

The Ethical Implications of The Cultural Evolution of Childhood

*Early Traumas Expressed in Sandplay
Images and Drawings*

by

Ignez Carvalho Hartmann

The Ethical Implications of The Cultural Evolution of Childhood: Early Traumas Expressed in Sandplay Images and Drawings

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2026

Ethics International Press, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN (Hardback): 978-1-83711-040-7

ISBN (Ebook): 978-1-83711-041-4

With the collaboration of Michael Hartmann

Acknowledgments

With deep gratitude to the patients who entrusted me with their visual expressions, and to my family for their love and support along the way.

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Preface

Ignez Carvalho Hartmann's book is a great throw. She demonstrates that children's drawings and Sandplay therapy provide access to the earliest preverbal experiences, which are hidden in the deepest implicit memories and therefore cannot be reached through conventional psychotherapeutic methods. Life difficulties, as well as neurotic and psychosomatic symptoms, often have their roots in unprocessed childhood experiences. Experiences from the preverbal period present a particular challenge in this regard. In the analytic setting, this led to a shift from focusing on interpretations to emphasizing relationships. Additionally, other approaches such as body therapy, art therapy, and regression therapy emerged. However, it also became clear that a thorough understanding of pre-linguistic development – from conception through the prenatal period, birth, and the postnatal period – is necessary for a true understanding and therapeutic application of the effects of the earliest experiences. It is to Carvalho's credit that she expanded Sandplay therapy in this way, as she has done in earlier publications since 2015, and, drawing on a wealth of experience, presents it systematically in this book.

These clear ideas about early development are, first, not widely known and, second, have been discovered and presented in a fragmented manner. Therefore, it was necessary to explain these discoveries in detail to understand the possible expansion of the therapeutic framework of Sandplay therapy, as is done in the first half of the book. Only then can the deep dynamics of the

impressive case studies in the second half of the book be fully understood.

The description of the history of discoveries regarding prenatal realms of experience involves not only recording the roots of the significance of prenatal experiences in the history of psychoanalysis, as documented primarily by Otto Rank, Gustav Hans Graber, and others, as well as discoveries in the context of Humanistic Psychology by Arthur Janov, Stanislav Grof, and William Emerson, but also requires including prenatal medical findings on fetal stress regulation, neurological imprinting, and early attachment development. Furthermore, pioneers of prenatal psychology such as Terence Dowling and Rien Verdult should be mentioned, as well as Lloyd deMause, who succeeded in capturing the repetition of earliest experiences in political and historical events. Last but not least, it is Carvalho's achievement to integrate the fundamental insights of the Jungian psychoanalyst Erich Neumann on the ego-Self axis, which are often neglected and even unknown to many psychotherapists. From the evaluation of this background, it becomes possible to trace the descendants of the implicit memory of vital experiences from their embryological origins. Children's drawings of spirals, circular shapes, enclosed spaces, or figures in a protective and symbolic mother's belly may unconsciously re-enact embryonic and intrauterine experiences and often reflect prenatal patterns.

The sand tray, with its two essential elements – sand and water – can metaphorically represent a uterine space. Ignez Carvalho Hartmann concludes: "I emphasize the importance of considering pre-, peri-, and postnatal experiences in understanding both children's and adults' symptoms, as well as their ways of

perceiving the world. These experiences may be expressed in seemingly irrational behaviors and symbolic representations. Each person's capacity to express their needs and integrate unspeakable early experiences underpins our responsibility as mental health professionals and educators. Only through self-knowledge and reflection can we contribute to the formation of more constructive individual and collective narratives, thereby creating opportunities for growth and healing." In a lengthy case study, Carvalho demonstrates that psychological development was possible even in a severely traumatized patient by bringing to mind her earliest traumatic experiences or conditions.

One of Carvalho's particular concerns is to highlight the ethical implications of this issue. The old patriarchal model of ethics has ignored this existential dimension of female-maternal reality. It is therefore important to refer to a new humanistic ethics as developed by Erich Neumann.

