

Psyche & Muse: Creative Entanglements with the Science of the Soul
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Art Therapy: C.G. Jung and the Modernist Aesthetic
Checklist and Descriptions

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The Red Book

C. G. Jung, *The Red Book = Liber novus*, edited by Sonu Shamandani, trans. Mark Kyburz, John Peck, and Sonu Shamandani, with a preface by Ulrich Hoerni, New York: W. W. Norton, 2009.

On the eve of the First World War, and shortly after his break with his mentor Sigmund Freud, the renegade psychologist Carl Jung took a plunge into the terrifying world of the unconscious that nearly drove him mad. “I found myself at the edge of a cosmic abyss. It was like a voyage to the moon, or a descent into empty space,” Jung later wrote. “First came the image of a crater, and I had the feeling that I was in the land of the dead. The atmosphere was that of another world.” For the next four years, Jung recorded his journey through this bizarre landscape, guided by two apparitions, one male, one female, with mythological and Biblical names: Philemon and Salome.

Images were especially important. Convinced by his experience as an analyst that they were a key to unlocking a mode of “non-directed thinking” not accessible through language or rational thought, Jung took the advice he had been giving his patients. He drew what he saw. Sketched out in six black notebooks alongside a narrative account of his adventures and his conversations with spirit guides, Jung’s visual record became the source of both art and therapy, as he returned to his it again and again, transcribing it into a dazzling collage of text and image, *The Red Book*.

The Norton Edition

Until September 2009, only about two dozen people had seen *The Red Book*. Jung kept it in a cupboard at his home in Küsnacht, showing it only to a very few initiates, and he left no instructions about its disposition when he died in 1961. For decades it remained locked in a bank vault, the family rejecting nearly all requests to see the manuscript. It was only through the persistence of Sonu Shamandani that, after a generation had passed, Jung’s descendents relented. The Philemon Foundation—named after one of the spirit guides in *The Red Book*—was founded to assist publication, while W. W. Norton scanned the original manuscript one-tenth of a millimeter at a time, at a resolution of 10,200 pixels. Accompanied by a complete English translation of the text and critical commentary by Shamandani, *The Red Book* also includes a

foreward by Ulrich Hoerni, one of Jung's grandsons, who after many heated family discussions had finally come around on the issue of publication.

In addition to being a historian of Jung, an employee of the estate, and the family's consultant in matters of unpublished material, Shamandani had an extra advantage in making the case for publication: two partial transcripts of the text, one of which he found in the Helen and Kurt Wolff Papers right here at Beinecke. The Wolffs owned a well-known publishing house in Germany (after emigrating to the U.S., they founded Pantheon Books), and the fact that Jung had sent them a transcription, even only a partial one, clearly suggested that he had at least considered the idea of publication. The Norton edition of *The Red Book* was finally released in October 2009.

The Break with Freud

C. G. Jung, *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido: Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Denkens*, Leipzig: F. Deuticke, 1912.

Photographic portraits of Carl Gustav Jung. *From the Mary Foote Papers.*

Before publishing this book, Carl Jung had been Freud's favored disciple and protégé. A common interest in dreams, symbols, and the unconscious—along with a belief that the subjective experiences of the patient were of primary importance—helped produce the bond, which lasted for nearly six years. Anointing Jung his “Crown Prince,” Freud had him appointed first President of the International Psychoanalytic Association at its founding congress in Nuremberg in 1910, and he also served as chief editor of the first psychoanalytic journal, the *Jahrbuch*.

Differences were emerging, however. Rejecting Freud's understanding of the libido as exclusively sexual in nature, Jung broadened the concept to include “psychic energy” of all kinds. He also questioned Freud's interpretation of dreams and symbols, which he viewed not as the work of a cunning internal “censor” intent on hiding or distorting the truth, but instead as messages from the realm of the collective unconscious. Myth and symbol spoke openly and truthfully for Jung, in a language that had evolved over the course of human history. The goal of analysis was not so much to win mastery over the unconscious through the keen light of reason as to achieve a balance with the vast dark reservoir of human experience upon which individual consciousness tossed about like Odysseus in his tiny boat at sea.

