

Tarot as a projective technique

Inna Semetsky

Abstract

This paper presents Tarot readings from the perspective of *projective hypothesis*. Rorschach Inkblot Method and Jungian Sandplay provide some compatible frameworks for analysing the phenomenon of Tarot and its practical application as a counselling tool that may fulfil some clinically relevant assessments tasks. The feeling of the relatedness of the reader provides the necessary support for the client and brings congruence into the therapeutic relationship; especially when in this interaction the client's unspoken, yet projected in the layout, view of herself becomes validated. The paper presents the actual reading for 'Sam' whose Tarot spread functions as a projection of a series of psychic events and experiences that create a dynamic process of self-expression. Further, the paper asserts that *projection* has another meaning, namely: when functioning as the archetype of the Shadow, the dark side of oneself, which can easily possess one's psyche. Importantly, the Shadow can often become projected onto others, and one may attribute to significant others those qualities that one is tempted to deny in oneself. The integration of the Shadow, by means of becoming aware of its effects via Tarot readings, leads to therapeutic change. Copyright © 2006 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

Key words: consciousness and the unconscious, individuation, psyche, sandplay, the Shadow

Introduction

It is the year 199 and I am working at my clinical placement in West Hollywood. The client population in the area is mainly represented by gay men. I am having a counselling session with one of my clients, in his thirties, who is suffering from AIDS. We are discussing the outbursts of sudden anger in his relationship with his live-in boyfriend, when abruptly he switches the issue:

*'I saw my spiritual guru yesterday,' says he;
'She said she didn't see a speck of death in me.'*

The impact of that phrase on me was like a turning point. It brought something equivalent to the paradigm shift to our therapeutic relationship. The session became illuminated by what was of paramount importance, significance and value to my client's internal world. It redistributed the 'weights' of issues my client was

overwhelmed with. It indicated that my client was reaching out to whoever could understand his hopes and fears, acknowledge them, reflect back and help him to work through at least some of his problems. I wondered what response or intervention I would be able to provide in view of the behavioural-cognitive approach advocated by the agency I was working for. What could one do in a framework of cognitive orientation for the client whose initial assessment, according to his intake form, indicated the early stage of dementia? Desperate and overwhelmed by his one and only reality, he turned to somebody he called a guru. My immediate feeling was: if only I could introduce into the session a 'spiritual dimension' (Corey, 1991, p. 421) in the format of Tarot readings, wouldn't it work to the benefit of my client? At the very least his worldview would be validated; at the very best, he might discover the meaning and sense of his tragedy. While the inclusion in counselling of spiritual perspective has long been advocated as a valuable supplement to cognitive-behavioural therapy (Bergin, 1988; Miller, 1988), the definition of what *spiritual* means has been limited to either religious experience by professional observers or a pastoral role performed by priests. Tarot practice, however, is not only committed to endorsing spiritual values but also enables one to achieve the wider scope of awareness by virtue of integrating the unconscious material into consciousness. In this respect, the meaning of *spiritual* becomes broader and may include, but is not limited to, one's religious beliefs and values. During Tarot readings, the spiritual realm becomes available to consciousness in its *projected* form. In what follows, I address the phenomenon of Tarot from the perspective of *projective hypothesis*, which in its various disguises plays an important role in the area of psychological testing and assessment.

By definition, the projective hypothesis asserts that an individual supplies structure to

some unstructured stimuli in a manner consistent with a specific individual's pattern of conscious and unconscious needs, fears, desires, impulses, conflicts, as well as her own unique ways of perceiving and responding to those stimuli (Cohen et al., 1992, p. 441). We can see such projections in the cards' layout (Semetsky, 2005) because in the Tarot spread images and symbols that constitute the content of the pictures on the cards are stimuli, and the client, by shuffling the cards, supplies them with a particular structure represented by a particular card falling into a specific position of the layout. In terms of its function as a type of projective tool, Tarot reading comes close to the sandplay technique that has been called the wonderful therapy by Joel Ryce-Menuhin (1992) in his book of the same title, and which is used today more and more for treating not children exclusively but adults as well. Similar to Jungian sandplay, Tarot bypasses to a certain extent the language barrier and uses non-verbal images as 'a psychological guideline' (Ryce-Menuhin, 1992, p. 2). By means of projecting a client's life-world of beliefs, hopes or unconscious desires, Tarot collects 'data' that may be considered clinical: a person's thoughts, emotions, feelings, level of awareness, judgement, social adjustment, coping abilities, relationship with significant others plus the whole world of repressions that may emerge and call for exploration during a reading. Thus Tarot can be considered as a supplementary source of valuable clinical material. In this respect it can parallel the Rorschach test in a manner consistent with the latter viewed as 'a structured interview' (Cohen et al., 1992, p. 449), that is, 'less of a test' and more as 'an open and flexible arena for studying interpersonal transactions' (ibid., p. 449).¹

