C. G. JUNG AND TINA KELLER: A STUDY OF ACTIVE IMAGINATION

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by

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Abstract

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This dissertation in the history of psychology investigates C. G. Jung's psychotherapeutic technique of active imagination, an altered state of consciousness in which images from the unconscious are brought to the surface and expressed artistically as a way to work through and give form to psychic energy released during the process of individuation. As a case study, the research highlights the life work of Tina Keller, a physician who was intimately involved with the technique while in analysis with Jung and his primary associate, Toni Wolff, from 1915-1928. Active imagination is investigated through an examination of primary documents, both published and unpublished, in English and German.

Chapter 1 argues that the proposed dissertation research constitutes an original and valuable contribution to the literature on the history of psychology because it summarizes Jung's own writings on the subject and provides heretofore unpublished data on Tina Keller's experiences of analysis with Jung and Wolff during the formative years of analytical psychology; Chapter 2

discusses historical and archival research methods based solely on the evidence derived from primary source materials, and determines in what way these methods are best suited to this dissertation's inquiry; Chapter 3 reviews the primary literature consisting of Jung's and Keller's writings on the topic of active imagination as well as reviewing the secondary literature on active imagination written primarily by Jung's followers; Chapter 4 outlines the state of psychotherapeutics at the turn of the twentieth century to situate Jung's and Wolff's practices of active imagination in other researches concurrently undertaken in France, England, Switzerland, Germany, and the United States; and Chapter 5 presents biographical information on Keller's life and details of her analyses with Jung and Wolff, emphasizing the influence of the technique of active imagination on the development of her personality and her work toward psychological individuation. This dissertation concludes that the practice of active imagination was a vital tool of self-development employed by Tina Keller during her analyses with Jung and Wolff and throughout the course of her long life.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Active imagination was a technique used by Jung to access fantasy material from the unconscious while in a waking state. "Active imagination...is a technical term referring to a method I have proposed for raising unconscious contents to consciousness" (Jung, 1937/1969h, p. 81, para. 137, n. 28).[1] The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines consciousness as "having one's mental faculties in an active and waking state..., the state of being conscious, regarded as the normal condition of healthy waking life," and unconsciousness as "the state or fact of being mentally unconscious or unaware of something" (1961, Vol. II, p. 847 and Vol. XI, p. 99, respectively). The term subconscious, often used in conjunction with unconscious in turn-of-the-century literature, is defined as "belonging to that portion of the mental field the processes of which are outside the range of attention" (*Oxford English Dictionary*, 1961, Vol. X, p. 13).

The technique of active imagination was specific to Jung; it was not used as a method of treatment in general psychoanalysis or in standard laboratory-based psychologies. Thus, the current study is an examination of the technique as developed by Jung and within the boundaries of Jungian, or analytical, psychology.

This study will investigate Jung's theoretical formulations and clinical practices with active participation in fantasy material and will highlight the case of Tina Keller, a Swiss physician, who was in analysis with Jung and his associate, Toni Wolff, from 1915-1928. Keller experimented with the technique of

active imagination and wrote autobiographical accounts of these experiences in both German and English. Through an examination of published and unpublished primary documents, the present study will situate Jung's theories and Keller's experiences of active imagination in their historical, intellectual, and psychological contexts.

To achieve the stated goal, historical and archival research methods are employed. By relying on facts and evidence derived from published and unpublished primary source materials, the proposed study will contribute to contemporary historiography of psychology. In particular, it is intended to contribute to the efforts of the "New Jung Scholarship,"[2] a consortium of individuals working to establish accurate historical foundations, to locate Jung's work in its proper intellectual context, and to help dispel myths and unwarranted conjectures about Jung's thinking and practice of psychotherapy. By retrieving and analyzing primary historical documents, unsubstantiated claims related to Jung's thinking and clinical practices which are prevalent in post-Jungian literature and contemporary Jungian circles can be dispelled.

A review of the existing primary and secondary literature in Jungian scholarship reveals scant information on the technique of active imagination as recorded by Jung's patients in psychotherapy. Few historical reconstructions of Jung's patients' experiences with the technique make use of primary, largely unpublished archival documents, such as analytic notes, personal diaries, drawings and letters. With the exception of the biographies of Catharine Rush

Cabot (Reid, 2001), Christiana Morgan (Douglas, 1993), and Henry A. Murray (Robinson, 1992), which cite unpublished analytical diaries, there is a paucity of historical scholarship in this area. The secondary literature on active imagination consists mainly of clinical examples regarding the patients of Jung's followers and, therefore, does not contribute to the knowledge regarding the historical experiences of Jung's own patients. Primary documents derived from those analyzed by Jung are the most accurate record of how he actually worked with the technique; thus, Tina Keller's autobiographical statements regarding her analytical work with Jung and Wolff take on new significance.

This dissertation constitutes an original contribution to the history of psychology for a number of reasons. First, it will contribute to an area of scholarship in analytical psychology that is under-researched in the existing literature on Jung. Second, it will employ primary historical and archival research methodologies that are used infrequently in contemporary research on analytical psychology. Third, it will introduce the life history of Tina Keller to English-speaking audiences. Fourth, it will provide invaluable first person historical data regarding the ideas and clinical talents of Jung and Wolff during the early years of analytical psychology (1915-1928). Fifth, it will help correct the record regarding the historical figure of Jung, his thinking, and his clinical practices, to make possible a critical assessment of post-Jungian scholarship. Sixth, it will provide a timely contribution to the history of active imagination in that Jung's own experiences with the technique are currently being prepared for

publication (S. Shamdasani, personal communication, August 15, 2001). The study is a contribution not only to the history of Jung's ideas about analytical psychology, but eventually to the larger history of psychology in general.

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A discussion of three subjects is essential to understanding the methodologies selected for the intended study: the history of standard historiographical practices in psychology; the basic stages of the research process in historical and archival inquiry; and the advantages and limitations of these methods as they affect the proposed research project. Based on this information, the author will argue that the historical and archival research methods are the necessary and appropriate means by which to achieve the goal of the project.[3]

A History of Historiography in Psychology

Until the mid-20th century, the history of historiography in psychology was dominated by a theory of knowledge that assumed the existence of a definitive history of psychology. From this basic epistemological premise, the traditional historiographers of psychology constructed a theory of knowledge built upon a network of assumptions. For example, the premise that there was *a* history of psychology implied a specific point of origination, which was located in ancient Greek philosophy (Smith, 1988; Richards, 1987). Having conceptualized *the* history of psychology as that which occurred in the minds of great thinkers at specific points in time, it followed that knowledge in psychology consisted of accounts by or about these influential thinkers, their systems of thought, and methodological practices as they progressed in linear

fashion from ancient to modern times. Consistent with "the thinker thinking gold thoughts in a golden mind" view of history (Stevens, 1955/1997, p. 463) was the identification of categories and subject matters into which this psychology was naturally divided. The standard historical accounts were written predominately by those inside the defined domain of psychology, that is, either by the great thinkers themselves, as exemplified by E. G. Boring's, *A History of Experimental Psychology* (1929/1950) or by devoted followers of certain pioneers, as exemplified by E. Jones's, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud* (1953) and A. Jaffé's, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (the alleged autobiography of C. G. Jung) (Jung, 1963).[4]

However, this trend is changing; some contemporary historians are challenging the premises and practices of traditional histories of psychology. For example, there is a new generation of authors reinterpreting experimental psychology as defined by Boring (Ash & Woodward, 1987; Brozek, 1984; Morawski, 1988; Rieber & Salzinger, 1977, 1998; Woodward & Ash, 1982; and Woodward & Cohen, 1991). While these authors challenge Boring's received view of the history of psychology, none of them identifies Jung as a significant contributor to that history. When Jung is included, he is portrayed merely as a follower of Freud in the tradition of Viennese psychoanalysis. This view diminishes Jung as an independent intellectual and marginalizes the role of depth psychology in the larger history of general psychology.

Other contemporary scholars argue that none of the assumptions of the standard views of psychology are exempt from re-examination (Danziger, 1990, 1997; Shamdasani, 2000b; Smith, 1988; Taylor, 1999). These historians emphasize three fundamental points: there is no single standpoint from which to write the history of psychology; there are no natural subject matters and categories implicit to psychology as conceptualized by these histories; and the standard histories are accounts written by psychologists to validate their own theoretical constructs and professional identities. For the purpose of the current discussion this author will adopt Smith's approach to writing on the topic by "suggesting that...for the sake of argument...the history of psychology does have a subject [after 1859] to the extent that psychology becomes a discipline or occupation" (1988, p, 160).

The first point made by these contemporary historians is that there is no single standpoint from which to write *the* definitive history of psychology. Taylor contends that since there is more than one definition of psychology in common currency, there must be more than one history of psychology (1999). Danziger states that the history of psychology is not the sum of its "prominent contributors, important findings, or influential theories"; further, he believes this view falsely conveys the message that "psychology *is* its theories, *is* its findings, or *is* its individual contributors" (1990, p. 1) (emphasis in original). In addition, Danziger notes that the traditional insider histories of psychology, those written by psychologists or their devotees, tend to adopt a more celebratory and less

critical stance than do the outsider histories, those written by historians, philosophers, or sociologists of science (1990, p. vii).

Along the same line, Smith contends that "it is notorious that 'psychology' is not a unified body of knowledge with a common core of mutually consistent concepts; indeed, it is a highly contentious philosophical question whether it could ever achieve a unified theory" (1988, p. 154). For Smith, "there is no one discipline of psychology with one point of origin"; therefore, it is "preferable...to think of *histories* rather than the history of psychology" (1988, p. 160 and 155, respectively).

Taylor also argues against the view that there is a unified history of psychology (1999). The history of psychology, he maintains, is primarily the history of the experimental tradition, the clinical allegedly being a mere derivative of it. His position is that clinical psychology has its own history. Also, parallel to the mainstream traditions in American experimental and clinical psychology, there existed many theories of knowledge and practices in folk psychology. These theories and practices incorporated a psychospiritual perspective unaddressed in the more visible standard literature.

Thus, for Danziger, Smith, and Taylor, the history of psychology does not conform to the view adopted by the standard approaches. For these historians, to posit *a* history of psychology is to privilege one view in a vast area of knowledge that cannot be simplified so readily. Rather, the domain of

psychology is too diverse and complex for such a reductionistic perspective. Smith advocates that:

> ...*The* history of psychology should be abandoned. It does not seem possible to conceptualize a continuous and unitary subject to set the tasks of such a history. This is *not* a claim against doing history, but an argument that the construal of what history is about is in principle open-ended. There is no Archimedean point...from which to derive criteria of a subject. (1988, p. 162)

The second point is that there are no *natural* categories and subjects of inquiry in the field of psychology. Lakoff questions the existence of natural categories, arguing that this premise reveals embedded constructions of language and social custom, but nothing *natural* about the subject matters of psychology (1987). Danziger contends that specific historical processes rather than *natural* entities characterize the domain of psychology (1990, 1997). Smith contends that the standard histories are flawed in their assumption that "the subject of psychology is universal, that is, that there has always been a real subject, potentially accessible to scientific knowing and gradually becoming accessible to great thinkers"; further, "by following such thoughts, historians of psychology tend to reproduce an account of general Western intellectual history," from Aristotle to Freud, so to speak (1988, pp. 152-153). He also points out that Ellenberger's history of psychology, *The Discovery of the Unconscious* (1970), is a notable exception to the standard historiographies because "it begins with a refreshing account of shamanism and other non-Western psychological

arts" and, by so doing, embraces a more expansive and less culturally-bound view than do the standard texts (Smith, 1988, p. 153).

The third point is that most historiographies of modern psychology, that is, psychology after 1859, consist of accounts written by psychologists or their advocates in an attempt to validate professional identities. Richards points out that there was an "endemic *psychological* need for parity of scientific status with the physical sciences" (1987, p. 211) (emphasis in original). O'Donnell shows how E. G. Boring's history of experimental psychology was written to counter the then current trend toward applied psychology and away from what Boring considered its pure roots in science in an effort to secure professional status:

> Boring's *History*, published in 1929..., became not only experimentalism's consummate advertisement but also an intellectual apologia for the professional lives of embattled experimenters.... Boring arranged the history of modern psychological inquiry in terms of what it meant to experimentalism (and hence, in Boring's view, to science itself). He postulated a progressive consistency that could only be maintained by excising in Procrustean fashion a huge portion of psychological endeavor. (1979, p. 293)

Smith argues that after 1850, historical accounts were preoccupied with psychologists attempting to validate their "identities as scientists and experts" (1988, p. 80). Further, he contends that the traditional textbook histories in psychology "derive firmly from occupational values, namely those associated with the disciplinary standing, social authority, and cultural prominence of modern psychology" (Smith, 1988, p. 163).

> History texts embody, and hence transmit to students, values important to psychologists' sense of worth and identity. In portraying modern

> psychology as the inevitable or "natural" outcome of the application of scientific procedures to psychological topics, they give modern psychology its authority. (Smith, 1988, p. 148)

Shamdasani points out that the historiography of modern psychology has been dominated by psychologists engaged in "narratives of legitimization, not historical discourse" (personal communication, May 30, 2002). He notes that the classic tomes in the history of psychology serve to legitimize the professional identities and practices of psychologists; he advocates instead a historiography based upon a return to primary archival documents and first editions of published works for fresh analysis.

Because the proposed dissertation concerns an aspect of the history of Jungian psychology, it is especially important to examine the work of historians in this area. In particular, Shamdasani has brought a critical focus to bear on studies of C. G. Jung:

> When I commenced my historical researches, it became clear to me that the published editions of Jung's works were incomplete and not wholly reliable--not only in matters of translations. Regarding the *Collected Works*, there were dozens of unpublished papers. In a number of instances, the versions of texts reproduced in the *Collected Works* did not exactly correspond to the manuscripts. Furthermore, critical editions of a number of Jung's seminal works are not found there. Thus, research on Jung had to start from the basis of manuscripts and first editions. Regarding Jung's correspondences, approximately less than 10% have been published. Scholarly editions of many seminars are yet to be prepared. (2000b, p. 616)

He goes on to state that "much of the secondary literature on Jung had relied on a textual corpus that was neither fully representative nor wholly reliable. This is one factor that has contributed to the fictionalizing of Jung" (p. 616).

Shamdasani has written broadly on aspects of Jungian psychology. Topics include, but are not limited to, a biography of Jung (2003), the controversial literary collaboration between Jung and A. Jaffé on the alleged autobiography (1995), inaccurate scholarship in Jungian psychology (1996b, 1998a, 2000a, 2000b), Jung's intellectual lineage in historical context (1993, 1998b, 2000c, 2000d), religious aspects of analytical psychology (1996a, 1999), and Jung's relationship to important but relatively unknown figures in the development of analytical psychology, such as Miss Frank Miller (1990) and Maria Moltzer (1998c).

In addition to the work by Shamdasani, other contemporary historiographers of psychiatry and psychology are engaged in the re-examinination of primary data, largely archival, to reconstruct accurate historical accounts to correct misrepresentations, fallacies, and myths about Jung that are prevalent in the secondary literature. Several important contributions include: J. Carrette on Jung's theory of archetypes (1994); G. Cocks on Jung's relationship to Matthias Göring and the practice of psychotherapy in the Third Reich (1997); E. Falzeder on Jung's relationship to Sigmund Freud, Eugen Bleuler, and the Burghölzli Hospital, 1903-1909 (2000a) and on the history of the origins of psychoanalysis (1994, 1998, 2000b); C. Ginzburg on the outmoded biological premises of Jung's psychology[5] (1989); A. Graf-Nold on Sabina Spielrein's treatment by Jung during her stay at the Burghölzli Hospital, 1904-1905 (2001); A. Haynal & E. Falzeder on Jung's relationship with Sandor Ferenczi (2003); A.

Lammers on the theological and psychological collaboration between Victor White and Jung (1994); and E. Taylor on such topics as Jung's non-Freudian intellectual lineage (1998), the new Jung scholarship (1996a), and Jung's relationship to William James (1980), the Boston psychotherapists (1986), Emanuel Swedenborg (1991), and the American psychotherapeutic counter-culture (1999).

The Research Process in Historical and Archival Methodologies

The author will review four basic steps in the historical and archival research process as they will be employed in the proposed study. These steps are: define the research question or problem; search for and gather data; summarize and evaluate the historical data; and report the findings within an interpretive context.

In the first step of the process, the investigator defines the research question. It is essential to choose a topic for which key sources of data are obtainable because the inquiry must be built upon a solid foundation of documentary facts and evidence. In the case of the proposed study, ample sources of data have been identified to warrant the proposed study on Carl Jung, Tina Keller, and active imagination.

In the second step of the process, the investigator searches for and gathers all relevant data located in preliminary, primary, and secondary sources. Preliminary sources include: bibliographic and reference materials; primary

sources include actual historical data written at the time, such as documents, diaries, drawings, and journals; and secondary sources include books and articles written about the primary person or event. In addition, historical researchers may visit archives, museums, and historical sites or, if possible, interview witnesses or descendents who knew the individual or event about which the history is being written.

In the case of the proposed study, the author has identified and gathered the relevant published primary and secondary sources as presented in the review of the literature (Chapter III, present document). In addition, the author has obtained unpublished primary materials located in private and archival collections. From the private collection of the Keller family, the author obtained drafts of Tina Keller's autobiographical memoirs. From the private collection housed at the C. G. Jung Institute (Küsnacht), the author obtained a set of Jung's unpublished lectures notes, *Modern psychology: Notes on lectures given at the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule*, 1933-1941 (1959) (hereinafter referred to as ETH) as well as a copy of Anna Marjula's analytical thesis, "The healing influence of active imagination in a specific case of neurosis" (1961).

To gather additional unpublished materials, the author traveled to archival repositories in the United States and Switzerland to review documents that were available only on-site. In the United States, the author consulted the Henry A. Murray Papers, which contain materials on Murray, Robert Edmond Jones, C. G. Jung, and Christiana Morgan (Harvard University Archive,

Cambridge, MA); the Eugene O'Neill Papers, which contain materials on Robert Edmond Jones (Harvard Theatre Archive, Harvard University Archive, Cambridge, MA); the C. G. Jung Oral History Archive, which contains an autobiographical memoir written by Tina Keller (Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard Medical School, Boston, MA); an edited draft (in English) of *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard Medical School, Boston, MA); and the C. G. Jung Papers, which include the Drafts of the Protocols (in German) for *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (Bollingen Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC) (hereinafter referred to as *MDR*). In Switzerland, the author consulted the C. G. Jung Papers, which contain the Jung-Keller correspondence (ETH, Zürich) and *Das Bildarchiv* (The Picture Archive), which contains Tina Keller's pictures of active imagination drawn during her analyses with Jung and Wolff (Küsnacht). Documents in these private and archival collections were viewed, and in some cases photocopied, after the author received official permission from the executors of the literary estates. In addition, the author met informally with Dr. Pierre Keller, son and executor of Tina Keller's literary estate (May 2002 and August 2003, Geneva).

In the third step of the research process, the investigator summarizes and evaluates historical evidence uncovered in the search phase. Analysis of documents is central to this process. The credibility of the historical sources must be evaluated separately, contextually, and in comparison to other

contemporaneous texts. In the case of the proposed study, the author will examine critically all documentary materials to insure their authenticity.

In the fourth and final step of the process, the investigator reports the findings derived from the documentary evidence within an interpretative context. Interpretation involves the process of identifying the constituent parts of the primary ideas and examining these parts separately, in relation to each other, and in relation to the whole. In the proposed study, the documents pertinent to Carl Jung, Tina Keller, and the technique of active imagination will be examined individually as well as in relation to each other contextually. For example, Keller's first person accounts of experiences with active imagination will be evaluated separately, then re-evaluated in the broader context of Jung's writings on the topic, just as Jung's writings will be evaluated in light of Keller's experiences and in relation to other techniques and contemporaneous practices for eliciting fantasy material in psychotherapy.

In summary, it is essential that the historical researcher question everything at each step in the research process to strengthen the inquiry and make it less vulnerable to criticism. A critical attitude toward all data is essential; the researcher must assess the reliability and validity of each piece of data and find corroborating evidence in a constant effort to separate fact from conjecture. The researcher practices the art of historical interpretation by maintaining an attitude of curiosity, flexibility, and creativity while engaging in the methodological process.

