistent behaviour pattern of father-daughter incest. Various levels of analysis were employed. What emerged from the theoretical and clinical analysis is that actual incest is the lack of a capacity to symbolize - that which is missing in the inner psychic realm is sought in an external object. According to Fordham (1976) the lack of a capacity to symbolize is the result
of a 'basic catastrophe' due to inadequate emotional communication between mother and infant (ibid). From a developmental point of view, the present case analysis supports Gaddini's assertion that, in most cases, incest is the result of abandonment and neglect in early life (1983). The fragility of the ego structure is 'stabilized' in the perpetration of incest. This allows the psychic structure a bulwark against psychosis. The conception of the basis of incestuous desire as the "strange idea of becoming a child again" (Jung, 1956, p.223-4) represents the incest perpetrator's desire to remain unconscious. R is a puer aeternus. But what is the unconscious meaning of the incest perpetrator's behaviour? To understand this a symbolic or archetypal analysis served to highlight certain key dynamics.

In the clinical case study the following themes, which support the theoretical analysis, emerged: There is a radical splitting of the Archetypal Feminine into the Good and Terrible Mother. The negative, devouring aspects of the Archetypal Feminine predominate. There is inadequate differentiation between the archetypal and personal Mother and a splitting of the personal mother into good and bad aspects. Jung (1956) writes that "The dual-mother motif suggests the idea of a dual birth. One of the mothers is the real, human mother, the other is the symbolical mother; ... In certain cases she has more human projections, and here we are dealing with projections of archetypal ideas upon persons in the immediate environment, which generally brings about complications" (p.322). The rebirth symbol is, in this instance, projected onto the daughter who represents the positive Feminine. The "rejuvenated mother would, according to the Egyptian fantasy, be given as a daughter-wife to the sun-god, the 'father of his mother', for purposes of self-reproduction" (Jung. 1956, p.322). Thus the perpetrator of incest unconsciously re-unites with the Good Mother through the medium of an anima projection in an attempt to 'conquer' the Terrible Mother. He concretizes this 'union' by way of actual incest. The Father, who represents the spirit and whose function it is to oppose blind instinctuality, has not been differentiated from the Mother archetype. On a personal level, there is inadequate identification with the Masculine due to the regressive pull exerted by the negative mother-complex and a poor relationship with the personal father.

The differentiation of consciousness is predicated upon the withdrawal of shadow projections in
order to release the anima from the Mother archetype. It is only through the integration of the negative Feminine that the crisis can be resolved. For, as Jung (1983) states: "assimilating the shadow gives man body ... the animal sphere of instinct, as well as the primitive or archaic psyche, emerges into the zone of consciousness" (p.77). According to Jung (1956) "sacrifice' is the very reverse of regression - it is a successful canalization of libido into the symbolic equivalent of the mother, and hence a spiritualization of it" (p.263). Since the anima is the archetype of life itself (Jung, 1956), this suggests that the 'sacrifice' of the external object, in this instance a daughter, would allow for the transformation of the libido to a 'higher' form, i.e. the development of what is termed the 'symbolic attitude'. On the other hand, has the perpetrator of incest's potential for the development of the symbolic attitude been arrested?