Dr. Ludwig Janus, M.D., Psychotherapist, Prenatal Psychologist,
Psychohistorian

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Introduction

“Nothing is either good or bad, but thinking makes it so.”

(Shakespeare, Hamlet)

Good and evil remain among the deepest mysteries of human existence, and the search for their origins continues to challenge our understanding. How can a nervous system shaped to sustain life, foster connection, and promote integration also give rise to forces that contribute to individual and collective destruction? Human intelligence is inherently paradoxical, and any attempt to address this question requires a multidisciplinary and transcultural perspective, grounded in a profound understanding of the psyche and its complexities.

The crises of our time such as climate change, technological overreach, social fragmentation, and escalating violence, affect not only the external world but also our inner lives. These challenges cannot be understood solely in political, economic, or technological terms; at their core, they are ethical questions that confront us with fundamental issues of responsibility, meaning, and our relationship with one another and with the living world.

In this context, the emergence of psychoanalysis marked a significant milestone in the study of human destructiveness. Psychoanalytic theory aimed to understand outward aggression and violence not merely as reactions to external circumstances, but also as expressions of intrapsychic forces, including tendencies toward self-destruction. Through introspection and the exploration of unconscious processes, psychoanalysis provides a

framework for recognizing the hidden psychological dynamics that shape human behavior.

Sigmund Freud explored the origins of aggression and destructiveness through his concept of the death drive, proposing that, alongside life-preserving forces, there is a dynamic battle between the constructive forces of Eros and the destructive forces of the death drive. In contrast, ethologist Konrad Lorenz examined aggression from an evolutionary perspective, arguing that it serves adaptive and survival-related functions and should be considered a normal aspect of human and animal behavior. However, neither perspective fully accounts for the uniquely human capacity for destructiveness, especially when aggression exceeds biological necessity or adaptive function.

Contemporary neuroscience does not generally view aggression and violence as simply innate aspects of human nature, nor does it reduce them to manifestations of “evil.” Instead, these behaviors are understood as resulting from complex interactions among biological, psychological, developmental, and social factors. In this context, neuroscientist Joachim Bauer has helped bridge the psychological and neurobiological explanations. His work shows that experiences of social exclusion, humiliation, and emotional rejection activate neural networks that overlap with those involved in processing physical pain. (Bauer, 2011). From this perspective, aggression and violence are often connected to experiences of social suffering, exclusion, and relational trauma, especially when these experiences occur in dysfunctional family environments during childhood. Early developmental trauma can significantly disrupt attachment processes, shape internal working models of identity and influence later patterns of social engagement,

belonging, or antisocial and destructive behavior. The consequences extend beyond the individual, with broader social and political implications.

The relationship between aggression and the fundamental human need for belonging is a crucial area of inquiry in the study of the psyche. At this intersection, psychology, neuroscience, and ethics converge, inviting deeper reflection on the conditions that lead to both human flourishing and destructiveness.

Psychoanalysis emerged in a historical and cultural context where women and children occupied marginalized positions in society. Nevertheless, both became central subjects of psychoanalytic inquiry. Early psychoanalytic theories were primarily developed by male clinicians and scholars, whose interpretations of women's and children's experiences were influenced by the social norms and assumptions of their time. As a result, male development was often treated as the implicit standard for understanding female development, leading to interpretations of women's psychology that have since been critically reassessed. Women's experiences of trauma, sexuality, and distress were frequently viewed through frameworks that did not reflect their lived realities; diagnoses such as hysteria have since been reevaluated in light of evolving understandings of trauma, gender, and social power. Children also held a dual role as subjects of study and as sources of insight into adult psychopathology. While psychoanalysis helped establish the importance of early childhood experiences, contemporary perspectives place greater emphasis on protecting children's developmental integrity, autonomy, and subjective experience.

Throughout its history, psychoanalysis has been characterized by diverse theoretical perspectives and ongoing internal debates. The many schisms that marked its development reflected not only theoretical disagreements but also broader tensions concerning authority, methodology, and the interpretation of human experience. Although these divisions often had profound consequences, many viewpoints once considered mutually exclusive are now increasingly understood as complementary, contributing to a richer and more pluralistic understanding of the psyche.