Tarot even expands the boundaries of the said arena by adding to it a quality of being a projective field for explorations

of intrapsychic conflicts as well. From a projective methods standpoint, Tarot goes in yet another direction: it is not only *what* the individual sees (in an ink blot, for example) and *how* the individual perceives it, but also *why* she sees *what* she sees. By putting her preconscious into a spread, a client finds the means to express herself, to reveal something that sometimes she is unable (subconsciously) or is unwilling (consciously) to put into words. Both aspects provide significant therapeutic material to work with as, using words of the man who coined the term projective technique, 'the most important things about the individual are what he cannot or will not say' (Frank, 1939, p. 395).

Each Tarot spread is an area with tangible boundaries: the geometric pattern of the layout is limited by such a simple thing as the size of a table the cards are put on. Similar to a bounded space of a sand tray, Tarot spread thus becomes a container, in both the physical and psychological sense. The unconscious material, if not contained, may have a boomerang effect on a client, leading her to the verge of a psychotic breakdown. However, the process of physically focusing eyes, attention, mind on a layout has a calming, centring and grounding effect. Plus this relief, when the stuff a client has been overwhelmed with is practically being taken out of her mind and literally put – projected – onto the table: the therapeutic benefits cannot be overestimated! The additional, albeit intangible, boundaries are elicited by the presence of the reader (therapist), who monitors the therapeutic process (reading) in a course of its development and serves as a container for clients' free-associations that may emerge within a session. It may be less threatening for a client with a high level of anxiety to communicate via the medium of a layout than through 'nothingness' between her and a therapist in a traditional session, such mediated, or transversal (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987; Semetsky, 2002)

communication serving the function of reducing a client's resistance. Although some resistance at the verbal level may be present, as in any traditional session, and may even contribute to a character assessment, it has a tendency to be reduced, because the reading triggers spontaneous associations for a client who thus tends to respond equally spontaneously. At a non-verbal level resistance is practically overcome, as – and contrary to such a projective method as, for example, the Thematic Apperception Test – any 'intentional desire to fake good or to fake bad' (Cohen et al., 1992, p. 462) simply cannot take place. Intentional means conscious; as for a client, she is not choosing cards with pictures facing her: the process of shuffling or picking up cards appears, prior to reading and interpretation, to lack any sense whatsoever.

While on the subject of resistance, a therapeutic technique called *story weaving* (DeCosta and Stewart, 1994, pp. 52–54), may be of relevance to this discussion. According to this method, a therapist becomes a story weaver making up various 'threads' to put together the elements of a client's life comprising presenting problems and myths; to facilitate a therapeutic change for a client, a therapist thus provides a powerful intervention. In some sense a Tarot spread, when narrated, appears to be similar to the story created by a therapist for a client. However, since each Tarot story is based on projections of 'how the psyche experiences the physical fact' (Jung, 1959, p. 154), this is the client who weaves a story for herself, the therapist still being responsible for putting the 'threads' together by communicating the client's as yet non-verbal story back to her. In this respect 'weaving' a Tarot story during readings provides the means of reinforcing the unconscious material, which therefore – metaphorically speaking – becomes an extra 'thread' that makes the canvas more durable. The story may reveal the current psychic

state, in which the client may be stuck, but when projected through the mages of the cards (the 'threads' of the story) it becomes an aid in a therapeutic process to 'free' a client from some present fixation.

Tarot goes beyond such a projective method as word association. There is no persistent questioning that may be perceived by a client as threatening and only elevate her level of anxiety and accordingly her resistance. During counselling sessions, haven't we ever encountered that dissonance, when something rings a bell for us and we rush to ask a client a seemingly appropriate and timely question . . . only to get in response her activated defences and denials: 'Resistance never yields profound results' (Roberts, 1987, p. 5). The Jungian transcendent function of bringing the unconscious into consciousness operates by projection of archetypal images through cards, and a reader's task is the same as that of the analyst, that is, 'according to Jung . . . to mediate the symbolic function for the patient . . . As archetype per se is so deeply buried in the collective unconscious at its very bedrock level, we can never perceive it as such. It can be known only through its images in consciousness, e.g. as portrayed in sandplays' (Ryce-Menuhin, 1992, pp. 20–22) or as projected in the cards' layout. Tarot cards are aligned with the Jungian collective unconscious, and the power of symbols is such that images transcend, or move through, existing blocks, challenges and defences.

