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The Enneagram: G. I. Gurdjieff's Esoteric Symbol *

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Abstract

The Enneagram, from the Greek *ennea* (nine) and *grammos* (written or drawn), is a nine-sided figure, presented as a triangle within a circle (connecting points 9, 3 and 6), that was taught by the esoteric teacher G. I. Gurdjieff and discussed in P. D. Ouspensky's *In Search of the Miraculous* (1949). Gurdjieff stated that the Enneagram is "completely self-supporting and independent of other lines and it has been completely unknown up to the present time,"¹ yet multiple origins have been claimed for the symbol (e.g., Christian, Sufi, Kabbalistic).² This article situates the Enneagram in the Work context, and considers the post-Gurdjieffian Enneagram, which is chiefly used for personality analysis (indebted to Oscar Ichazo, founder of the Arica School).

Keywords

G. I. Gurdjieff – Enneagram – Oscar Ichazo – esotericism – P. D. Ouspensky

Introduction

The esoteric system of spiritual development taught by the Greek-Armenian George Ivanovich Gurdjieff (c. 1866-1949) is based on two fundamental laws, the Law of Seven (*Heptaparaparshinokh*) and the Law of Three (*Triamazikamno*). The Law of Seven is related to the musical octave, which underpins Gurdjieff's teaching in various ways: there are seven levels of energy; seven distinct cosmoses; and the Ray of Creation has seven emanations. James Moore explained the Law of Seven as follows;

[e]very completing process must without exception have seven discrete phases: construing these as an ascending or descending series of seven notes or pitches, the frequency of vibrations must develop *irregularly*, with two predictable deviations (just where semi-tones are missing between Mi-Fa and Si-Do in the untempered modern major scale EDCBAGFE).³

The Law of Three posits three forces, positive, negative and reconciling, or neutralizing: "[t]he higher blends with the lower to actualize the middle, which becomes higher or the preceding lower and lower for the succeeding higher."⁴ These forces are termed affirming, denying, and reconciling in Gurdjieff's

* Thanks are due to my research assistants Drs Johanna Petsche and Venetia Robertson.

¹ Ouspensky, *In Search of the Miraculous*, 286.

² Webb, *The Harmonious Circle*, 505-519.

³ Moore, *Gurdjieff*, 45. See also Wellbeloved, *Gurdjieff: The Key Concepts*, 116-119.

⁴ Gurdjieff, *Beelzebub's Tales to His Grandson*, 751.

writings. Both laws are synthesized and expressed in the Enneagram.⁵

Gurdjieff taught that humans are beings with three centres (physical, emotional, and intellectual), in a universe constituted of energies, in which existing things strive to reach the next level. Humans are mechanical and destined to become food for the moon, which requires energy to progress to the next stage of development, an earth. To escape this fate, humans must align their three selves into a unified whole and develop higher-being bodies, beyond the physical body. Gurdjieff called the first of these the *kesdjan* body.⁶ Three types of nutrients, food, air and impressions, absorbed by the three centres, may assist in the development of the *kesdjan* body, if properly received. The way of the *fakir* (Sufi ascetic) addresses the body and the sensory centre, the way of the *monk* (Christian ascetic) addresses the emotional centre, and the way of the *yogi* (Hindu ascetic) addresses the intellectual centre; these paths are partial and inadequate. They “are all imbalanced because each centre is only aware of part of what we are ... So in effect, there are two kinds of imbalance ... individual neurosis (derived from the fact that centres try to do the work that is proper to one of the others) and ‘spiritual lopsidedness’ (derived from the fact that no centre can reveal the whole nature of man).”⁷ Gurdjieff’s teachings, the ‘Fourth Way’, address the whole person.

Those in the Work usually insist the Gurdjieffian Enneagram is not a tool for personality diagnosis (or spiritual health), but the original application of the Enneagram (a model of the Laws of Three and Seven, and of the ways in which food, air and impressions are absorbed into the body, assisting to develop higher bodies) is broadly compatible with the self-development model of those who employ the Enneagram outside the Work. These teachers have introduced the Enneagram to new audiences, esoteric and exoteric, that are open to such diagnostic models and the promise of psychological optimisation and self-transformation they offer.⁸

Gurdjieff and Esoteric Self-Transformation

⁵ Moore, *Gurdjieff*, 344-345.

⁶ Wellbeloved, *Gurdjieff: The Key Concepts*, 27-29. Gurdjieff taught that there were four bodies. The first is the physical (organic) body. Second is the *kesdjan* or astral body, the first ‘higher’ body. Third and fourth are the mental body and the causal body. The acquisition of the last is akin to having a soul as the individual will survive bodily death.

⁷ Rawlinson, *The Book of the Enlightened Masters*, 288.

⁸ Helen Palmer, for example, was taught the Enneagram by Kathleen Riordan Speeth, the Gurdjieffian sometime lover of Claudio Naranjo. Palmer co-founded the Enneagram Professional Training Program (EPTP), and focused her teaching on success in the workplace and family and romantic relationships. Don Richard Riso and Russ Hudson state that the “ultimate purpose of the Enneagram is to help each of us become a fully functioning person. It helps us to see ourselves more clearly so that we can become better balanced and integrated individuals ... we must rise to the tremendous challenge of becoming, and being, fully human. When you transcend yourself, the fact will be confirmed by the quality of your life. You will attain – even if only momentarily – a transparency and a radiance of being, which result from living both within and beyond yourself. This is the promise and the excitement of self-understanding,” Riso and Hudson, *Personality Types*, 54-55.

The development of a *kesdjan* body is achieved through self-remembering, a process facilitated by the teaching methods employed by Gurdjieff: his writings (the trilogy *All and Everything*), the sacred dances or 'Movements', the music he composed with Thomas de Hartmann (1885-1956), physical labour, fasting, and 'inner work' (esoteric exercises given to individuals and groups of pupils). Due to the emphasis on disciplined self-improvement, Gurdjieff's way is termed 'the Work'. In Gurdjieff's system, humans are machines who pass through life asleep. There are four states of consciousness; sleep, waking consciousness, self-remembering, and objective consciousness, which accompanies the attainment of a *kesdjan* or 'higher-being' body. In *Beelzebub's Tales to His Grandson* (1950) Gurdjieff traced a genealogy of his teachings to Atlantis, via ancient Babylon (identifying it as a manifestation of the *philosophia perennis* and of the *prisca theologia*, a doctrine that was pure in antiquity, but has been corrupted over time). Importantly, these teaching techniques and spiritual exercises were not to be revealed to those outside the Work.