One of the most influential divisions in the history of psychoanalysis was the split between Sigmund Freud and Carl Gustav Jung. Although both sought to explore the depths of the human psyche, they developed markedly different conceptions of the unconscious. Freud primarily viewed the unconscious as a repository of repressed wishes, conflicts, and memories, with particular emphasis on sexual and aggressive drives. In contrast, Jung expanded the concept to include not only personal unconscious contents but also a collective dimension populated by archetypal patterns that shape psychological development, meaning-making, and the process of individuation. More broadly, the history of psychoanalysis can be compared to the parable of the blind men and the elephant. In this story, six blind men encounter an elephant for the first time. Each touches a different part – the side, tusk, trunk, leg, ear, or tail – and, based on this limited experience, constructs a complete yet partial understanding of the whole. One concludes that the elephant is like a wall, another a spear, a snake, a tree, a fan, or a rope. The parable illustrates how complex phenomena can appear fundamentally different depending on the perspective from which they are approached. It

also highlights the limitations of any single explanatory framework and the importance of integrating multiple viewpoints when attempting to understand the complexity of the human psyche.

The importance of the early mother-child relationship was recognized by several pioneering thinkers in the early history of psychoanalysis, including Sabina Spielrein, Margarethe Hilferding, Otto Rank, and Erich Neumann. However, their contributions have often remained on the margins of mainstream psychoanalytic discourse. In many respects, it seems we have lost touch with one of the most fundamental dimensions of human existence: its origins.

In my psychotherapeutic work with children and adolescents, I am repeatedly struck by how closely they remain connected to their earliest experiences. Similarly, mothers are often deeply affected when asked to reflect on pregnancy and birth experiences that may have been forgotten, dissociated, or insufficiently integrated into conscious memory. These observations suggest that a comprehensive understanding of the psyche requires recognizing that human beings feel before they speak and experience before they can represent experience symbolically.

From this perspective, the origins of psychological life begin long before language emerges. Our first environment is the maternal body, and our earliest experiences are encoded in preverbal and embodied forms. These experiences may later manifest as affective patterns, bodily memories, relational expectations, or symbolic images rather than explicit recollections. They form what can be

understood as wordless complexes that continue to influence psychological development throughout life.

A deeper engagement with these earliest layers of experience also invites reconsideration of cultural assumptions that have historically privileged abstraction, separation, and control over embodiment, relationality, and care. Reconnecting with our forgotten origin offers an opportunity to ground ethics in embodied consciousness, reverence for life, and an ongoing encounter with both the individual and collective shadow. From this perspective, ethics arises not primarily from external systems of religion, law, or ideology, but from a lived awareness of interdependence and the capacity to cultivate a more integrated relationship with oneself and the wider world.

The ontogenetic development of social beings is marked by the need for belonging. When nurturing care is disrupted, emotional development is impaired. Songbirds not raised by their mothers do not learn to sing and therefore have reduced social skills. Similarly, mammals that experience exclusion display strong emotional effects. In the film *"The Story of the Weeping Camel"* (Davaa & Falorni 2004), a family of indigenous camel and sheep-breeding nomads from the Gobi Desert in Mongolia helps a camel mother and her newborn calf recover from birth trauma. It is moving to see the tears of the newborn calf, rejected by its mother after a difficult birth. This trauma can be overcome with the help of caring people who, through music and patience, guide the mother and her newborn calf. They succeed in enabling the mother and calf to sense each other and achieve physical and psychological closeness.

