Recently, special attention has been paid to the problems of boundary work in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century history of psychology (Lachapelle 2011; Plas 2000; Sommer 2012; Wolffram 2009). As it has been revealed, the differentiation between science and pseudoscience was a particularly urgent need in academic psychology (Keeley 2001; Gyimesi 2016a). Actually, from a certain point of view, differentiation, exclusion, and inclusion were some of the basic tasks of early experimental psychologists, psychoanalysts, psychotherapists, etc. They were pioneers of their time, and they not only sought to develop new concepts, accumulate evidence, and designate new fields of research in their work, but also sought to distance themselves from other fields of research or popular practices. It is not surprising that even Sigmund Freud himself introduced his essay on the history of the psychoanalytic movement with the following words:

If in what follows I bring any contribution to the history of the psychoanalytic movement nobody must be surprised at the subjective nature of this paper, nor at the role, which falls to me therein. For psychoanalysis is my creation; for ten years I was the only one occupied with it, and all the annoyance which this new subject caused among my contemporaries has been hurled upon my head in the form of criticism. Even today, when I am no longer the only psychoanalyst, I feel myself justified in assuming that none can know better than myself what psy-
choanalysis is, wherein it differs from other methods of investigating the psychic life, what its name should cover, or what might better be designated as something else. (Freud 1914, 7)

The differentiation between psychoanalysis and other fields of psychology had always been a sensitive question for Freud. His break with Jung was primarily due the efforts of Jung to broaden the scope of psychoanalysis and desexualize the Freudian concept of libido (Gyimesi 2009). According to Freud, Jung aimed at introducing the “black tide of mud” (Jung 1961, 173), namely occultism, into the psychoanalytic edifice, and in so doing, he would have definitively altered the foundations of psychoanalysis. Freud was not alone in his fear of the so-called occult. Modern occult practices were rather widespread in nineteenth and early twentieth-century Western culture. Several of their suppositions—such as the non-materialistic, disembodied nature of the human psyche—proved acceptable for laymen and psychological thinkers alike. In the eyes of the representatives of materialistic, mechanistic science, the growing number of “occultists” seemed threatening (Monroe 2008; Oppenheim 1988; Owen 2004; Treitel 2004).

It is not surprising that, in the past decades, the cultural and scientific significance of modern occult practices such as spiritism, spiritualism, and related movements, became an important field of research for several historians of psychology (e.g., Ellenberger 1970; Owen 2004; Treitel 2004; Plas 2000; Rabeyron and Evrard 2012). As it has been revealed, modern spiritualism influenced the evolution of psychology significantly, despite the concerns of Freud and others. The systematic observation of spiritualist mediums, the experiments on spiritualistic phenomena proved to be a promising field of research for numerous early psychologists. Their results called attention to the as yet unknown characteristics of the human psyche, even though most of the psychologically oriented researchers in this field were fairly skeptical regarding the genuineness of spiritualistic phenomena (Gyimesi 2012, 2014, 2016a; Rabeyron and Evrard 2012; Sommer 2012; Wollfram 2009).

It is remarkable that besides William James (1886, 1890a, 1902), Théodore Flournoy (1896, 1900, 1911), Carl Gustav Jung (1896, 1897, 1902, 1948, 2009) and many others, Freud himself was also interested in the so-called occult, although in a rather ambivalent way. Actually, he was so interested in the possibility of thought-transference that he tried to understand it by supposing as yet unknown physical forces in the background (Devereux 1953; Freud 1914, 1921, 1922, 1933). However, he was very much aware of the risks
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of openly supporting the experiments on thought-transference. Therefore, he did not publish his ideas on thought-transference until 1921, and he also tried to prevent his disciples, such as Sándor Ferenczi, from publishing their results on the subject:

I see destiny approaching inexorably, and I note that it has designated you to bring to light mysticism and the like, and that it would be just as futile as it is hard-hearted to keep you from it. Still, I think we ought to venture to slow it down. I would like to request that you continue to research in secrecy for two full years and don’t come out until 1913; then, certainly, in the Jahrbuch, openly and aboveboard. You know my practical reasons against it and my secret painful sensitivities.¹

Ferenczi was obedient to his master and did not publish his results.² However, he was deeply involved in spiritualism throughout his entire life. He was obviously not a spiritualist, but he recognized the rich field of research offered by spiritualistic practices and compelled systematic investigation of spiritualistic and related occurrences. His main interest, similar to Freud, remained thought-transference. However, in his view, it gained a rather comprehensive psychoanalytical significance (see Ferenczi 1919a; 1919b; 1928; 1932; Gyimesi 2016a).