McDougall (1972) asserts that "Only the perverse or mythological sexual act permits some illusory recovery of the paternal phallus, albeit in idealized and disguised forms; it thus fulfills an essential function in affirming separate identity and affords some protection against the overwhelming dependence on the maternal imago, and the equally dangerous desire to merge with her" (p.379). The paternal law, according to Jung (1956) is "directed against incest with all the violence and fury of uninhibited instinct" (p.261). The incest perpetrator has repudiated his own father role by becoming the lover of his daughter. He possesses the phallus. The phallus represents the libido, or psychic energy, in its creative aspect (ibid). The meaning of actual incest can thus be understood as an unconscious attempt on the part of the incest perpetrator to connect with the creative aspect of the Feminine. For "while uroboric incest is the symbol of death, the maternal uroboros is the symbol of rebirth, of the nativity of the ego, and of the dawn of consciousness, the coming of light" (Neumann, 1954, p.278). The phallus thus symbolizes the source of life, the desire to be reborn, the desire to become conscious. It therefore appears that actual incest is a conflation of the regressive (instinctual) and the progressive (creative) components of the incest archetype. However, as stated above, societal sanctions against this mode of resolution are extremely strong and as the "'father', the representative of moral law, is not only an objective fact, but a subjective psychic factor in the son himself", the overcoming of instinct is "at the same time a secret and furtive overcoming of the power of the law, and hence a
criminal usurpation of justice" (Jung, 1956, p.261-2).

In On the Nature of the Psyche, Jung (1946) addresses the ethical and moral standards in relation to sex: "It is undoubtedly true that instinctuality conflicts with our moral views most frequently and most conspicuously in the realm of sex. The conflict between infantile instinctuality and ethics can never be avoided. It is, it seems to me, the sine qua non of psychic energy. While we all agree that murder, stealing, and ruthlessness of any kind are obviously inadmissible, there is nevertheless what we call a 'sexual question'. We hear nothing of a murder question or a rage question; social reform is never invoked against those who wreak their bad tempers on their fellow men. Yet these things are all examples of instinctual behaviour, and the necessity for their suppression seems self-evident. Only in regard to sex do we feel the need of a question mark. This points to a doubt - the doubt whether our existing moral concepts and the legal institutions founded on them are really adequate and suited to their purpose" (p.56).

If sexuality is not mere instinctuality, if blind instinctuality is infantile unconsciousness, should a man be punished for being unconscious? The psychological, legal and moral implications of such archetypal determinism need addressing.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX I

CASE HISTORY

IDENTIFYING DATA

R is a 35 year old, married man who lives with his wife and 4 children in a rented house. He is employed as a site manager for a construction company.

REASON FOR REFERRAL

R was referred for a 30-day period of psychiatric observation by the Magistrate pending a trial of Rape, alternatively Incest.

PRESENT ILLNESS/OFFENCE (R's account)

The alleged offence occurred on a Saturday morning. R was found naked in his bedroom with his second eldest daughter, B, aged 15, when his wife returned home unexpectedly from work. The door had been locked. B started crying when her mother broke the lock. His wife laid a charge of Rape and R was arrested. R admits to having sexual intercourse with his eldest daughter, A, aged 16, and with B; he admits to genital stimulation with his youngest daughter, C, aged 13, but denies penetration. According to R the incestuous relationship with his eldest daughter began approximately 3-4 years ago, shortly after the family returned to C.T. According to him, all 3 daughters participated willingly. It appears that he abused alcohol on the nights prior to committing incest.

FAMILY HISTORY

BIOLOGICAL PARENTS

Father: W, 63, lives in C; he owns a stall on G.S. R described him as "strict" and "vicious". As a child, father would beat him with his fists. On one occasion, after father had hit him in his face, R lost his sight for 2 weeks. R has one happy childhood memory of father presenting him with a cowboy outfit. Father used to insist that R attend Church since he used to say to R: "You don't have to go to Church to believe in God, but you must go to Church to learn about God". Thereafter, R says he came to believe "God is righteousness, the Devil is evil". In some ways, R feels he is similar to his father, e.g. he withdraws when upset and he finds it difficult to demonstrate affection. Although there has been very infrequent contact with father over the years, R feels their relationship has improved over the past few months. Father has a history of alcohol abuse.

Mother: G, died when R was 6 years old - cause of death was reported to be heart failure. R remembers her as being "very sickly", always in bed. Her death was never discussed. R recalls accompanying Father to her funeral. He says father would not cry in the presence of the other mourners and R went with him, into his aunt's garden, where they both cried. R says Mother had a dark complexion and claims his daughter, B, resembles her.