Although not fully worked out until the 1920s, Jung's theory of myth, symbol, and the collective unconscious was clearly evident in his first major work, *Transformations and Symbols of the Libido: Contributions toward an Evolutionary History of Thought*. Published in 1912, the book was openly repudiated by Freud. The resulting break plunged Jung into the severe emotional crisis that ultimately produced *The Red Book*.

Thinking in Pictures

C. G. Jung, *The Psychology of the Unconscious: A Study of the Transformations and Symbolisms of the Libido. A Contribution to the History of the Evolution of Thought*, trans. Beatrice M. Hinkle, New York: Moffat, Yard and Co., 1916.

The distinction between thinking in words and pictures played a central role in Jung's renegade theory. Already spelled out in his first major work, the theory of "archetypes" relied on the notion that the collective unconscious spoke most effectively in a "non-directed," image-based mode of thought that had evolved long before the capacity for speech. Thinking in pictures thus produced constellations of meaning that were literally beyond words, inaccessible to analysis by means of the rational and "directed" concepts of articulated language on which the ability to think in words was based. They had to be understood on their own terms, visually, and not as a verbal message in code.

Jung's approach obviously marked a radical departure from Freud, who saw words as a key to deciphering the language of the unconscious, but in many ways it brought him closer to the modernist aesthetic. Seeking to short-circuit rational thought, avant-garde poets and artists reveled in the bizarre configurations produced by the unconscious as they turned to the same sources—myth, alchemy, the mandala—in the quest for deeper truths and the liberation of deeper drives.

Translated into English as *The Psychology of the Unconscious* in 1916, Jung's work made a powerful impression on American artists, including Mary Foote, who moved to Zurich to study with Jung and did much to translate and disseminate the texts of his seminars.

Jung's Seminars

In contrast to Freud, whose works were readily available in standard editions and the professional journals of the International Psychoanalytic Association, Jung relied on less formal means for the dissemination of his ideas. Transcribed and translated by students, these humble "multigraph" records of Jung's seminars were circulated on an ad-hoc basis to a small group of attendees (never more than fifty) and other trusted "insiders." Until an official institute for training in Jungian methods was founded in 1948, they remained an important resource for followers and analysts.

The "New York Triad"

C. G. Jung, *Cornwall Seminar: Unauthorized Notes by M. Esther Harding, Original typescript, 1923.*

C. G. Jung, *Dream Analysis: Notes on the Seminar in Analytic Psychology given by Dr. Carl G. Jung*, vol. 1 (First edition multigraph, 1928).

C. G. Jung, *Dream Symbols of the Individuation Process by C. G. Jung of Küsnacht-bei-Zürich, Switzerland*, vol. 1 (First edition multigraph, c. 1937).

The practice of transcribing Jung's seminars began with these "unauthorized notes" by Esther Harding. The seminar is the first on record, and Harding's typescript begins with information not discoverable anywhere else: "This seminar was carried on at the little fishing village of Polzeath in Cornwall, England. It was attended by about 25 people, British, American and a few Swiss." Transcripts of the seminars quickly became more voluminous, but their "unofficial" nature continued, as the disclaimers on later volumes shown here attest.

Soon a practicing Jungian analyst herself, Harding was the prime mover in founding the Analytical Psychology Club of New York in 1936. Together with her friends and fellow analysts Eleanor Bertine and Kristine Mann, Harding played a major role in the dissemination of Jung's ideas in the U.S. Known as the "New York Triad" of Jungians, the three women held seminars at their home on Bailey Island, Maine, attracting analysands from all over the U.S. and Canada. *Dream Symbols of the Individuation Process* records the proceedings at one such seminar in 1936, and the disclaimer by the "Notes Committee" is signed by Harding, Bertine, and Mann.

Jung's Women

C. G. Jung, *Modern Psychology: Notes on Lectures given at the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule, Zürich* (First edition Multigraph, 1933).