The case of Ferenczi tells us a great deal about the difficulties regarding the designation of the borders of psychology in general and psychoanalysis in particular. The aim of this chapter is to show that the process of demarcation in psychology and psychoanalysis was influenced by multiple meta-theories that may have originated in the basic trends of contemporary science, but also in personal ambitions, fears, and anxieties. Furthermore, personal preferences were never independent from the broader psychosocial context, not even from political trends. Thus, my aim is to illuminate the complex origins of the process of demarcation in psychology by using the following examples from the history of the intersection of psychology and spiritualism.

² In fact, he has never published his results.
Spiritualism on the Threshold of Psychology

It is well known today that spiritualism had widespread cultural influence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Plas 2000; Lachapelle 2002; Luckhurst 2002). It emerged in connection with the growing power of scientific materialism signifying a revolt against the materialistic, naturalistic interpretation of existence. But it was also a consequence of the crisis of traditional western religions in that spiritualists were disappointed in western religions, but they did not give up their need for religious experience (Thurschwell 2001; Owen 2004; Treitel 2004). Thus, spiritualism reflected the basic need for spirituality in the age of disenchantment (Doyle 1926; Podmore 1902).

It is less known that several spiritualists forced systematic investigations into the field of spiritualistic phenomena. Their primary aim was to convince skeptics of the genuineness of spiritualistic occurrences. For this purpose, a great number of spiritualists were ready to introduce very strict scientific methods into the séance room. Furthermore, numerous spiritualists identified themselves as distinct researchers practicing a new discipline on the border of faith and science. As a result, the scientific efforts of spiritualists generated growing attention in and beyond academic circles. Spiritualists developed new techniques of exploration, while skeptics extended the well-known methods of natural science to spiritualistic occurrences. Due to these efforts, new branches of science were born, first of all psychical research, which significantly influenced the development of modern psychology (e.g., Flournoy 1896; Myers 1903; Podmore 1902; Richet 1923).

Those investigators of spiritualism who were skeptical regarding the spiritualistic interpretation of spirit intervention but accepted the genuineness of some spiritualistic occurrences tried to understand spiritualistic phenomena as a result of an as yet unknown function of the human psyche. They put questions of telepathy or premonitions into a rational, scientifically based framework in which these debatable phenomena gained psychological significance. Hereby psychological theories were born which reflected on mainstream psychological questions such as the subconscious layers of the personality, automatisms, dissociation, and altered states of consciousness. The

3 The Society for Psychical Research was founded in London in 1882. The representatives of the Society encouraged systematic and objective investigation into the fields of hypnotism, mesmerism, spiritualistic, and related phenomena.
important theories of Frederic Myers (1903), Théodore Flournoy (1896, 1900, 1911), and Charles Richet (1905, 1923) were all created in the fertile context of spiritualism. Furthermore, spiritualism offered a new ideology with strong psychological content. As a new discipline that focused on spiritual, ethical, and developmental tasks, it also proved stimulating for several early psychologists such as Carl Gustav Jung (1896, 1897, 1902) and Sándor Ferenczi (1899).

Similar to other countries in Europe, by 1853 spiritualism spread to Hungary. The first Hungarian authors dealing with spiritualism were Count Ferenc Szapáry (e.g., 1854a, 1854b) and Baron Lázár Hellenbach (e.g., 1878). The latter played a leading role in the history of Hungarian spiritualism, since he conducted mediumistic experiments with Baroness Adelma Vay, who later became the founder of Hungarian institutionalized spiritualism. Several members of the noble Vay family practiced spiritualism, but among them only the Baroness and her husband Baron Ödön Vay influenced Hungarian spiritualism significantly (Tordai 2008).

It was a physician, János Gárdos, who introduced Baroness Vay to the field of spiritualism. At the time, Gárdos was a well-known expert who used animal magnetism in his therapeutic practice. In 1865, he met the Baroness, who was suffering from severe migraines and seizures. According to Gárdos’s diagnosis, Baroness Vay was a seer for whom the only effective cure was “magnetic writing.” After some resistance against the diagnosis, the Baroness accepted the cure and began practicing as a writing medium (Grünhut 1932). She published a number of books; her most important work was *Spirit, Power, Matter* (1869), which she wrote at the age of twenty-six through automatic writing.