STEP PARENT

Stepmother: X, 58, works as a supervisor. She and father were married when R was 7. As far as he can remember there were always problems with stepmother; she is described as "a wicked, terrible person who would forever run my father down; she's a funny type of person, forever wanting things - if you meet her you'll understand". R claims she was "terrified" of father and she would "always be nice" to R on a Friday as father would come home drunk and she would look to R for support. As a child, R was required to do chores, but stepmother would never be satisfied with the result. He was never allowed to bring friends home and R says "she caged us in". At the age of 14, R assaulted her after she and her brother had chained him to a bedroom window. He reports "hatred" between them.

SIBLINGS: R is the eldest of 3 siblings: (1) R, 35. (2) L, 34, is married and lives in S; she has a Matric education; (3)
M, 32, is married and lives in C; she has a Matric education. He has a close relationship with M. There are 2/3 half-siblings (1 deceased) - biological mother’s children from a previous marriage: (4) J, 40; there is no contact with him. (5) N, 32, lives in C; there is occasional contact with her. (6) O, died of heart failure when R was 8; R has very fond memories of O - he says his happiest childhood memory was the time O made him a toy circus out of wood; recalls that he too had a dark complexion. R has 1 stepbrother - stepmother son of a previous marriage: (7) P, 35, lives in K. R has a relatively close relationship with P. (8) S, 14, is P’s illegitimate son, adopted at birth by R’s father and stepmother.

HOME ATMOSPHERE AND INFLUENCE: Parents frequently quarrelled and there was physical violence in the home, although R admits he never saw father assault stepmother. R claims he “lived a tough life when young”, “never had a home as a teenager” and he has memories of stepmother “feeding her son, P, cakes and sweets, whilst I was only allowed bread and jam”; he reports that stepmother would frequently criticize and punish him, whilst favouring her own son. Whenever father would use excessive corporal punishment on R, stepmother would intervene on his behalf. Stepmother had extramarital affairs which upset R. R left home at the age of 14 due to his poor relationship with stepmother.

FAMILY HISTORY OF ILLNESS: Medical: R’s mother and half-brother died of heart failure. Psychiatric: Nil.

PERSONAL HISTORY

EARLY HISTORY

Pregnancy and birth: Details not known by R.

Early development: Milestones reportedly within the normal range.

Neurotic symptoms in childhood: R reports being very afraid of the dark and of being left alone - stepmother would go out at night and forbid R to put the lights on in the house.

Health during childhood: Apart from normal childhood illnesses, he was in good health.

EDUCATION

School: R started school at the age of 6 - he attended E Preparatory/Primary and E High; he failed Std 4 and 6 and he left school after completing Std.7. R says he “did’nt study hard enough” and frequently truanted. Relationships with teachers and peers appear to have been satisfactory. His reason for leaving school he reports as being due to his poor relationship with stepmother.

Further education and training: see OCCUPATION

PSYCHOSEXUAL MATURATION

Sexual inclinations and practices: First sexual intercourse at age 12 with “the girl next door”. R reports that his attitude towards sexuality was “natural” and he never experienced any guilt with masturbation. He reports numerous sexual partners and extramarital affairs. He has never had any homosexual contact. According to him, sexual relations with his eldest daughter began approximately 3-4 years ago, shortly after the family returned to CT. Intercourse with one of his daughters occurs in the morning when his wife is at work. He prefers to have intercourse with his eldest daughter, A, since “I am so close to her and she is more of a woman to me”. In general, he prefers sexual intercourse with adolescent girls, because “they are innocent and do not know all the tricks of being aroused”; it is important to him that they climax. He claims sex is “different with my wife, much more affectionate, more loving than with someone else”. With regard to his extramarital affairs, he claims not to feel guilty when he has had sex with a married woman because he justifies this by “her husband’s not looking after her well enough”. However, he reports feeling guilty after having sex with “young girls”, including his daughters, since he feels he is cheating his wife “out of something”, mainly because they are younger and more attractive. (cf Verbatim transcription of sexual fantasies - Appendix II). He becomes sexually aroused “the morning after the night before”, in other words, after a night of heavy drinking.