Advantages and Limitations of Historical and Archival Methodologies

The advantages of using historical and archival methodologies in the proposed study are self-evident: a conscientious historical investigation of active imagination can occur only through an examination of the primary source materials produced by Jung and Keller. Documents and other forms of primary material are the *prima materia* of historical inquiry; they are the foundation of investigation that allows an original intellectual exchange between the researcher and the historical materials free from the biases of previous interpretations.

Primary materials located in archival or private collections are especially valuable in historical research. By accessing original materials that have not been examined previously, the researcher is able to bring forth new information that enhances both the originality and usefulness of the study. In the case of the proposed research, the author is fortunate to have located unexamined primary evidence in private and archival collections; these include approximately thirty letters exchanged between Tina Keller and Carl Jung (C. G. Jung Archive, ETH, Zürich), drafts of Keller's autobiographical memoirs (Keller Family Papers), the original manuscript of Keller's second oral history interview with Gene Nameche (R. D. Laing Archive, Glasgow, Scotland),[6] and paintings created in the state of active imagination by Tina Keller (Picture Archive, Jung Insitute, Küsnacht, Switzerland).

As with any scholastic endeavor, historical and archival methodologies have limitations that pose challenges for the researcher. A researcher's authority can and will be critiqued by those who hold opposing views; therefore, historical researchers must anticipate how their work will be evaluated critically to reduce the likelihood of making errors that compromise the usefulness, credibility, or value of their scholarship.

Historical investigators can make errors at any stage in the research process. In the selection phase, for example, a researcher may choose a topic for which sources of historical evidence are limited or inaccessible, thereby undermining the scholarship by making it more vulnerable to criticism. In the search phase, historical researchers can make errors by using only secondary data or relying on primary sources that are inadequate. In the evaluation phase, the researcher minimizes negative critique by addressing issues of internal and external criticism, or as stated by Collingwood, by evaluating both the "inside" and "outside" of all evidentiary facts (1957, p. 213). In the interpretation phase, the historical researcher must address issues of bias in the scholarship.

The major limitation in archival research is gaining access to primary materials housed in non-circulating collections. In general, archival inquiry proceeds more slowly than standard research because it takes time to develop trusting relationships with the executors and librarians who control access to the collections. Obtaining permissions for access to documents in archival collections frequently is a multi-stage process. Permission to view or consult

documents usually does not include permission to photocopy them. Also, permission to quote from the documents can vary based on the type of publication; for example, quotations to be used in doctoral dissertations generally are not as highly restricted as those intended to be published in professional journals. The archival researcher must investigate these layers of restriction thoroughly and, hopefully, in advance of travel to minimize time lost to procedural complications. Because archival inquiry typically necessitates travel, the historical investigator may apply for grants to help fund the research or be willing personally to accept the expenses.

Rigorous historiography, by its very nature, attempts to address the complexities and possible deficiencies of the research situation. By relying on authentic primary documents, maintaining a critical attitude, engaging a methodical procedure, and attending to multiple contexts, the historical researcher enhances the validity of the research. Ultimately, the validity of historical research lies in its plausibility (Denzin, 1994).

CHAPTER 3: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON ACTIVE IMAGINATION

The current status of scholarship on active imagination is examined in this review of the analytical literature. The review includes a summary of the primary source materials authored by C. G. Jung and Tina Keller, and a listing of the best-known secondary writings on active imagination. The available primary literature consists of Jung's professional statements on the psychological theory and clinical application of active imagination contained in *Collected Works* (1957-1990) (hereinafter referred to as *CW*), and various published and unpublished statements in seminar notes and letters. The secondary literature consists of a number of interpretations by Jungian analysts, primarily in the form of case studies. What is missing noticeably in the existing analytical scholarship are primary source materials regarding two important aspects of the history of active imagination; that is, Jung's own experiences with the technique and first-person accounts by Jung's patients describing their experiences with active imagination during analysis.

Regarding the first deficiency, little is known about Jung's personal experiences with active imagination. What is known is derived from two published accounts: Jung's own description, which occurred in 1925 during a series of lectures delivered under the title *Analytical Psychology* (1989); and Aniela Jaffé's description of Jung's "confrontation with the unconscious," which formed the sixth chapter of *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (1963, pp. 170-199).

According to Shamdasani, the notes of the 1925 seminar, which were "privately published in mimeographed form shortly after the seminar...[and] were closely checked by Jung," are "the *only* reliable first hand source" (personal communication, December 20, 2001) (emphasis in original). It was during this seminar that Jung briefly described his process for working with fantasy material from the unconscious. The process involved both written and painted depictions of his fantasies recorded in personal journals, which he called the Black and Red Books. According to Jaffé:

> The Black Book consists of six black-bound, smallish leather notebooks. The Red Book, a folio volume bound in red leather, contains the same fantasies couched in elaborately literary form and language, and set down in calligraphic Gothic script, in the manner of medieval manuscripts. (1963, p. 188)

Jaffé's account in *MDR* of Jung's experiences with active imagination is seriously flawed for a number of reasons, the primary being that Jung neither wrote nor edited the account, nor lived long enough to see it in published form. In addition, Jaffé's account cannot be considered a reliable source of information because she did not make use of primary materials contained in Jung's Black and Red Books (Shamdasani, personal communication, December 20, 2001).

MDR was published in 1963 and the notes on the *Analytical Psychology* seminar in 1989, both after Jung's death in 1963. Thus, with the exception of a limited number of 26 colleagues and analysands in attendance at the 1925 seminar, which included Tina Keller, Jung's own experiences with active imagination were virtually unknown to the public. As Shamdasani has pointed

out, "aside from a tantalising glimpse in a private seminar in 1925...Jung did not publicly present his life story" (1995, p. 112).

Fortunately, Jung's personal experiences with active imagination are being examined currently by Shamdasani, who is preparing a scholarly edition of these experiences, which he describes as follows:

> From 1912 onwards, C. G. Jung experimented with provoking an extended series of waking fantasies in himself. He later called this the method of "active imagination." Drawing from these materials, he composed a work in a literary and pictorial form which he called the Red Book. It is by no means a diary of personal events and could best be described as a literary work of psychology. (personal communication, August 15, 2001)

This scholarship is essential because it will "locate the work historically and present its literary, philosophical, psychological and theological background, together with indicating its interconnections with Jung's subsequent work" (personal communication, August 15, 2001). By situating Jung's work in multiple contexts, Shamdasani's scholarship will help correct some of the misconceptions regarding Jung's theory and practice of analytical psychology, and place Jung's experimentation with active imagination within this well-researched setting.

The second deficiency in the analytical literature is the lack of published first-person accounts by Jung's patients describing their experiences with active imagination. Jung himself published accounts of a few of his patients' experiences with the technique; he used the visionary paintings of Christiana Morgan[7] as the basis for the *Visions Seminars* (1930-1934/1997) and the mandalas of Kristine Mann[8] for his essay "A study in the process of individuation"

(1950/1969I). However, neither woman published her own account, nor did Jung's analysand Robert Edmund Jones.[9] Like Morgan and Mann, Jones maintained both written and visual accounts of his analysis (McDermott, 1984). The visual account Jones called his "Book of Trances"; in it he drew pictorial representations of his experiences using the technique of active imagination.[10]

Some secondary accounts of Jung's patients' experiences with the technique exist in the published literature, such as the biographical writings of Douglas (1997, 1993, 1990) and Robinson (1992) based on Christiana Morgan's analytic notebooks and visions. A recently published work by Reid (2001) describes Catharine Rush Cabot's analytic relationship to Jung using excerpts from Cabot's diaries, but it does not address the topic of Jung's practice of active imagination (Reid, 2001). In any case, secondary writings cannot substitute for scholarly editions of primary source materials produced by Jung's patients. Contemporary historians must identify, retrieve, and reconstruct the primary accounts in an effort to address this under-researched aspect of the history of analytical psychology.

Primary Sources: C. G. Jung

Jung's published primary writings on the theory and practice of active imagination are scattered throughout *CW*, a series of seminars for professionals and analysands, and in selected private correspondences. Following is a bibliographical guide to Jung's statements on active imagination, which is

divided into two parts: first, references to the conceptual forerunner of active imagination, that is, active participation with unconscious fantasy material; and second, references to active imagination by name.

Active Participation with Unconscious Fantasy Material

Jung did not use the term active imagination (*"aktive imagination"*) in public until 1935 (1980, p. 6, para. 4). Before that time, he discussed his views on the concepts of active versus passive fantasy material as guiding philosophies and operating principles for general use in psychoanalysis. Jung discussed active participation with fantasy material in numerous later essays (1913/1961b, 1916/1966d, 1916/1969j, 1921/1976, 1928/1966c, 1929/1967a, 1931/1966a, 1947/1969c), seminars (1925/1989, 1928-1930/1984, 1930-1934/1997, 1934-1939/1988, 1935/1959), and personal correspondences (1931-1932/1973). (See Appendix A for complete citations.) A selection of the most salient passages follows.

Before specifically referring to the technique as "active imagination " (1935), Jung discussed the concept of active versus passive participation with unconscious fantasy in his published writings and lectures, especially in his earlier work with word association methods (1960a, 1960b). In a 1913 essay entitled "The theory of psychoanalysis," Jung differentiated between passive and involuntary activity with unconscious fantasies that occurred in dreaming states as opposed to active participation with fantasy material accessed intentionally

and consciously in waking states (1913/1961b, p. 186, para. 417-418). In this essay he also claimed that an active exploration of a patient's unconscious fantasy material was "the basic principle of all psychoanalytic treatment":

> The patient, assisted by the analyst, immerses himself in his fantasies, not in order to lose himself in them, but to salvage them, piece by piece, and bring them into the light of day. He thus acquires an objective vantage-point from which to view his inner life, and can now tackle the very thing he feared and hated. (1961d, p. 186, para. 418)

In this essay, he also differentiated between passive activity with unconscious fantasies that was "involuntary" and occurred when one "was lost in his dreams" (1961d, p. 185, para. 417) as opposed to the "active" or waking fantasy activity that occurred when one "deliberately turn[ed] his attention to his inner life...he must now think, consciously and intentionally" (1961d, p. 186, para. 418).

Jung's most extensive discussion of the technique he developed for accessing unconscious fantasy material is found in the essay, "The transcendent function" (1916/1969j, pp. 67-91, para. 131-193). Although written in 1916, this essay was not published until 1957 when it was found amongst other miscellaneous papers by his students at the institute in Küsnacht/Zürich (1916/1969j, p. 67, n. 1). When Jung originally wrote the essay, he did not use the specific term "active imagination" to describe his method; he applied the term retrospectively to the technique in a prefatory note written for the second English edition in 1958-1959. In the prefatory note, Jung maintained that although the essay was written over four decades ago:

> The problem has lost nothing of its topicality, though its presentation is still in need of extensive improvement, as anyone can see who knows the material. The essay may therefore stand, with all its imperfections, as an historical document. It may give the reader some idea of the efforts of understanding which were needed for the first attempts at a synthetic view of the psychic process in analytical treatment. As its basic argument is still valid today, it may stimulate the reader to a broader and deeper understanding of the problem. (1916/1969j, p. 67)

Following Jung's lead, this author will adopt the format and content of the 1916 essay as a model for a brief orientation to the theoretical foundations and clinical applications of active imagination.

Jung stated in the preface to the essay that he believed "the method of 'active imagination'...is the most important auxiliary for the production of those contents of the unconscious which lie, as it were, immediately below the threshold of consciousness"; he went on to state that "when intensified," the contents of the unconscious just below the surface of consciousness" are the most likely to [e]rupt spontaneously into the conscious mind" (1916/1969j, p. 68). The method of active imagination came about as a result of Jung's struggle to address the basic question, "How does one come to terms in practice with the unconscious?" (1916/1969j, p. 67). His answer involved "the transcendent function," which he defined as "a psychological function...aris[ing] from the union of conscious and unconscious contents" (1916/1969j, p. 69, para. 131). This union or transcendence was, at times, made possible through active engagement between an individual and material from the unconscious by means of "critical attention and the directed will" (1916/1969j, p. 79, para. 159).

While Jung noted that "some patients are able to produce fantasies at any time," he acknowledged that "this particular talent is none too common" (1916/1969j, p. 78, para. 155). He went on to state that "the capacity to produce free fantasies can, however, be developed with practice" (1916/1969j, p. 78, para. 155) and, for those in whom "there is no capacity to produce fantasies freely, we have to resort to artificial aid" (1916/1969j, p. 81, para. 166). These artificial aids include written or verbal productions, sounds or "inner words," sculpting or "work[ing] with plastic materials," dance or bodily movement, and automatic writing "direct or with the planchette" (1916/1969j, pp. 83-84, para. 170-171).

Jung's method for active engagement with unconscious fantasies consisted of a two-stage process (1916/1969j, p. 78, para. 156). The first stage occurred when "the unconscious content has been given form and the meaning of the formulation is understood" and "the second and more important stage of the procedure" involved addressing the question of "how the ego will relate to this position, and how the ego and the unconscious are to come to terms" in "bringing together of opposites for the production of a third: the transcendent function" (1916/1969j, p. 87, para. 181). Attainment of the transcendent function by means of "the confrontation of the two positions generates a tension charged with energy and creates a living, third thing" that can allow "a movement out of the suspension between opposites, a living birth that brings about a new stage of being, a new situation" (1916/1969j, p. 90, para. 189, trans. mod.).

Finally, Jung discussed the benefits as well as the dangers of the procedure. Regarding the benefits, he stated that the transcendent function "forms a valuable addition to psychotherapeutic treatment," "gives the patient the inestimable advantage of assisting the analyst on his own resources," and "break[s] a dependence which is often felt as humiliating. It is a way of attaining liberation by one's own efforts and of finding the courage to be oneself" (1916/1969j, p. 91, para. 193). Regarding the possible dangers, Jung named three, two minor and one major. The minor dangers involve receiving no benefit from using the technique, cases in which "the patient gets caught in the sterile circle of his own complexes, from which he is in any case unable to escape," and the cases in which the patient becomes overly identified with the aesthetic aspects of the fantasy productions and "consequently remains stuck in an all-enveloping phantasmagoria, so that once more nothing is gained" (1916/1969j, p. 68). The third, and the major danger, which "may in certain circumstances be a very serious matter," lay in the possibility that:

> [T]he subliminal contents...when afforded an outlet by active imagination...may overpower the conscious mind and take possession of the personality. This gives rise to a condition which--temporarily, at least--cannot easily be distinguished from schizophrenia, and may even lead to a genuine "psychotic interval." (1916/1969j, p. 68)

Thus, he cautioned that "the method of active imagination...is not a plaything for children" (1916/1969j, p. 68).

In 1921 Jung discussed the differences between active and passive fantasy in his book *Psychological Types*.

> We can distinguish between *active* and *passive* fantasy. *Active* fantasies are the product of *intuition*, [that is], they are evoked by an *attitude* directed to the perception of unconscious contents, as a result of which the *libido* immediately invests all the elements emerging from the unconscious and, by association with parallel material, brings them into clear focus in visual form. *Passive* fantasies appear in visual form at the outset, neither preceded nor accompanied by intuitive expectation, the attitude of the subject being wholly passive. Such fantasies belong to the category of psychic *automatisms* (Janet). Naturally, they can appear only as a result of a relative dissociation of the psyche, since they presuppose a withdrawal of energy from conscious control and a corresponding activation of unconscious material.
>
> It is probable that passive fantasies always have their origin in an unconscious process that is antithetical to consciousness, but invested with approximately the same amount of energy as the conscious attitude, and therefore capable of breaking through the latter's resistance. Active fantasies, on the other hand, owe their existence not so much to this unconscious process as to a conscious propensity to assimilate hints or fragments of lightly-toned unconscious complexes and, but associating them with parallel elements, to elaborate them in clearly visual form. Whereas passive fantasy not infrequently bears a morbid stamp or at least shows some trace of abnormality, active fantasy is one of the highest forms of psychic activity. For here the conscious and the unconscious personality of the subject flow together into a common product in which both are united. (1921/1976, pp. 428-429, para. 712-714) (Emphases in original)

During his 1925 seminar on analytical psychology, Jung explained that his personal examination of fantasy material began near the end of 1912 when he had a dream which revealed that "the unconscious did not consist of inert material only, but that there was something living down there" (1925/1989, p. 40). He went on to state, "I was greatly excited at the idea of there being something living in me that I did not know anything about" (1925/1989, p. 40). As a result of this awareness, Jung commenced a "systematic attempt to examine [his] unconscious" (1925/1989, p. 38). (See below, p. 98 for Keller's response.)

Jung's exploration of his own unconscious fantasy material is referred to as his "creative illness" (Ellenberger, 1968) or his "confrontation with the unconscious" (Jung, 1963).

During the ensuing investigation, which occurred from approximately 1913 to 1918, Jung developed a technique "for dealing directly with the unconscious contents" (1925/1989, p. 42); this technique later became known as active imagination. The technique involved a written account of the fantasies: "I wrote everything down very carefully" (1925/1989, p. 47). "I wrote these fantasies down first in the Black Book; later I transferred them to the Red Book, which I also embellished with drawings. It contains most of my mandala drawings" (1963, p. 188).

In his 1931 essay, "The aims of psychotherapy," Jung credited Freud's method of word association as the origin of his own method for working with the unconscious: "as to the problem of my technique, I ask myself how far I am indebted to Freud's authority for its achievement. Nevertheless I learned from Freud's method of free association, and I regard my technique as a direct continuation of the same" (1966a, pp. 46-47, para. 100, trans. mod.). In this essay, Jung also discussed that he "urged" and "encouraged" patients to paint their fantasy material. In a rhetorical question Jung asked, "why do I encourage patients, when they arrive at a certain stage in their development, to express themselves by means of brush, pencil, or pen at all?" (1966a, p. 48, para. 105).

> My prime purpose is to produce an effect....The patient...now begins to play an active part. To start off with, he puts down on paper what he has passively seen, thereby turning it into a deliberate act. He not only talks about it, he is actually doing something about it. Psychologically speaking, it makes a vast difference whether a man has an interesting conversation with his doctor two or three times a week, the results of which are left hanging in mid air, or whether he has to struggle for hours with refractory brush and colours, only to produce in the end something which, taken at its face value is perfectly senseless. (1966a, p. 48, para. 106)

According to Jung, it is precisely the senselessness of the activity that is important: the goal is psychological processing, not the creation of a work of art.

From 1930-1934 Jung gave a seminar on the fantasies produced by active imagination of his analysand, Christiana Drummond Morgan. This seminar, published in two volumes, is called *Visions* (1997). In the lecture in the *Visions* series delivered May 4, 1932, Jung discussed a concept central to the working of active fantasy, that is, "*betrachten,*" to look at. By this German word he meant to capture a process in motion, a kind of "psychological looking": "...*looking,* psychologically, brings about the activation of the object. It is as if something were emanating from one's spiritual eye that evokes or activates the object of one's vision" (1997, p. 661). He went on to discuss the meaning of the German word as follows:

> The English verb, to look at, does not convey this meaning, but the German *betrachtung,* which is an equivalent, means also to make pregnant....So to look at or concentrate upon a thing, *betrachtung,* gives the quality of being pregnant to the object. And if it is pregnant, then something is due to come out of it; it is alive, it produces, it multiplies. That is the case with any fantasy image; one concentrates upon it, and then finds that one has great difficulty in keeping the thing quiet. It gets

> restless, it shifts, something is added, or it multiplies itself; one fills it with living power, and it becomes pregnant. (1997, p. 661)

With the exception of Jung's visual and literary productions in the Red Book, the only unpublished primary literature on active fantasy, of which this author is aware, is found in Jung's lectures on *Modern Psychology.* The lectures were delivered from 1933 to 1941 at the ETH in Zürich (1959). In May 1935, Jung discussed "active phantasying" in three of his lectures (May 10, 17, and 31).

> ...It is a question of allowing phantasy to play freely, but this is only a beginning. This method of active phantasying has many possibilities, it can be used to discover complexes and contents of the unconscious and it is especially useful to establish a connection with the tendencies and possibilities which exist and will appear. (1935/1959, p. 208)

In the lecture on May 17, 1935, Jung referred to his method of active engagement with fantasy as the "picture method":

> The application of the method which I have been describing is related to yoga: in principle they are alike, but with great differences....In India free phantasying is not permitted, phantasying there is based on dogmatic pictures which are called Yantras, contemplation pictures, mandalas, which have the object of attracting the attention and forming a guide to phantasy. (1935/1959, p. 209)

Jung's picture method, on the other hand, was in contrast to formal practices in yoga which have specified topics for reflection; he stated that his method of openly and actively engaging fantasy "aims at allowing the complex to express itself and reveal its structure, but Yoga aims at fettering it in dogma" (1935/1959, p. 208).