C. G. Jung, *Dream Analysis: Notes on the Seminar in Analytical Psychology given by Dr. Carl G. Jung*, vol. 3 (First edition Multigraph, 1929).

One feature that stands out in the Multigraph editions is that the work of transcribing, translating, and disseminating Jung's seminars was almost always assumed by women. In fact, Jung's deeply personal engagement with students and analysands seems to have exercised a powerful attraction on the opposite sex. Eschewing the professional posture of distancing taken in conventional analysis, the renegade psychologist opened up in a way that encouraged not only friendships, but also more complicated relationships, as in the case of Toni Wolff. A former analysand, Wolff soon became a lover and a lifelong companion—alongside Jung's wife Emma—and she guarded admission to the inner circle at the Psychological Club in Zurich, where Jung's seminars were often held, with a jealous tenacity that earned her the nickname "club tiger."

In a more than usually cautious disclaimer to the first "Modern Psychology" seminar, Barbara Hannah and Elizabeth Welsh note that Jung had not found time to read the manuscript, but politely express their "warm thanks ... to Miss Toni Wolff for her most valuable criticism."

Subscription Lists, Invoices, Mailers: The Work of Mary Foote

Subscription pages, with manuscript additions and corrections by Mary Foote.

C. G. Jung, *Dream Analysis: Notes on the Seminar given by Dr. Carl G. Jung*. In the original mailing envelopes.

Typed invoice showing costs of typing and editing.

From the Mary Foote Papers.

After she settled in Küsnacht in 1928, the task of transcribing and disseminating Jung's unpublished seminars fell on the shoulders of Mary Foote, an American painter from Hartford, Connecticut, whose archive—still largely uncataloged—is housed at Beinecke. Typed and handwritten subscription lists, invoices, heavily annotated typescripts of the seminars, and finished products, still in their mailers, give a poignant impression of the burden Foote bore after convincing Jung to charge her with the task. Despite her careful accounting, subscription prices usually failed to cover the production and mailing costs, which she had to subsidize with her earnings as a painter. Later she received support from Paul and Mary Mellon, who were frequent guests in Küsnacht and ultimately financed the critical scholar publication of the Seminars by Princeton University Press.

Miss Mary Foote of Hartford, Connecticut

Framed photograph of Mary Foote. *From the Mary Foote Papers.*

Born in Guilford, Connecticut, Foote had grown up in the well-to-do literary circles of Hartford, where she became close to the family of Samuel Clemens and the two Hawley sisters, Susy and Clara, before going on to take classes at the Yale School of Art. In 1897, she won Yale's Winchester Prize and moved to Paris, setting up a studio along with a group of young American women painters in Montparnasse. Returning to the United States in 1901, she joined the circle around Mabel Dodge Luhan and Robert Edmond Jones in New York and participated in the famous Armory Show of 1913. Introduced to Analytic Psychology by Luhan and Jones, Foote took *The Psychology of the Unconscious* and a letter of introduction to a Jungian analyst with her on her first trip to the West in 1917. After the First World War, she painted Native Americans and pueblos on visits to Luhan's ranch in Taos before travelling to Europe and eventually to China, where she received a summons to visit Jung in Switzerland in 1927. The following year she moved to Küsnacht, the small village outside Zurich that Jung and his circle called home, and she remained there for the next thirty years.

There's No Place Like Home: Mary Foote in Küsnacht

Picture postcard of Küsnacht, near Zurich.

Mary Foote, translation notes from Jung's seminars.

Mary Foote, translation notebook.

From the Mary Foote Papers.

When she arrived in Küsnacht for the second time in 1928, Mary Foote intended to stay. Convincing Jung to allow stenographic notes to be taken in his seminars, she took over as editor and quickly set the standard for all subsequent Multigraph editions. Working alongside Jung, translating and editing, playing an active role in the social life of the Psychological Club in Zurich, the American painter made Küsnacht her home—as her inscription on this picture postcard shows. During the Second World War, she endured the hardships of blockades and shortages along with the rest of the group, remaining in Switzerland until she finally returned to spend the last ten years of her life in Hartford in 1958, at the age of eighty-five.