Careful perusal of the pupil memoirs and transcriptions of Gurdjieff's lectures indicates what these spiritual exercises involved. Frank Sinclair, for example, records that Louise March and his fiancée Beatrice were charged by Gurdjieff at the Wellington Hotel on Christmas Day 1948 to go out and "draw in," "steal," or "suck in" the energies exuded "by millions" of Christians in prayer. Louise March described this as, "I wish give *real* Christmas present. Imagine Christ. Somewhere in space *is*." Mr. Gurdjieff forms an oval with both his hands. "Make contact, but to outside, periphery. Draw from there, draw in, *I*. Settle in you, *Am*. Do every day. Wish to become Christ. Become. Be".⁹ Gurdjieff spoke of himself to pupils as Christ and God, though rarely, and the development of the *kesdjan* body suggests the dissolution of the boundary between the human I AM, and the I AM of God. Joseph Azize has recently connected this spiritual process, which John Godolphin Bennett (1897-1974) taught as the "Conscious Stealing" exercise, with an exercise Gurdjieff taught to George Adie called "the Four Ideals," in which pupils "attempt to make contact with four 'ideals' (Christ, Buddha, Muhammad, and Lama), and introduce into their (that is, the students') own bodies certain 'higher substances' which are produced when worshippers pray or address themselves to those 'ideals'."¹⁰

This article concerns Gurdjieff as a teacher of esotericism, the Work as an esoteric tradition, and the Enneagram as an esoteric symbol. Antoine Faivre's six-point typology of Western Esotericism [has](#) been criticized but remains useful in identifying esoteric aspects of the Work (whether they are Western or not is outside the remit of this study). Faivre sought to resolve problems in the study of esotericism, which "conjures up chiefly the idea of something 'secret'... of restricted realms of knowledge." Esoteric religion may refer to achieving a higher knowledge that "is identical to all who achieve it; experience of its attainment is the proof or guarantee of the 'transcendent unity of religions'."¹¹ Faivre's first

⁹ Sinclair, *Without Benefit of Clergy*, 230-231.

¹⁰ Azize, "The Four Ideals", 173-203.

¹¹ Faivre, *Access to Western Esotericism*, 5.

point is that, “[s]ymbolic and real correspondences ... are said to exist among all parts of the universe, both seen and unseen. (‘As above so below’). We find here again the ancient idea of microcosm and macrocosm or, if preferred, the principle of universal interdependence.” Correspondences mean the “universe is a huge theater of mirrors, an ensemble of hieroglyphs to be decoded.”¹²

Pyotr Demianovich Ouspensky (1878-1947) wrote that Gurdjieff’s Enneagram embodied the Laws of Seven and of Three, which undergird the cosmos. In terms of the universe as macrocosm and the human as microcosm, Gurdjieff also indicated that the Enneagram relates to spiritual development in humans, when he stated that “simple symbols” including triangles, squares, five-pointed and six-pointed stars “possess a definite meaning in relation to the inner development of man; they show different stages on the path of man’s self-perfection and of the growth of his being.”¹³ The second characteristic in Faivre’s typology is living Nature: “Nature, seen, known, and experienced as essentially alive in all its parts, often inhabited and traversed by a light or a hidden fire circulating through it.”¹⁴ Gurdjieff taught that the universe is energy in a state of constant change and transformation (the moon strives to become an earth, the earth struggles to become a sun, and so on). Faivre’s third characteristic is “a form of imagination inclined to reveal and use mediations of all kinds, such as rituals, symbolic images, mandalas, intermediary spirits.”¹⁵ In 1922 Gurdjieff choreographed and taught the first Enneagram Movements at the Prieuré in Fontainebleau-Avon, near Paris.¹⁶ The Enneagram symbol was thus enacted by his followers, precisely as Faivre posits, as a mediation (many mediations were employed in the Work).

The fourth element for Faivre is “the experience of transmutation... the passage from one plane to another... the modification of the subject in its very nature.”¹⁷ The development of the *kesdjan* body illustrates this principle, as the development of a higher body changes the destiny of the individual. Soulless, mechanical humans die and become food for the moon, but those who have a *kesdjan* body continue after physical death.¹⁸ Fifth is the praxis of concordance, which Faivre calls “a consistent tendency to try to establish common denominators between two different traditions or even more, among all traditions, in the hope of obtaining illumination, a *gnosis*, of superior quality.”¹⁹ *Meetings With Remarkable Men* (1963), Gurdjieff’s fictionalised autobiography, presents him travelling with the Seekers of Truth to Egypt, the Gobi Desert, and Central Asia, until Gurdjieff alone arrived at the monastery of the Sarmoung Brotherhood, where he learned the sacred dances and reunited with his spiritual adviser, Prince Lubovedsky.²⁰ Gurdjieff called his teaching “esoteric Christianity,” though Bennett believed its source was Sufism, while noting that Gurdjieff “came

¹² Faivre, *Access to Western Esotericism*, 10.

¹³ Ouspensky, *In Search of the Miraculous*, 281.

¹⁴ Faivre, *Access to Western Esotericism*, 11.

¹⁵ Faivre, *Access to Western Esotericism*, 12.

¹⁶ Moore, ‘The Enneagram: A Developmental Study’, 2.

¹⁷ Faivre, *Access to Western Esotericism*, 13.

¹⁸ Ouspensky, *In Search of the Miraculous*, 189, 193, 256.

¹⁹ Faivre, *Access to Western Esotericism*, 14.

²⁰ Cusack, ‘An Enlightened Life in Text and Image’, 78-83.

very near to claiming he was an *avatar*, a cosmic individual incarnated to help mankind” (a Hindu or Buddhist concept).²¹

Thus, the Work combines sources from many religions, but is a stand-alone system that supersedes source traditions. The sixth of Faivre’s elements is an “[e]mphasis on transmission [which] implies that an esoteric teaching can or must be transmitted from master to disciple following a preestablished channel, respecting a previously marked path.”²² In *The Herald of Coming Good* (1933), Gurdjieff described the Institute for the Harmonious Development of Man as organised on three levels, esoteric, mesoteric, and exoteric. Pupils prepared to enter the esoteric group, where they would be “initiated” theoretically and practically by Gurdjieff.²³ Gurdjieff also spoke of “initiating” pupils into exercises and transmitting information that was “considered “secret,” and “for the ‘average man’ might prove ruinous.”²⁴ In a 1922 talk in London he stated,

[t]he theory of esotericism is that mankind consists of two circles: a large outer circle, embracing all human beings, and a small circle of instructed and understanding people at the center. Real instruction, which alone can change us, can only come from this center, and the aim of this teaching is to help us to prepare ourselves to receive such instruction.²⁵

This is important for the later development of the Work, which is divided between the ‘orthodox’ Gurdjieff Foundation, and heterodox groups with lineages from non-Foundation teachers.²⁶

For my argument, what is important is that the Gurdjieff Work in general, and the Enneagram as model of reality in particular, may be regarded as techniques to achieve spiritual healing, advancement or optimization. Jeff Levin defines esoteric healing as “those systems of belief, practices, and teachings on health, healing, and medicine that are associated with ancient, hidden, initiatory and/or extant but nonmainstream spiritual paths and metaphysical traditions that preserve secret wisdom on transcendental themes.”²⁷ His pioneering article lists eight groupings (ancient Mystery Schools, Kabbalah, Gnosticism, ‘Brotherhoods’ or graded initiatory orders, Eastern mystical traditions, Western mystical traditions, Shamanism, and the New Age), that are congruent with the sources of the New Age as identified by Wouter J. Hanegraaff. Hanegraaff positioned the New Age as a secularized version of Western Esotericism.²⁸ Gurdjieff’s esoteric

²¹ Bennett, *Gurdjieff*, 82.