Active Imagination

As mentioned above, Jung first used the term active imagination in 1935 (1980). From this time forward, Jung discussed active imagination or "visionary meditation" (1945/1969d) in several writings. As grouped by general topic, these references include: active imagination and alchemy (1944/1968); active imagination and archetypes (1936/1969a, 1945/1969d); active imagination and psychological themes (1941/1969e, 1946/1966b, 1947/1969c, 1950/1969i); active imagination and religious or spiritual phenomena (1936/1969k, 1937/1969h, 1938/1969f, 1942/1967b, 1948/1969g, 1955-1956/1970); and active imagination and symbols, including mandalas (1950/1969b, 1954/1967c). (See Appendix B for complete citations.) A selection of the most salient passages follows.

Jung first used the term "active imagination" in 1935 in a series of lectures delivered at the Institute of Medical Psychology in London, which is also known as the Tavistock Clinic. Originally titled "Fundamental psychological conceptions," these lectures later came to be known as "The Tavistock Lectures" (1935/1980, pp. 5 - 182). The five lectures, which Jung delivered between September 30 and October 4, 1935, concerned his current thinking on the theory and practice of analytical psychology. In the introductory lecture, he explained that:

> We have two main topics to deal with, namely, on the one side the concepts concerning the *structure of the unconscious mind* and its *contents*; on the other, the *methods* used in the *investigation* of contents originating in the unconscious psychic processes. The second topic falls into three parts, first, the word-association method; second, the method

> of dream-analysis; and third, the method of active imagination. (emphasis in original) (1935/1980, p. 6, para. 4)

The principle discussion of "active imagination" occurred during the question and answer period following the fifth, and final, lecture (October 4, 1935). In response to the question, "Would Professor Jung give us a short account of the technique of active imagination?" (1935/1980, p. 169, para. 390), Jung provided an example from his own life:

> When I was a little boy, I had a spinster aunt who lived in a nice old-fashioned house. It was full of beautiful old coloured engravings. Among them was a picture of my grandfather on my mother's side. He was a sort of bishop, and he was represented as coming out of his house and standing on a little terrace....Every Sunday morning I...knelt on a chair and looked at that picture until grandfather came down the steps. And each time my aunt would say, "But, my dear, he doesn't walk, he is standing there." But I knew I had seen him walking down. (1935/1980, pp. 169-170, para. 397)

Jung went on to explain that:

> When you concentrate on a mental picture, it begins to stir, the image becomes enriched by details, it moves and develops...so when we concentrate on an inner picture and when we are careful not to interrupt the natural flow of events, our unconscious will produce a series of images which make a complete story. (1935/1980, p. 172, para. 398)

In the article Jung wrote on "The concept of the collective unconscious" in 1936 (1936/1969a), he proposed that active imagination was one of the two primary means of proving the existence of what he called the collective unconscious; that is, symbols created in the unconscious that are allegedly universal, not personal in nature. In this essay, he defined active imagination as "a sequence of fantasies produced by deliberate concentration" (1936/1969a, p.

49, para. 101). In addition, he explained that active imagination was not an offshoot of Freud's technique of free association: "[active imagination] is not a question of the 'free association' recommended by Freud for the purpose of dream-analysis, but of elaborating the fantasy by observing the further fantasy material that adds itself to the fragment in a natural manner" (1936/1969a, p. 49, para. 101).

In 1941 Jung published an essay regarding the mother (Demeter) and daughter archetype (Kore), called "Psychological aspects of the Kore" (1969e). In this essay, Jung articulated the practice of active imagination as "a method (devised by myself) of introspection for observing the stream of interior images. One concentrates one's attention on some impressive but unintelligible dream-image, or on a spontaneous visual impression, and observes the changes taking place in it" (1969e, p. 190, para. 319). He also explained the conditions that were necessary mentally in order for the process to work:

> All criticism must be suspended and the happenings observed and noted with absolute objectivity. Obviously, too, the objection that the whole thing is "arbitrary" or "thought up" must be set aside, since it springs from the anxiety of an ego-consciousness which brooks no master besides itself in its own house. In other words, it is the inhibition exerted by the conscious mind on the unconscious. (1969e, p. 190, para. 319)

In this essay Jung also explained what happens to allow the process of active imagination to do its work: "it is based on a deliberate weakening of the conscious mind and its inhibiting effect, which either limits or suppresses the unconscious" (1969e, p. 190, para. 320). He went on to claim that "the aim of the

method is naturally therapeutic in the first place, while in the second it also furnishes rich empirical material" (1969e, p. 190, para. 320). In contrast to dreams, active imagination provides a "better form [than dreams], which comes from the fact that the contents were perceived not by a dreaming but by a waking consciousness" (1969e, p. 190, para. 320).

In the 1947/1954 essay, "On the nature of the psyche," (1969c, pp. 204-205, para. 403), Jung discussed active imagination as occurring in many forms: "dramatic, dialectic, visual, acoustic, or in the form of dancing, painting, drawing, or modeling" (1969c, p. 202, para. 400). He went on to relate his belief in the process of individuation to these fantasies of active imagination.

> The result of this technique was a vast number of complicated designs whose diversity puzzled me for years, until I was able to recognize that in this method I was witnessing the spontaneous manifestation of an unconscious process which was merely assisted by the technical ability of the patient, and to which I later gave the name "individuation process." (1969c, p. 202, para. 400)

He also stated that his "hypothesis of an impersonal collective unconscious" had been based on what he had learned from the active imagination experiences of his patients.

> The most remarkable thing about this method, I felt, was that it did not involve a *reductio in primam figuram*, but rather a synthesis-- supported by an attitude voluntarily adopted, though for the rest wholly natural--of passive conscious material and unconscious influences, hence a kind of spontaneous amplification of the archetypes. (1969c, pp. 204-205, para. 403)

In the 1950 essay, "A study in the process of individuation" (1969i), Jung presented case material of the analysis of Kristine Mann, a New York physician

interested in analytical psychology; Jung was her analyst during the late 1920s. The study is based on Mann's paintings and mandalas using the technique of active imagination. Mann had already spontaneously discovered the process before she began her analysis with Jung. A selection of her fantasy paintings is included along with Jung's discussion of case material in volume 9i of the *Collected Works*. The picture archive at the C. G. Jung Institute in Küsnacht/Zürich also houses a number of the paintings reproduced in the book as well as several that were not. Other paintings Henry Murray placed in the Houghton Library at Harvard University. Mann continued using the painting technique to work with unconscious materials up to the time of her death and her final paintings are located at the Jung Institute in Küsnacht/Zürich (V. DeMoura, personal communication, May 14, 2002).

The topic of the relationship between alchemy and active imagination was treated many times in Jung's later work, *Mysterium Coniunctionis* (1955-1956/1970). In a chapter entitled, "Rex and Regina" (king and queen), Jung discussed the relationship as follows:

> The projections of the alchemists were nothing other than unconscious contents appearing in matter, the same contents that modern psychotherapy makes conscious by the method of active imagination before they unconsciously change into projections. Making them conscious and giving form to what is unformed has a specific effect in cases where the conscious attitude offers an overcrowded unconscious no possible means of expressing itself. (1955-1956/1970, *CW* Vol. 14, p. 320, para. 446/*GW* Vol. 14/2, pp. 75-76, para. 107)

In a similar vein, he stated that the "alchemical operation seems to us the equivalent of the psychological process of active imagination" (1955-1956/1970, *CW* Vol. 14, p. 526, para. 749/ *GW* Vol. 14/2, pp. 303-304, para. 404).

In a chapter entitled "The personification of the opposites," Jung again discussed the relationship between active imagination and parallels in alchemy. He highlighted the classic conflicts between pairs of opposite that manifest in the human psyche: conscious and unconscious, Sol and Luna (sun and moon) (1955-1956/1970, *CW*, p. 106, para. 127/ *GW* Vol. 14/1, pp. 132-133, para. 123), light and dark, positive and negative (1955-1956/1970, *CW* p. 255, para. 345/GW Vol. 14/1, pp.. 291-292, para. 337).

Jung discussed the necessity of psychological conflict as a means of propelling the individual onward and explained the origin of the conflict in relation to the method of active imagination. He stated that "in active imagination at moments of violent collision between two opposite points of view...compensatory attempts to mitigate the conflict and "make enemies friends" [emerge]" (1955-1956/1970, *CW* Vol. 14, pp. 123-124, para. 146/*GW* Vol. 14/1, pp. 150-151, para. 141). In a complementary passage he stated:

> Active imagination...is a method which is used spontaneously by nature herself or can be taught to the patient by the analyst. As a rule it occurs when the analysis has constellated the opposites so powerfully that a union or synthesis of the personality becomes an imperative necessity. Such a situation is bound to arise when the analysis of the psychic contents, of the patient's attitude and particularly of his dreams, has brought the compensatory or complementary images from the unconscious so insistently before his mind that the conflict between the conscious and the unconscious personality becomes open and critical.

> (1955-1956/1970, *CW* Vol. 14, pp. 494-495, para. 705/*GW* Vol. 14/2, pp. 268-270, para. 365)

Active imagination then becomes a vehicle for attaining a new or third perspective similar to the one Jung proposed in the 1916 essay, "The transcendent function" (1969j). "In other words, he can no longer hide the conflict behind a mask. It requires a real solution and necessitates a third thing in which the opposites can unite" (1955-1956/1970, *CW* Vol 14, p. 495, para. 705/*GW* Vol. 14/2, pp. 268-270, para. 365).

In the chapter entitled "The conjunction," from *Mysterium Coniunctionis*, Jung discussed active imagination as a method he "tried out on myself and others thirty years ago and must admit that although it is feasible and leads to satisfactory results it is also very difficult" and, because of the inherent difficulty and danger he warned that it was "not a matter that can be taken lightly" (1955-1956/1970, *CW* Vol. 14, p. 530, para. 755/*GW* Vol. 14/2, pp. 308-309, para. 409).

Also in this chapter, Jung used a theatrical metaphor to describe the process of active imagination as working with unconscious elements as if upon a stage:

> ...These images are observed like scenes in the theatre. In other words, you dream with open eyes....What is enacted on the stage still remains a background process; it does not move the observer in any way, and the less it moves him the smaller will be the cathartic effect of this private theatre. The piece that is being played does not want merely to be watched impartially, it wants to compel his participation. If the observer understands that his own drama is being performed on this inner stage, he cannot remain indifferent to the plot and its dénouement. (1955-1956/1970, *CW* Vol. 14, p. 496, para. 706/*GW* Vol. 14/2, pp. 268-270, para. 365)

He went on to explain the process by which the images become activated in the mind of the observer:

> ...As the actors appear one by one and the plot thickens, they all have some purposeful relationship to his conscious situation, that he is being addressed by the unconscious, and that *it* causes these fantasy-images to appear before him. He therefore feels compelled, or is encouraged by his analyst, to take part in the play and, instead of just sitting in a theatre, really have it out with his alter ego....This process of coming to terms with the Other in us is well worth while, because in this way we get to know aspects of our nature which we would not allow anybody else to show us and which we ourselves would never had admitted. (1955-1956/1970, *CW* Vol. 14, p. 496, para. 706/*GW* Vol. 14/2, pp. 268-270, para. 365)

Jung's final statements about active imagination were published after his death in 1961 in the so-called "autobiography," *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (1963). In summary, Jung stated that his own experimentation with active imagination was the primary material for his entire life's work.

Primary Sources: Tina Keller

The literature produced by Tina Keller falls into four basic categories: autobiographical accounts, correspondences, published essays and a single book, and her paintings of active imagination. Eventually these materials will form the basis for a complete autobiography from all available sources for an English-speaking audience.

Autobiographical Accounts

The earliest autobiographical documents are transcripts of taped interviews for inclusion in the C. G. Jung BiographicalArchive housed in the Rare Books and Special Collections Division at the Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine at Harvard Medical School (Boston, MA). Keller was interviewed by Gene Nameche, "a young scholar who was supported financially by a Jung-oriented private foundation" (Elms, 1994, p. 53). Identifying the private organization as The Frances G. Wickes Foundation, Elms went on to clarify his understanding of the facts:

> Frances Wickes was a Jungian analyst and writer. The oral history project was proposed to the Foundation by two members of its Board of Directors, Henry Murray and William McGuire. Murray, a friend of both Wickes and Jung, recommended Nameche as the interviewer. (1994, n. 7, p. 264)

From 1968-1973 Nameche compiled oral history interviews of individuals who had first-hand information on Jung. According to Elms, "to encourage openness, Nameche promised the mostly elderly interviewees that none of their recollections would be made available to scholars for at least ten years" (1994, p. 53).

Tina Keller was 85 years old when Nameche spoke with her about being interviewed for the oral history archive. Keller was hesitant at first because she did not know him. In a letter to William McGuire dated 12-21-68, Keller had just concluded a "preliminary talk without recording in order to get to know Dr. Nameche, to feel more free" (p. 2). She went on to state that "there are things

about the early times that I would like to be able to convey, something of the special atmosphere of discovery that was around Dr. Jung then" (1968, p. 2). Keller's was one of the more important interviews because she had been in analysis with Jung and could provide primary information not only about him, but on Toni Wolff and Emma Jung as well. The finding aid for Nameche's biographical archive on Jung stated: "The oral histories reflect the atmosphere of Jung's circle and the nature of his psychiatric practice and lecture activities. They also show how he worked with colleagues, including Emma Jung and Toni Wolff."

The collection consists of 23 boxes of materials containing: "143 oral history taped interviews, one film commentary, and two papers from individuals" (Finding aid, C. G. Jung Biographical Archive, Countway Library, Harvard Medical School). Tina Keller was one of the two individuals who chose to write her own account to replace the typed copy of the oral interview. Unfortunately, the original taped conversations are not available to researchers in the primary form because, according to Jack Eckert, Reference Librarian at the Countway Rare Books and Special Collections Division, "the original reel-to-reel audio tapes may not even be playable at this point, and we don't have the equipment to do so" (personal communication, August 16, 2000). Thus, what appears in the files of the archive are the typed transcripts of the original conversations only because the audio tapes are no longer available.

Tina Keller was interviewed in the Los Angeles area by Nameche twice; the first in December 1968 was not taped, but the second interview in April 1969 was. At the time of the April meeting, Keller had already prepared a written statement to give to the interviewer.

> The date today is the 30th of April in 1969, and I am meeting with Dr. Tina Keller, who already has prepared for us a written account of her relation to Dr. Jung, and our plan will be to keep the written manuscript and this taped interview just to amplify it—just to enlarge on it in certain places and for me to ask Dr. Keller certain questions about it. So in this sense it will be somewhat of an unusual tape from the ones I have done because the others were almost all spontaneous. (1969, p. 1)

Her written statement was to be placed in the archive in lieu of a typed transcript of the interviews. Ironically, the typescript of the 1969 interview turned up unexpectedly; it shouldn't exist because Keller requested that the typescripts be replaced by her own written manuscript. While on a lecture tour in Scotland, Shamdasani came across the transcript of the second interview by chance when looking through the R. D. Laing Archive in Glasgow (personal communication, November 13, 2001).

In the 1970s Keller wrote and published an autobiography in German, which appeared as a series of four small booklets under the title, *Wege inneren Wachstums (Ways of inner growth)* (1972a, 1973, 1975, 1977). These booklets have not been translated into English. Each of the four booklets depicts a portion of Keller's life and her memories. The first, published in 1972a, recalls her memories of Jung ("*Aus meinen Errinerungen an C. G. Jung*" or "From my memories of C. G. Jung"); the second, published in 1973, contains affirmations of

her self-development ("*Das Ja zu sich selber*" or "Yes to myself"); the third, published in 1975, contains personal reflections of a broad nature ("*Persönliche Stellungnahme*" or "Personal Statement"); and the fourth, published in 1977, describes what Keller hopes to become in the future as her development continues to unfold ("*Ich möchte mich selbst werden*" or "I would like to become").

In 1981 Keller completed a version of an autobiography in English; it is 88 pages long and spans her entire life. There are numerous drafts of this document, some of which contain information that was not included in the 1981 version. The 1981 autobiography in English and numerous undated drafts of this final version will serve as the foundation for the version of the autobiography being compiled by the current author.

Correspondences

Very little of Tina Keller's correspondence is still available to researchers. There is a small collection of letters in the Keller-Jung correspondence housed in the manuscript division of the ETH in Zürich. There are 32 letters in the collection that are dated from 1931 to 1959, which coincides with Keller's years in Geneva (1918-1948) until the beginning of her stay in the Los Angeles area of California (1958). The letters are both hand-written and typed, in English and German. Most of the letters relate to scheduling visits, family matters, discussions regarding the preface to her book (1940), and a few related to clients Keller was seeing in analysis for whom she was seeking Jung's advice, a form of

"supervision by correspondence" as stated by Shamdasani (2000d). In one letter, dated December 2, 1937, Jung warned Keller about the dangers of the unconscious and the importance of maintaining a life in the outside world. He wrote:

> The unconscious can be realized with the help of the consciousness and under its constant control. Consciousness must be directed with one eye to the unconscious, but on the other hand, it must maintain clearly the possibilities of human relationships in the forefront. (Keller-Jung Correspondence, December 2, 1937)

He ended this communication with a request that she take his "warning" into consideration (Keller-Jung Correspondence, December 2, 1937).

Five letters in the correspondence document a second conflict between Keller and Jung related to her looking for work in Los Angeles, where she had moved in 1958 to assist her husband who had had a stroke while visiting their son Paul. The first conflict related to Keller's anger that Jung would not recommend her for analyst status when the Zürich Institute was forming in 1948; being then 73 years old, Jung said he was too old and too tired to fight the politics at the Institute. Jung did write a generic statement in German (June 24, 1959) attesting that Keller had been his patient in analysis and had attended seminars and lectures that he had given, but the single sentence statement was written in German and, therefore, was of no use to her in an English-speaking country. She wrote back and requested a more helpful certificate, and received a reply from Jung's secretary Aniela Jaffé stating that Jung did not believe Keller would have any difficulty finding work in the United States; it also referred to

the fact that Keller was autonomous, having formally separated herself from Jung and the Jungian world in 1948. Jaffé wrote that Jung was "of the opinion that such a recommendation was not needed, since you [Keller] now work independently of him and have gone your own way" (Keller-Jung correspondence, August 1, 1959). None of these letters is published in either German or English versions of Jung's correspondence.

To date, the only other piece of correspondence related to the Keller-Jung relationship of which this author is aware is a single letter to William McGuire, editor of Jung's *CW* (Princeton University Press), dated December 21, 1968, related to the English preface written by Jung to Keller's book (1940) and whether that preface would become part of the official collected works, which in the end, it did not.

Published Accounts

Keller wrote one book, which was titled *L'ame et les nerfs* (The soul and nerves) (1940). The book was written in French for a lay audience. Her goal was to present a "practical application of Jung's theories to everyday problems..., explaining the basis of my work to the families and friends of my patients" (1968a, p. 1). Keller translated the book into English, for which Jung wrote a preface (1939), but the proposed English edition never reached the publication stage. Jung's preface was complimentary; he stated that:

> There are not too many books, which try to confer the psychological turn of mind rather than so-called scientific knowledge. It is the most destructive thing, in practical situations, to depend upon "scientific" statements and to look up your case in the psychological text-book. But you need your instincts and all the simplicity of mind and heart you can afford. In that respect the public needs some education; and I hope that Mrs. Keller's book will provide its readers with impressions, that will help them in discovering the mood, attitude or atmosphere of psychological perception and decision. (Jung, 1938-1939, p. 1)

There was some talk in the late 1960s about including Jung's preface to Keller's book in the *CW*, but this never came to pass (see Keller to McGuire, December 21, 1968, and McGuire to Adler, Fordham, Hull, and Jaffé, January 3, 1969).

In 1972, Keller published an essay in English, "C. G. Jung: Some Memories and Reflections" (1972b), which was delivered originally as the 10th annual Jung Memorial Lecture at the Jung Institute in Küsnacht (July 8, 1971). In this lecture and subsequent essay, which was published in a small journal called *Inward Light*, Keller described some of her recollections and reflections regarding her analyses with Jung and Wolff. She also discussed the charged atmosphere around Jung in those early years of the development of his psychological theory and praxis. Keller was one of few remaining analysands of Jung at the time she delivered the lecture.