Meeting my teachers – Ludwig Janus (prenatal psychology and psychohistory), Klaus Evertz (prenatal aesthetics), and, in memoriam, Terence Dowling (1957–2024, pediatric osteopathy and spirituality), to whom I am very grateful – was a turning point for me in integrating the various aspects and authors of psychoanalysis and depth psychology into a more comprehensive concept that includes prenatal psychology and psychohistory. I gained new insight into children's visual expression and deepened my understanding of their pre-, peri-, and postnatal experiences. I was able to connect their nonverbal body expressions, gestures, drawings, and sand images with their preverbal biography. The parents' narratives contributed significantly to expanding and integrating hermeneutic and phenomenological approaches.*

I see children with serious problems such as autism symptoms, ADHD, emotional disorders, depression, or aggressive behaviors, whose pre-, peri-, or postnatal traumas are often overlooked or ignored. If these traumas are recognized earlier, we can prevent later negative experiences within the family and at school, and even reduce the economic burden on mental health institutions. Because these experiences are nonverbal, they are sometimes fragmented and only understandable at a pre-symbolic level. Creativity is one of the most powerful tools to make these experiences visible and more understandable. It contributes to better self-regulation and increased resilience.

This book stems from my desire to integrate various psychotherapeutic approaches while honoring the often overlooked and

* A phenomenological-hermeneutic approach begins with a careful description of lived experience and then moves towards interpreting its meaning within personal, relational, cultural and symbolic contents.

forgotten feminine aspect of the psyche and the role of motherhood. It aims to provide a multifaceted perspective and a deeper understanding of the complexity of the human psyche, drawing on my clinical experience as a child psychotherapist. My intention is to show that contents from the preverbal biography, when not integrated or recognized, are not forgotten but are instead transformed into inner images that continue to influence our lives.

To better understand the clinical cases discussed in this book, the first two chapters provide a brief theoretical framework. The first chapter examines two seemingly contrasting thinkers: Erich Neumann and Lloyd deMause. Neumann, a Jungian analyst, was among the first to link the psychological foundation of ethics and the central role of the feminine in the development of the psyche, while deMause explored how the history of childhood has shaped cultural development. Despite their different perspectives, both argue that early childhood is a decisive period in the formation of thought, emotion, and behavior, rather than merely a prelude to adult psychology.

Neumann conceptualizes the mother-child relationship as a biopsychic unity fundamental to ego development, while deMause shows that, under conditions of violence or neglect, this same bond can become a conduit for transgenerational trauma. Both perspectives illuminate the emergence of a threatening maternal image in the collective imagination – the “Death Mother” archetype or the “Killer Mother” – representing a destructive, engulfing, neglectful, or psychologically harmful maternal figure. Understanding how women, mothers, and children have been treated throughout cultural history is therefore essential to

recognizing how such images arise from a transgenerational cycle of victimization and perpetration.

The second chapter examines Sabina Spielrein, a highly influential yet long-marginalized figure in the history of psychoanalysis whose ideas were ahead of their time. As early as 1912, she proposed a theoretical bridge between Freud and Jung, integrating biological and archetypal dimensions of psychic life. Although her work influenced both Freud's concept of the death drive and Jung's theory of the collective unconscious, her contributions were largely absorbed into their theoretical systems. Motherhood and implicit memory form a central thread in her thought. Revisiting the myth of Medusa further reveals how the feminine continues to function as a cultural shadow figure, unconsciously linked to fears surrounding sexuality, female anger, and autonomy.

In the third chapter, I describe the womb as the "first planet," an environment that shapes perception and is inhabited by the species *Homo foetalis et sapiens* (Janus, 2018). While *Homo sapiens* is typically associated with intelligence, the shared ontogenetic origins of human life in the fetal stage have received much less attention, despite their profound influence on psychological development. Like a planet, the womb functions as a complete life-support system – our first ecosystem and relationship. Recognizing that human existence begins within a self-contained biosphere sustained entirely by another body highlights that our earliest experience is one of interdependence rather than autonomy.

The chapter presents two case studies of adolescents experiencing depression and suicidal ideation. In both cases, the pregnancies

were unwanted, and each patient showed a profound sense of abandonment, expressed through striking nonverbal complexes revealed in their drawings.

In the fourth chapter, I examine the relationship between creation myths and our shared ontogenetic origins, arguing that both reveal strikingly similar patterns. Across cultures, humans have recognized a parallel between the emergence of the cosmos and the development of the individual psyche. Mythological, embryological, symbolic, and psychological perspectives together suggest a profound connection between creation narratives and the earliest stages of human life.