Several spiritualist circles were born in Hungary for the purpose of investigating mediumistic and related phenomena. Among these were the Budapest Association of Spiritual Investigators (Szellemi Büvørök Pesti Egylete), founded by the physician Adolf Grünhut and the medium Baroness Adelma Vay in 187. It became a prominent forum of Hungarian spiritualism and spiritism, publishing books and journals (see *Égi Világosság* [Heavenly Light]). Grünhut, who previously also practiced animal magnetism, met Adelma Vay in 1870. He was deeply impressed by the somnambulistic, me-

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4 In Hungary, the system of Allen Kardec became very popular in the late nineteenth century. Therefore his term “spiritism” was used in mediumistic practices. Later spiritists deviated from the ideas of Kardec. However the term “spiritism” survived and referred to spiritualism in general in Hungary.
diumistic capacities of the woman, and their cooperation proved to be ex-
tremely fruitful (Gürnhut 1932).

It must be added that the systematic and objective research of medium-
istic and connected phenomena was rather rare among the representatives of
the Budapest Association of Spiritual Investigators, since religious commit-
ments in their circle were very strong. Their main theoretical basis was the
system of Allen Kardec, which they expanded with their own views. Christian
content was fundamental to their ideology; their primary aim was to work in
a unified Christian faith and spread the so-called “evangelistic spiritism” all
over the world (Pataki 2003; Tarjányi 2002; Tordai 2008). Unfortunately, in
the 1940s anti-Semitism, nationalism, and Christianity were strongly inter-
connected in spiritualist groups, which had far-reaching consequences for the
development of scientifically oriented spiritualism and early parapsychology
in Hungary. The accentuation of the religious, namely Christian elements
of evangelistic spiritism became a tool used to exclude Jews and “alien” ide-
ologies; but this became a serious obstacle to objective, well-controlled ex-
perimentation of spiritualistic phenomena. The strong religious content of
evangelistic spiritism foreclosed the possibility of questioning, measuring, or
doubting. Therefore, the tradition of evangelistic spiritism not only narrowed
the scope of research on the paranormal, but easily served the political ten-
dencies of the 1940s (Gyimesi 2016).

Inclusion and Exclusion—Spiritualism and Contemporary
Science in Hungary

As elsewhere in Europe, spiritualism had a diverse and complex influence
on contemporary science in Hungary (Gyimesi 2014, 2016a, 2016b). Spi-
ritualistic and related phenomena, such as somnambulism or animal magnet-
ism proved to be a stimulating field of research already in the late nineteenth
century. The trance states of the magnetized mediums called attention to the
psychological questions of suggestion and hypnosis. Therefore, the investi-
gation of animal magnetism gained central significance for the early theoreti-
cians of hypnosis as well. It was Pál Ranschburg and Károly Décsi who first
published a book on the critical experimental analysis of animal magnetism
(1900). According to their conclusion, magnets have no influence on human
organisms. The mysterious recoveries of patients are due to the effects of hyp-
nosis and suggestion.
Pál Ranschburg, the founding father of Hungarian experimental psychology, had extraordinary influence on the development of Hungarian academic psychology. It is worth noting that his book, entitled *Psychotherapies: On Magnetism, Its Influence on the Human Organism and Its Possible Inner and Outer Therapeutic Effects*, which he co-authored with Décsi, was the first recipient of the Gárdos Award. The cures of the well-known magnetizer, János Gárdos, were considered to be extremely successful in the nineteenth century. When Gárdos’s widow, Júlia Andrássy, died in 1894, she bequeathed a large amount of money to the Medical Professorial Syndicate for the purpose of creating an award named after her husband. According to the widow’s will, the aim of the award was to support research on the influence and therapeutic effects of magnetism using the notes and the library of her deceased husband. Although Ranschburg’s and Décsi’s conclusion was, in fact, a comprehensive criticism and denial of the work of Gárdos and magnetism, the Medical Professorial Syndicate still decided to give them the award (Gyimesi 2014). It is rather obvious that the aim of Ranschburg was to demarcate the theory of hypnosis from the mysterious, seemingly occultish content of animal magnetism and somnambulism. In achieving this objective, he opened the way for the rationalistic, scientific interpretation of hypnosis, which proved to be essential in the further development of hypnotherapies in Hungary. The decision of the Medical Professorial Syndicate supported Ranschburg, and likewise the demarcation of the theory of hypnosis from animal magnetism.