Another published essay appeared in the 1982 volume of the Jungian journal called *Spring*. It was titled, "Beginnings of Active Imagination: Analysis with C. G. Jung and Toni Wolff, 1915-1928" (1982). The essay was compiled by the journal's editor, James Hillman, a Jungian analyst, and is composed of "the typescript of her autobiography and from correspondence with the editor of

Spring who is responsible for its arrangement and endnotes." In this essay, Keller described incidences with active imagination which she had discussed in none of her other autobiographical works, thus making it an important piece of primary documentation of her experiences.

Paintings with Active Imagination

In addition to the verbal accounts, Keller also produced visual artifacts in the form of paintings, which preserved some of her personal experiences with active imagination. These unpublished visual materials, or pictorial literature, are housed in two private collections: the Picture Archive (C. G. Jung Institute, Küsnacht) and the Keller Family Papers (Geneva).

The Picture Archive at the Jung Institute in Zürich/Küsnacht houses an archive of approximately 4,000 pictures of active imagination produced by Jung's analysands and 6,000 by the patients of Jolande Jacobi (1890-1973), a Hungarian Jungian analyst. Tina Keller had four small undated paintings in the Jung collection, three of which expressed color in form, and were part of a single picture which had an octagon drawn on the reverse side; the fourth part was missing. The other painting depicted a woman lying atop a container that was formed from the bodies of two snakes.

According to the official publication provided by the C. G. Jung Institute (Küsnacht/Zürich), which is called "The Picture Archive" ("*Bildarchiv*") (n.d.), Jung "always encouraged his patients to paint the images that they met in their

confrontation with the unconscious, so that they could grasp them better" (p. 2). The archive itself was created late in Jung's life to honor his life-long interest in the visual arts: "All his life, he had had a complex and very dynamic relationship to the visual arts. To this day, he remains the only known psychologist to have painted and made drawings and sculptures as part of his inner development" ("The Picture Archive," n.d., p. 5). From 1916 onwards, Jung "*actively* encouraged many of his patients to create pictures of their dreams and fantasies" ("The Picture Archive," n.d., p. 5) (emphasis added) . The literature goes on to report that Jung "wanted [his analysands] to keep their own paintings" and therefore "asked them to make hand copies [for his personal picture collection]" ("The Picture Archive," n.d., p. 5). According to the curator of the collection, Vicente de Moura, a Jungian analyst in private practice in Zürich, many of the pictures in the collection were not "spontaneous" as Jung claimed they were in "The transcendent function" (1916/1957), but rather were "urged" on the patients whom, he believes, produced the pictures to please Jung (personal communication, July 24, 2003). It is interesting to note that there were no duplicates between the collection of Tina Keller's pictures at the Jung Institute and in the private family collection, which supports the conclusion that Keller did not produce duplicates of her paintings for Jung's personal collection.

The collection in the Keller Family Papers contains 23 paintings and drawings that cover a broad range of subject matters. Some are dated, while the majority are not; a few have titles, while the majority do not. A few of the

paintings and drawings are accompanied by brief descriptive written texts in German which is unusual; most of Keller's paintings stand alone without written texts.

The paintings depict a range of emotion that fluctuates between extreme light and dark visual images. The light images, in most cases, relate to religious themes such as one mandala-style painting in oranges and yellows which Keller called "*die Dornenkranz*" ("the crown of thorns"). This is one of the few paintings that is accompanied by a written description. In the text Keller likens herself to a hedge of thorns from which she is beginning to separate herself as she becomes psychologically free; the crown of thorns, she states, is worn inside and out.

Another religiously-oriented painting appears as a four page booklet with front and back covers painted in shades of green with a metallic chain. It is titled "*Die Kette,*" ("The Chain"). In the four sentence written text in the booklet, Keller discusses the topic of the unity of all persons in faith as symbolized by individuals joining together to form a single chain, which Keller believes is "the entrance to humanity. All persons are one large chain and all are brothers. Only in this community can we stand before God" (translation by author).

There is one sketch of a dark figure from her unconscious, whom she called "the dark doctor" or "Leonard"; there is another drawing of Leonard which was done by a British psychic who looked at Keller and drew what she saw. The dark doctor appears in several of Keller's dark paintings: one in which

the doctor appears in a blue robe holding a candle, while another depicts the doctor in a red robe overlooking a scene of three young girls dancing with a large black bat in the sky casting a menacing tone over the scene. In another painting, Keller is on her knees in a prayerful attitude and the figure of the doctor in a red robe and brown hat stands off to the side observing her. None of these pictures is dated, but given the content of the pictures and the context as extracted from the written documents, it is reasonable to date them sometime during her analysis with Toni Wolff (1924-1928).

Snakes also figure prominently in Keller's paintings. In particular, one painting of a snake bears both title and date: *"Die Nacht der Angst"* or "The Night of Anxiety" painted on June 18, 1917. This is one day after her 30th birthday and during the beginning of her analysis with Jung. In what appears to be a horned metallic helmet, with the figures of a snake and four swords above it with dark storm clouds above the entire scene. Another painting bears the same date and is titled *"Fülle uns frühe mit Deiner Gnade"* or "Fill us early with Your [God's] Grace." This painting shows Keller's hands holding a vase-like container from outstretched arms against a blue and green background in the lower half of the painting and a single drop of red blood dropping from the sun, which covers the upper half of the painting in yellow with faint red accents. There is another painting of snakes intertwined similar to the symbol of the medical profession with the staff, a pair of white bird's wings, and two interwoven snakes.

In two paintings from the time of her analysis with Wolff, Keller depicts her interest in her body and its functioning. In an undated painting from this period in time, Keller painted a background of a spiral whirlwind in blues, pinks, and greens. The prominent image in this painting is a large black theatrical mask lying on its side in the upper right-hand corner. In addition, there is a large red dancing shoe which has a ladder from the floor to the opening for the foot and a very small individual painted in solid black at the base of the ladder. Keller became fascinated by the body and movement during the course of her analysis with Wolff because, in many cases, she could "dance" the feeling of internal pressure, which she could not articulate in words. In another painting, dated April 21, 1928, and titled *"Körpergefuhl"* or "Body Feelings," Keller depicts the state of the feeling tone of her body in red and black on a yellow background: it is a view of her internal organs, not the exterior of her body.

The last dated paintings are from Keller's post analytic years, 1938-1939, which shows that she continued, at times, to use the painting technique. In two paintings from October 1938, one of which is titled "the interchanging colours," depicts two concentric circular drawings in blue, green, red, and yellow. In another painting, dated December 31, 1938, Keller painted an image of a circle of red roses against a background of a wooden cross. The final two paintings, one dated January 5, 1939 and the other undated but painted in similar style and motif consist of circular mandala-like geometric images, one in six parts painted in black and blues with a golden center, the other shows a yellow five-pointed

star with surrounding colors of black, green, yellow, and red with a blue flower in the center.

Secondary Sources

There are numerous written accounts of analytical experiments with active imagination in the secondary literature. The major biographies of Jung contain information about his personal experiences with unconscious fantasy material (Bair, 2003; Ellenberger, 1970; Hannah, 1976; Hayman, 1999; Homans, 1979; Jaffé, 1989; McLynn, 1996; von Franz, 1998). Jaffé published two accounts of Jung's experiences with active imagination: "Confrontation with the Unconscious," the sixth chapter of MDR (Jung, 1963) and a brief description as well as reproductions of a few of Jung's own active fantasy paintings in a composite volume called *C. G. Jung: Word and Image* (1979, pp. 66-75). In addition, there are many accounts written by disciples of Jung: these include clinical case studies (Adler, 1948, 1955, 1961; Cwik, 1984; Dallett, 1984; Dieckmann, 1979; Edinger, 1990; Hannah, 1981; Henderson, 1955; Humbert, 1971; Keyes, 1983; Kirsch, 1955; Singer, 1973; Weaver, 1973; Wickes, 1927/1966); extensions of Jung's two-part method for conducting an exercise with active imagination (Dallett, 1984; Johnson, 1986; von Franz, 1980, 1981); and theoretical discussions of various topics related to active imagination (Casey, 1974; Davidson, 1966; Durand, 1971; Fordham, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1967, 1978; Hannah, 1953, 1961; Henderson, 1955; Hull, 1971; Powell, 1985).

In a separate category is Chodorow's *Jung on Active Imagination* (1997), compiled as a contribution to the "Encountering Jung" series sponsored by Princeton University Press, publisher of the *CW*. In this book, Chodorow selects Jung's most important writings on active imagination and presents them in chronological order in an effort to be historically-minded. In addition to selecting and editing the readings, Chodorow writes a brief introduction discussing the background and varied practices of the technique. While informative, this introduction does not constitute a rigorous historical investigation of the topic.

CHAPTER 4: PSYCHOTHERAPEUTICS AT THE TURN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Active imagination was a psychological technique developed by Jung to explore unconscious fantasy material during waking states of consciousness. In order to understand the technique, it is first essential to define the terms conscious, and unconscious or subconscious. The terms conscious and unconscious or subconscious generally can be defined as what an individual is aware of and what he or she is not, but it is far more complex than that. The terms are multi-faceted and are used differently by various writers and researchers. For example, at a symposium in 1910, several psychological researchers came together to explore and attempt to define subconscious, or unconscious, phenomena. These researchers were Hugo Münsterberg (Professor of Psychology, Harvard College), Théodule Ribot (Professor of Psychology, Collége de France), Joseph Jastrow (Professor of Psychology, University of Wisconsin), Pierre Janet (Professor of Psychology, Collége de France), Morton Prince (Professor of Neurology, Tufts College Medical School), and Bernard Hart (Assistant Medical Officer, Long Grove Asylum, Epsom) (Prince, 1910). At the end of the day, they were able to generate six definitions of subconscious phenomena, not one. A brief review of these definitions will reveal the variety and breadth of theories of the subconscious before the discussion of the techniques, or psychotherapeutics, which were used to work with unconscious materials.

According to Morton Prince, the editor of the symposium proceedings, the first definition of subconscious, or unconscious, phenomena was "to describe that portion of our field of consciousness which, at any given moment, is outside the focus of our attention; a region therefore, as it is conceived, of diminished attention"; the second definition is that "subconscious ideas are dissociated or split-off ideas; split off from the focus of attention...in such fashion that the subject is entirely unaware of them, though they are not inert but active"; the third, was that dissociated states "become synthesized among themselves into a large self-conscious personality, to which the term 'self' is given. Subconscious states thus become personified and are spoken of as the 'subconscious self,' 'subliminal self,' 'hidden self,' 'secondary self,' etc." and in that regard "this subconscious self is conceived of as making up a part of every human mind, whether normal or abnormal, and is supposed to play a very large part in our mental life (Prince, 1910, p. 14). Thus every mind is double"; the fourth, "all those past conscious experiences which are either forgotten and can not be recalled, or which may be recalled as memories, but for the moment are out of mind"; "the fifth involves "a metaphysical doctrine which transcends all facts which one can possibly observe in other or introspect in himself":

> It is more specifically described as the "subliminal," (Myers doctrine)[11] which is used as a synonym for subconscious. The subconscious ideas, instead of being mental states dissociated from the main personality, now become the main reservoir of consciousness and the personal consciousness becomes a subordinate stream flowing out of this great storage basis of "subliminal" ideas....In other words, of the sum total of conscious states within us only a small portion forms the personal

> consciousness....this subliminal consciousness is made the source of flights of genius on the one hand, while it controls the physical processes of the body on the other. (Prince, 1910, p. 14)

The sixth, and last definition offered that day, was an interpretation based on:

> Pure physiological principles of the phenomena customarily attributed to the activity of dissociated ideas. Some psychologists believe that phenomena like automatic writing and speech, the so-called subconscious solution of arithmetical problems, hysterical outbursts, etc., can be best explained as pure neural processes unaccompanied by any mentation whatsoever. (pp. 14-15)

Regarding the fifth definition of the above discussion, Prince referred to "Myers' Doctrine" of subliminal psychology (1910, p. 14). F. W. H. Myers was a "Victorian poet, classical scholar and Neoplatonic philosopher" who was intrigued by the psychological and psychical aspects of human consciousness (Shamdasani, 1993, p. 101). Myers worked in the area he named subliminal psychology, that is, a psychology of the unconscious. He believed that dreams are constantly occurring in the human psyche, not just during sleep. "The dream state...is the form our mentation most readily and habitually assumes. Dreams of a kind are probably going on within us both by night and by day, unchecked by any degree of tension of waking thought" (Myers, 1892, p. 58). Because, in Myers' view, dreaming goes on all the time, his doctrine contradicts the notion of a firm dichotomous distinction between the conscious and the unconscious. According to Shamdasani, for Myers "all...psychical action was conscious, and that it was misleading to call it unconscious or subconscious" (2003, p. 127).

For Myers the task of psychology was "the exploration of the subliminal" and this "psychology of consciousness was to be upbuilt from this basis" (Shamdasani, 2003, pp. 126-127). "Myers radically bifurcated the dream from waking consciousness, and suggested that the dream stems from another level altogether, which he nominated the subliminal" (Shamdasani, 2003, p. 126).

Myers' subliminal self consisted of a spectrum of states of consciousness both inferior (regressive) and superior (creative) to the waking state (Ellenberger, 1971).

> The inferior functions are shown in those processes of dissociation, described by psychopathologists, and the superior functions are revealed in certain works of genius, which could be understood as the "subliminal uprush" of rich storehouses of information, sentiment, and reflection that lie beneath the consciousness of the creative thinker. (Ellenberger, 1971, p. 314).

Ellenberger went on to explain that Myers' doctrine of the subliminal self contained "a third function of the unconscious Myers called mythopoetic function, that is the unconscious tendency to weave fantasies" (1971, p. 314). The tendency to weave fantasies is the raw material of psychological practice as theorized by Jung and highlights the importance of his use of the technique of active imagination.

Further,

> To use a term that Myers appears to have coined, dreams, cognate phenomena such as automatic writing, crystal vision, and post-hypnotic suggestion were seen as psychoscopes, which were to have as revolutionary effects at revealing the hidden and unseen dimensions of the psyche, as the telescope and microscope respectively. (Shamdasani, 2003, pp. 126-127)

Jung's technique of active imagination is in keeping with the practices mentioned above in their capacity to reveal hidden dimensions of the human psyche.

Jung's theories of conscious and unconscious varied over time. For example, in 1912 Jung discussed consciousness as "the process of adaptation which takes place in the most minute details," while he defined the unconscious as:

> The generally diffused, which not only binds the individuals among themselves to the race, but also unites them backwards with the peoples of the past and their psychology. Thus the unconscious, surpassing the individual in its generality, is, in the first place, the object of a true psychology.... (Jung, 2001, pp. 173-174)

By 1917 Jung's thinking on this topic had expanded to include individual consciousness and a two-part mechanism of the unconscious, which he termed a personal and impersonal, or collective, unconscious in every person. He wrote about the dual aspect of the unconscious in a volume of his work edited by Constance Long[12] titled *Collected Papers in Analytical Psychology*, in an essay titled "Psychology of the unconscious processes" and specifically discussed the issues in two segments of the essay: "The personal and the impersonal unconscious" (Part V) and "The dominants of the super-personal unconscious" (Part IX) (Jung 1917/1920, pp. 408-417 and pp. 426-437, respectively). These statements are contemporaneous with Jung's personal experiments with the unconscious as well as with his analysis of Tina Keller. One must be specific about which document and the date of the document to maintain a historical context for Jung's work on

the unconscious because he used the term in a number of ways throughout his long career. According the Shamdasani, unconscious as used by Jung was an "umbrella term that is a collection of prior theories of unconsciousnesses" (2000c). In the 1917 essay, Jung credits Jacob Burckhardt's discussion of "primordial images" (*"Urbilder"*) as a prototype of the concept of the unconsciousness which is defined as "the inherited potentialities of human imagination" (1917/1920, p. 410). In this work, Jung distinguished between "a personal unconscious and an impersonal or superpersonal unconscious" (1917/1920, p. 410).

> We also term the latter the *absolute or collective* unconscious, because it is quite detached from what is personal, and because it is also absolutely universal, wherefore its contents may be found in every head, which of course is not the case of the personal contents. (1917/1920, pp. 410-411) (emphasis in the original)

He goes on to explain the irrationality of the absolute (or collective) unconscious:

> Beautiful and perfect as man may think his reason, he may nevertheless assure himself that it is only one of the possible mental functions, coinciding merely with the corresponding side of the phenomena of the universe. All around is the irrational, that which is not congruous with reason. And this irrationalism is likewise a psychological function, namely the absolute unconscious; whilst the function of consciousness is essentially rational. (1917/1920, p. 411)

According to Shamdasani:

> Transindividual or collective conceptions of the unconscious were so widespread in philosophy, physiology, and psychology in the latter half of the nineteenth century, that it could be considered accidental that no one, as far as [he is] aware, had actually used the term "collective unconscious" before Jung. Indeed, it is ironic that a conception that was congruent with so many elements of late nineteenth century European thought—to the extent that it could almost have been regarded as

> commonplace—has come to be so singularly identified with Jung. His collective unconscious was collectively constituted, through drawing together the various transindividual and collective conceptions of the unconscious which had been put forward at the end of the nineteenth century. It represents the culmination, rather than the inauguration, of collective conceptions of the unconscious. (2003, p. 235)

The work on the psychology of unconscious or subconscious phenomena was thriving at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, as evidenced by the work of numerous researchers. For example, a three day symposium held from May 6 - 8, 1909, at New Haven, Connecticut, attracted many of the known researchers of the day to discuss psychotherapeutics. These included Morton Prince (Professor of Neurology, Tufts College Medical School), James Jackson Putnam (Professor of Neurology, Harvard Medical School), E. W. Taylor (Instructor in Neurology, Harvard Medical School), and Ernest Jones (Demonstrator of Psychiatry, University of Toronto). These scholars and researchers came together to discuss a smorgasbord of psychotherapeutic techniques currently in use to treat subconscious psychology; these included discussions of such topics as complex formation, conservation, dissociation, automatism, mental fatigue, hysteria, and the psychasthenias.

Historian of psychoanalysis Ernst Falzeder has stated that:

> Without doubt, various forms of "psychotherapy" existed before Freud, e.g. methods using magnetism, hypnosis, somnambulism, automatic writing, occult and spiritualistic phenomena, not to mention religious forms of the talking cure, shamanism, confession, etc. (2000b, p. 37)

The "coming into being of psychoanalysis as a psychotherapeutic method" predated the psychologies of the unconscious as set forth by Freud and, therefore, by Jung (Falzeder, 2000b, p. 37). According to Shamdasani:

> By looking at the transformations in dream theories between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, one is in a better position to locate and appraise the work of Freud and Jung. Indeed one can see that the basis for the transformations which are commonly attributed to their work had already been established by the end of the nineteenth century. (2003, p. 129)

Thus, we can see that the fields of theory and clinical practice with unconscious phenomena were prolific at the turn of the twentieth century. Jung's ideas on the psychology of the unconscious were not novel; rather, he was one of many researchers exploring the unconscious or subconscious mind in its many manifestations in psychological practice.[13]

Therefore, when Jung worked with the technique of active imagination himself from 1912-1918, he was working with a tradition with a long-standing history and, in that sense, is not a technique that he discovered. In order to understand the technique intellectually and psychologically, it must be situated in historical context as a treatment modality developed out of Jung's personal as well as his professional explorations in psychiatry and psychotherapeutics at the turn of the twentieth century. Long fascinated by the complexities of consciousness from the contradictory perspectives of science and spiritualism, Jung had found no line of inquiry during his years of medical study at the University of Basel that allowed him to pursue both interests formally. Thus,

when specialization became a necessity, he selected internal medicine as a practical course of action (Jung, 1963).

When preparing for the state examination to qualify as a physician, Jung read one of the prominent psychiatric texts of the time written by Krafft-Ebing (1879/1905). In this text, psychiatry was depicted as a field with a "subjective character" and psychoses were conceptualized as "diseases of the personality"; these two statements significantly altered Jung's thinking:

> My heart suddenly began to pound. I had to stand up and draw a deep breath. My excitement was intense, for it had become clear to me, in a flash of illumination, that for me the only possible goal was psychiatry. Here alone the two currents of my interest could flow together and in a united stream dig their own bed. Here was the empirical field common to biological and spiritual facts, which I had everywhere sought and nowhere found. Here at last was the place where the collision of nature and spiritual became a reality. (1963, pp. 108-l09)

Thus, Jung made the decision to forego "a sensible career in internal medicine...in favor of this psychiatric nonsense" (1963, p. 109).