Drawing on research in prenatal psychology, the concept of prenatal aesthetics (Evertz, 2017), and cellular memory (Verny, 2021), I propose a broader understanding of children's drawings – one that extends cognitive development to include embodied affective experience and early attachment processes. This chapter presents three case studies in which children with histories of early trauma visually express both a core experience of abandonment and a longing for belonging.

In the fifth chapter, I present Sandplay therapy as a distinctly feminine form of psychotherapy and examine its relevance for nonverbal psychotherapeutic research. Using elemental materials – sand and water – the sand tray creates a symbolic, womb-like space where pre-symbolic imagery can emerge and connect with embodied affective experiences rooted in early development. Three case studies illustrate these processes and their therapeutic significance.

In the sixth chapter, I examine how the mother–child relationship shapes brain and emotional development from the prenatal period onward. Drawing on research in emotional attunement (Schoore, 2019) and interpersonal neurobiology (Siegel, 2020), I discuss Rien Verdukt’s expanded theory of attachment, which extends Erik Erikson’s developmental framework to include a primary stage of life beginning at conception (Verdukt, 2014). I also present Terence Dowling’s four-stage model of bonding and de-bonding from a prenatal perspective (Dowling, 2004).

Three case studies illustrate how children may express implicit traces of their fetal origins through visual imagery and unconsciously construct an archetypal mother figure in their Sandplay scenes. Particularly striking is the tendency of some children, especially those with histories of early trauma, to position an ego-figure symbolically within the womb-like space of a female form shaped in sand.

In the seventh chapter, I examine birth as a primary biological and psychological transformation in human life, during which the mother is also "born" into a new social and psychological role. Within the framework of prenatal aesthetics, I explore how children with difficult birth histories may express preverbal experiences visually, without reflective or linguistic awareness. Three case studies illustrate these processes.

In the eighth chapter, I describe a complete psychotherapeutic process with a seven-year-old foster girl preparing for adoption, who vividly expressed her inner transformative states. Through spontaneous drawings and the “free and protected” space of

Sandplay therapy, she was able to integrate and reframe her early traumatic experiences.

In conclusion, I emphasize the importance of considering pre-, peri-, and postnatal experiences in understanding both children's and adults' symptoms, as well as their ways of perceiving the world. These experiences may be expressed in seemingly irrational behaviors and symbolic representations. Each person's capacity to express their needs and integrate unspeakable early experiences underpins our responsibility as mental health professionals and educators. Only through self-knowledge and reflection can we contribute to the formation of more constructive individual and collective narratives, thereby creating opportunities for growth and healing.

Speyer, Florianopolis, June 2026

Chapter 1

Mother and Child Unit:

An Ethical Approach

"Who will write the history of what may have been the irretrievable part of my past; this is the corpse. If at a certain point I had turned to the left instead of to the right; if at a certain point I had said no instead of yes; if in certain conversations I had said the sentences that I will detail today; today it would be different, and perhaps the whole universe would be imperceptibly made to be different." Fernando Pessoa (1888-1935)*

History as it is Written

The history books I read during adolescence and over the years led me to believe that history was a collection of observables, objective facts. However, each author writes through his/her own subjective lens, shaped by his/her specific biopsychosocial context, which influences how people feel, think, and act. Human motivation and decisions drive history and shape our perception of it.

In my home country, Brazil – one of the most ethnically diverse nations, with Indigenous Peoples, Africans, and Europeans – history was predominantly made and recorded by descendants of European-born colonizers, those able to assert their viewpoint. Only recently have we begun to understand history in its

* Fernando António Nogueira de Seabra Pessoa, Portuguese poet, writer, literary critic, translator, and publisher.

subjective aspects and changing social context. Psychological forces, both individual and collective, shape historical events, Psychohistory offers new insights into the psychological forces that have shaped cultural evolution and invites reflection on how the development of psychoanalytic theory was influenced by the limitations and subjectivities of its founders. Although Sigmund Freud formulated a groundbreaking theory of the unconscious rooted in early childhood experience, his writings reflect a predominantly paternal perspective in which the mother appears largely as an object of desire rather than as a formative psychological presence. Because his clinical work focused primarily on neurotic adults, Freud developed his concepts retrospectively from adult pathology rather than prospectively from the direct observation of infant development.