As various themes emerge, therapeutic material is being created. Overview of the total spread may direct attention to the particular card, providing insight into an important part of the whole. A sequence of images is like a video-recording of psychic content in a dynamic process. It is important during a reading to secure a permanent connection with this content. This is the client's ego, which may be quite infantile, fragile and immature, hidden in the depth of

the unconscious, but it is her territory, the privacy of which is to be respected. The Tarot spread is only a map, and – as Gregory Bateson (1979) famously reminded us – the map is not the territory. A therapist reads this map to find a proper way, road or path for the ego to reach the Self in the process called by Jung *individuation*. Sure, the map's symbolic language – the knowledge of its *legend* – is to be mastered by a therapist so as to translate it into words capable of reaching the client's level of cognitive abilities and emotional strength. As Ryce-Menuhin put it, 'The psyche – naked – may need to be only observed at first, never interpreted irrevocably' (1992, p. 15). A somewhat premature therapeutic interpretation may be quite counterproductive. During readings, however, the probability of such a danger is greatly reduced. Cards that fall into a spread are 'selected' by the collective unconscious, and their timing and dosage (the crucial elements in the analytic process), are not affected by the personal choice or an individual judgement call but manifest the re-enactment leading to the ego experiencing itself in a process that may be called, following Whitmont (1985), the full, authentic experience. When a reader interprets the meaning of a sequence of cards, the client does experience certain affect and emotion. Her feedback, triggered by the associative process, becomes a means of reality checking at the elevated level of consciousness, along the aforementioned road to individuation. The reading thus is a projection of both mental events and concrete life experiences, which are lived and reality-tested: as such, readings represent an example of psychotherapy that not only facilitates understanding but is experiential as well (cf. Whitmont, 1985).

The reading is an intuitive and inspirational process: in order to pick up the client's projections the therapist must 'attune' to that hypothetical subtle frequency that is being used by the collective unconscious to

transmit the information it holds (Semetsky, 1998; in press). It proceeds in a genuinely sharing environment when the spiritual world of the psyche participates in the inward and outward experience of the reading. Readings are quite ritualistic: a finite number of cards, a certain sequence of operations, a specific structure of a spread; all this creates a holding environment. Together sharing and holding do contribute to a healing effect. The therapist is not a power figure: a reader and a client are equally parts of the system of synchronistic regulation with Tarot performing a feedback function (Semetsky, 2001). Both the reader and the client concentrate on shuffling cards, both focus on a layout; the spread does connect both people, being almost a physical link; metaphysically the connection is created by the collective unconscious; therapeutically the connection is secured through a relationship which in turn is supported by the said physical and metaphysical means. Jung was saying that he does not simply provide his patients with an opportunity to find free associations to their dreams; this prerogative is equally shared by the analyst whose ideas, opinions and interpretations supplement analysands' own associations. The same principle can be applied to Tarot readings. In this respect the personality of a reader is but one big situational variable that may affect a reading. A reader is not an examiner who is supposed simply to interpret a projective test and involuntarily may put her subjective material into an interpretation; a reader must continuously work on herself for the purpose of expanding her own consciousness (and not forgetting the dangerous possibility of her own ego becoming inflated!).

Other factors that may affect projective testing are, however, absent in a reading: there is no expectation on the side of the therapist that a client may pick up on, there are no 'subtle reinforcement cues' (Cohen et al., 1992, p. 480) or influences on a client

through the therapist's body language or facial expression that may provoke certain responses. The client is not being asked a series of questions; she is not expected to come up with answers: by presenting her problem literally to herself it is she that posits questions bothering her, which prompted her to seek counselling, and the collective unconscious is eager to respond via Tarot images. The layout in its symbolic content may manifest the presence of pathology, certainly not necessarily and not always in a framework of the DSM classification but rather indicating some areas of sensitivity: if you prick it, it hurts. It is precisely the *what*, *where*, *how* and *why* it hurts that is projected into the cards. Among the 56 minor cards there are those carrying the messages of grief, anger, frustration, depression, 'pain in the neck', inability to carry on, indecisiveness, fantasizing, insecurity, anxiety, confusion, exhaustion etc., and a reading process brings those issues and affects into sharp focus and leads to the instant expression of the problem areas at a pre-verbal level. Predominance of any one suit (how many cups cards, or wands, or swords, or pentacles) in the spread may indicate the general mental status of a client. What is a dominant affect? Is she emotional? Is she at her intellectual best or worst? What are her perceptions? Is she in touch with her feelings? What mood does she demonstrate? Does she have any insight? What bothers her most: the earthy practical matter or the heavy emotional burden? These and other questions cannot be answered by a layout simultaneously but a spread nevertheless provides complementary material that can be used in conjunction with other clinical data. This sensibility allows a therapist to understand a client's typology, to level with her, to join her through a function or attitude the client is projecting. This feeling of the relatedness of the reader provides the necessary support for the client and brings congruence into the therapeutic relationship;