Concurrently with formal medical training, Jung pursued his interests in spiritualist phenomena. In particular, he attended a series of seances in the late 1890s in which his younger cousin, Helénè Preiswerk, served as the trance medium. Jung's medical dissertation, "On the psychology and pathology of so-called occult phenomena" (1902/1983), was a psychological interpretation of his observations of Preiswerk. Jung's study was in keeping with those of other researchers investigating trance mediumship, such as William James's study of Leonore Piper (1889b) and Théodore Flournoy's of Hélène Smith (1899/1994).

In developing the method of active imagination, Jung drew from a rich body of international scholarship on a variety of topics and treatment practices prevalent at the beginning of the twentieth century. There was a flourishing literature in the United States and Europe at that time in psychological experimentation with aspects of human consciousness that employed a variety of psychotherapeutic techniques, such as hypnosis and suggestion, automatic writing, and crystal gazing. For example, in France, Jean Martin Charcot, Charles Richet, Théodule Ribot, Alfred Binet, and Pierre Janet, among others, explored the phenomena of dissociation and multiple personality in abnormal psychology. In Great Britain, F. W. H. Myers, Edmund Gurney, and Henry Sidgwick, among others, formed the Society for Psychical Research, an organization dedicated to examining multiple states of consciousness by a variety of techniques that included hypnosis, suggestion, automatic writing, and crystal visioning. In the United States, William James, Morton Prince, and Boris Sidis, among others, investigated many facets of psychopathology; William James, in particular, was engaged in researches on such topics as the varieties of religious experience (1902/1958), psychic phenomena (1890/1983b, 1892/1986), and exceptional mental states (see Taylor, 1983). It was into this intellectual atmosphere that Jung emerged as a young physician after completing medical studies and passing the state examination.

On December 10, 1900, Jung began work as an assistant at the Burghölzli Hospital, the psychiatric clinic for the University of Zürich Medical School. At

the age of 25, the young physician formally entered the world of turn-of-the-century psychiatric research and psychotherapeutics. Jung worked at the hospital until 1909, when he left to pursue a private practice of psychotherapy.

When Jung joined the medical staff, the Burghölzli was well known for its innovative treatment of mental disorders under the directorships of Auguste Forel[14] and Eugen Bleuler.[15] At that time, the most widely used therapeutic techniques at the hospital were hypnosis and suggestion, which had been introduced by Forel. Thus, Jung learned to employ hypnosis and suggestion in the treatment of psychopathology, but over the next few years he became disenchanted with these techniques. In a letter to Dr. Rudolph Loÿ, dated January 28, 1913, Jung stated: "I myself practised hypnotic suggestion-therapy for a time with enthusiasm" (1961c, para. 578, p. 256). After achieving stunning cures with hypnosis on three particular cases, Jung explained to Loÿ his decision to stop using the technique:

> ...A man possessed of a scientific conscience cannot digest such cases with impunity. I was resolved to abandon suggestion altogether rather than allow myself to be passively transformed into a miracle-worker. I wanted to understand what really goes on in people's minds. It suddenly seemed to me incredibly childish to think of dispelling an illness with magical incantations, and that this should be the sole result of our efforts to create a psychotherapy. (1961c, para. 582, p. 258)

According to Shamdasani, Jung employed hypnosis as his primary treatment modality until around 1907-1908, when he stopped using the technique: "[Jung's] abandonment of hypnosis was not because it was unsuccessful; rather, it was spectacularly successful but you did not know why you cured" (2000d).

During his years at the hospital, Jung also conducted scientific researches on other psychotherapeutic techniques, such as psychogalvanic skin reflexes (1960a) and word associations (1960b). Both techniques measured patients' responses to emotionally laden stimulus words. In the case of psychogalvanic skin reflexes, an apparatus called a psycho-galvanometer recorded changes in the conductivity of electric impulses through the skin and, in the case of word associations, the researcher himself functioned as the instrument that recorded response and reaction times. These experimental researches contributed significantly to Jung's theory of unconscious complexes (1937).[16]

A number of factors converged at this time. Jung became disenchanted with hypnosis and suggestion, and his scientific researches with word association experiments and spiritualistic phenomena whetted his appetite for a deeper understanding of the various phenomena of human consciousness. Further, Jung himself was experiencing hypnagogic visions and hallucinations before his official break from Freud around 1913 (Shamdasani, 2000d). Interested in obtaining greater knowledge for himself as well as his patients, Jung investigated techniques for accessing unconscious fantasy material from a cluster of related practices, including hypnagogic imagery, automatic writing, and crystal gazing.

Hypnagogia is defined as the "twilight" states of consciousness that occur twice daily, just before one falls asleep and just as one awakens (Ellenberger, 1970; Jung, 1902/1983; Mavromatis, 1987; Roazen, 1975; Taylor, 1997). Jung was

especially interested in Herbert Silberer's experiments on hypnagogic phenomena. Silberer[17] was known for his ideas regarding the dual aspects of dreams, experimentation with hypnagogic states, and the psychology of alchemy.[18] In 1909, Silberer published "Report on a method of eliciting and observing certain symbolic hallucination-phenomena," in which he described "an experimental approach to the explanation of dreams" that he discovered "quite by accident" (1909/1959b, p. 195). Silberer reported his approach as follows:

> In a state of drowsiness I contemplate an abstract topic...A struggle between active thinking and drowsiness sets in. The latter becomes strong enough to disrupt normal thinking and to allow--in the twilight-state so produced--the appearance of an autosymbolic phenomenon. The content of my thought presents itself to me immediately in the form of a perceptual...picture. (1909/1959b, p. 196)

Silberer listed several examples of this process, one of which was the following: the abstract topic he contemplated was "to improve a halting passage in an essay" and the resulting autosymbolic image that arose was Silberer seeing himself "planing a piece of wood" (1909/1959b, p. 202). He went on to say that the systematic exploration of autosymbolic phenomena involves the difficulty "in enforcing certain thought activities to occur under the most unsuitable conditions. The maintenance of the desirable labile condition requires some training" (1909/1959b, p. 199). The desired "labile condition refers to the state in which drowsiness does neither change into sleep nor allow for ordered normal thinking" (1909/1959b, p. 199). Silberer specified three types of hypnagogic phenomena: "material," that is, "those which consist of autosymbolic

representations of thought-contents...dealt with in a thought-process"; "functional," that is, "those autosymbolic experiences which represent the condition of the subject experiencing them or the effectiveness of his consciousness"; and "somatic," that is, "those autosymbolic phenomena which reflect somatic conditions of any kind" (1909/1959b, pp. 198-201).

In addition to the work of Silberer, Jung also was aware of the work of Ludwig Staudenmeier, another researcher in conscious and subconscious phenomena. Jung owned a copy of Staudenmeier's 1912 book, *Magic as Experimental Science (Die Magie als experimentelle Naturwissenschaft),* which contained some of Jung's annotations (S. Shamdasani, personal communication, October 7, 2003). The book was well known in its day and, after the original publication in 1912, it was reprinted again in 1918, 1920, and 1922. Staudenmeier covered a range of topics in the book; these include the use of magic in both conscious and unconscious awareness, hallucinations, enhancing hallucinations, instructions for carrying out practical experiments with the unconscious, and the influences of physical and emotional conditions on conscious experiments with the subconscious. This work is contemporaneous with Jung's personal experiments with writing and painting from the unconscious, and Jung "couldn't fail to be interested in it" (S. Shamdasani, personal communication, October 7, 2003).

Another technique that Jung investigated for accessing unconscious fantasy material was automatic writing. Automatic writing came into existence

in the mid-1850s as a practice used by spiritualists who claimed to communicate with the spirits of the dead (Ellenberger, 1970; Shamdasani, 1993). These communications usually came about with the aid of an instrument called the planchette, "a small triangular board on two casters with a slot through which one placed a pencil upright to allow spontaneous writing to occur with a minimum of physical effort" (Shamdasani, 1993, p. 102).

Automatic writing, because it established the existence of simultaneous separate states of consciousness within a single individual, was a significant breakthrough in explorations of human consciousness. Ellenberger claimed that this practice from spiritualist researches had a significant impact on the history of dynamic psychology, primarily because it provided scientists with "a method of exploring the unconscious" (1970, p. 85). William James lauded the explorations of spiritualists: "this discovery [the method of automatic writing] marks a new era in experimental psychology; it is impossible to overrate its importance" (1892/1986, p. 95). According to Taylor, James explored the phenomenon of automatic writing as part of his inquiry on automatism, that is, "physical or mental activity performed without awareness of the conscious self" (1983, p. 49). Automatic writing was, for James, a physical action in the same category as similar behaviors such as "automatic talking, any form of spontaneous drawing, or other unconscious body movements" (Taylor, 1983, p. 49). In addition to spiritualist and psychological explorations of automatic writing, a number of artists and writers experimented with the technique.[19]

However, not all scientists of the day were in favor of the use of automatic writing as a technique for legitimate psychological research. Shamdasani noted that "at the end of 1893, there appeared a flurry of brief articles in the *British Medical Journal* on automatic writing by prominent representatives of the medical establishment [who] were highly perturbed by its proliferation and felt it incumbent to issue an official health warning" (1993, p. 105). In fact, a version of this debate is on-going in today's medical community between those whose strict view of healing practices is at odds with those based on forms of spirituality (Taylor, 1997).

Jung was familiar with the practice of automatic writing ("psychography") (1902/1983, p. 25). There were two distinct phases of Jung's involvement with researches on the topic: his spiritualistic investigations in the late 1890s and a later phase during which Jung reinterpreted the spiritualist phenomena psychologically after he became acquainted with the work of Théodore Flournoy (1899/1994), F. W. H. Myers (1884, 1885, 1887, 1889), and William James (1889a, 1889b, 1890, 1890/1983a, 1890/1983b, 1902/1958) (S. Shamdasani, personal communication, May 30, 2002).

In his own work, Jung distinguished between two types of automatic writing: one produced by a medium in trance, "whose content is completely foreign to her consciousness," and another "analogous phenomena" produced "within the sphere of waking consciousness" (1902/1983, pp. 13-14, para. 28). Jung used Goethe as an example of the second type:

> Goethe, for instance, says that when he sat down, lowered his head, and vividly conjured up the image of a flower, he saw it undergoing changes of its own accord, as if entering into new combinations of form. In the half-waking state these phenomena occur fairly often as hypnagogic hallucinations. Goethe's automatisms differ from truly somnambulistic ones, because in his case the initial idea is conscious, and the development of the automatism keeps within the bounds laid down by the initial idea, that is to say, within the purely motor or visual area. (1902/1983, p. 13, para. 28)

Jung's development of the technique of active imagination is consistent with the second type of hypnagogic phenomena, that is, those that are consciously produced during a waking state of consciousness.

Another technique that Jung explored was crystal gazing "elaborated on an age-old practice used by diviners and fortune-tellers, which consisted in gazing into mirrors, crystal balls, water (lekanomantia), and so forth" (Ellenberger, 1970, p. 121). To access the unconscious fantasy material, "an individual looked into any reflecting surface and began to see clouds that formed themselves into visual projections of unconscious thoughts" (Ellenberger, 1970, p. 524).

At the turn of the twentieth century, there was a large psychological literature on crystal gazing and the closely related phenomena of inducing hallucinations; this literature includes important works by James (1890/1983b), Myers (1892), Prince (1890/1975), and Silberer (1912/1959a, 1917/1971). For example, Silberer expressed his enthusiasm for the method of crystal gazing based on personal observations. He believed that through these techniques "symbols can depart from their original narrower meaning and become types for

an entire class of experiences whereby an advance is made from the material to the functional meaning" (1917/1971, p. 247). This advance from material to functional meaning provided the psychological researcher with data from the unconscious that enhanced his assessment of the situation.

William James discussed an example of the practice of crystal gazing that was recorded by Miss X.

> Many persons who look fixedly into a crystal or other vaguely luminous surface fall into a kind of daze, and see visions. Miss X has this susceptibility in a remarkable degree, and is, moreover, an unusually intelligent critic. She reports many visions which can only be described as apparently clairvoyant. (1892/1986, p. 97)

James valued the technique because it "beautifully fill[ed] a vacant niche in our knowledge of subconscious mental operations" (1892/1986, p. 97).

Miss X was the name adopted by Ada Goodrich-Freer, a well-known practitioner of crystallomancy. Goodrich-Freer wrote lucidly about her experimentations with the practice and its cross-cultural history (1889, 1890, 1899). She believed that "the crystal is used for the purpose of concentration, both mental and physical" and the resulting visions took one of three forms:

> 1. after-images or recrudescent memories, often rising...from the sub-conscious strata to which they had sunk, 2. objectifications of ideas or images (a) consciously or (b) unconsciously in the mind of the percipient, [and] 3. visions, possibly telepathic or clairvoyant, implying acquirement of knowledge by super-normal means (1889, p. 505)

Goodrich-Freer also discussed her methodology for obtaining unconscious fantasy material by means of the technique of crystal gazing, which offers psychologists then and now a rich source of primary material.

Jung discussed crystal gazing in a lecture on *Modern Psychology* (1959), delivered on October 28, 1938, at the ETH in Zürich. This discussion was in reference to the practice of active imagination and the various methods by which one consciously accessed material from the unconscious. Jung placed the practice in historical context by explaining that crystal gazing was a method used by priests in ancient Egypt:

> There was nothing in the crystal itself, they actually perceived the unconscious background which was animated by their attentive gaze. Many old magicians in all parts of the world make use of this technique, and employ all kinds of shining objects, water, jewels and even buttons, for the purpose. The Egyptian priests gave their clients beautiful blue crystals in which to perceive these background processes; the purpose was divination, and also the healing of the ills of the soul and even of the body. The old Egyptians knew that the unconscious background was absolutely necessary for these purposes. (1938/1959, p. 11)

Jung valued the practice as one of many techniques for accessing unconscious fantasy material.

Jung's use of active imagination was one of many similar practices of which he was aware and about which he spoke at different points in his career. What distinguishes active imagination from this cluster of similar practices is the psychotherapeutic goal Jung had in mind when working with the technique, that is, achieving a third position in the struggle between polar opposites which he called the transcendent function. This transcendence is the capacity to work with the opposites of conscious and unconscious and achieve a new position from the engagement.

In contrast, Janet's psychotherapeutic goal in using the techniques of hypnosis and suggestion, automatic writing, and crystal gazing was for the purpose of retrieving traumatic memories which he felt were at the root of an individual's psychopathology. In a series of 15 lectures delivered at Harvard University in October and November 1906, Janet emphasized memory retrieval as the cornerstone of clinical practice, stating that:

> ...The loss of memory bears not only, as is generally believed, on the period of somnambulism, on the scene of delirium; the loss of memory bears also on the event that has given birth to that delirium, on all the facts that are connected with it, on the feelings that are related to it. (1914, p. 38)

Memory forms a cluster of factors which vary with the severity of the "disease of the personality" (Janet, 1910, p. 63). He went on to comment that "this very important remark may be extended to all the other cases I have related" in the series of lectures for the Harvard medical students.

Janet described numerous cases of psychopathology with which he used the technique of automatic writing. Details from a specific case of memory loss related to a somnambulistic fugue will help to illustrate how he used this technique.

> Take the case of a young girl of twenty years who in her somnambulistic periods indulges in fugues of several days' duration, far from the paternal roof. After her fugues she appears to have lost completely all memory of them, although she seems incapable of telling you why she went away or where she went. Under distraction and while she was thinking of something else, I put a pencil in her right hand and she wrote me the following letter apparently without cognizance of what she was doing.—"I left home because mamma accuses me of having a lover and it is not true. I cannot live with her any longer. I sold my jewels to pay my

> railroad fare. I took such and such a train," etc. In this letter she relates her entire fugue with precision although she continues to contend that she remembers nothing about it. (1910, p. 60)

In other cases, Janet discussed:

> ...People who seem not to see clearly or not to feel anything in their hands, describe to you in a subsequent somnambulism or by means of the writing of which I have just spoken, or by still other methods, all the details of objects placed before their eyes or brought in contact with their hands. (1910, p. 61)

Another point of contrast to the goal of Jung's technique of active imagination of eliciting the transcendent function was the psychotherapeutics of Flournoy, who used automatic writing and crystal gazing to elicit subliminal fantasies in his researches. He, like Myers, differentiated between supraliminal consciousness or normal waking consciousness and subliminal consciousness, which he defined as "under the threshold" (*"unter der Schwelle"*) (Flournoy, 1900/1994, p. 8). Flournoy went on to clarify:

> Subliminal consciousness...and subconscious or unconscious are practically synonymous and designate phenomena and processes that one has some reason to believe are conscious even though they are unknown to the subject, since they take place so to speak below the level of its ordinary consciousness. (1900/1994, p. 8).

Jung termed Flournoy's technique *"automatisms téléogiques,"* or spontaneous visions (1940/1969i, p. 155, para. 263n).

When hypnosis and suggestion became the foundation of turn-of-the-century psychotherapeutics, Flournoy turned to the investigation of religious and mediumistic phenomena (Shamdasani, 2003). Flournoy's most famous case was a study of the productions of a trance medium whom he called Hélène

Smith (1900/1994); Jung modeled his medical dissertation on a trance medium after Flournoy's study of Smith. Flournoy attributed Smith's subliminal fantasies produced during a state of waking trance to cryptomenesia, which he discussed in the following terms:

> Certain forgotten memories reappear without being recognized by the subject, who believes to see in them something new. In the communications or messages supplied by the mediums, the first question...that always crops up is knowing if, at the point where the spirits make the disincarnate or some other supernatural cause interfere, one is not simply dealing with cryptomenesia, with latent memories of the medium that resurface, in an at times very disfigured form through the work of subliminal imagination or reasoning, such as it happens so often in our ordinary dreams. (1900/1994, p. 8).

Thus, active imagination was an investigation for Jung in the relationship between the conscious and unconscious, but was not aimed at memory retrieval, as it was for Janet, or the production of subliminal fantasies, as it was for Flournoy. Jung's use of the technique of active imagination was to achieve the transcendent function.

Active imagination was the method by which the contents of the personal and collective unconsciousness manifested themselves in analysis and were, therefore, essential to the process of the analysis. Active imagination was necessary because it helped the patient learn to achieve a new attitude toward unwanted eruptions of unconscious material into consciousness. "Consciousness is continually widened through the confrontation with previously unconscious contents, or—to be more accurate—could be widened if it took the trouble to integrate them" (1916/1969j, p. 91, para. 193). Jung's conception of active

imagination as it was formulated in the 1916 essay on "The transcendent function" reflects "his understanding of the relation of conscious and unconscious processes. Thus his theoretical understanding of consciousness provides the rationale as to why active imagination is necessary, and what it is supposed to achieve" (S. Shamdasani, personal communication, December 15, 2004).

Jung viewed analytical treatment as "a readjustment of psychological attitude achieved with the help of the doctor" (1916/1969j, p. 72, para. 142). This readjusted attitude is the transcendent function. "The basic question for the therapist is not how to get rid of [the patient's] momentary difficulty, but how future difficulties may be successfully countered" (1916/1969j, p. 73, para. 144). "In actual practice...the suitably trained analyst mediates the transcendent function for the patient, i.e., helps him to bring conscious and unconscious together and so arrive at a new attitude" (1916/1969j, p. 74, para. 146). According to Jung, what was needed to produce the transcendent function were unconscious materials such as those found in dreams and spontaneous (waking) fantasies in the form of symbols, images, and related phenomena. "What we are searching for is a way to make conscious those contents which are about to influence our actions, so that the secret interference of the unconscious and its unpleasant consequences can be avoided" (1916/1969j, p. 79, para. 158). Thus, there is a practical aspect in learning to develop the communication between the conscious and unconscious aspects of the self because the communication of the

two is "so necessary for our mental and physical health" (1916/1969j, p. 81, para. 165).

Jung took the patient's psychological distress as the starting point for employing the procedure of active imagination. For example, a patient who is depressed:

> Reproduces the content of the depression in some way, either concretely or symbolically. Since the depression was not manufactured by the conscious mind but is an unwelcome intrusion from the unconscious, the elaboration of the mood is, as it were, a picture of the contents and tendencies of the unconscious that were massed together in the depression. The whole procedure is a kind of enrichment and clarification of the affect, whereby the affect and its contents are brought nearer to consciousness....This work by itself can have a favourable and vitalilzing influence. At all events, it creates a new situation, since the previously unrelated affect has become a more or less clear and articulate idea, thanks to the assistance and co-operation of the conscious mind. This is the beginning of the transcendent function, i.e., of the collaboration of conscious and unconscious data. (1916/1969j, p. 82, para. 167).