²² Faivre, *Access to Western Esotericism*, 15.

²³ Gurdjieff, *The Herald of Coming Good*, 38-39; Gurdjieff, *Life is Real Only Then*, 77-78.

²⁴ Gurdjieff, *Life is Real Only Then*, 132.

²⁵ Gurdjieff, *Views from the Real World*, 78. See also Ouspensky, *In Search of the Miraculous*, 202, 204.

²⁶ Thus groups linked to the Gurdjieff Foundation/ Institut Gurdjieff are considered orthodox, and those linked to non-Foundation teachers like John Godolphin Bennett, Francis Roles, Annie-Lou Staveley, and Maurice Nicoll are considered heterodox. See Petsche, ‘A Gurdjieff Genealogy’, 49-79.

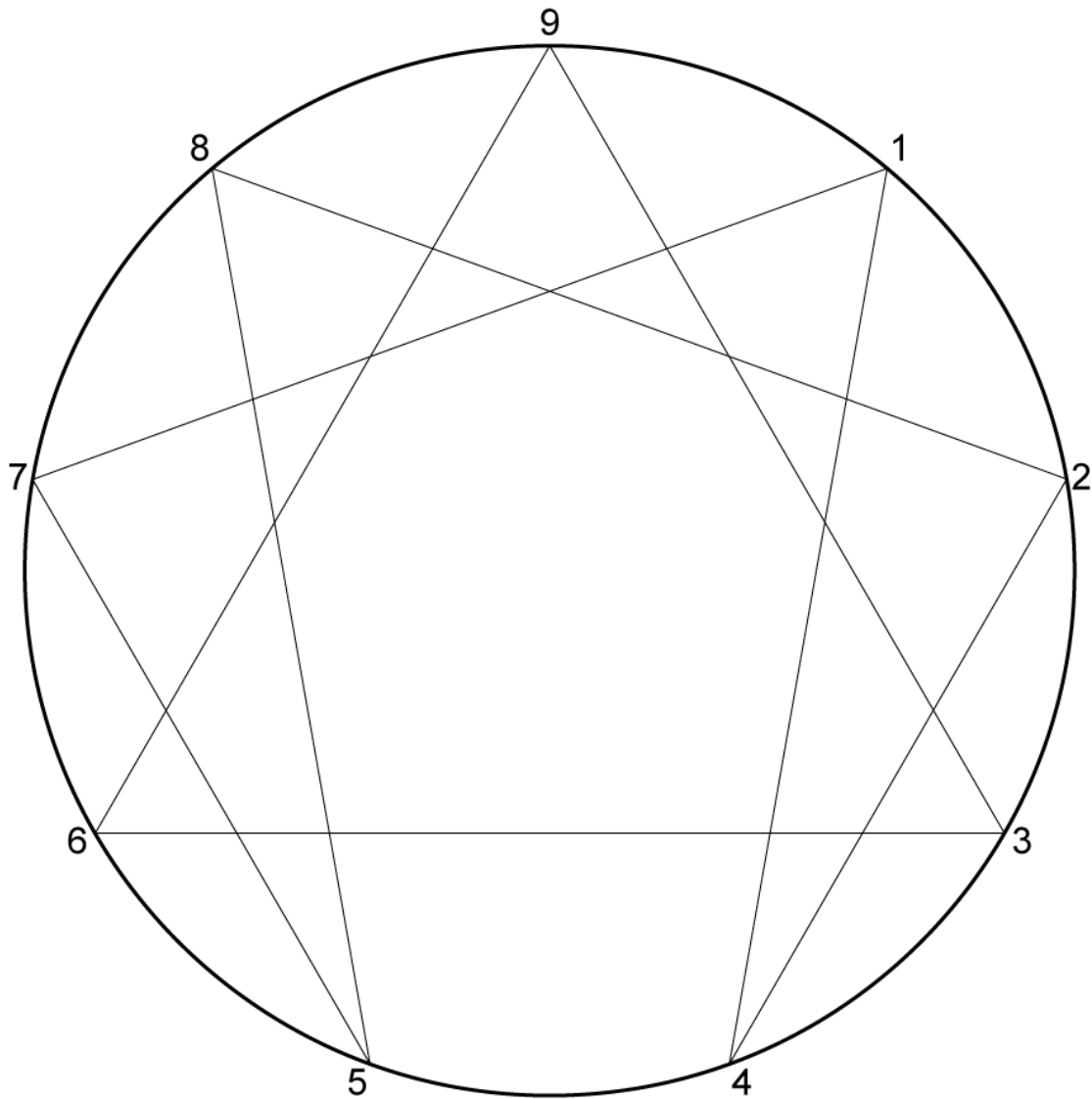
²⁷ Levin, ‘Esoteric Healing Traditions’, 101.

²⁸ Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion and Western Culture*.

Enneagram similarly was secularized and acquired a therapeutic quality, when transformed by non-Gurdjieffian teachers during the countercultural 1960s.

Gurdjieff was concerned to engage pupils in a process of spiritual transformation that resembles *theosis*, becoming like God, in the Orthodox Christian tradition, and mystical union with the divine as found in Sufism.²⁹ In the post-Christian West, the process of self-transformation is a core activity for many individuals, whether in the context of institutional religion, de-institutionalised religion, free-floating 'spirituality', or the secular realm (psychology or corporate motivational techniques).³⁰ The motif of optimization is relevant in that Gurdjieff taught that humans were soulless meat, and working through his exercises offered the possibility to develop a *kesdjan* body that would survive death. The attainment of immortality after the body perishes is a state of spiritual optimization.

Gurdjieff and Gurdjieffians on the Enneagram



²⁹ Happold, *Mysticism*, 127 and 220 for *theosis*, and 11, 96 and 250 for Sufism.

³⁰ Aupers and Houtman, 'The Sacralization of the Self'.

A comprehensive discussion of the Gurdjieff Enneagram is found in Ouspensky's *In Search of the Miraculous* (1949). The Enneagram is a circle containing a six-sided shape and an equilateral triangle. The circumference of the circle is divided into nine equal parts, and the resultant nine points are numbered from 1 to 9 clockwise, with the 9 in the '12 o'clock' position. The numbers exemplify the Law of Seven (which for Gurdjieff is the musical octave, containing seven fundamental notes and two 'semitone' intervals, equalling nine points).³¹ The points representing the seven fundamental notes are labelled *do*, *re*, *mi* and so on.³² As the Law of Seven determines that all processes in the universe follow a pattern of seven unequal steps, Gurdjieff illustrated this by the "seven-tone scale." The scale consisted of two sets of larger intervals - *do re mi* and *fa sol la ti* - and two smaller intervals, between *mi* and *fa*, and *ti* and the *do* of the next octave.³³ He taught that in all processes resistance is met at the smaller intervals, and additional energy or a 'shock' is required for them to continue. Johanna Petsche notes that the nine digits of the Enneagram do not replicate Gurdjieff's seven fundamental steps and two semitone or 'shock' intervals precisely, as the points are equidistant on the circumference, while intervals between tones and semitones vary.³⁴