Jung's Inferiority Complex

Photograph of Mary Foote and Carl Jung, n.d. (c. 1931).

Letters from Carl Jung to Mary Foote, July 16, 1930 and n.d. (1931).

Mary Foote, translation notebook.

C. G. Jung, “Visions” seminar, first-draft typescript with manuscript revisions by Mary Foote.

From the Mary Foote Papers.

Foote took on her duties at Küsnacht with an energy and intensity that made even Jung feel guilty. Discussing an upcoming meeting to go over notes, the psychologist begs for understanding if he is not adequately prepared: “please don’t arrange all your plans round my visit, otherwise I am getting feelings of inferiority.” Covered with translated words and phrases, the notebook shown here is just one of many, and it is crammed with the loose slips on which she was constantly jotting down concepts, books to read, and other tips to help in her work. The photo here seems to be the only one of Foote and Jung together, her sitting at a table working, Jung with his back to her.

Christiana Morgan and the “Visions” Seminars

C. G. Jung, *Visions: Notes of the Seminar Given in 1930–1934 by C. G. Jung, Part 8.* Typescript, with corrections in the hand of Mary Foote. *From the Mary Foote Papers.*

Photographs of Christiana Morgan’s artwork, used by Jung in the Visions Seminars. *From the Mary Foote Papers.*

Facsimiles of Morgan’s original artwork, held by the Houghton Library. From C. G. Jung, *Visions: Notes of the Seminar Given in 1930–1934 by C. G. Jung*, ed. Claire Douglas, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Alongside *The Red Book*, the “Visions” of Christiana Morgan are among the most striking products of Jung’s approach to art therapy. A lay analyst and psychologist at Harvard, Morgan came to Zurich in 1926, where Jung encouraged her to engage in the practice of “visioning,” or “active imagination.” Morgan showed a special talent for the practice, and Jung suggested she produce something like a feminine version of *The Red Book* herself:

“I should advise you to put it all down as beautifully & as carefully as you can—in some beautifully bound book.... Then when these things are in some precious book you can go to the book & turn the pages over & for you it will be your church—your cathedral—the silent places of your spirit where you will find renewal. If anyone tells you that it is morbid or neurotic and you listen to them—then you will lose your soul—for in that book is your soul.”

Painted in 1929/30, Morgan’s artwork served as the basis for a long series of seminars in Zurich. Here the discussion centers around their aesthetic value, with Jung offering that he doesn’t find the “Visions” particularly beautiful.

Leaving the Old Men Behind

C. G. Jung, *Visions: Notes of the Seminar Given in 1930–1934 by C. G. Jung, Part 10.* Typescript, with corrections in the hand of Mary Foote. *From the Mary Foote Papers.*

Photographs of Christiana Morgan’s artwork, used by Jung in the Visions Seminars. *From the Mary Foote Papers.*

Facsimiles of Morgan’s original artwork, held by the Houghton Library. From C. G. Jung, *Visions: Notes of the Seminar Given in 1930–1934 by C. G. Jung*, ed. Claire Douglas, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Morgan’s visions are startling, often bloody, and while Jung at first admired the power with which she expressed the feminine energy of the “animus,” he grew increasingly critical as the seminar went on. Discussing a vision in which Morgan leaves a group of wise old men behind to enter the noise and bustle of a marketplace, some members of the class complain that it was foolish and “impertinent even” for her to turn her back on the wisdom they represent, while others defend her choice to “go out into the collectivity.” Jung himself seems to side with the

former, but takes a mediating position, noting that younger members tended to defend the heroic feminine adventurer, while the older ones chastised her for her silliness.

Jung and Dada in Zurich

Hugo Ball, Tristan Tzara, Hans Arp, et al., *Galerie Dada*, Zurich: Die Galerie, 1917.

***Cabaret Voltaire*, no. 1 (May 1916).**

***Dada*, no. 1 (July 1917) and no. 4/5 (May 1919).**

Tristan Tzara and Hans Arp, *Vingt-cinq poemes*, Zurich: Collection Dada, 1918.