In addition to the personal benefit an individual achieves by learning the transcendent function through the use of the various practices of active imagination, society as a whole benefits. When the individual personality is able to grant the same authority to the ego (consciousness) as it is to the unconscious:

> It is exactly as if a dialogue were taking place between two human beings with equal rights, each of whom gives the other credit for a valid argument and considers it worth while to modify the conflicting standpoints by means of thorough comparison and discussion or else to distinguish them clearly from one another. Since the way to agreement seldom stands open, in most cases a long conflict will have to be borne, demanding sacrifices from both sides. (1916/1969j, p. 89, para. 186)

Jung went on to say that:

> [T]he present day shows with appalling clarity how little able people are to let the other man's argument count, although this capacity is a fundamental and indispensable condition for any human community. Everyone who proposes to come to terms with himself must reckon with this basic problem. For, to the degree that he does not admit the validity of the other person, he denies the "other" within himself the right to exist—and vice versa. The capacity for inner dialogue is a touchstone for outer objectivity. (1916/1969j, p. 89, para. 187)

Active imagination was one of the most important techniques for drawing forth unconscious materials which could then enter into a conversation with the ego by means of the transcendent function. This capacity learned in analysis thus potentially enhanced the understanding and well-being of the individual who in turn took this capacity for balancing conscious and unconscious into his interactions with the world at large.

In the next section we will see how Jung and Wolff used the technique of active imagination with their patient, Tina Keller, to access the primary unconscious material necessary to guide the analytic process and help her learn to dialogue between the conscious and unconscious aspects of her personality. Active imagination assisted her in achieving a rapprochement between her ego and her unconscious, which Jung termed the transcendent function.

CHAPTER 5: TINA KELLER

Tina Keller was in analysis with Carl Jung from 1915-1924, and with Toni Wolff from 1924-1928. During her 13 years of combined analysis, Keller learned the technique of active imagination to assist her in reducing intense psychological discomfort. In Keller's words, the technique of active imagination that she learned from Jung consisted of the following procedure:

> An image is allowed to form, expressing the feeling-content of the person's present situation. For example, I might have seen my search for secret values as groping in a fog or as digging in the ground for treasure. But only as the image *spontaneously* forms out of the prevailing mood is it felt as adequate....The situation contains a tension, and the person in this situation must decide what he will do. Knock on the door? Call for help? (Keller, 1982, p. 285) (Emphasis in original)

Keller went on to claim that "if one finds a way to proceed with active imagination, it is likely that an obstacle in real life can also be overcome. It is as if doing it in imagination paves the way for concrete action" (1982, p. 285- 286).

Her active imaginings were primarily in the form of writing and painting from the unconscious in her years with Jung; in her analysis with Wolff, she continued to use these two techniques, but a third element arose: dance and bodily movement. Keller stated that the sessions in which she danced her distress were far more helpful than the ones in which she and Wolff simply talked (1982). To set the stage for a discussion of her experiences with active imagination, a brief biographical description will be presented to situate Keller in historical time and context. This description will be followed by sections relating the details of her analyses with Jung and Wolff, respectively.

Personal History

Tina (née Jenny) Keller was born on June 17, 1887, in Canton Glarus, "the mountainous region of German Switzerland" (1969, p. 1), the eldest of four children. Keller's father was employed in his father-in-law's textile manufacturing business. Her father, a product of "the Age of Reason," was a man for whom "only the visible and tangible was real" (1981, p. 1). Her mother, "a beautiful and rich girl," was a woman for whom duty to home and family was foremost (1981, p. 2). While her mother "always stressed that she was happy," Keller had doubts: "[mother's] fiction of happiness was necessary" because "a woman of that period had no alternatives, so she accepted the philosophy...that women belonged exclusively to the home" (1981, p. 2).

Keller described her family life as "a Victorian type of home" (1981, p. 1). It felt to her that "our house must be a fortress to protect us from outside influence" (1981, p. 4). As a very young child, Keller lived in the orderly world of her parents; however, when she was five years old, her grandmother died. Keller identified the origin of her psychological and religious anxieties with this event:

> I was about 5 years old when my grandmother died. It was a big shock for everyone and I saw father having tears in his eyes....No one spoke to me about this loss, no one tried to explain, but I was faced with a catastrophe my parents had not been able to prevent. Something had happened that was due to some unknown power, superior to the greatest authority I knew....I was now confronted with questions that seemed to have no answers. I believe my anxieties began with this dark episode. (1981, p. 3)

Of her childhood in general, Keller stated that from an early age she lived a life separate from her family: "Somehow I did not belong to the family....I lived a double life, one in the fiction of the images my parents had of life, and beside that, a secret life of religious fantasy" (1981, p. 3). In the secret life of fantasy Keller's " 'real' person tried to find a home [she] really could belong to" (1981, p. 3). It was this capacity for fantasy that Keller accessed in her experiences of active imagination while in analysis with Jung and Wolff.

As a teenager, Keller decided to learn a profession outside the home: "I wanted another kind of life than my mother had. I wanted to work for some useful cause" (1968b, p. B-6). However, her access to education was limited. "As was usual at that time, my education, like that of most girls, was quite fragmentary" (1968b, p. B-3). While the Keller children were not sent to school, they did receive instruction in their home from an English governess (1981, p. 4). Tina's access to education was limited to the lessons from her governess with three exceptions: at age 12 she attended a public school during a 14 month period when the family temporarily relocated to England for her father's work; at age 16 she shared in her brother's lessons when a private tutor came to the house to prepare him for entrance exams to the Gymnasium;[20] and at age 18 she and her sister attended Cheltenham Ladies College in England for a year. It was at that time that Keller decided to train as a nurse and, upon returning to Switzerland, worked in hospitals to prepare for her chosen career.

In addition to her desire to work in a useful profession, Keller had a desire to get married. "I hoped to find a husband outside the society to which my parents belonged. I felt sure God would let me meet such a man at the right time" (1968b, p. B-6). Until that time came, she "worked as a nurse and had much satisfaction to leave the boring life of a girl of the leisured class of that time" (1968b, p. B-6).

In the autumn of 1911, Tina met her future husband, the theologian Dr. Adolph Keller (1872-1963). Adolph, a man fifteen years her senior, had completed theological and philosophical studies at the University of Basel and in 1909, had moved to Zürich to assume the prestigious position of pastor at St. Peter's Church (Keller, 1981; Staehelin, 1969). Tina and Adolph married in 1912 and had five children during the fifteen years they lived in Zürich (1912-1927).

Early in the marriage, the discrepancy between Adolph's and Tina's educational levels became apparent. "When married to a man with an academic degree, my lack of knowledge was regretted by both of us. I was very eager to learn more" (n.d., p. 23). Therefore, she resumed her studies in earnest:

> I began preparing for the "Maturity examinations," that include about 12 subjects and allow a person to enter university. My husband helped me and stimulated me, though he did not expect that I would follow through. He was proud when I passed as one of the best and greeted me with a Latin inscription. (n.d., p. 23)

During the time she was preparing for the maturity examinations, Keller stated that "I had as yet no thoughts of going further. I only wanted to be a better educated wife for my learned husband" (1968b, p. B-22).

Tina became acquainted with the study of psychology and the name of Carl Jung through her husband. Adolph Keller had met Carl Jung during a study group at the Burghölzli Hospital; at that time, Jung was second in command when the psychiatric clinic was under the directorship of Eugen Bleuler, a pioneer in research on schizophrenia. Adolph attended the study group to enhance his knowledge of current developments in psychoanalytic theory and practice; he wished to stay informed of these developments because he engaged in pastoral counseling as part of his professional duties as minister of St. Peter's Church.

Tina met Carl Jung in person shortly after she and Adolph were married in 1912; in fact, during the Kellers' honeymoon, Adolph was reading Jung's recently published book *Symbols of Transformation* (1912). Jung invited both Tina and Adolph to attend weekly meetings at his home in Küsnacht:

> Jung was then trying to formulate his own ideas, sorting out where he agreed and where he differed from Freud. He invited a group of friends to his house for regular open evenings, where he would speak to us and use that audience as a sounding-board.... My husband's contributions to the discussions were specially appreciated, because of his academic training and his theological and philosophical background. (1968b, pp. B-2 - B-3)

Initially, Tina attended the gatherings to learn about the ideas that were of interest to her husband, but she quickly became interested in them herself. "I was very eager to accompany my husband on these occasions. Although I had no preparation, I felt that something important was being discussed, so I listened with my whole being" (1968b, pp. B-2, B-3). In addition to attending the weekly

discussion group and the doctor-patient relationship that began between Tina Keller and Jung in 1915, the Jung and Keller families engaged in social activities together and Adolph was the Jung family's official pastor, officiating at all important Jung family religious events (1969, p. 14).

Keller had a mixed response to Carl Jung. She was fascinated by him, attributing her interest to the fact that Jung was "a pioneer in a passionate search, trying to look behind the visible into the dark world of the psyche" (1968b, p. B-3). However, she was also repelled by him, stating that "Dr. Jung could be so sarcastic. He made fun of people in an unfeeling way" (1968b, p. B-3). She went on to say that "[Jung] was not the kind of man [she] was attracted to," concluding that "perhaps only a man who did not wish to be labeled 'good' could explore the dark unknown? A 'good' man, like [her] husband, would keep to the light side of life" (1968b, p. B-3).

Tina Keller began analysis with Jung in 1915 at the recommendation of her husband; she was experiencing severe anxiety and Adolph thought Jung might be able to help her. Initially, Jung sent her to Maria Moltzer, a Dutch lay analyst who worked as "a woman collaborator of Dr. Jung's. Then, as the result of a dream, I transferred to Dr. Jung" (1972b, p. 5). Keller worked analytically with Jung on and off from 1915-1924; her treatment was interrupted periodically due to external events, such as Jung's mandatory military service and the demands of her growing family.

In 1924, after an absence from analysis, Keller wished to resume her sessions with Jung. He was not available, however, because he was departing shortly to study the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico (Jung, 1963; McGuire, 1978). Therefore, Jung transferred Keller to Toni Wolff (1888 - 1953), a former patient of his who had become a lay analyst and his primary associate, with whom Tina worked analytically until 1928. While in analysis with Wolff, Keller became "closer to Dr. Jung. I now belonged to the intimate circle of pupils around him that participated in his thought" (1981, p. 24). During the analysis with Wolff, Keller continued "from time to time...[to] ha[ve] a private session with [Jung]," and attended his seminars, including "that special seminar where Dr. Jung told us of his own development [active imaginations]" (1981, p. 24). Keller was referring to the 1925 seminar on analytical psychology, delivered in 16 weekly lectures from March 23 to July 6, in which Jung "briefly discussed the experiences and methods he used to work with the unconscious materials and waking fantasies he experienced during his years of self-experimentation [1912-1918] (1968b, p. C-5). Regarding the seminar, Keller related the following:

> I participated in that special seminar where Dr. Jung told us of his own professional development and how, on preparing for his final examination in psychiatry he felt his interest in the natural sciences and his philosophical interest could be united. (1981, pp. 24-25)

In addition and at Wolff's request, Jung showed Keller some of his paintings and illuminated texts done by active imagintion:

> Toni Wolff asked Dr. Jung to let me read part of his "black book" where he had described his own "active imaginations" in which, I believe, Toni

> Wolff had given him the kind of help she had given me. It was a great privilege to thus be allowed to see. (1981, p. 25)

Wolff was also responsible for getting Keller invited several times to Jung's personal retreat, the tower at Bollingen (1968b, p. C-5).

An important personal development occurred during the analysis with Wolff, that is, Keller discovered a deep urge to become a doctor and, with Wolff's encouragement and despite Jung's and her husband's objections, she began medical studies. "My husband was shocked, Dr. Jung was discouraging—and yet something in me was stronger than all the obstacles" (1968b, p. C-6). By 1928, Keller had passed the two preliminary exams required for medical school and had begun working in hospitals and clinics in Zürich (1968b, p. C-7). However, in 1928 the family moved to Geneva to allow Adolph to pursue a career in "an international relief organization for the churches that had suffered from World War I" (1968b, p. C-7). Because of the geographical distance, Keller was not able to continue her analysis with Wolff and, with the exception of occasional consultations with Wolff and Jung, Keller's formal analytic treatment came to an end (Keller-Jung Correspondence, ETH). However, she did complete her medical studies once the family settled in Geneva and, in 1931, passed the Swiss examinations to secure the credential of medical doctor. After becoming a certified physician, Keller "set up a private practice...on the basis of [her] analysis with Dr. Jung" and worked "as the only Jungian representative in

Geneva for nearly 20 years....Dr. Jung sent me patients, and I continued seeing him from time to time" (1968b, p. C-7).

In 1948, when Adolph retired and the children were grown, he and Tina returned to Zürich. Tina worked in private practice while Adolph divided his time between Zürich and Los Angeles, where the Keller's elder son lived. Also in 1948 in Zürich, the informal community of individuals interested in Jung's work coalesced into a formal training institute. Tina asked Jung to recommend her as an analytic member of the newly formed organization, but he refused on the grounds that he was "old and did not wish to interfere in matters of the Institute" (1968b, p. F-1). The admissions committee of the Jungian Institute rejected Tina's application to become a member. Keller was upset by the rejection from the Institute as well as by Jung's refusal to assist her: "having been his only representative in Geneva, I could not understand this refusal and I was very angry. I wrote to Dr. Jung and declared my separation from the Jungian 'school' " (1982, p. 293). Unfortunately, this letter was not included in the published version of Jung's correspondence by Princeton University Press, and cannot be located in either the private collections at the ETH or in the Keller Family Papers.

After the disappointing rejections by Jung and the Jungian Institute, Keller continued to work in private practice in Zürich. However, in the winter of 1958, Adolph suffered a stroke while visiting their elder son in the Los Angeles area; at that time, Tina closed her practice and moved to California to care for her husband. Five years later, Adolph Keller died (1963). Tina stayed in California

until 1971, at which time she decided to return to Geneva, where she remained professionally active until her own death in 1986 at the age of 99 (P. Keller, personal communication, May 17, 2002).

Keller's Analysis with Jung (1915-1924)

When Jung started seeing Keller analytically in 1915, he was 41 years old, a psychiatrist in private practice, and a writer and thinker exploring the fundamental principles of the newly emerging field of analytical psychology. That same year Jung wrote, but did not publish, the essay "The transcendent function," in which he described the method he developed for working with waking fantasy materials from the unconscious; this method he later termed active imagination. Jung engaged in these self-experiments with active imagination from approximately 1912 to 1918. According to Jung's later recollection:

> Today I can say that I have never lost touch with my initial experiences. All my works, all my creative activity, has come from those initial fantasies and dreams which began in 1912, almost fifty years ago. Everything that I accomplished in later life was already contained in them, although at first only in the form of emotions and images. (1963, p. 192)

Jung further stated that:

> The knowledge I was concerned with, or was seeking, still could not be found in the science of those days. I myself had to undergo the original experiences, and moreover, try to plant the results of my experience in the soil of reality; otherwise they would have remained subjective assumptions without validity. (1963, p. 192)

With the exception of this single essay and the seminar on analytical psychology given in 1925, which Tina Keller attended, no other information on Jung's technique of active imagination was known to the public.

When Tina Keller began analysis with Jung in 1915, she was 28 years old. She had been married three years, was the mother of two young children and pregnant with a third, and was active with the duties as a pastor's wife, all the while her personal life was "inundated with intuitions and fears" (1968b, p. B-5). Her husband's concern regarding her symptoms of anxiety lead him to seek advice from his friend Carl Jung. According to Keller, "Dr. Jung proposed psychoanalysis because my husband complained of my irrational fears" (1968b, p. B-4). "I had come to analysis because of painful anxiety. All through my childhood I had suffered from anxious fears" (1972b, p. 4). "I seemed neurotic to my husband. He could not understand such irrational fears and was irritated" (1981, p. 11).

She went on to explain that:

> Dr. Jung did not consider me "sick." He said my fears were a symptom, showing that I was in a growth-process he called "individuation." He believed the symptoms were necessary to keep me from escaping the process; the fears, he believed, would only disappear, as I became more mature. This might take a very long time. In fact, "individuation" is a life-long process.... (1981, p. 11)

She reported that Jung wanted to "strengthen my ego, for he believed it was overwhelmed by the strong personality of my husband"; and in that regard,

Jung encouraged her to "follow that which is alive in you and it will lead you to God, even if it seems to go in another direction" (1981, p. 26).

> My husband believed that my state of anxiety would disappear after a few sessions and dream interpretations, just as he had seen physical symptoms disappear in some of the people he treated. But Dr. Jung knew that real analysis would take a long time; he knew it would affect my religious attitude, and this might easily endanger my marriage. (1972b, p. 4)

Keller then discussed her husband's concern that the analysis free her permanently from the anxieties (1972b, p. 4). In fact, Adolph Keller wrote a number of letters to Jung expressing his concerns that the analysis was making his wife's fears worse rather than better, only one of which is still in existence (Jung, 1915).

Keller's early analysis coincided with the years of Jung's own self-experimentation. Keller reported going to sessions and seeing Jung's personal active imagination paintings and writings in plain view; in fact, Jung was instructing Keller on the method he was using to explore his own unconscious. "Dr. Jung wrote in his 'black and his red book' during emotional upheavals and during the period of discovery described his 'visions' and then wrote dialogues and commentaries....sometimes these paintings would be visible in Jung's consultation room" (1981, p. 25).

In addition to seeing some of Jung's paintings done by active imagination and illuminated manuscripts during analytic sessions, she also heard him openly discuss to a gathering of approximately 26 attendees, consisting primarily of

colleagues and analysands, his own experiences with the technique during the seminar on analytical psychology from March 23 to July 6, 1925. Keller described her experience as follows:

> It was deeply moving when Dr. Jung told us how he experimented on himself. It sounded like a shameful confession, when he described how he, for whom thoughts were tools to be controlled, had allowed them to proceed on their own, without however, losing sight of them. He wanted to find out where such [autonomous] thought chains go when undirected. (1968b, p. A-3) (See above, p. 35 for Jung's description.)

At the time when the seminar was delivered, Keller had completed her first year of analysis with Wolff.

During Keller's analysis with Jung (1915-1924), he focused primarily on her symptoms of anxiety and confusion concerning religious matters, and in that regard, Jung's primary goal was to strengthen Keller's ego. Outside the sessions, he encouraged her to continue the analytic process by working with the unconscious material on her own. It was difficult for her to find time to devote to writing down her dreams and associations to every symbol. She lived a double life: while she was an analysand exploring her intrapsychic world, she was also wife, mother, household organizer, and church worker. The demands of the outside world often pulled her away from finding the quiet and solitude needed to focus on her inner world. "Dr. Jung felt that my being pulled in both directions, outward and inwards, had a great advantage...because inner and out must interact, and Jung was quite firm on the necessity of outer achievement as part of 'individuation'" (1968b, p. B-14).

Jung helped Keller learn ways to live in both the "real" world and the analytic world, especially when the two collided. Keller credited Jung with teaching her a lifelong technique to communicate between the two worlds:

> Dr. Jung taught me mental hygiene and showed me how by giving into inner needs such as time for solitude, even extra sleep and relaxation, I would find energies freed for my jobs. The small acts of preparing, finding time, silence, concentration, even buying a special notebook (not writing on scraps of paper) improved the results. Jung told me that whatever I did for the sake of my soul would profit me. (1968b, p. B-13)

About herself, Keller stated that "there seems to be a real need for me to live close to a border, where fantasies can play, where intuition can catch glimpses of realities that are beyond visibility" (1968b, p. D-3).

In addition to the support Jung gave her on improving the quality of her external life, he also taught her various methods and techniques for communicating with the unconscious. "I had to learn to let the so-called 'unconscious' come up...and for a long time I did not succeed. One is so used to logical thinking, that letting things 'come up' spontaneously seems almost impossible" (1981, p. 15). To help relieve Keller's anxiety outside sessions, Jung encouraged her to express her feelings by techniques that necessitated active participation and communication between conscious and unconscious materials. In this regard, Keller experimented with various forms of writing and painting from the unconscious. The primary writing techniques with which Keller experimented were spontaneous writing (a form of automatic writing), and letters written to Jung not intended to be mailed.