Carl Gustav Jung also regarded early childhood as fundamental to personality formation. However, unlike Freud he based his theory not on sexuality but on a broader psychic energy striving for expression and organization. Jung proposed that the infant is born with inherited psychological structures and behavioral predispositions arising from the collective unconscious, although he did not connect these ideas to evolutionary psychology. Despite their significant contributions, both Freud and Jung underestimated the central importance of the biological and psychological dimensions of the mother–child relationship in the development of the human psyche.

A question therefore remains: how might the history of psychoanalysis have evolved if women analysts had been given a more influential voice in shaping its theoretical foundation?

A Female perspective

Margarete Hilferding (1871–1942) was the first female physician to join the Society for Psychoanalysis in Vienna. She worked primarily with women and recognized that maternal love is not "a priori," as motherhood is constructed within a social and psychological reality – a thesis that was shocking at the time. She observed that many mothers harbored hostile feelings toward their children and emphasized the importance of motherhood for society as a whole (Hilferding, M. 1911, 1979). The profound suffering involved was largely overlooked until the publication of "The Syndrome of the Battered Child" half a century later (Selwyn-M-Smith, 1975).

Sabina Spielrein (1885–1942) is often remembered from a narrow male perspective, primarily as a patient and lover of Carl Gustav Jung, rather than as what she truly was: a doctor and psychoanalyst who significantly influenced Sigmund Freud, Carl Gustav Jung, Jean Piaget, and others. She inspired Freud's concept of the death drive and Jung's idea of the collective unconscious, though neither mentioned her in their writings. She reflected on the significance of conception in a relational and symbolic terms, anticipating the concept of cellular memory, which is now considered an established scientific fact (Kukushkin N.V. et al., 2024).

Both Hilferding and Spielrein, as Jews, were murdered by the Nazi regime in 1942, thus silenced by history. Some male authors, such as Otto Rank and Gustav Hans Graber, recognized the fundamental importance of the mother-child unit early in the history of psychoanalysis, but it never received the attention it

deserves. Even now, we are not sufficiently aware of the psychological, social, and political significance of pregnancy, birth, and early childhood. We remain disconnected from this crucial first chapter of our personal and collective biography. This perspective raises critical questions: how have internalized psychic contents contributed to the demonization of women and mothers, and how do they continue to shape inadequate forms of parenting?

Behind a traumatized childhood is often a traumatized mother. The number of women forced to bear sole responsibility for their children remains alarming. Despite the availability of family planning, pregnancy is still frequently seen as a burden associated with shame and guilt. Unwanted conception remains taboo and is perceived as tragic by many women. Sexuality, reproduction, and pregnancy, though collective concerns, are often burdens imposed solely on women. Even today, after the invention of the contraceptive pill and the advent of family planning, conservative estimates suggest that in Western culture, one in three pregnancies is unwanted (Häsing, H., Janus, L. 1994, p. 9). An unwanted conception leads to numerous problems for both mother and child, with psychological, social, and political consequences (see case studies in chapter three). Women who reject their babies are perceived by society as unnatural, subhuman, or mentally ill, but as Margarete Hilferding observed, motherhood occurs within specific physical, relational, cultural, and economic contexts that contribute to these feelings, making them not only a personal but also a collective issue. Even today, in most societies, women are not allowed to determine the fate of their own bodies. It is no coincidence that, although scientific evidence shows that free access to birth control and abortion leads to fewer abortions, the issue of legally reclaiming control over the female body remains

widely debated in reactionary efforts to reinforce patriarchal control over society as a whole. In Brazil, a law proposed by far-right groups is still being discussed that would allow minors aged 14 and over to be sentenced to prison for illegal abortions – even if it is judicially established that the pregnancy resulted from rape.