While Jung was sketching the visions that would later become elaborate paintings in *The Red Book*, Dada was being born nearby at the Cabaret Voltaire in Zurich. Although Jung later dismissed the movement as silly, there were strong ties between their circles at the time. Hans Arp and Sophie Taeuber took dance lessons at Jung's Psychological Club in Zurich, where Taeuber's sister worked as librarian, while Hugo Ball explicitly recognized members of the Club in the audience at the opening reception for Galerie Dada the following year. Tristan Tzara peeked the curiosity of a young André Breton talking about Jung in 1920, while Arp and the "Dada Drummer" Richard Huelsenbeck were avid readers of Jung and wrote extensively about him in the 1920s.

In the "Zurich Chronicle" for May 1919, Tzara pokes fun at the renegade psychologist: "Dr. Jung, having eaten the feet of sound, espouses products called "psycho-banalysis."

Mandelas

***Dada* no. 3 (December 1918).**

Tai Yi Jin Hua Zhong Zhi, *Das Geheimnis der Goldenen Blüte: Ein chinesisches Lehrbuch*, Transl. with commentary by Richard Wilhelm and an introduction by C. G. Jung, Munich: Dornverlag, 1929.

Jean Arp, original eau-forte from Arp, *Vers le blanc infini*, Lausanne: Rose de vents, 1960.

Jung and Arp (who later changed his name to Jean) seem to have discovered an interest in the therapeutic qualities of mandelas around the same time in Zurich. By 1916 Jung was already recommending patients paint or even dance them as a way of harmonizing unconscious oppositions, and it is quite possible that Arp and Taeuber ran across Jung's therapeutic practices at the Psychological Club. Encouraged by his wife, Arp began to experiment with mandelas in 1917 and he continued to produce them for the rest of his life. Neither Jung nor Arp understood

mandelas in a classical sense, striving instead for round or oval shapes that could adapt and conform to axes of opposing spiritual forces. At the same time, both studied classical texts such as *The Secret of the Golden Blossom*, shown here in the German translation of Jung's close friend Richard Wilhelm.

Jung, Alchemy, and the Avant-Garde

C. G. Jung, *Psychologie und Alchemie*, Zurich: Rascher Verlag, 1944.

Max Ernst, *Une semaine de bonté, ou Les sept éléments capitaux*, Paris: Jeanne Bucher, 1934.

Jung “discovered” alchemy in 1927, when the sinologist Richard Wilhelm asked him to provide commentary on his German translation of a Taoist alchemical text, *The Secret of the Golden Flower*. Fascinated by the process of psychic transformation and the powerful symbolism, Jung soon became convinced that “I had stumbled upon the historical counterpart of my psychology of the unconscious.” Immersing himself in the subject, Jung built one of the largest private libraries of alchemical texts in the world—a venture that inspired Paul and Mary Mellon to assemble the rich collection of alchemy now housed at Beinecke. The spontaneous emergence of arcane alchemical symbols in the dreams of modern patients confirmed for Jung their “archetypal” nature. One such series of dreams—those of the physicist and Nobel Laureate Wolfgang Pauli—provides the basis for the book shown here, *Alchemy and Psychology*.

Jung's fascination with alchemy was shared by the avant-garde, above all the Surrealists, who reveled in its imagery. Published in 1934, Max Ernst's *Une semaine de bonté* follows the alchemical process step by step through a “week” of bizarre images. One of the seven alchemical elements is assigned to each “day,” while flasks, tubes, laboratory tables, and alchemical symbols often appear, as in the collage work shown here.

Ernst, Jung, and Meret Oppenheim

The common interest in alchemy was probably more than mere coincidence. In a rare theoretical essay published just a year after *Une semaine*, Ernst made clear references to Jung's psychology of the collective unconscious. A good friend of Arp and Taeuber, Ernst had likely been familiar with Jung's works at least since the early 1920s, and he had a direct contact with his circle via Meret Oppenheim, “the seductive fairy of the Surrealists,” with whom Ernst was involved between 1933 and 1936. Oppenheim had been a family friend of Jung and his circle since childhood, when she began keeping her own dream diary before becoming a painter herself, and it appears that she vacationed with Jung and Ernst during one of his visits to Switzerland in 1934.