Yet, when Ouspensky described the Law of Seven he customarily presented it as ninefold, in that it has seven fundamental notes and two semitone intervals (identified as two extra notes).³⁵ The first shock interval is placed at point 3 of the Enneagram, between *mi* and *fa* (which reflects Gurdjieff's Law of Seven), but the second shock interval is placed at point 6, between *sol* and *la*, rather than at point 8, between *ti* and *do*. Ouspensky noted this is "in the wrong place."³⁶ The six-pointed symmetrical shape within the Enneagram is made by joining by straight lines the six numbers around the circumference that comprise the sequence of numbers that occur and repeat when 1 is divided by 7 (0.142857 repeated). The remaining points of the Enneagram - 9, 3, and 6 - form an equilateral triangle symbolising the Law of Three, with points 3 and 6 correspond to the two shock intervals of the octave.³⁷

Gurdjieff, as recorded by Ouspensky, claimed that the Enneagram was a symbol of universal significance and great power:

the enneagram is a *universal symbol*. All knowledge can be included in the enneagram and with the help of the enneagram it can be interpreted. And

³¹ What is presented here is Gurdjieff's teaching on the octave. Strictly speaking, it is not accurate to state that the two semitone intervals are additional to the seven notes (as they are comprised within them). I thank George D. Chryssides for this, and also for the comment that Gurdjieff's use of tonic solfa reveals his ignorance of music notation (solfa being designed for church singers who could not read music).

³² Ouspensky, *In Search of the Miraculous*, 289.

³³ Ouspensky, *In Search of the Miraculous*, 124-126; Gurdjieff, *Views From the Real World*, 187-189.

³⁴ Petsche, 'Sacred Dance of the Enneagram', 59.

³⁵ Ouspensky, *In Search of the Miraculous*, 134-135, 283

³⁶ Ouspensky, *In Search of the Miraculous*, 290-291.

³⁷ Ouspensky, *In Search of the Miraculous*, 290-291.

in this connection only what a man is able to put into the enneagram does he actually *know*, that is, understand. What he cannot put into the enneagram he does not understand. For the man who is able to make use of it, the enneagram makes books and libraries entirely unnecessary. *Everything* can be included and read in the enneagram. A man may be quite alone in the desert and he can trace the enneagram in the sand and in it read the eternal laws of the universe. And every time he can learn something new, something he did not know before. If two men who have been in different schools meet, they will draw the enneagram and with its help they will be able at once to establish which of them knows more and which, consequently, stands upon which step, that is to say, which is the elder, which is the teacher and which the pupil. The enneagram is the fundamental hieroglyph of a universal language which has as many different meanings as there are levels of men.³⁸

This extract shows that the criticism that ‘orthodox’ Gurdjieff groups express, towards both ‘unorthodox’ (but Gurdjieff-inspired) applications of the Enneagram, and those uses proposed by teachers who were never in the Work or claim other sources of authority, are justified and yet questionable. The alleged significance of the Enneagram explains why ‘orthodox’ followers of Gurdjieff’s teachings may believe that its misuse is dangerous. Yet the basic objection, that the Enneagram was not used by Gurdjieff as a tool for personality assessment, is only technically accurate. The claim that if “two men ... [from] different schools meet ... draw the enneagram ... they will be able at once to establish which ... which is the teacher and which the pupil” is compatible with the claim that the Enneagram is a tool for analysing the psychological condition (from Greek *psyche*, soul) and the spiritual status of individuals.

Gurdjieff also claimed that the Enneagram is inextricably related to motion and processes of development. He stated that it embodied ‘objective knowledge’, a significant claim in the Work context:

[t]he symbols that were used to transmit ideas belonging to objective knowledge included diagrams of the fundamental laws of the universe and they not only transmitted the knowledge itself but showed also the way to it ... The fundamental laws of triads and octaves penetrate everything and should be studied simultaneously both in the world and in man. But in relation to himself man is a nearer and a more accessible object of study ... in striving towards a knowledge of the universe, man should begin with the study of himself and with the realization of the fundamental laws within him ... The transmission of the meaning of symbols to a man who has not reached an understanding of them in himself is impossible.³⁹

This statement establishes the Enneagram as a ‘genuinely’ esoteric symbol, in that humans who have not undergone the necessary preparation cannot apprehend its significance, and because it is a crucial expression of the “laws of

³⁸ Ouspensky, *In Search of the Miraculous*, 294.

³⁹ Ouspensky, *In Search of the Miraculous*, 280-281.

triads and octaves,” which manifest in the human individual and the physical universe, confirming the microcosm-macrocosm relationship between the two. Further, it connects the diagnostic Enneagram which can identify the level of a person’s spiritual attainment with the developmental Enneagram that plots the course of spiritual progress that a person might go on to make, through work and “conscious suffering”.⁴⁰ The process of spiritual advancement is related to Gurdjieff’s emanative cosmology, with “different manifestations, and concentrations of energy, which flow from the Absolute and which are all interconnected.”⁴¹ Thus, the Enneagram functions as a map of the microcosm-macrocosm relationship between humans and the physical universe.

As noted above, the Enneagram is based on the decimal fraction 0.142857, which is obtained when 1 is divided by 7. Scottish Jungian psychologist and Work teacher Maurice Nicoll (1884-1953) argued that the significance of dividing 1 by 7 is that, in Gurdjieff’s cosmological system, “[e]verything created is trying to reach its Creator ... the whole Ray [of Creation] taken as 7 notes, trying to find solution and peace, passes into Absolute Unity as 7 into 1 ... Since this diagram [the Enneagram] is about Man and his possibilities, it begins with 7 and the properties of this number in relation to Unity.⁴² Mathematically, the decimal fraction 0.142857 has four intriguing qualities. First, when 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 are divided by 7, the same six digits occur in different orders.

1/7 = 0.142857 repeated
2/7 = 0.285714 repeated
3/7 = 0.428571 repeated
4/7 = 0.571428 repeated
5/7 = 0.714285 repeated
6/7 = 0.857142 repeated⁴³

Second, the sum of 1, 4, 2, 8, 5, 7 is 27, and the application of the so-called ‘theosophical addition’ (2+7) results in the number 9, which represents the whole octave.⁴⁴ Third, the sequence does not include 3, 6, or 9, the numbers that form the separate equilateral triangle representing the Law of Three.⁴⁵ Finally, when the numbers 1, 4, 2, 8, 5 and 7 are joined in this order within a circle of nine points, a symmetrical figure is formed (see the Enneagram).⁴⁶

The importance of this numerical sequence for Gurdjieff is demonstrated by the group of Movements called “Multiplications,” which mimic the relationships of the six numbers. In these Movements, six dancers, representing the numbers 1,

⁴⁰ Thomson, *On Gurdjieff*, 47.

⁴¹ Thomson, *On Gurdjieff*, 29.

⁴² Nicoll, *Psychological Commentaries*, 381-382.

⁴³ Ouspensky, *In Search of the Miraculous*, 289.

⁴⁴ Goodman, *Modern Numerology*.

⁴⁵ Ouspensky, *In Search of the Miraculous*, 289-290.