Marriage: R met his wife, Z, aged 35, at school; he recalls stepmother calling her a “black bitch” due to her dark
complexion and R still resents this. They started dating at the age of 14, 5 years later Z fell pregnant and they were married shortly after the birth of A. Z has been employed as a Supervisor at C H for the past 3 years and, since starting work, R feels she has become "competitive". He describes his wife as follows: "she can be a very nice person if you understand her, but she can also be a funny person in that she is very persistent, argumentative, dominating and very jealous". Yet he feels she is "a good woman to have stuck it out with me". He states that, although it is easy for Z to say 'I love you', he finds it extremely difficult and this makes her feel rejected. R reports that his wife's sister had an incestuous relationship with her father and he suspects Z had the same. R reports that after the first year of marriage, constant arguing and occasional physical abuse characterized their relationship. He claims their sexual relationship is functional, but frequency of sexual intercourse has decreased over the past few years - says he is mostly "too tired".

Children: (1) A, 16, is in Std.7; R reports that A has a "light complexion, like me" and that he would do more for her than any of the others. (2) B, 15, is in Std.8; she has a "dark complexion like her mother and is a very beautiful child". According to him, B resembles his mother and he reports the following: "For a long time I used to just sit and look at B and try and image my mother, but somehow I never could". (3) C, 13, is in Std.5; she too has a dark complexion. (4) Q, 5, attends Pre-Primary; R reports that "all my life I wanted a son" and after the birth of each daughter he was disappointed and "shocked" that it was not a boy. R claims Q is "everything to me". R is jealous of his daughters' boyfriends. He claims to have a close relationship with all 4 children and, although he is strict with regard to cleanliness and the completion of homework, he never resorts to corporal punishment. They enjoy camping on weekends when his wife is working.

OCCUPATION

(1) 1965 age 15: employed by S as a handyman.
(2) 1966 age 16: joined SADF for 4 months.
(3) 1967-1969: unemployed for 2 years.
(4) 1969: employed by C for 3 weeks.
(5) 1969: employed as a truck driver for a few months.
(6) 1970: worked on S mine in O as onsetter.
(7) 1971-1973: worked on H mine as learner miner; qualified with Honours.
(8) 1973-1977: employed by P B mine; he was asked to resign due to his absences as a result of alcohol abuse.
(9) 1977: 7 months working for E mine.
(10) 1978-1979: employed by S S mine.
(12) 1982: worked for W H; qualified for Operator's ticket; he remained there for 10 months.
(13) 1982: worked as a rubberizing supervisor for P P.
(14) 1983: D L site manager for few months.
(15) 1983: rep for U E for 3 months.
(16) 1984: Returned to C.T. - applied for a position with C C as a supervisor, but failed the medical examination when diabetes was diagnosed. He then worked as a waterproofer for T for 6 months.
(17) 1985-present: employed by M as a site manager; he states that he is "very happy" there.

His ambition is "to make something of life".

ACTIVITIES

Religion: Methodist - he does not attend Church. R enjoys reading - war novels, Hans Gonzalk, Wilbur Smith. Occasionally he plays snooker; enjoys fishing, camping, riding his motorbike, playing the guitar as well as watching sport on TV. He visits a Pub after work.

HABITS

Alcohol: R started drinking at the age of 14; he says "I would never admit that I am an alcoholic"; he drinks daily after work; the longest period without alcohol has been 2 days; 7 years ago he started drinking heavily. He reports use of 'regmakers' on the weekend, but never during the week. He says alcohol puts him "in a happy mood"; without alcohol, he cannot tolerate "people talking". R consumes approximately 2-3 bottles of Brandy per week,
and twice the amount on a weekend. He reports blackouts, at times without the intake of alcohol; on 3 occasions he had delirium tremens - this took the form of spiders eating him.