especially when in this interaction the client's unspoken view of herself becomes validated. Rapport thus is being established, and from it grows trust: one cannot doubt one's mirror reflection. . . . This reminds me of a paradoxical though typical situation. I had a reading once for a client whose main concern and disappointment were connected to the way her business was going. The session revealed that she simply lacked proper training in the know-how of running it. However, at the deeper level of the unconscious she projected an inflated ego and over-confidence well on the way to a grandiosity complex. Her reaction to the cards' pointing towards the desirability of opening a couple of books or attending refresher courses was negative: she dismissed the suggestion, arguing that she knew better – thus ironically confirming the cards' message of being too self-centred and over-confident. . . .

If and when the archetypal patterns are projected into the cards, understanding of the current situation may be assisted by the fact that, despite similar behavioural or emotional symptoms, the client might presently be affected by the completely different archetypal constellation and hence would be unable to avoid the repetition of past actions or mistakes. Counselling and facilitating the client's awareness of such a possibility would eliminate or reduce guilt or shame, contribute to an increase in a client's confidence and feeling of self-worth; in short, would promote psychological healing. In this respect Tarot may be considered as performing a Jungian compensatory function, similar to dreams in the analytic process. Projection of unconscious material in the spread does compensate for whatever is yet missing, is out of the client's conscious awareness. The unconscious is capable of spontaneously producing images 'irrespective of wishes and fears of the conscious mind' (Jung, *Collected Works*, Vol. 11, p. 745). The reading brings this material to the client's cognitive level, hence

widening the boundaries of individual consciousness. Apart from the compensatory mode, 'Jung . . . acknowledged that many dreams function in other ways, such as prospectively, that is anticipating a psychological direction or development extrasensorily, affording one information about an occurrence outside of the awareness of one's five senses; and prophetically, predicting a future occurrence' (Hopcke, 1992, p. 26). Descriptions of the cards' positions in the layout (Semetsky, 2005) confirm just that: there is a progressive, prospective development and trend in the direction of the psychological outcome. The collective unconscious communicates with us in its projective format both through dreams and through Tarot. Jung emphasized the importance of a series of dreams; as for Tarot, a spread is a projection of a series of events whereby various cards interact and interplay with each other, creating a dynamic process by means of which the individual psyche expresses itself. The reading process is not a shortcut; each card's position and, accordingly, information provided by its symbolism, becoming a focus for the consequent reading thus offering an additional dimension of exploration (cf. Whitmont, 1985). The reason a certain card appears in a particular position may seem both rational and irrational at the same time. The collective unconscious uses whatever means are available to attract our attention to the specific problem areas. Or, to put it another way: the client's personal unconscious demands attention, it is reaching out (toward consciousness?); this is an important matter right now otherwise this card would not fall into a spread. Why now, we may want to ask, and thus begin a dialogue with the client. Or some surrounding cards may provide a valuable insight as past influences, present concerns and future possibilities are all projected into a layout waiting to be explored and

communicated to the client. Representing the very depth of the psyche, Tarot images manifest a spiritual realm of the archetypes embedded in the collective unconscious as projected onto a physical plane, and in the material, paint-and-paper format of the cards.

The term *projection* may have yet another meaning: it can also be considered in terms of a specific archetype that Jung called the Shadow. Jung saw how powerfully this archetype worked behind the scenes, implicitly affecting one's mind and explicitly influencing one to behave in a neurotic or compulsive manner. Among Tarot major Arcana, the Shadow archetype corresponds to card number XV, 'The Devil' (Figure 1): the fallen angel, the dark archetypal shadow of oneself. In the guise of the Shadow, the Devil can easily possess one's psyche and, importantly, the Shadow can often become projected onto the others, and one may very well attribute to significant others those qualities that one is tempted to deny in oneself.