⁴⁶ These patterns are not mathematically significant or difficult. The number 7 is a ‘happy’ number. Further, 7 is the first happy prime. Happy numbers are “the numbers whose 2- recurring digital invariant sequences have period 1.” See Weisstein, ‘Happy Number’.

4, 2, 8, 5, and 7, stand in a row. As they move, they change places in the row in exact accordance with the numerical patterns that result when the numbers 1 to 6 are divided by 7. If one person makes an error, the structure of the Movement dissolves.⁴⁷ Gurdjieff embodied these six decimal numbers as dancers, and reflected through movement the interplay between them⁴⁸ The basic Gurdjieffian conception of the Enneagram is that, if one has knowledge of the Work and administers 'conscious shocks' at the correct times, one can assist the development and transformation of finer energy or matter within the organism.⁴⁹ This is key to Gurdjieff's spiritual objective (which may be termed 'esoteric optimisation'): the achievement of a *kesdjan* body and attainment of the state of objective consciousness.⁵⁰

Ouspensky states that when this system of digestion is applied to the Enneagram, point 3 of the Enneagram stands for the interval between *mi* and *fa* of the 'food' octave, where an automatic shock occurs when the 'air' octave enters at *do*.⁵¹ Point 6 then stands for the interval between *mi* and *fa* of the 'air' octave, where a 'conscious shock' (self-remembering) allows the 'air' and 'impressions' octaves, which have been halted, to continue.⁵² In other words, where point 9 on the Enneagram represents the *do* that begins the 'food' octave, point 3 is the *do* that starts the 'air' octave, and point 6 is the *do* that starts the 'impressions' octave. These all function as shocks that allow the octaves to continue transforming. This provides an insight into the meaning of the triangle in the Enneagram, as each of its points can represent, according to Ouspensky's scheme, both a 'shock' and a *do*, or new octave. Ouspensky designates the shock intervals of the Law of Seven "the bearers of new directions,"⁵³ and it can be posited that the three points of the triangle represent the possibility of new 'offshoot' Enneagrams, which may clarify a gnomic pronouncement by Gurdjieff, "[t]herefore *do* can emerge from its circle and enter into orderly correlation with another circle, that is, play that role in another cycle which, in the cycle under consideration, is played by the 'shocks' filling the 'intervals' in the octave."⁵⁴

Ouspensky hypothesised that the Enneagram may be astronomical in nature, and suggested it may refer to the flow of blood in the human body. He identified the seven points (excluding 3 and 6) with the Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn (and the days of the week, beginning with Sunday).⁵⁵ These speculations did not go far, but are congruent with Gurdjieff's teaching, as they are respectively cosmological and human-centred, reinforcing the macrocosm-microcosm relations inherent in the Enneagram. Although Ouspensky never practiced or taught Movements (his version of the Work was cerebral not

⁴⁷ Petsche, *Gurdjieff and Music*, 199.

⁴⁸ See Anon, 'Gurdjieff Sacred Dance - Ol Bog Mek Multiplication'.

⁴⁹ Gurdjieff, *All and Everything First Series*, 144-147, 763; Ouspensky, *In Search of the Miraculous*, 188-189.

⁵⁰ Ouspensky, *In Search of the Miraculous*, 141-145.

⁵¹ Ouspensky, *In Search of the Miraculous*, 192.

⁵² Ouspensky, *In Search of the Miraculous*, 378-379.

⁵³ Ouspensky, *In Search of the Miraculous*, 134, 285.

⁵⁴ Ouspensky, *In Search of the Miraculous*, 290.

⁵⁵ Ouspensky, *In Search of the Miraculous*, 378.

embodied), he recorded Gurdjieff's insistence that "a motionless Enneagram is a dead symbol; the living symbol is in motion ... Without taking part in these exercises [Enneagram Movements], without occupying some kind of place in them, [it] is almost impossible to understand the Enneagram."⁵⁶

Oscar Ichazo: The Post_Gurdjieff Enneagram of Personality

Whether the Enneagram originated with Gurdjieff is important for the transmission and legitimacy of the post-Gurdjieffian Enneagram. James Webb, a non-Gurdjieffian, in *The Harmonious Circle* (1980) claimed the genealogy of the Enneagram lay in the Kabbalistic *Sephiroth*, via the *Ars Magna* ("The Great Art," c. 1305-1308) of Ramon Lull (c. 1232-1315), and the *Arithmologia* (1665) of Athanasius Kircher (1601-1680).⁵⁷ Gurdjieff biographer James Moore rejected this, asserting the Enneagram "was intrinsic and peculiar to Gurdjieff's system, and unpromulgated before him."⁵⁸ Sophia Wellbeloved noted that the turning nature of Gurdjieff's "Enneagram" Movements may indicate Dervish (Sufi) origins for the symbol,⁵⁹ but Mark Sedgwick rejects the Sufi identification.⁶⁰ Bolivian Oscar Ichazo (b. 1931), founder of the Arica School, also rejected the alleged Sufi origins of the Enneagram: "I know Sufism extensively - I've practiced traditional *zhikr*, prayer, meditation - and I know realized Sufi sheiks. It is not part of their theoretical framework. They couldn't care less about the Enneagram [Enneagram]."⁶¹ Yet Helen Palmer and Don Richard Riso (1946-2012), among other popularisers of the Enneagram, continue to tout its 'Sufi' origins.

The Enneagram of personality began in the Work; both Bennett, and Rodney Collin (b. Collin-Smith, 1909-1956), a student of Ouspensky, expanded upon Gurdjieff's Enneagram in different ways. Bennett, at Coombe Springs, attempted to materialise the Enneagram in the *Djameechoonatra*, a nine-sided theatre for the performance of Movements (no longer extant).⁶² He also discussed the Enneagram in his *magnum opus*, *The Dramatic Universe* (1956). Collin speculated on the Enneagram in *The Theory of Eternal Life* (1950), in which human life is divided into nine periods, which Collin claimed were related on a logarithmic scale. Each period is employed to develop a higher function, which led Webb to argue that, "[t]he [E]nneagram is clearly in the back of his mind."⁶³ Collin's *The Theory of Celestial Influence* (1954) related Ouspensky's planetary Enneagram to Gurdjieff's sparse references to "types." Collin suggested that individuals could develop from the type of their birth to the next type on the Enneagram. Thus, a Lunar type could develop the warmth of a Venusian type, the Venusian could develop the speed of a Mercurial type, and so on.⁶⁴ Wellbeloved has observed

⁵⁶ Ouspensky, *In Search of the Miraculous*, 294-295.

⁵⁷ Webb, *The Harmonious Circle*, 505-519.

⁵⁸ Moore, 'The Enneagram: A Developmental Study', 2.

⁵⁹ Wellbeloved, *Gurdjieff*, 66.

⁶⁰ Sedgwick, *Western Sufism*, 424.

⁶¹ Patterson, *Taking With the Left Hand*, 24.

⁶² Blake, 'Gurdjieff and the Legomorphism of "Objective Reason"', 259.

⁶³ Webb, *The Harmonious Circle*, 479.