Cigarettes: 10 per day.

Dagga: He used to smoke dagga as an adolescent.

PRESENT DOMESTIC CIRCUMSTANCES
R is currently living in a rented house in C.T. with his wife and 4 children; he reports that they are happy there. He earns R1000 pm nett; his wife earns R480 pm nett. They are not experiencing financial difficulties at present.

PREVIOUS ILLNESSES
Medical: R had a MVA 8 years ago - LOC for a few minutes; in 1971 he was hospitalized for Hong Kong flu; diabetes was diagnosed in 1984, but this was not considered serious - it came as a "shock" to him.

Psychiatric: Nil. He reports that on one occasion (approximately 3-4 years ago), he considered consulting a psychiatrist due to his "suspiciousness" (believed his wife was having an affair) and "uncharacteristic behaviour" (pushed his best friend into the fire one night "for no reason whatsoever").

BASIC PERSONALITY
Social and interpersonal relations: R is sociable, a leader, assertive and, at times, aggressive.

Intellectual activities and interests: (see Activities).

Mood: He reported his mood as generally suspicious and irritable; says he has "a terrible temper". R explained that there are times when he experiences "a very cold rage" and he will then visit a pub and initiate a fight - he reports that he feels better for months "if smashed up". He "hates to be embarrassed" by his wife at a party (when she accuses him of flirting) and he gets extremely "hurt" and then angry when Z ignores him after an argument. R admits that he does not like to express his feelings and usually "I try to cover up, but it doesn't work".

Personality type: R has an extraverted and friendly disposition. He states that in the past few years his attitude has changed with regard to initiating fights since "I realize I am not the man I used to be". He states that he is readily able to apologize to others.

Values: R has a practical attitude to life.

MENTAL STATE EXAMINATION
GENERAL APPEARANCE, BEHAVIOUR AND SPEECH
Appearance: R presented as a redhaired, bearded, well-built man of average height. He appeared neat. His facial tissue was scarred as a result of acne.

Behaviour: He established good eye contact, but initially his manner was one of over-familiarity.

Speech: His speech was appropriate.

AFFECT AND MOOD
Affect: His affect was judged to be euthymic.

Mood: He reported his mood as "tense, feel caged in"; "moody and depressed" in the early morning.

THINKING
Flow: Normal.
Form: There was no evidence of Formal Thought Disorder in the MSE.

Content: There was no evidence of delusions in MSE.

Possession There was no evidence of thought alienation in the MSE.

OBSESSIONS AND COMPULSIONS
Nil in the MSE.

PERCEPTION

Distortions: Nil in the MSE.

Deceptions: Nil in the MSE.

Hallucinations: There was no evidence of hallucinations in any modality in the MSE.

COGNITIVE FUNCTIONS

Awareness: R was fully conscious; his attention and concentration were adequate - serial 7's faultless.

Orientation: He was fully oriented for time, place and person.

Memory: He reported his memory to be good. Immediate - 5/5 objects; STM - 5/5 objects; LTM - relatively good recall of events, but poor for dates.

Capacity for abstract thinking: R's interpretation of proverbs were as follows: 'A stitch in time...' = 'If you do things immediately, saves you time later'. 'People in glass houses...' = 'Shouldn't speak about other people when you yourself do things'.

Intelligence: His IQ was estimated to be in the Average range.

Insight: He understands his behaviour as follows: "Something is wrong; I don't want to hide behind things, it is not normal to have sex with your children". He says he feels "very guilty and will take the punishment that comes, I know it is wrong".

Judgement: He would like to return to O and work on the mines so that his wife need not work and "no-one will know" what happened to his daughters. On the other hand, he feels that he may be "running away" from the problem. He says he is "sure things will come right".