The Artist as Medium

Max Ernst, “Les cicatrices” and “Les diamants conjugaux,” from Max Ernst, *Histoire naturelle*, Paris: Éditions Jeanne Bucher, 1926.

Titled “Scars” and “Conjugal Diamonds,” these two prints echo Ernst’s interest in the alchemical process. Using a technique called *frottage*, the artist produced these images by laying found objects under paper and rubbing with charcoal or pencil, allowing for the direct transfer of material structures into “a series of contradictory images” that, for Ernst, at least, released “hallucinatory capacities.”

The spontaneous emergence of images in *frottage* corresponded to the practice of “automatic writing” then in vogue among Surrealist poets (see downstairs case). As a purely visual counterpart, it circumvented Freud’s focus on words and came closer to Jung’s understanding of the picture-based language of the collective unconscious. Ernst also conceived the role of the artist in the production of such works in much the same terms as Jung—as a passive medium for the transmission of truths that transcended the individual. “Concrete psychology has demonstrated that the individual unconscious finds itself enveloped by the collective unconscious,” Ernst wrote in the essay, “Where is Painting Headed?” in 1935:

“The question of artistic property is thus modified. The vanity of the creature appears in all its ridiculous brilliance.... The methods of conscious exploration are open to all, and the idolatry of talent is no less ridiculous than the rest.”

The Mountain of Truth

J. W. Hauer, *Bericht über das Seminar von Prof. J. W. Hauer 3.-8. Oktober 1932 im Psychologischen Club Zürich*, Zurich, 1933.

Hermann Hesse, *Siddhartha: Eine indische Dichtung*, Berlin: S. Fischer, 1922.

C. G. Jung, *Psychologische Typen*, Zurich: Rascher Verlag, 1942.

In addition to his contacts with modernist circles in Zurich, Jung also spent time at the artists’ and writers’ colony of *Monte Veritas*, the “Mountain of Truth,” in Ascona. Here Jung encountered many leading figures of German Symbolism and Expressionism, who delved deeply into Eastern mysticism in the years before and during the First World War. Among the more important of these contacts was Hermann Hesse, who was going through his own personal crisis at the time Jung took his plunge into the world of *The Red Book*. Hesse himself underwent Jungian analysis, and in his 1918 essay “Artists and Psychologists,” he drew on Jung’s conception of the creative process to defend art as a relentless quest for truth unconstrained by social conventions.

Hesse's *Siddhartha* is only one of many expressions of their shared interest in Eastern mysticism and the religious symbolism of India and China. "The work of Jung is not only an important step forward in the history of developing science," Hesse wrote, endorsing the 1942 re-edition of *Psychological Types*; "it is also of great value in human/practical terms."

Transitions: Jung and Transatlantic Modernism

C. G. Jung, "Psychology and Poetry," *Transition*, no. 19/20 (June 1930).

***Transition*, no. 14 (Fall 1928) and no. 18 (November 1929).**

When Jung published this essay on poetry and "the science of the soul" (as he put it) in the Paris-based magazine *Transition*, the Surrealists were still in the midst of the internal crisis that led to a split and a fundamental reorientation of the group around Ernst and Breton (see downstairs case). Jung's works, which would play a major role in theoretical writings of the second phase, were only just beginning to appear in French translation, and it is possible that many encountered his ideas for the first time here, in English.

Edited by Eugene Jolas, an American exile living in Paris, *Transition* had by this time become an important conduit of transatlantic modernism. Jung's essay appears in the context of other manifestos highlighting the role of myth and symbol, and covers like the one for the November 1929 issue clearly proclaim the common interests that made Jung look appealing. Interest in Jung on the part of the American avant-garde grew exponentially in the 1930s and 1940s.