⁶⁴ Collin, *The Theory of Celestial Influence*.

that this notion of personal development via the points of the Enneagram is central to the functioning of the “enneagram of personality.”⁶⁵ Another important contribution of Collin was that he emigrated to Mexico and died in Peru, and his works appeared in Spanish in the 1950s (thus Gurdjieff’s ideas were circulated in Latin America at an early date).

In fact, Gurdjieff *had* outlined a theory of human “types” and associated the Enneagram with astrology, however sketchily. In *The Herald of Coming Good* he claimed that there were “28 ‘categories-of-types’ existing on Earth, as they were established in ancient times.”⁶⁶ Further, he told Fritz Peters that centuries ago astrology was a “really genuine science,”⁶⁷ and in 1920 in Constantinople a drawing of the Enneagram was undertaken by Gurdjieff’s pupils, in which the four evangelists’ symbols – the man, the lion, the bull, and the eagle – were included in the design and connected to the centres. Wellbeloved noted these are also the four fixed signs of the zodiac (Aquarius, Leo, Taurus, and Scorpio).⁶⁸ She suggested that “if the [E]nneagram is read as a symbol of the zodiac, then an astrological use of it for a typology of people is immediately obvious and understandable.”⁶⁹

After these initial unorthodox Gurdjieffian speculations the Enneagram broke free and was adopted by a range of thinkers, particularly from corporate culture and business systems. In 1963 Clarence E. King identified the Enneagram at work in Vauxhall Motors, and in 1966 Kenneth Pledge connected it with Isaac Newton’s prism deviation experiment, and corresponding spectrometer experiment. In 1978 Irmis Popoff related the Enneagram to consumer product testing, and in 1987 Saul Kuchinsky applied it across the managerial spectrum.⁷⁰ Business applications of the Enneagram focused on personality dynamics in corporate teams; this focus on personality also characterised the work of the most significant non-Work exponent of the Enneagram, Oscar Ichazo.

Ichazo’s early life is as unverified as Gurdjieff’s; as a child he allegedly experienced revelations and out-of-body states. Ichazo claimed as a youth to have studied philosophy, Zen meditation, yoga, and shamanism, and to have experimented with hallucinogens. In 1950 he joined a group in Buenos Aires (possibly a Work group), and studied Theosophy, Sufism, and Kabbalah. The chronology of his life is difficult to reconstruct, but he states that he travelled to Hong Kong, India, and Tibet to study yoga, Tibetan Buddhism, Confucianism, Sufism, and alchemy. He may have joined a Sufi school in Afghanistan, before returning to La Paz, Bolivia.⁷¹ Ichazo began teaching in 1956 and gave his first public lecture to the Institute of Applied Psychology in Santiago, Chile in 1968.

⁶⁵ Wellbeloved, *Gurdjieff*, 64-65.

⁶⁶ Gurdjieff, *The Herald of Coming Good*, 23.

⁶⁷ Peters, *Boyhood with Gurdjieff and Gurdjieff Remembered*, 321.

⁶⁸ Prior to becoming a pupil of Gurdjieff P. D. Ouspensky published *The Symbolism of the Tarot* (1913). However, he did not explicitly link the Enneagram to either the Tarot or Astrology.

⁶⁹ Wellbeloved, *Gurdjieff*, 64.

⁷⁰ Moore, ‘The Enneagram: A Developmental Study’, 4.

⁷¹ Lilly and Hart, ‘The Arica Training’, 331.

He moved to Arica, Chile, and founded the Arica Institute the same year. His most notable pupils were the Chilean Claudio Naranjo (b. 1932), and the American neuroscientist and dolphin researcher John C. Lilly (1915-2001). According to Lilly and Joseph E. Hart, Naranjo left Ichazo's group when a more intensive phase began and he was "separated from further training."⁷² William Patrick Patterson claims that during work with Ichazo Naranjo went into a *satori* state and was angered when Ichazo brought him out of it; the resultant tension led to Naranjo being expelled seven months later.⁷³

In 1971 Ichazo moved the Arica Institute to New York, and centres were opened in San Francisco and Santa Monica. Basic Arica training was followed by two advanced courses, "The Temple" and "Open Path" (specifically to train Arica teachers). Arica developed a communal lifestyle that tended to promote sexual freedom and the avoidance of exclusive unions, with childcare viewed as a collective responsibility. Alcohol, pork, crab, and addictive drugs were banned, and when new exercises were introduced members of the group refrained from sex to raise the energy levels for these spiritual exertions.⁷⁴ The Arica School still exists, though its membership is small, and fewer training courses are offered.⁷⁵

Ichazo's system exhibited Gurdjieffian influences, which he explained in a rare public statement about the group he joined at nineteen. He claimed this group exposed him to Zen, Sufi and Kabbalistic ideas, and used techniques that he later found in the Work.⁷⁶ Resemblances included a model of the human being that involved three centres (intellectual, emotional, and movement/instinct), exercises aimed at inducing a state of mindfulness that extinguished mental "chatter,"⁷⁷ and the concept of "triadic reasoning," which involved overcoming duality by means of a third element.⁷⁸ Ichazo stated he was a master in an initiated line of succession, that he was in contact with previous masters of the tradition, and that members of the group could contact angels, archangels and other higher entities through meditation. These entities bestowed *baraka* ("blessing", divine energy) upon the group. It has been noted by researchers as diverse as Moore and Andrew Dell'Olio that Ichazo has denied that he owed anything to Gurdjieff, of whom he said, "there is not one single original 'idea' of any importance in the entire work of Mr Gurdjieff ... I read *All and Everything* and I found that Mr Gurdjieff was, in fact, not only mediocre but a very bad writer with no idea of composition or how to develop and present his themes."⁷⁹ However, Claudio Naranjo, speaking at Esalen in 1970, said Ichazo had "intimated that he had the same teachers as Gurdjieff and belonged to the same esoteric school, the Sarmoung Brotherhood, and the idea that Ichazo was a

⁷² Lilly and Hart, 'The Arica Training', 331-332.

⁷³ Patterson, *Taking with the Left Hand*, 28.

⁷⁴ Lilly and Hart, 'The Arica Training', 349-350.

⁷⁵ Dell'Olio, 'The Arica School', 154.

⁷⁶ Palmer, *The Enneagram*, 47.

⁷⁷ Lilly and Hart, 'The Arica Training', 332-333, 339, 342-345, 350.

⁷⁸ Dell'Olio, 'The Arica School', 160-162.

⁷⁹ Patterson, *Taking with the Left Hand*, 42.