Erich Neumann's archetype of the Great Mother examines in greater detail the dual aspects of the feminine, both generative and destructive. The feminine is the primal matrix from which consciousness arises and to which it remains inextricably linked. By highlighting this foundational relationship, Neumann shifted attention to the earliest structures shaping human experience. His contributions open a path toward an archetypal psychohistory of culture (Neumann, 1956, 1959), providing a framework for understanding how deep psychic patterns form the collective unconscious. He was among the first figures in analytical psychology to explore this connection in depth, integrating psychological and ethical issues. At a time when much of the discourse focused on the Oedipus complex, penis envy, and primary narcissism, Neumann turned his attention to what is now recognized as central to understanding the psyche's complexity: the primordial mother–child relationship. For this reason, his work warrants sustained and careful reconsideration.

Erich Neumann: The Feminine and the New Ethics

Erich Neumann (1905–1960), born in Berlin, was a highly influential German-Israeli analytical psychotherapist who expanded Jung's ideas in depth psychology, ethics, the development of consciousness, archetypes and mythology, creativity and art, and the feminine principle of the psyche. In 1934,

due to historical circumstances, he fled to Palestine and founded the Israeli Association for Analytical Psychology, serving as its president until his death in Tel Aviv, Israel, in 1960.

In "Depth Psychology and the New Ethics" (Tiefenpsychologie und die neue Ethik, 1949a, 2015), Erich Neumann outlines the main themes connecting analytical psychology and ethics. He describes a dynamic relationship between the archetypal concepts of the "persona" and the "shadow," emphasizing their significant social implications. The persona, understood as a social mask, is shaped by collective expectations and governed by prevailing norms. In contrast, the shadow contains aspects of the psyche considered unacceptable and therefore repressed, often emerging indirectly through experiences of shame and guilt. For Neumann, these two archetypal dimensions are inseparable parts of the psyche's dual structure and must be brought into conscious awareness and integrated.

At the collective level, the concept of the shadow expands to include the disowned traits of entire groups, societies, or cultures. When this collective shadow remains unexamined, it is often projected outward, manifesting as scapegoating, extreme polarization, and the repetition of destructive historical patterns, such as the persecution of Jews, the marginalization of women, and hostility toward immigrants. According to Neumann, the shadow archetype was historically reinforced within a patriarchal framework through mechanisms of suppression and repression, forming the "old ethics" reflected in the Old Testament and its culture of "original sin." For Neumann, this ancient ethics represents humanity's "terrible self-denial," which we have been unable to recognize because it is so pervasive. Neumann argues

that, in a certain historical context, the social rules of the old ethics helped stabilize society, but at a high price. The old ethics is part of a psychology of the "scapegoat"; it results from projecting the "collective shadow" onto women, Jews, and others. This dynamic is also reflected in the collective imagination through mythology, fairy tales, and similar sources. Once projection begins, social reinforcement mechanisms emerge: religion emphasizes Eve's fault, laws control women's bodies and choices, and art and language portray women as temptresses or seductresses. Science has contributed concepts such as female hysteria and moral weakness. Each new layer reinforces this projection, making it appear natural. However, according to Neumann, the old ethics should have become obsolete, as we have been able to reflect on these issues since Friedrich Nietzsche's "Beyond Good and Evil" (Nietzsche, 1886) and Sigmund Freud's "The Future of an Illusion" (Freud, 1927).

The figures of the "devil" and "original sin" have long been intertwined with representations of women and femininity. In the Book of Genesis, Eve eats the forbidden fruit after being persuaded by the serpent and then offers it to Adam. Over centuries, Christian theological interpretations of this narrative contributed to enduring attitudes that placed primary blame on the female figure. A related motif appears in Jewish mythological traditions in the figure of Lilith, often portrayed as a counterpart to Eve and described as Adam's first wife. Unlike Eve, Lilith is said to have been created from the same earth as Adam and to have refused subordination, particularly in sexual terms. As a lesser-known figure, she represents a woman who refuses to accept the patriarchal order. According to legend, she leaves Eden after