DIFFERENTIAL DIAGNOSIS

AXIS I: DSM III - 305.01 Alcohol Abuse
303.91 Alcohol Dependence
V61.20 Parent - Child Problem (Incest)

AXIS II: DSM III - Antisocial traits

AXIS III: Diabetes

AXIS IV: Severity of Psychosocial Stressors : 2 Minimal

AXIS V: Highest Level of Adaptive Functioning Past Year - 3 Good
APPENDIX II

SEXUAL FANTASIES

(A verbatim transcription of the subject’s written sexual fantasies)

“I don’t actually know what to write about my fantasies when I have sex. Mostly I keep my mind on the woman I have sex with and will try any style or way even oral sex to let her reach the highest point of ecstasy. When she has climaxed I will start all over until she has another climax. I will carry on like that until she is completely exhausted before I would climax. It is only then that I would think that I am the only one that could do this to her. Sometimes if I find it difficult to climax with my wife I will think of other women that I would like to have sex with, but never had yet. Then I would imagine she is that woman.

I was asked whether I prefer older or younger women. I said younger women because I think that it is only normal for a man of my age to prefer younger women as they are more fun and that they also don’t know everything, the little tricks, and you can surprise them continuously. I also have more younger girl friends than elder women. But I have more problems with elder women because they are usually married. I somehow also prefer just to take a whore because with them I can be rough. They enjoy it that way. With the younger woman you have to be very careful not to hurt them. Especially when they are like glass (fragile).

I could never hurt a beautiful young girl that is why I never tried to penetrate into my daughters, they were like princesses to me, very beautiful girls. I don’t know how it started. Maybe because they were becoming woman and in my drunk state or rather, hangover state, I must have tried to get fresh with one and when there was no resistance I went further until it got out of hand. When I would get sober I would worry terribly and would speak to them to make sure I never hurt them. Then when I got drunk again I would ask them and they would agree, only if the mother was not there. If I hurt them I would not know because they never told me. Really I don’t know what to say. I never used to force them. I was under the impression that they enjoyed it just as much as I did.

I don’t know what it is, but somehow I can easily get other women, my wife knows this, that is why we never really enjoy going to other people’s parties, because I always manage to get one chick, sometimes more than one, spiked up that would go with me if I asked. Maybe I was taking advantage of this. I somehow can make them do what I want them to. I have experienced having more women than one at a time and have managed to let them women heat each other up before they have sex with me. In the younger women, I think they like me because I don’t keep myself old. I ride bike. Younger girls love motorbikes. I sing and play guitar. I dress like a biker. Those things attract them. I have more young girl friends than I wish to have. I don’t say I’m handsome or a casonova, but if you meet any one of my friends and you speak about me you will quickly see what I am trying to tell you.

Maybe because of this way I tried my daughters and succeeded, but this will never happen again, I promise, because only now that I am by my full senses again I can see what a terrible mistake I have caused. You must remember that for the last couple of years I was either drunk or babbelas, but I think that is over now. The other fantasy I have is that I am the best and I see myself as a very good lover. The younger girls love me, the older women seem to want me. They say it is my eyes. I don’t know, but I use their weak point. Me myself, for a man, I can climax more than once. I also can get very excited. It is then that I am very potent. My wife is a very jealous woman and she knows how I get along with other women - that is why she accuses me very easily. Maybe that is why I do these things. Ms de Kock, I am a rough guy, but also I try and be a very nice guy. Many times I am the centre of attraction - I enjoy this and will use these moments, like we say, to make the kill. I am not bullshitting, if you speak to anyone who knows me and ask what I am like, the answer most probably will be: “R, never, he would never do such things. Everyone loves him”. So I can’t tell you anymore and I hope this will help to find out why I have done this terrible thing to my daughters. I hope to God that they will be OK and everything will come right. Thank you for helping me”.