'continuation' of Gurdjieff was a chief factor in the attraction of many of those who came to Arica."⁸⁰

This raises the issue of Ichazo's transformation of the Enneagram. Riso gives Ichazo's sources for the Enneagram as Plotinus' *Enneads*, Pythagoras, and the Kabbalistic *Sephirot*.⁸¹ Ichazo's Enneagram (sometimes called the "Enneagon") looks similar to that of Gurdjieff, but he taught that it was a model of human personality and its potential for development and growth. Ichazo argued that there were nine "ego fixations" (Indolence, Resentment, Flattery, Vanity, Melancholy, Stinginess, Cowardice, Planning, and Vengeance) assigned to the nine points around the circle of the Enneagram, with Indolence in the 9 (or 12 o'clock) position.⁸² Due to ego, individuals are incapable of determining their own ego fixation, and the ego leads them into ego-fixation traps, or habitual ways of acting. Individuals remain in their fixation traps until they realise they must escape. These traps, which can also be seen as points on the Enneagram, are: Seeker (9); Perfection (1); Freedom (2); Efficiency (3); Authenticity (4); Observer (5); Security (6); Idealism (7); and Justice (8). When people realise they must escape their ego-fixation trap, they are prepared for the "idea" that will free them from the trap and pull them into "essence," though experiencing the idea is dependent on *baraka*, which a person can draw into his or her self through meditation and other exercises. There are nine ideas, which are all given the descriptor "Holy": Love (9), Perfection (1), Freedom (2), Hope (3), Originality (4), Omniscience (5), Faith (6), Work (7), and Truth (8).⁸³

Breaking the hold of the ego on the emotional centre (the 'Oth-heart') yields awareness of one's predominant passion, and how to counteract it with the appropriate virtue. There are nine passions and virtues. The passions are: Laziness (9), Anger (1), Pride (2), Deceit (3), Envy (4), Avarice (5), Fear (6), Gluttony (7), Excess (8). The virtues are: Action (9), Serenity (1), Humility (2), Truthfulness (3), Equanimity (4), Detachment (5), Courage (6), Sobriety (7), Innocence (8).⁸⁴ The hold of the ego over the movement centre (the 'Kath') in Arica is loosened through physical exercises, diet, and so on.⁸⁵ Other Enneagrams relating to social relationships, conservation and syntony are also given. A significant difference in the way that Ichazo and his successors view the Enneagram is that, rather than restricting it to diagnosis and trajectories relating to spiritual attainment, it is a plastic model for problem-solving across human life. Where Gurdjieff insisted on the objective value of the Enneagram and taught it as an esoteric system of spiritual diagnosis, Ichazo secularised the Enneagram and released it from the initiatory model of the Work. In doing so, he opened it up to the subjectivisation apparent in popular treatments like those of Riso and Palmer.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Dell'Olio, 'The Arica School', 160-161.

⁸¹ Riso and Hudson, *Personality Types*, 18.

⁸² Lilly and Hart, 'The Arica Training', 333-334.

⁸³ Lilly and Hart, 'The Arica Training', 334-335.

⁸⁴ The numbers are used for clarity; there is no evidence that Ichazo used numbers in this way.

⁸⁵ Lilly and Hart, 'The Arica Training', 335-337.

⁸⁶ Lilly and Hart, 'The Arica Training', 347-349.

The Enneagram of psychological optimisation came to the fore in the work of Naranjo, rather than Ichazo (although Arica is a 'human potential' movement with both genealogical and sociological connections with the contemporary 'wellness' industry). Naranjo, an anthropologist and psychiatrist, was a research associate at the University of Chile, a Guggenheim Fellow at the University of California, Berkeley and held a Fulbright scholarship at Harvard in the 1960s. He was a friend of Carlos Castaneda, and, after receiving positive assessments of Ichazo's teaching, Naranjo studied with him at the Arica School in 1970 and 1971. Naranjo is credited with grounding the descriptions of the Enneagram types in field research, and correlating them with psychiatric and psychological categories (histrionic, compulsive, avoidant or schizoid, and so on) by interviewing participants at his lectures, and using his skills as a psychiatrist and Gestalt therapist.⁸⁷ Naranjo was an associate of Esalen, a crucible of the Human Potential Movement, and of Berkeley's psychological community, particularly the Center for Biochemical Dynamics where he had researched both typology and the effects of hallucinogens.⁸⁸

Naranjo founded two schools; the first was the Seekers After Truth (SAT) in 1971, which recalls Gurdjieff's 'Seekers of Truth' in *Meetings with Remarkable Men*. Members signed an agreement not to teach what Naranjo transmitted to them (a modern 'take' on the non-disclosure of esoteric doctrines to the uninitiated). The second, more informal group, to which Helen Palmer belonged, did not sign such agreements.⁸⁹ It is with Riso and Palmer that the Enneagram permanently departed the Work lineage of Gurdjieff, and entered the marketplace of the personal growth, wellness, and happiness industries.

The Enneagram of Personality as Esoteric Therapy

Palmer acknowledged Naranjo in her presentation of the Enneagram, noting that he made it into a democratised psychological tool, bringing it out of the domain of "those who know", and permitting ordinary people to identify their types by reading about their "similars."⁹⁰ Palmer was taught by Naranjo and his sometime romantic partner, the Gurdjieffian Kathleen Riordan Speeth, whereas Riso was introduced to the Enneagram by American Jesuits in the early 1970s. Father Robert Ochs studied with Naranjo, and by 1972 the Enneagram was taught informally in Jesuit centres, particularly at [the](#) University of California, Berkeley and Loyola University, Chicago. Ochs adopted Naranjo's connection of the Enneagram to the Christian seven deadly sins (which echoed Gurdjieff's pupil C. S. Nott's connection of the concept of "chief feature" – a key term in Gurdjieff's approach to types – with the seven deadly sins).⁹¹ Initially, Ochs demanded secrecy from those he taught, and Father Pat O'Leary told William Patrick Patterson, "[t]here was a great emphasis on secrecy – and a total violation of same. Bob taught that we were not to pass it on. And here he was passing it on.

⁸⁷ Riso and Hudson, *Personality Types*, 20.

⁸⁸ Patterson, *Taking With the Left Hand*, 26-27.

⁸⁹ Patterson, *Taking With the Left Hand*, 31.

⁹⁰ Palmer, *The Enneagram*, 51-52.

⁹¹ Nott, *Further Teachings of Gurdjieff*, 87.

And, of course, we glibly talked about it to anyone who'd listen."⁹² O'Leary made the Enneagram public, co-authoring the first popular book on the subject, which was followed by books by Riso, Palmer, Naranjo, and others. In 1989 the Arica Institute claimed copyright infringement, and Ichazo sued O'Leary and other Enneagram authors, accusing them of a "brutal and massive misappropriation, and with the worst of manners. They say they have discovered some old Sufi tradition. What the hell do they mean by this, I would like to know. The entire theory originated in me exclusively ... What I want is a full explanation with public acknowledgement."⁹³

Riso and Palmer both simplified the Enneagram and presented an accessible, vernacular version of Ichazo's and Naranjo's teaching. The revised edition of Riso's *Personality Types: Using the Enneagram for Self-Discovery* (1987) claimed that readers can apply the personality descriptions in many different situations: psychologists and psychiatrists will use the Enneagram to diagnose the problems of their clients more accurately; lawyers will be better able to understand their clients; personnel directors and businesspeople will become better managers through greater awareness of their employees' personality types and so on. The book promises that "gradually and in ways we do not expect, we are transformed into persons who are fuller, more life-affirming, and self-transcending."⁹⁴ Because types are fixed, people do not change or develop from one type to another, but "[t]he ideal is to become *your best self*, not to envy the strengths and potentials of others."⁹⁵ Riso used certain terms from the Gurdjieff vocabulary, including "false personality," "essence," the "habitual mechanisms of our personality," and the "habitual nature of many of our thoughts, reactions, and behaviors."⁹⁶

Riso's Enneagram groups people into three triads, feeling, thinking, and instinctive (clearly based on Gurdjieff's "three centres"):

Feeling Triad

2. The Helper: encouraging, demonstrative, possessive
3. The Motivator: ambitious, pragmatic, image-conscious
4. The Individualist: sensitive, self-absorbed, depressive

Thinking Triad

5. The Investigator: perceptive, cerebral, provocative
6. The Loyalist: committed, dutiful, suspicious
7. The Enthusiast: spontaneous, fun-loving, excessive

Instinctive Triad

8. The Leader: self-confident, assertive, confrontational
9. The Peacemaker: pleasant, easy-going, complacent

⁹² Patterson, *Taking With the Left Hand*, 33.