While Ranschburg and his colleagues clearly rejected the spiritualistic, “occult” content of animal magnetism, there were others who were less rigorous in evaluating the debatable theories that originated in animal magnetism and spiritualism. As it was mentioned before, Sándor Ferenczi, for instance, forced systematic research in the field of spiritualistic phenomena:

Therefore the antagonists of spiritism should not use denial before or without investigation in their crusade. They should devote themselves to the investigation of the claimed facts with the same objectivity that characterizes science in other fields. They should not shrink from sitting down at the moving table or from visiting spiritist gatherings of lay people. After all, from the sociological point of view alone, the subject is important enough to attract the attention of the best minds. Let them take with themselves the arsenal of science, let them organize experimental séances, observe, rule out intentional deception and decide how much is delusion and how much is truth. (Ferenczi 1899, 143)
In fact, Ferenczi searched for the “truth” in spiritualistic phenomena all of his life. His aim was not to prove the existence of afterlife or spirit intervention, but to discover the psychological rules that manifest themselves in the séance room. After the publication of his famous paper “On Spiritism” in 1899, Ferenczi wrote a review on the book of the spiritualist and psychical researcher Lajos Wajdits (Essays on the Field of Spiritualism) in 1900, in which he criticized Wajdits’s efforts to bring spiritualism and science closer. He advocated for psychological experiments in the Budapest Association of Spiritual Investigators and welcomed Wajdits’s initiative to use scientific exploration in the practice of spiritualism (Ferenczi 1900a).

In the same year, Ferenczi published a further review on the book of Leopold Löwenfeld entitled “Somnambulismus und Spiritismus” (1900b). Similar to his earlier review, Ferenczi pointed at the lack of true scientific investigations in the field of spiritualistic phenomena and somnambulism. Ferenczi also translated Sante de Sanctis’s essay entitled “Miraculous Element in Dreaming,” in which the author discussed the current position of psychical researchers. In one of his footnotes, Ferenczi expressed his agreement concerning the importance of scientific exploration in the realm of the so-called supernatural (De Sanctis 1902, 358) and he seemed to be very rigorous in this question (De Sanctis, 1902, 365). It is rather easy to already see the open-minded, innovative thinking that led him to the border zones of medicine in his early years. In fact, Ferenczi was a psychical researcher in a society that ignored the true scientific exploration of the “supernormal” (Rickman 1933).

Although several leading figures of Hungarian spiritualism were very close to science, critical attitudes were rarely present in their investigations. The physician Adolf Grünhut became a genuine spiritualist after 1871. The former disciple of the occultist Carl du Prel, János Mikos’s efforts to found a scientific school of spiritualism in Hungary failed (Mikos 1897). Physicians generally remained aloof from the question of spiritualism (e.g., Szörényi 1894). However, Ferenczi insisted on the psychological significance of spiritualistic phenomena. Although he did not publish his observations, he developed many different theories on the functioning of thought-transference (see Ferenczi 1932; Gyimesi 2011, 2012, 2016a). According to him, thought-transference was based on the interconnectedness of different psyches, or more precisely, on the interconnectedness of different unconsciousness. In this way, in Ferenczi’s view, it was possible to communicate on an unconscious, primitive, and nonverbal level. He also connected the phenomena of telepathy to increased sensitivity, which he found to be fundamental in certain psychopa-
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Theorizations such as paranoia or hysteria. He observed this increased sensitivity in children and in suffering patients, too, who somehow—normally based on a traumatic experience—developed telepathic capacities (Ferenczi 1932).

It must be added that Ferenczi’s famous patient and disciple, Elizabeth Severn (referred to as “R. N.” in his diary), could have played a determining role in the development of Ferenczi’s theories on telepathy. Severn was a patient of his in the last eight years of his life, and during this period, a strong professional and personal relationship evolved between them. Today, it is very likely that Severn influenced Ferenczi not only emotionally but theoretically also (Fortune 1993, 1996; Rachman 2015; Rudnytsky 2015). Severn combined psychoanalytical knowledge with spiritual ideas and experiences (e.g., Severn 1933); during his relationship with Severn, Ferenczi reactivated his early ideas on telepathy. As a result, contradictory but far-reaching theories were born:

Cases of thought transference during the analysis of suffering people are extraordinarily frequent. One sometimes has the impression that the reality of such processes encounters strong emotional resistance in us materialists; any insights we gain into them have the tendency to come undone, like Penelope’s weaving or the tissue of our dreams.