R.
APPENDIX III

DREAMS

(A verbatim transcription of the subject's dreams)

DREAM 1

I dreamt that I was walking down this long passage. It was dark with only one or two dim lights. I was very scared. At the end of this passage there was a man sitting. His eyes and nose and mouth were lit up like with phosphor. But he was of a dark colour, not completely black. He had a sneer on his face. Somehow I managed to walk towards him, but when I got there the image changed. He became a white man with a neatly trimmed beard. He was sitting on a chair with a very bright light behind him. He was smiling at me. He also had a very big book on his lap. He was wearing spectacles.

DREAM 2

I dreamt I was in my car and I was going somewhere. It was night time. Then I saw my wife and my stepmother coming towards me. I leaned out the window but I did not speak to them. I drove down the road and there was someone, a man, standing beside the road. He called me. I first rode past him then reversed back to him. But I did not pick him up. Then I was at a Merchant House (smokkelhuis). I went inside and found D B (a friend of mine) inside. The people inside tried to con us out of our money. I said to D that we don't have to buy their dagga and drink. D smokes, I don't. I remember I walked over all the beds. D followed me. When we got outside it was daylight. Then we were at a race. I had to run against a black man and D's life depended on it. The black man was clever. First I was far ahead, but he then started to catch up. No matter how I tried he still gained on me. At the finish line I dived through the air to just win. I remember D jumping in the air, he was crying. Tears were running down his face, but not ordinary tears, like too much tears. He hugged and kissed me and cried all the time. Then he shouted at the Grand Stand that the people must come and meet the hero. His hero who saved his life. But there was no-one there, the place was empty. I remember clearly that I stood by his side, like my hands were heavy next to my side and I kept saying - No-one will ever know.

DREAM 3

I dreamt I had sex with a young woman who was dressed all in black. But I did not see her face. I don't know who she was. As I was about to climax I woke with such a fright that my heart beat unnaturally.

DREAM 4

I also dreamt I had sex with my wife but she was pregnant and the baby inside bit off my penis. I screamed and saw I was dying so I woke up. I was soaked with sweat.

DREAM 5

I dreamt last night that my daughter B disappeared from the house. I went looking for her. My father, stepmother and myself. My wife was not with. In this forest I picked up a spade and went looking all over for her, but I kept going back to this one specific spot. It was like I knew she was there. After I have gone back a couple of times I stood at this spot between the trees. There was a lot of old branches which was plaited into some kind of big flat lid. I lifted the lid, and my daughter was there, lying in mud. I thought she was dead. I lifted her out of the mud and laid her down. I washed her face. She had a cut in her face and in her neck. I cried, my mother and father also cried. I caught all our tears in a bowl and washed her face with it. As I washed her face with our tears the cuts disappeared and she started to breathe. I picked her up and started walking home with her in my arms. She started talking to me but all I could hear was "Daddy". As we walked I cried, and she cried, our tears mixed together on her face and the more we cried the more tears mixed, and as the tears ran off her face she started to glow like gold. The whole town started to follow us. When we got home it was pitch dark. We could not see anything, not even the house. Only B stood there and glowed like an enormous light which shone all over us.
APPENDIX IV

RORSCHACH

(A verbatim transcription of the subject's responses to the Plates)

PLATE 1: R.T. = 8"

Looks like a bat.
Can have more than 1 shape.
Middle section may look like the body of a person, but not the head.
Two faces here on each side - two funny faces actually.
Inquiry: in front head, wings side.
Inquiry: hands, body, belt, dress.
Inquiry: long nose, comic strip faces.

PLATE 2: R.T. = 30"

Can't see what this is.
This bottom, red part can be like a flower or something.
Can't see what this is.
(Very long pause - 50")
Can't shape this into anything.