⁹³ Patterson, *Taking With the Left Hand*, 34.

⁹⁴ Riso and Hudson, *Personality Types*, 10.

⁹⁵ Riso and Hudson, *Personality Types*, 33.

⁹⁶ Riso and Hudson, *Personality Types*, 46-47.

1. The Reformer: rational, idealistic, orderly.⁹⁷

For Riso, people are a combination of their type, and one of the two types adjacent to it on the Enneagram's circumference ("wings") that may complement or negatively impact the overall personality. Some people exhibit strong "wing" influences, others slight. As people fluctuate among the healthy, average, and unhealthy traits of their type, Riso's Enneagram functions to assist them to develop into the "best self" possible, given their basic and wing types. The lines joining the types in the Enneagram denote the Direction of Integration (healthy, self-actualization) and the Direction of Disintegration (unhealthy, neurosis) for each type. As a person becomes healthier or unhealthier, she or he moves in different directions: movement in the sequence 1-4-2-8-5-7-1 is the movement of Disintegration and 1-7-5-8-2-4-1, Integration.⁹⁸

Palmer's Enneagram is similar to Riso's, and her *The Enneagram: Understanding Yourself and the Others in Your Life* (1991), first published in 1988, consists of extended descriptions of the nine types. The early chapters cast the Enneagram in broadly Gurdjieffian terms (she discusses his 'Toasts to the Idiots' dinner-table ritual and notes Gurdjieff's suspicion of personality and preference for essence) and she cites Gurdjieff, Ouspensky, Nott, and Kenneth Walker. Yet her aim, in presenting the Enneagram as a technique for achieving psychological health, is far from Gurdjieff's. She posits the Enneagram offers people the opportunity to:

build a working relationship with yourself. You can count on the experience of your similars to guide you, and you can discover the conditions that will make you thrive rather than continue to play out neurotic trends. The most important reason ... [is] so you can lessen your own human suffering. The second reason ... is so you can understand other people as they are to themselves ... This understanding of others can help work teams be efficient, infuse romance with magic, and help families to reunite.⁹⁹

Palmer and Riso offer a post-1960s vision of a 'healthy' life based on personal fulfilment, in sexual, familial, social and career terms. This is perhaps the best indicator of the distance between the Enneagram in Gurdjieff's teachings and the Enneagram of psychology and management; whereas Gurdjieff disdained happiness, personal fulfilment, and material comfort as unworthy spiritual goals, and taught an uncompromising doctrine of the end of the human in death if work and "conscious suffering" were not pursued to develop a *kesdjan* body, the contemporary spiritual climate of the West has shifted radically to seeking the perfected self in this life; hence Riso's notion of the "best self" being the highest goal seemingly offered, and Palmer's breathless promise of improved romantic relationships, familial affection, and workplace productivity (somewhat debased 'spiritual' goals, if not more properly classified as material ambitions).¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Riso and Hudson, *Personality Types*, 7-34.

⁹⁸ Riso and Hudson, *Personality Types*, 47-48.

⁹⁹ Palmer, *The Enneagram*, 9.

¹⁰⁰ Patterson noticed that in *The Enneagram* Palmer thanked the late Henry John Sinclair, Lord Pentland (1907-1984), the senior Work teacher in America. Patterson met

Conclusion

It is argued that the Enneagram was introduced and articulated by Gurdjieff as an esoteric model or technique of optimisation. It is integral to the Work, the purpose of which was the development of a *kesdjan* ('higher being') body, which would survive physical death. To enable this, Gurdjieff taught a system that emphasized 'self-remembering' and the cultivation of essence through the extinction of personality, through his writings, the Movements (in particular the 'Enneagram' and 'Multiplications' Movements), the Gurdjieff-de Hartmann music, physical labour, and esoteric exercises ('inner work').¹⁰¹ Bennett, an 'unorthodox' pupil of Gurdjieff, stated that "after a teacher's death, pupils inevitably break into separate factions, of which there are three kinds: the literalists, who keep everything as it was and change nothing; the deviants, who go off on their own path; and the developers, who are prepared to see orthodox forms changed and distorted so that something new might grow."¹⁰² After Gurdjieff's death the Work divided into the orthodox 'Foundation' groups, organised by Jeanne de Salzmann (1889-1990) in the early 1950s. These 'literalist' groups preserved the esoteric transmission of Gurdjieff's teaching, the Enneagram and the Movements.

Among the 'developers' are Bennett, Nicoll, and Collin, who all expanded on the Enneagram. In the case of the Enneagram, those whom Bennett termed the 'deviants' are Ichazo and Naranjo, who probably learned about Gurdjieff through Collin's publications that were translated into Spanish, and the multitude of North Americans (O'Leary, Riso, Palmer, and others) who followed Ichazo's and Naranjo's lead in psychologizing, secularizing, and popularizing the Enneagram, which in the twenty-first century might still be categorized as a technique or model of wellbeing or psychological health, but one rooted in and connected to corporate workplaces rather than the Gurdjieff tradition.¹⁰³ The Enneagram was once unique to the Work; it is now public, and, in the manner of exotericised esoteric teachings, is properly classified as part of the wellness and happiness industry, a quasi-spiritual strand of the New Age.

Palmer to discuss this. He wrote of the encounter: "I asked her whether she indeed knew 'Sir Pentland' well ... she quickly recounted how he had called her in the early 1970s, saying he had read her psychic predictions in *Ramparts* magazine and wanted to meet her. They had lunch shortly afterward during which Palmer said she told him of taking a class in the enneagram of personality fixations taught by ... Naranjo ... Pentland, she recounted, told her that little of real value could come from studying the symbol divorced as it was from the Fourth Way teaching of which it was one of the principal symbols. Rather than continue her studies, he advised her to enter the teaching. Palmer said she refused. 'Do you think,' I asked, 'that he would have approved your publishing a book on the enneagram?' 'No,' she admitted, not missing a beat, 'he probably wouldn't have.' My question was answered ...". Patterson, *Taking With the Left Hand*, 11.

¹⁰¹ Blake, *The Intelligent Enneagram*, 1-20.

¹⁰² Petsche, 'A Gurdjieff Genealogy', 52.

¹⁰³ See Wagner and Walker, 'Reliability and Validity Study of a Sufi Personality Typology'; and Sutton, Allinson, and Williams, 'Personality Type and World-Related Outcomes'.

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