It is possible that here we are facing a fourth “narcissistic wound,” namely that even the intelligence of which we are so proud, though analysts, is not our property but must be replaced or regenerated through the rhythmic outpouring of the ego into the universe, which alone is all knowing and therefore intelligent. But more of this another time. (Ferenczi 1932, 33)

While Ferenczi was ready to use his observations on telepathy in his theoretical argument, he was conscious of the differentiation between the materialistic and the spiritualistic point of views (see Ferenczi 1932; Gyimesi 2011, 2012, 2016a). In this sense, he was aware of the dangers generated by the disguised, pseudoscientific dimensions of psychology. Spiritualism could not threaten the objectivity of psychology until spiritualistic, occult contents were clearly differentiated from scientific psychological theories.

Of course, there were many others who were much less cautious in demarcating science and pseudoscience. A good example of this is the oeuvre of Ferenc Völgyesi, who developed remarkable theories on the functioning of hypnosis in the twentieth century. He achieved fame primarily due to his experiments on animal hypnosis, which proved to be a popular complementary
field of hypnosis research. As Völgyesi summarized, his ideas originated in the neurophysiologic results of Ivan Pavlov; he identified the roots of hypnosis in neurological mechanisms. He published several works on animal and human hypnosis, providing a comprehensive theory on the possible mechanisms of hypnosis (e.g., Völgyesi 1930, 1932, 1933, 1936, 1962).

According to the accounts of Völgyesi, starting when he was a medical student and later on, after he founded his medical practice, he focused on the problems of hypnosis and psychological suggestion. However, in the beginning of his career, Völgyesi was deeply involved in the investigation of the performances of spiritualist mediums. As he asserted later, his primary aim was to understand the functioning of suggestion and hypnosis in the framework of the natural sciences. Therefore, he started to conduct experiments with stage hypnotists, clairvoyants, and spiritualist mediums. He also investigated the well-known Hungarian medium László László. As it has been revealed, László László was a fraud medium and allegedly a criminal. The debunking of the medium (which was not the result of Völgyesi’s experiments) damaged the fame of Hungarian parapsychology significantly, but this also diverted Völgyesi from the experimental study of mediums. Before the László László incident, Völgyesi played an important role in several scientifically oriented branches of spiritualism in Hungary. In these circles Völgyesi was presented as an expert on the border of science and spiritualism (Tordai 1923a, 1923b; Rátai 2000). However, after he exposed László László, Völgyesi gave up on the support of early parapsychological research. It was the Pavlovian theory that separated him from spiritualism, thus creating a boundary between scientific psychology and “occultism” (Völgyesi 1940).

In fact, the materialistic (Pavlovian) and experimental foundations of the ideas of Völgyesi on animal hypnosis were deeply questionable and unelaborated. However, Pavlovian theory offered an up-to-date and biologically based background for his theoretical innovations. By using the psycho-physiological framework of Pavlov, which was extremely popular and had enormous influence on Hungarian academic psychology, Völgyesi legitimated his truly pseudoscientific suppositions on animal hypnosis.

Conclusions

It is well-known today that the evolution of science is never independent from cultural, political, or financial interests. Furthermore, it is also obvious that personal histories, ambitions, or anxieties can significantly influence the de-
velopment of professional attitudes. In this sense, objectivity is often question-
able. However, it is crucial to be aware of the true nature of pseudoscientific reasoning.

Spiritualism and related movements obviously influenced the professional development of Freud, Ferenczi, Ranschburg, and Völgyesi. However, their attitudes regarding spiritualism were rather diverse. Although Ferenczi was strongly committed to the research of spiritualistic phenomena, he made a clear distinction between spiritualistic and materialistic approaches. Others, such as Freud and Ranschburg, primarily focused on the separation of “occultism” and “science.” Although their aims were well established, the radical split forced by them could have led to dangerous uncertainties in their fields. Maybe it is not accidental that besides Ferenczi, Freud's other disciples such as Jung and Stekel (1913) were also involved in research on the so-called supernatural. Maybe it is not accidental that after Ranschburg's demarcation of animal magnetism from hypnosis, Völgyesi’s unscientific theory could emerge and flourish for decades. It is very likely that unelaborated demarcation processes could have left several uncertainties behind that later came back in disguised forms. As a result, true pseudoscientific reasoning, which preserved the once detached, non-scientific content using mainstream theoretical frameworks, could emerge. In this sense, spiritualism has never posed a threat to scientific psychology. The real threat lies in unelaborated demarcation processes that preserve non-scientific content in latent and hidden conceptual frameworks and theories. What is more, these contents are probably still living with us in several fields of contemporary psychology.

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