The practice of spontaneous writing became a life-long technique for Keller. She highlighted its importance when she stated that "probably the most valuable result of my work with Dr. Jung is that I have today a technique that allows me to connect unconscious elements with my thinking and my actions in a continuous way" (1968b, p. B-16).

> You will have read in Jung's autobiography about his "black book." What I am trying to describe began with a similar effort on my part to obtain release from stress by spontaneous writing—just writing as fast as possible without any reflections. Having done that during my analysis as a means of giving vent to inner pressure, I later began to do it as regular daily meditation. But by dint of writing every day I found a technique which resembles taking regular breaths of fresh air. I then seem able to combine my rational thinking with intuition, which makes me see things in a different light; now and then a whole new vista seems to open up. (1968b, p. B-16)

Spontaneous writing helped Keller learn to deal with her moods and discomforts. "When one could not sleep, for example, Dr. Jung believed that the unconscious had something to say and one should get up and write to find out what was waiting for expression" (1972b, p. 7). The practice of spontaneous writing proved to be of "inestimable value" to Keller because by means of this writing technique "reason can be complemented by irrational elements" (1968b, p. B-16). Pierre Keller, her younger son, reported that as a child growing up in Geneva in the 1930s, he remembered watching his mother fill numerous small notebooks with her writings; unfortunately, these primary materials no longer exist (personal communication, July 2002).

Keller described her method and writing procedure in the following way:

> I put rational questions concerning my actions and feelings, then I would allow spontaneous answers to come up...the difficulty...so easily the intellect would take over...I needed a lot of practice to catch the spontaneous flashes or images of sentences that intuition light up for a moment. Questions must be reduced to their simplest elements...yes-no then developed a more and more adequate technique. (1968b, p. B-16)

Jung helped her learn the method of active participation between her conscious and unconscious elements via this technique. "Instead of waiting for the pressure to build up I took my daily experience and let it become an interweaving of rational and irrational elements as a continuum. I cannot sufficiently stress such techniques as a means toward balance" (1968b, p. B-16).

Another technique Jung taught Keller was the writing of letters to him that she did not intend to mail. She explained the origin of this practice in these words:

> Dr. Jung had told me quite early in my analysis: "You must begin preparing for the time when you will not be coming here. You always have questions; even as you leave my office, new ones come up. Write these questions out as letters to me. But you need not mail them; in the measure that you really want an answer and are not afraid of it, an answer will emerge from deep inside yourself." (1972b, p. 9)

Keller reports trying, but having no luck: "I tried, but nothing came" (1972b, p. 9). Jung encouraged her to persist despite the initial difficulties she encountered.

Regarding her method for writing spontaneous unmailed letters to her analyst Jung, Keller explained her technique as follows:

> I wrote down questions, in particular as they touched on my growth process, and allowed a spontaneous commentary to emerge. At first there came chaotic fragments, as I have said, and it took time and much patient practice before more and more meaningful sentences appeared. Now and then there would come a fragment like a story or a fairy

> tale...Sometimes, it is helpful to imagine a person to whom I direct the questions; then the technique resembles what Jung has termed "active imagination." (1972b, pp. 9-10)

Keller added "a word of warning" urging caution when using this method: "to use this method effectively, one has to simplify the questions one poses. Furthermore, they must be related to oneself; one cannot ask questions about other people...after many years of daily practice, I am ever more grateful for this helpful technique" (1972b, p. 10).

In these unmailed letters, different aspects of her personality came to the forefront. In what appears a precursor to contemporary object relations theory, Keller wrote about what it was like to identify and communicate with various aspects of herself:

> I felt like a whole family holding many different opinions but obliged to reach a joint resolution. I was perplexed to find inside me all these 'persons' pulling in different directions. More and more frequently, however, I would get a reliable answer to a question, one that seemed to be a synthesis born of patiently listening to the various voices. (1972b, p. 10).

When she reported having difficulty with the technique,

> Dr. Jung encouraged me to persist, he reminded me of the attitude of prayer, knowing that this would strike a familiar chord in me. I thought of Jacob's battle with the angel and how Jacob said "I will not let thee go, unless thou bless me." (1981, p. 15).

Similarly, when she expressed these doubts and difficulties to Jung "he answered very seriously: 'but surely you know what it means to pray'" (1972b, p. 9). At this time, Keller began her daily writing practices while kneeling on the floor in an attitude of prayer. "Later a voice of synthesis emerged and also through my

prayerful attitude, the writing became a kind of religious experience. It has continued to be more and more reliable" (1968b, p. B-16). Tina Keller's paintings by means of active imagination in the Keller Family collection include one in which Keller is on her knees, apparently reflecting Jung's suggestion to try a prayerful attitude.

Keller believed that in teaching her these writing techniques, Jung also had taught her "mental hygiene" and a standpoint from which to view the psychological aspect of living; he had instructed her about the construction of the conscious and unconscious dimensions of the human mind, valuing what was not conscious in equal measure to what is, and teaching her techniques to help the two parts communicate. "I would say one of the biggest contributions Jung has brought is that he has shown us that the relation can be made with the unconscious and fragments of the unconscious can be incorporated and integrated inside our reasonable life"(1969, p. 53).

In addition to the writing practices she employed, Keller followed Jung's example and began to paint images from her unconscious. "I painted, just expressing feelings in colour. The fact of finding an expression for confused emotions is each time a relief. Each picture that seemed an authentic expression was a step on the way of making order in chaos" (1981, p. 14).

> Sometimes painting would free me from inner pressure. I did a lot of painting. In those early days, when one arrived for the analytic hour, the so-called "red book" often stood open on an easel. In it Dr. Jung had been painting or had just finished a picture. Sometimes he would show me what he had done and comment upon it. The careful and precise

> work he put into these pictures and into the illuminated text that accompanied them were a testimony to the importance of this undertaking. The master thus demonstrated to the student that psychic development is worth time and effort. (1972b, p. 7)

In a general description of her painting process she described how she worked with intense emotions that arose in her mind:

> While feeling anxiety I tried to let an image emerge. Behind a state of emotion an image is concealed. If you succeed to see this image the emotion is being mastered. (Sometimes the image moves, is in action and demands your action and decision.) As I sat in the dusk [,] this image, which I then painted [,] emerged. (n.d., Keller Family Papers, Geneva)

Near the end of her analysis with Jung, Keller described seeing waking visions of a frightening figure in her unconscious: "One evening, sitting alone in my husband's study while he was at a meeting, I 'saw' in imagination a dark man sit opposite to me in a very straight-backed chair"; Keller and the dark figure then engaged in a brief interchange which Keller wrote about in her notebook and painted in her active imaginings. The conversation went as follows:

> "I am your doctor," a voice seemed to say and, as I looked up, in imagination I saw a tall dark man sit on that ornamentally carved armchair.
>
> "I do not need a doctor, "I replied.
>
> He answered coldly, "I can wait."
>
> There was a sarcasm in the tone of voice that made me shiver. (1982, p. 283).

Keller went on to relate that the fantasy repeated itself two or three times; she wrote out several dialogues that occurred in her active imagination in which "the dark man was cynical, made strange gestures, as if he were a conjurer. He

placed his top-hat on the floor upside down and pulled a dead frog and some rubbish out of it" (1981, p. 22). Keller had a mixed response of intrigue and fear; she was "partly fascinated, partly afraid of him" (1981, p. 22).

She went on to relate how, when she showed Jung the fragments of dialogue "he was interested and laughed; it was the attitude of a scientist being shown an interesting specimen, for he saw how I had picked up from the unconscious fragments that were foreign to me" (1981, p. 22). She went on to state that after that encounter "no continuation came till[,] when working with Toni Wolff[,] 'the black doctor' (as I called him) came more and more frequently and a whole dramatic story unfolded" (1981, p. 22). The black doctor she came to call Leonard, and he figured in several of her paintings and writings. Keller believed that "Jung's reaction when he read of my account somehow prevented the first imagination from continuing" until her work with Wolff (1982, p. 285).

Regarding the existence and perseverance of Leonard, whom she equated to the "dark" part of her mind, Keller stated that this intense intrapsychic presence "might have really been dangerous and unbalanced me if it had not been for Toni Wolff" (1969, pp. 41-43).

> With Dr. Jung [Leonard] was already there, and twice in my almost automatic writings I wrote a fragment of seeing this figure, and Dr. Jung laughed. He thought it very original, but he did nothing about it, and it only became alive when I was with Toni Wolff....The image of this powerful man...might have really unbalanced me. (You see it would not have come to consciousness; it would just have undermined me somewhere, and what it would have done to me I don't know). (1969, p. 43).

Keller was taken aback by Jung's response. After writing that fantasy material was "the basic principle of all psychoanalytic treatment" (1961, p. 186), he laughed when Keller presented this piece of her fantasy material. By means of an explanation for his reaction to her material, Keller wrote that "he was after all experimenting just like a surgeon who is trying out new methods[;]...these things cannot be learned otherwise than by trial and error" (1969, p. 43).

She took a break from her analysis with Jung. "I interrupted my analysis with Dr. Jung. I knew I would have to go deeper later, but I felt I must for a time take distance. Dr. Jung respected my feeling and I left" (1968b, p. B-21). She returned to school to continue the course of study leading to the passage of the Maturity-examinations, which are the necessary prerequisite for attending a university in Switzerland.

In 1924, Keller felt the need to resume her analysis.

> ...Suddenly I needed to return to Dr. Jung. In the first session, when I was so glad to be back, Dr. Jung spoke of his imminent journey to New Mexico to study an Indian tribe [Hopi]. We then decided I would go to his best woman collaborator, Toni Wolff. (1968b, p. B-22)

Her motivation at the time was due to her need "to discuss with C. G. Jung himself certain problems he had stimulated in me. I needed again to speak of these inner experiences that were so alive in me" (1981, p. 19).

Keller's Analysis with Wolff (1924-1928)

When Keller was transferred to Wolff in 1924, nine years after beginning analysis with Jung, she was 37 years old; Wolff was 36. At that time, Keller had intended to wait for Jung to continue her analysis; she saw the time with Toni Wolff as an opportunity to learn more about Jungian psychology: "I planned to ask her to teach me some theory while I was waiting for Dr. Jung's return" (1972b, p. 11). However, it became apparent in her first session that Toni Wolff would become her primary analyst.

Keller was in analysis with Wolff from late in 1924 until the family moved to Geneva in 1928. During the four year analysis, Keller had a number of waking fantasies related to the dark figure from her unconscious, "the dark doctor" ["*der schwarzer Arzt*"] or "Leonard," which were very distressing. Keller was able to achieve a *rapprochement* with this figure from her unconscious with Wolff's assistance and the use of active imagination in verbal, visual, and bodily movement. Keller continued using the practices of spontaneous writing and painting she employed while in analysis with Jung, but a new element arose in her work with Wolff, that is, a kind of psychological dance which Keller described as analogous to psychodrama (1972b, p. 12).

Keller was captivated by the person of Toni Wolff; the way she dressed and comported herself, her intellectual knowledge of Jungian theory, and her capacity to work intuitively as an artist with unconscious psychological material.

"Toni was elegant...her clothes, her environment, everything seemed the expression of her personality" (1981, p. 21).

> I had often seen her in the Psychological Club. She was beautiful and distant, very elegant, but with a kind of mystery around her. She was very close to Jung; she was always seen together with Dr. and Mrs. Jung at all meetings and lectures of the Psychological Club. I thus imagined her as specially initiated into Jung's thought. (1981, p. 19)

Yet, when Keller met Wolff in the analytic context, she "met a very different person from what [she] had expected...[Wolff] was a real therapist, fully concerned with helping her patients. She had a very special quality quite beyond what can be taught" (1968b, p. C-1).

Although Wolff had no formal university degree or credentials, she worked as a lay analyst. According to Keller, this lack of academic qualification did not impair her skillful practice of psychotherapy. She speculated, based on her own experience of being in analysis with Toni Wolff, that:

> [Wolff] helped Dr. Jung in his confrontation with the unconscious. It is very dangerous to be alone in such a confrontation, [Jung] would now and then say, how close he had felt to insanity. But Toni seems to have been able to accompany him into those dangers and thus to anchor him to reality. (1968b, p. C-1)

For Keller, Wolff created a "special atmosphere and a sheltered place where one felt protected" and served as a catalyst:

> In her presence the emotions I felt as tension were translated into images. She stood as mediator between imagination and outer reality; she was fully with the process, and at critical moments she intuitively said the right words. Her action was certainly beyond psychology; I think of her works as "art" and she was a most gifted therapist. (1972b, p. 11).

According to Keller, Wolff "was aware of the difficulties involved in an analysis" and, therefore, "allowed a patient in distress to call her at any time. I think with intense gratitude of my work with Toni Wolff and of the way she was able to meet the very real dangers that threatened me" (1972b, p. 11).

In discussing Wolff's special "medium like" quality as a lay analyst, Keller reported that Wolff possessed a "a very curious faculty" in that:

> She ha[d] the pictures, and in this case Toni was like a catalyst, and the picture was projected outside...because of her being with you in it, you were not afraid. I remember in one of the pictures[,] I painted...the dress she was wearing[,] as if that were the kind of protection that her presence was. (1969, p. 34)

Keller stated that in Wolff's analytical presence "inner pressure became images. Already in the first session, the inner pressure I was under became acute and I suddenly wept. I also have a remembrance, as if there were movements, as of shadowy figures moving in the room" (1981, p. 19). Distinguishing between the two analyses, Keller stated that "while before [with Jung] I was learning to deal with irruptions from the unconscious spontaneously, now I was going to confront the unconscious process, consciously meeting. Therefore Dr. Jung had tried to strengthen my ego through challenging me to conscious discussion. He knew it needs a strong ego for such confrontation with unconscious dynamic images" (1981, pp. 19-20).

Keller described her experience of the "shadowy figures" as follows: "Toni wanted me to let the images come, when on evenings at home I began to be full of fears" (1968b, p. C-14).

> One evening as I sat in the dusk, expectant, I saw a great door. Behind it I knew there was pain and horror, which for the present I was not meant to see. The door was ajar, and beside it I could distinguish an oversized figure in a dark blue cloak holding a light. I was told that this was the "guardian of the threshold." Through the door from inside the place of horror came a process of several figures reminding me of ancient symbolical plays called "death-dances" [*"Totentanzen"*]. I recognized the leader as the "doctor" I had seen in my husband's study. (1982, p. 286)

In another account of this incident, Keller described the procession of figures comprised by:

> A dark man playing on a violin and close to him two women. One was naked on all fours; the other was dressed in white, covered by a veil. She moved her arms up and down, as if they were wings. It was unclear whether this figure was meant to represent a bride or a nun. There followed other figures and I learnt to hold conversations with them. (1981, p. 20)

She wrote out conversations with these figures in her automatic or spontaneous writings and she also painted this scene; fortunately, this painting still exists in the Keller Family Collection. She stated that in those days she was "living inside an 'active imagination' that continued in the background, even while I lived my ordinary every-day life, full of home duties and studying" (1981, p. 20). Although these occurrences were stressful, she stated that it was also "a great relief to see images, instead of merely being under intolerable pressure" (1981, p. 20).

In subsequent sessions with Wolff, the dark doctor and other characters in her images became activated.

> One day I again felt the pressure of emotions, but also knew words to be quite inadequate...as Toni encouraged me to express in any way I felt like, I suddenly said: "I think I could dance it," and the session became a

> kind of pantomine or dance although I had no technique. It was the beginning of bodily expression. (1968b, pp. C-5 - C-6)

From this time forward, Keller often found that this type of "dance" relieved some of the intense emotional pressure.

> During this analysis I often felt that there was something inside me (I even felt it in my body) that wanted to express itself, but I knew words were quite inadequate. As we were both trying to think of other means of expression, I suddenly said, "I could dance it." Then, and on several other occasions, I danced a kind of psychodrama that was much more satisfying than all the sessions in which we merely talked. (1972b, p. 12).

She described the dance in greater detail:

> Following my body-tensions, I formed a crude dance, or rather a psychodrama. I, or rather the young fantasy-woman in me, felt imprisoned in stone. She must with great exertion free herself from the stone walls. This session seemed much more satisfying than session where we merely talked. Here was the beginning of my work with the body and all it has meant for me. (1981, p. 21).

From that point onwards, Keller took dance lessons from professional teachers; it was a practice she maintained throughout her life. In addition, she sometimes used dance and body movement in her own work with analysands. During the time she lived in California, she worked with Trudi Schoop, a professional dancer; the two women held weekly groups of combined discussion on psychological topics followed by movement exercises (Keller, 1967). "The daily practice of movement and body awareness has become the technique that best helps me to combine the opposites and all the various pulls in all directions into unified pattern" (1968b, p. B-17).

Leonard's presence in Keller's mind caused psychological distress and stirred intrapsychic controversy about her religious convictions. He frightened her at times by communicating images in the active imaginings "that warned [her]" and threatened her religious convictions; she stated firmly to Leonard that she would converse with him only "with Christ or not at all" (1981, p. 23). "It was most important I had the protection of Toni Wolff during this critical time. I went to her twice a week, but I also had many conversations at home...I painted many pictures and even in these Toni's presence seemed a safe anchor. But it was the reality of my religion that made me see clearly when I must stand firm" (1981, pp. 22-23). One evening during this period of time when Leonard was activated within her, Keller had a personal religious experience with him that had a profound impact on her crisis of faith.

> I would wake up and write...together we [Leonard and Keller] knelt before Christ and the commitment I alone had never been able to make, seemed now to be possible, because the "other" made it with me. Now two parts, conscious and unconscious, light and dark, "yes" and "no" together wanted to serve Christ.... My husband heard me and asked half asleep "where have you been?" I think I answered "God called me." (1981, p. 26).

In the long run, Leonard's presence, rather than undermining or weakening Keller's religious beliefs, made them stronger and more resilient. Through him she was able to reach a depth of faith that had not been possible on her own.

Keller had numerous encounters with Leonard. She stated that by virtue of these encounters she was learning a new orientation to being:

> I was living in two worlds or rather in a borderland between them. Whatever Leonard might be, his function was to help me join my separate worlds....He stimulated and encouraged my desire for medical knowledge....He seemed to confront me with the dark side of life, with what I would rather be blind to. It seemed that Leonard was offering me his help for a new orientation. One of his guidelines was the acceptance of change: I must learn to think of all human conditions as relative and transitory, also human relationships, even marriage and children. (1982, p. 288)

She further stated that during the period when Leonard was an active figure in her analysis, Wolff encouraged her to do writings and paintings using active imagination when she was at home. On one occasion Keller painted "a picture of a girl who put on her best [blue] dress" and:

> ...Gathered together red roses symbolic of the newly found joy of life and offered them to an unknown god....behind her back the figure of an uncanny ghost-man, dressed in a red cloak and a red hat with a feather. I was reminded of Mephisto and I knew the black doctor was entering the scene. (1982, p. 287)

This picture is contained in the Keller Family Collection.

Keller had a mixed response to Leonard. On some occasions he was helpful and non-threatening, such as the times when he suggested she pursue a career in medicine or when he gave her an occasional "brilliant flash of intuition" (1981, p. 23). At other times, however, Keller was terrified by this figure from her unconscious. She understood that his existence could be viewed by some as a psychological possession: "I am fully aware of the danger of 'possession,' even if it is thought of as possession by a psychic complex" (1982, p. 288).

She had numerous dialogues with Leonard; oftentimes, she would see in her exercises of active imagination the two of them on a stage conversing with one another. She explained this vehicle for communication as follows:

> We were in the center of a stage. On either side steps led down to two choirs ready to change their comments about our discussion. The choir to the right contained my relatives...conventional people dressed in an old-fashioned way...like a fugue...they took up the same condemning tone and theme. The second choir was very bizarre; people urged me to dare: "what does it matter what others think? Go ahead and venture." Music accompanying them was ultramodern...a small very lively conductor...red feather in his hat. (1982, p. 291)

She went on to state that "although I enjoyed the contrast this group presented, still I needed to find a way between these two powerful tendencies. It was only after many years that I recognized both extremes as being part of me!" (1982, p. 291).

However, Keller reached a serious impasse and knew she "was in a precarious situation" psychologically (1982, p. 288). The *rapprochement* with Leonard came when Keller reached this point of acute psychological crisis. It was upon an occasion in which Leonard's "tempter" side was present, what Keller called his "dangerous side" (1982, pp. 288-289). The crisis involved Leonard attempting to communicate some occult information to Keller which terrified her for an entire week.