PLATE 3: R.T. = 15"

Looks like two Bantu women mixing food in a pot.
Each of them has their own pot.
No, that's all I can see here.
This is a paper that's been folded open because they're exactly the same on both sides.
Don't know what this is in the middle or here, why it's there.
These look like dead monkeys, maybe.
This here in the middle - I don't know what this is.
That's all, I can't see anything else.
Inquiry: heads, body, pot, fire.
Inquiry: head, body, little arms, tail.

PLATE 4: R.T. = 10"

This looks like a creature.
It's a deformed creature.
This is his feet here, this part.
Misformed arms here.
Here where his head is supposed to be, he's got a long neck with his head down here at the bottom.
Inquiry: these are his feet, long legs, deformed arms, long neck, head here, 2 fangs, horns here x2, eyes, supposed to be his nose here, but he's got 2 little fangs.

PLATE 5: R.T. = 25"

This middle section here looks like a rabbit.
Then this outside here looks like a shape of a woman.
Looks like a tail coming out, maybe it can be a devil woman, a devil's tail coming out here.
Then if you look at it again it can be like something that is flying, wings, little horns, face there.
Inquiry: rabbit: ears, face, legs (in middle section).
Inquiry: woman: looks like she's lying on her back with her arms crossed, head, eyelashes, arms crossed, legs, tail.
Inquiry: flying creature: body, horns, wings.
This could be something growing out of the ground.
I don't know if it's the ground.
This is the stem coming up, this is a bit of leaves coming out here.
Pushed out of something.
Then it can also look like a, something like... uhh... like a sea creature, a sea fish.
Doesn't look like the ray, but it's got similar parts, especially here (bottom, in front).
Because the ray's also spanned out, but it's not the same shape as this.
Inquiry: ray's face is similar to that (on card) - then it's got the wings, but the wings aren't similar to that of the ray's.

This looks like two fish.
This looks like two faces here.
No, I don't know - what am I supposed to do? These are all just shapes - I'm just describing what I see. (aggressive tone of voice).
Inquiry: top section - 2 fishes with their mouths open, tail-part
Inquiry: top-hat, little faces, eyes, mouth.

These two pink things here look like two animals.
Then looks like here's a face, with those long Japanese hats, that section.
Then if you take this top section, this light section, then it can look like a creature, an underwater creature.
Then looks like this creature's hand is holding on to the animal's - maybe they're helping the animals.
It's always these bottom parts that baffle me.
I don't know what's happening here with these bottom parts.
This could be a lady standing in the crevice of two mountains with a rope and here's another lady hanging on the rope here.
(Starts smoking)
Then if you take the animal's away (pink section), that whole section (in the middle) looks like a Japanese warrior.
That's about all - can't see anymore here.
Inquiry: here's a lady standing between two mountains, a long rope and another lady hanging on the rope here, a lady with long hair.
Inquiry: war helmet here, his face, eyes, nose, mouth, pleats in his face, something hanging around his neck, body.

This looks like two devils coming out of the ground.
They're spitting at each other - spitting stuff at each other.
Then this will be like... like they're coming out of something - fire, smoke.
Hell, my back's sore!
This also looks like two funny little creatures here, this green stuff.
Then this looks like some slime running down here.
The slime is running into some crevice.
Then this little section here also looks like a little man - this is his eyes, hands, nose, body here, you see?
Then this green part here also looks like a funny little face - his eyes, nose, funny little chin.
Here's eyes here, cat's eyes (slits).

This thing looks like a whole lot of different creatures, you know.
Like here's two creatures here.
They're holding up something.
Looks like they're fighting for this thing they're holding up here.
And this looks like two crabs, not actually crabs, yes.
They all look like little creatures, here, here.
Here's also two creatures here.
Here's like a bit of a faces here.
Here's two worms, green worms.
This can also look like a face.
I don't know what this, that is (small red in middle).
This can look like the guy's head is split open here.
Looks like it's been bleeding here.
These also look like two little creatures jumping here.
These little creatures look like they're eating this stuff here, this massa or whatever it is.

** R.T. refers to Response Time **