> I came to a serious crisis...possess me...one day Toni Wolff said out loud for the black doctor to hear "if this man has a message for you, he must first translate it in such a way that it can be understood by a modern woman" as she said this, I had the impression as if a flash of lightening went through the room and I was free. The tension left, the obsession was gone and never came back...I saw the "black doctor" lift his hat and

> bow to Toni Wolff as he left the room, and I knew he would only come back after he found a way to translate. (1981, p. 23)

It was the work that Wolff did in the session that day with the dark figure inside Keller's mind that freed her from his grip and the fear of insanity by possession. Keller concluded by stating that:

> I went through the most important part of my analysis [with Toni Wolff]. I owe her an enormous debt of gratitude, for I believed she saved my sanity....The work with Dr. Jung had been the preparation, strengthening my ego so that it would withstand the impact of unconscious images. (1972b, p. 11)

Nearly 40 years after this event, Keller wrote in 1981 that, after the memorable session with Wolff, Leonard no longer threatened her sanity. After that time he became more of an advisor to Keller "in particular in my work, where I am more realistic as Leonard shows me also the negative, and I become more and more aware how I had been too optimistic and overvalued people and their possibilities" (1982, p. 291).

She also recalled that "in later years, when [Wolff] was no more so close to Dr. Jung, she once asked me to help her do 'active imagination'....I then became sadly aware of her difficulty to let her own images emerge" (1968b, p. C-4). In an interview in 1969, when asked about Toni Wolff's capacity for active imagination she stated that "[Wolff] never had it. She could 'medium' others' unconscious materials, but not her own" (p. 53).

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Active imagination was a psychotherapeutic technique used by Jung and Wolff to bring unconscious materials into consciousness. Jung's psychotherapeutic goal was to create a new state of being, emerging from the engagement of unconscious and conscious demands, that he called the transcendent function. By engaging the dichotomous and contradictory elements in the psyche, such as good and bad or dark and light, Jung hoped to create a third element of being. The technique, while similar to a number of other contemporary practices in turn-of-the-century psychology, differed in both form and objective from Janet's and Flournoy's uses of automatic writing, crystal gazing, and hypnosis. For example, Janet's psychotherapeutic goal was the elicitation of unconscious materials for memory retrieval; for Flournoy, it was the production of subliminal fantasies. The technique of active imagination also differed from Freud's use of free association. In Freudian free association, the client is encouraged to follow the random flow of images, thoughts, memories, and feeling states as they arose without any attempt to limit the range of these elements; in active imagination the client is urged to focus on a single image that arises and amplify it, not to become distracted by the multitude of other images and sensations that naturally arise. Active imagination focuses on a single "pregnant" image and allows that to become alive and animated while the analyst, in this case Jung or Wolff, paid close attention to the details of the story as brought to life by that single image or state of being.

Both Jung and Wolff used various forms of the technique of active imagination in their analyses of Tina Keller. Jung worked with her fantasies through writing techniques—automatic writing and therapeutic letters to him that she did not mail—as well as encouraged her paintings of active imagination in which she struggled with opposing intrapsychic forces in an effort to reach the transcendent function by achieving a new state of feeling or being. Wolff worked with Keller by using both the writing and painting techniques, but additional elements arouse in sessions with Wolff that did not occur in sessions with Jung. For example, Wolff actively engaged in conversations with Keller's dark doctor figure from her unconscious, and through Wolff, Keller also discovered a form of psychodrama or movement, a dance if you will, to help her express through bodily sensations what she could not discuss with words. Keller used these various aspects of active imagination throughout the course of her life to help her maintain psychological balance by means of actively engaging with unconscious materials to achieve a transcendent function within herself. She understood that the growth process was something not restricted to being in analysis, and at age 82 stated: "the 'individuation' process does not stop when there are no more sessions with a therapist" (1968b, p. E-3).

Keller had mixed feelings about the person of Carl Jung, finding him crude and unkind at times in social situations, particularly if he had been drinking, yet she also was fascinated by Jung, the intellectual pioneer in psychological research.

In addition to having a mixed response to Jung the person, she also had a mixed response to her analysis with him. He did teach her useful techniques to help navigate her anxieties, but she stated that in general "it is difficult to remember what Dr. Jung said in the many sessions I had with him...I wondered whether much of our conversation was not a waste of time?" (1968b, p. B-11). She also had doubts about his judgment in recommending psychoanalysis as the treatment of choice for her anxieties considering her personal circumstances; she talked about the "advantages and disadvantages of involving a woman with small children in a long depth-analysis. Dr. Jung, however, felt sure that when I met him I was already in the growth-process and could not have voided it. So I found myself involved in a long depth-analysis without knowing what I was undertaking" (1968b, p. B-4). In addition, Keller's doubts extended to those around Jung:

> When I looked around at the persons who had gone through years of Jungian analysis, when I looked at Jung himself and at the followers around him, they did not convince me as personalities. They compared unfavorably with some of the persons I met in other fields, who were not psychologically oriented (1968b, F-5).

Keller went on to state that at times she felt she had "survived psychology": "I am definitely adopting a religious standpoint, because the 'vocation,' the feeling of being 'called,' was there always and survived all the various phases and also the teachings of psychology" (1968b, p. G-2).

Another difficult situation with Jung related specifically to the analysis and not the personal disappointments she experienced in her relationship with

him, such as his refusal to advocate for her as a member of the newly formed analytic institute in Zürich in 1948 and his weak response to her anxiety about finding work in the United States when she had to give up her practice in Zürich to move to Los Angeles in 1959. There was also the apparent contradiction between what he had stated about fantasies being the *sine qua non* of analytic treatment and his response to Keller's fantasies when presented in the analysis. In the 1916 essay, "The transcendent function" Jung highlighted the primacy of fantasy as that which fueled the analytic process, but in reality when Keller brought in her initial automatic fantasy writings in the form of conversations with Leonard, the dark internal doctor, Jung laughed at her. While he found the fantasies "interesting" from a scientific perspective, he did nothing in his role as Keller's analyst to amplify or work with her on them. Keller believed this negative response from Jung drove the fantasies underground to return only when she had begun analysis with Wolff, who created a special atmosphere where Keller felt safe and who also had a facility with materials from the unconscious which Jung appeared to lack. Thus there is an apparent incongruity between what Jung states in his cornerstone essay on active imagination and the transcendent function and how he actually responded to this particular individual in analysis.

At the age of 94, Keller summarized her view of Jung in the following way:

> ...Even something that is long past, if it still stirs the emotions, is like an undigested meal, a portion of life that one has been unable to assimilate, but also unable to fully reject. My meeting with Dr. Jung, his ideas and personality, was such an undigested portion of my life. His image stood before my mind's eye as a great rock, blocking my way and outlook. My whole experience involving Dr.Jung's thought and person seemed like a sphinx to whose question an answer must be found. I had to face the painful fact that I was blind in my admiration and later in my hostility. While blind anger blocked my way I was forced to think and to wait and think again till my emotions gradually calmed down and could see more realistically. (1981, p. 76)

Keller went on to speak of a dream she had in which she saw Carl and Emma Jung "as an ordinary average couple for the first and only time without all the special archetypal meanings," and it was with that dream that Keller believed she finally had overcome the deep stress related to Jung (1981, p. 77).

However, despite the negative aspects of Jung and Jungian analysis, Keller did benefit from her encounter with Jung. She learned from Jung; she learned through the writing and painting techniques to work with the warring elements of her psyche using the technique of active imagination, which she considered of "inestimable value" in the development of her personality (1968b, p. B-16). For example, when Jung suggested she write letters to him that she did not mail, he was teaching her about the strengths within herself that would respond if she persevered in her efforts. As stated in "The transcendent function," Jung considered the technique of active imagination as more than an adjunct to analysis; he also viewed it as the education of the analysand in a form of self-development that would overcome the limitations and exceed the duration of the analysis. Because individuation is a life-long process that

continues after the completion of an analysis, Jung taught the technique of active imagination to assist the patient during as well as after the analysis.

> The transcendent function not only forms a valuable addition to psychotherapeutic treatment, but gives the patient the inestimable advantage of assisting the analyst on his own resources, and of breaking a dependence which is often felt as humiliating. It is a way of attaining liberation by one's own efforts and of finding the courage to be oneself. (1916/1969j, p. 91, para. 193)

She concluded by saying that, "I would say one of the biggest contributions Jung has brought is that he has shown us that the relation can be made with the unconscious and fragments of the unconscious can be incorporated and integrated inside our reasonable life" (1969, p. 53).

Regarding her own process of working with the writing and painting techniques she learned from Jung she said, "If one is willing to tolerate darkness, one gradually begins to see a little" (1981, p. 77). She also talked about numerous writings in her small journals in which she would work through intense feeling states by writing, sometimes in several daily writing exercises, to reach a more objective view of someone of something that was causing her distress (1981). Keller stated that "the most valuable result of my work with Dr. Jung is that I have today a technique that allows me to connect unconscious elements with my thinking and my actions in a continuous way" (1968b, p. B-16). Jung taught Keller about the psychological aspects of living. He taught her to value the unconscious in equal measure to the conscious, thus instructing her in obtaining

the transcendent function, which is the most important thing she learned from him.

Keller also stated that viewing pairs of opposites as relative and not as moral imperatives was a revelation (1981). For example, the pair of opposites that constitute good and evil or good and bad is such a case.

> C. G. Jung believed wholeness not goodness must be the goal of human evolution. This means a fundamentally new orientation [the transcendent function], contrary to the idea that a one-sided "good" can gradually overcome a one-sided "bad"...I am still [at age 94] in that process" (1981, p. 85)

Keller had only praise for her analytic encounter with Toni Wolff, especially for Wolff's assistance with the various forms of active imagination. "Active imagination...is the incredible mastery with which Toni helped me deal with this powerful figure of imagination [Leonard, the dark intrapsychic doctor] that makes me say that she did for me what Dr. J[ung] could never have done" (1968b, p. C-2).

The analysis with Wolff assisted Tina in two other important ways. First, Keller discovered dance and body movement as a form of spontaneous active imagination. From this time in her life until her death, Keller used dance and movement as essential aspects of her self-care regimen and her practice of psychotherapy (1967, 1968b). Second, Keller decided to attend medical school while in analysis with Wolff. Keller credits Wolff not only with saving her from insanity, but also with supporting and encouraging her desire to pursue medical studies against the advice of both Jung and her husband (1968b, p. C-6).

In conclusion, this dissertation constitutes an original contribution to the literature on the history of analytical psychology in particular and on the history of European psychology in general. The primary goal was to situate Jung's theories and clinical practices along with Keller's experiences of active imagination in their historical, intellectual, and psychological contexts.

The review of the literature revealed scant information on the technique of active imagination as recorded by Jung's patients in psychotherapy. This dissertation identified a substantial gap in the existing literature regarding the clinical experiences of Jung's analysands. Primary documents derived from those analyzed by Jung are the most accurate record of how he actually worked with the technique and, therefore, Tina Keller's autobiographical statements regarding her analytical work with Jung and Wolff take on enhanced significance. This dissertation, with its focus on the case study of Tina Keller, is a contributing effort in the attempt to rectify the deficit in knowledge that exists on the topic of active imagination.

To achieve this goal, the current author used historical and archival research methods which relied on facts and evidence derived from published and unpublished primary source materials. Primary historical and archival research methodologies are used infrequently in contemporary research on topics in analytical psychology, or psychology in general. By making use of these primary methods, this dissertation helps to establish accurate historical

foundations which locate Jung's work and Keller's experiences in context with other contemporaneous practices in psychotherapeutics at the turn of the twentieth century; it also helps to dispel myths and unwarranted conjectures about Jung's thinking and practice of psychotherapy. Through the retrieval and analysis of primary historical documents, unsubstantiated claims related to Jung's thinking and clinical practice which are prevalent in post-Jungian literature and contemporary Jungian circles, have begun to be dispelled. In the chapter on "Psychotherapeutics at the turn of the twentieth century," Jung's method of active imagination was situated in context as one of a number of related psychotherapeutic practices about which he was familiar and about which he commented at various stages in his career. This dispels the myth that Jung discovered the technique for bringing unconscious materials to consciousness; many researchers were experimenting with various techniques to do just the same.

In the chapter devoted to Tina Keller, her identity and relationships to Jung and Wolff were established and introduced to an English-speaking audience. An analysis of Keller's experiences with Jung and Wolff provided invaluable first person historical evidence regarding the ideas and clinical talents and limitations of Jung and Wolff during the early years of analytical psychology from 1915-1928. This crucial first person evidence contribute to a critical assessment of Jung's psychology as well as post-Jungian scholarship.

A number of topics suggest themselves for future research, the most important being the continuation of historical research on topics in analytical psychology through the use of historical and archival research methods that rely solely on primary documents and evidence. Especially important are contributions based on unpublished sources and works by Jung that have never been seen or studied by the public, such as those currently being prepared for publication by the scholars affiliated with the Philemon Foundation.[21] Much primary material on Jung exists that is unknown to the public; for example, approximately only 10% of his correspondence has been published (Shamdasani, 2003, p. 23). Thus, the retrieval of unknown sources and a re-examination of flawed published materials are essential. More specific topics that need additional research are the history of Toni Wolff's role in the development of analytical psychology; her presence and intellectual contributions have been long over-shadowed by those of Jung in much the same way that Maria Moltzer's contributions to Jungian though have been forgotten (Shamdasani, 1998c). Finally, Jung's work on the unconscious must be re-evaluated in light of recent work on conscious and nonconscious phenomena in the area of philosophy of mind studies (Damasio, 1994, 1999), which will locate further Jung's thinking in its proper historical, intellectual, and psychological contexts.

ENDNOTES

[1]In this dissertation, both paragraph and page numbers are cited when available to indicate the source of a quotation from *Collected Works* (*CW*). This deviation from the American Psychological Association standard format of using only page numbers to indicate the location of a quotation was adopted to provide an aid for the reader in locating quotations with greater ease. Any discrepancies in pagination and paragraph numbering between the German *Gesammelte Werke* (*GW*) and the English translation in the *CW* will be noted.

[2]For additional information on the "New Jung Scholarship," see Taylor (1996).

[3] It is not this author's intention to engage in lengthy discussions of the numerous general philosophies of historiography or the divergent practices of historiographers; these topics are well documented in the academic literature. For sources of information on topics in historiography and practices of historiographers other than those cited in this proposal, see Barzun & Graff (1977), Bloch (1953), Carr (1961), Butterfield (1965), de Certeau (1988), Dilthey (1962), Foucault (1972, 1994), Grafton (1999), Hill (1993), Hughes (1964), Starobinski (1964), and Winks (1970). For information on historiography in the Eastern tradition, see Kierman (1962) and Watson (1961). For a fascinating fictional portrayal of the complexities of archival research, see H. James, *The Aspern Papers* (1995).

[4] For information on the controversies surrounding the purported autobiographical nature of *MDR*, see Elms (1994) and Shamdasani (1995).

[5] Additional information on the topic of Jung's reliance on the outmoded phylogenetic model from biology can be found in Portmann (1949, 1950), Fordham (1957), and Shamdasani (2000c).

[6] This document is the typed transcription of Keller's second interview with Gene Nameche for the Jung Oral History Archive (April 30, 1969). It was meant as a supplement to the first interview (December 1968). Keller did not like the first interview transcript and told Nameche to destroy it; instead, she wrote a manuscript to replace the original interview transcript for inclusion in the Oral History Archive. While on a lecture tour in Scotland, Shamdasani came across the transcript of the second interview by chance when looking through the R. D. Laing Archive in Glasgow (personal communication, November 13, 2001).

[7] Christiana Drummond Morgan (1897-1967), was an American analysand of Jung's. Morgan's analytic notebooks are located at the Francis A. Countway Library, Harvard Medical School in Boston, MA, and her visionary paintings are housed in a private family collection under the executorship of Hallee Morgan, Christiana's daughter-in-law in Baltimore, MD.

[8] Kristine Mann, M.D. (1873-1945), was an American analytical psychologist. She was one of the founding members of the Analytical Psychology Club of New York. Its library is named in memory of her. Some of Mann's mandalas, the products of her experiences with active imagination, are

housed in the Picture Archive, C. G. Jung Institute in Küsnacht, Switzerland, and at the Kristine Mann Library of the C. G. Jung Institute in New York.

[9] Robert Edmond Jones (1887-1954), was an American artist and analysand of Jung's in 1926-1927. Because of Jones's artistic skill, Jung asked him to teach the technique of active imagination to some of Jung's other patients.

[10] Jones's undated correspondences with Murray and the Morgans are located in the Henry A. Murray Papers, Harvard University Archive, Cambridge, MA. The letter from Jones to Christiana Morgan regarding his trance notebooks was written sometime between 1942-1946.

[11] F. W. H. Myers (1843-1901), was a British classicist and psychical researcher who conducted explorations in the area of consciousness studies.

[12] Constance Long, M.D., was a British doctor who emigrated to the United States and was instrumental in developing analytical psychology in New York along with her colleagues Kristine Mann, Eleanor Bertine, and M. Esther Harding.

[13] The early history of the psychologies of the unconscious are discussed cogently in Ellenberger (1971) and Shamdasani (2000c; 2003).

[14] Auguste Forel, M.D. (1848-1931), was a Swiss psychiatrist and entomologist, known for his work on brain anatomy and hypnosis, was a professor of psychiatry at the University of Zürich and director of the Burghölzli Hospital.

[15] Eugen Bleuler, M. D. (1857-1939), was a Swiss psychiatrist, known for his work on schizophrenia, was a professor of psychiatry at the University of Zürich and director of the Bürgholzli Hospital (following Forel).

[16]This important passage warrants full citation:

> The tendency to split means that parts of the psyche detach themselves from consciousness to such an extent that they not only appear foreign but lead an autonomous life of their own. It need not be a question of hysterical multiple personality, or schizophrenic alterations of personality, but merely so-called complexes quite in the field of the normal. Complexes are psychic fragments, which owe their splitting off to traumatic influences or to certain incompatible tendencies. As the association experiment proves, the complexes interfere with the purposes of the will and disturb the performances of consciousness.... In a word, complexes behave like independent beings, a fact especially evident in abnormal states of mind. (Jung, 1937, pp. 57-58)

[17] Herbert Silberer, M. D. (1882-1923), was an Austrian psychoanalyst and student of Freud. Silberer's theory of the dual function of dreams, one psychoanalytical and the other anagogic, was rejected by Freud. According to Roazen, "...Freud admired Silberer's work. Even though he considered Silberer's ideas about understanding dreaming to be too 'speculative' and 'philosophic,' he always took any contribution to the interpretation of dreams seriously" (1975, p. 339). (For Freud's response to Silberer's work, see also E. Jones, 1948.) Freud formally severed professional affiliation with Silberer in 1922. Silberer died by suicide in 1923.

[18] Jung valued Silberer's contributions, especially in the area of the psychology of alchemy. According to Ellenberger, Silberer was "the first psychoanalyst to be concerned with the symbolic meaning of alchemy" (1970, p.

728). In 1914, Silberer published his major work on alchemy, *Hidden symbolism of alchemy and the occult arts* (originally published under the title, *Problems of mysticism and its symbolism*, 1914). In a letter to Erich Neumann dated 22 December 1935, Jung stated that "the connecting-link I was missing for so long has now been found, and it is alchemy as Silberer correctly surmised" (1935/1973c, p. 206). Jung considered alchemy the "connecting-link" between his contemporary formulation of analytical psychology and its "roots deep in Europe, in the Christian Middle Ages, and ultimately in Greek philosophy" (1973, p. 206)

[19] For information on automatic writing as used by writers, see Barthes (1982), Blanchot (1982), Breton (1989), Ellenberger (1970), Hoffman (1965, 1966), and Stein (1896, 1898).

[20]The Gymnasium is the Swiss equivalent of high school in the United States.

[21] According to its Mission Statement, the Philemon Foundation is described as follows:

> a non-profit foundation established in 2003 for the purpose of preparing for publication *The Complete Works of C. G. Jung* in English and German. In distinction to the widely known *Collected Works*, the *Complete Works* will comprise manuscripts, seminars, and correspondence hitherto unpublished or formerly believed "lost" that number in tens of thousands of pages. The historical, clinical and cultural importance of

this material equals and, in some instances, surpasses the importance of that which has been already published.

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