The two naked figures in the picture have lost all the power of thinking clearly and consciously. The heavy chains representing one's self-destructive tendencies and weaknesses are holding them in bondage. Several questions immediately arise: What is it that is holding the subject of the reading in bondage? How does one overcome the fears of one's own free self? How does one get rid of those chains? Is there any particular path to self-liberation? The concept of Shadow describes a cluster of impulses, complexes, shameful and unacknowledged desires, self-indulgences and being a slave to one's own primitive instincts. Sexual compulsion, poor impulse control and low frustration tolerance are some behavioural signs that may manifest in real life under the unconscious influence of this archetype. Plain old greed may drive one crazy or destroy the ability for clear judgement. It may be a fear, or a superficial complex of superiority, when in fact deep

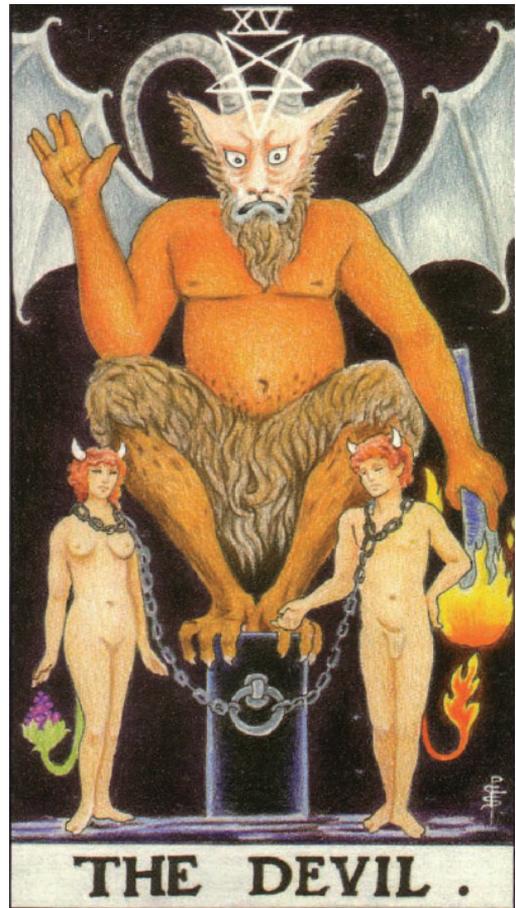


Figure 1.²

inside one feels rather inferior. In interpersonal relationships, the Devil can reflect upon co-dependency issues. It may be a deeply engraved fear of breaking free, similar to battered women who are unable to leave and continue to stay in an abusive relationship with their spouses.

For the purpose of illustrating the dual meaning of projections I present, in the remainder of this paper, the actual reading for 'Sam', who wanted to consult Tarot for, as he indicated, some current professional problems (see Semetsky, 2005, case 4). The spread for Sam is shown here in Figure 2. I am going to



Figure 2. Sam's Tarot spread.

briefly address the whole layout representing the projection of Sam's unspoken concerns and then focus on the Devil card as the projected Shadow.³

The Knight of Cups in the first position indicated that things in Sam's life were not progressing currently as swiftly as he would have liked them to be. Sam's aspirations were possibly connected with the field of arts. To this Sam commented that he was an actor but earning his living by means of various unrelated occupations. Yet, Sam heard the symbolic sounds of the trumpet ('The Judgment' card in the third position) that has apparently awakened him from the feeling of

being buried alive. Subconsciously Sam wanted to move in the direction where his professional abilities and talents – pointed to by the Magician – would be rewarded. The past energies surrounding Sam were not supportive, however. The seven of swords in the fourth position indicated that Sam's present stagnation had been influenced by a feeling of defeat or perhaps deception. Sam said at this point that, yes, he felt cheated because somebody did not keep his promise regarding a career offer.

Were there any psychological reasons – beside circumstantial ones – for Sam not having been able to get the promised

contract? The eight of swords pointed to a longstanding trait: Sam was quite unaware of how his own power was being suppressed, at either personal or professional levels. According to this card, his usual mode of existence resembled a sleepwalker who was moving around as though blindfolded and stepping on his own repressed feelings and unexpressed emotions. The Empress in the second position told me that Sam's psyche was overtaken by the archetype of the Mother. The crossing position of the Empress was a clear indication that this otherwise positive force was quite counterproductive to Sam's own personal and professional development. Sam was explicitly focusing on the well-being of his family and children (the Page of Cups in the position of Sam's mental outlook) at the expense of devoting some time and emotional strength to pursuing his own interests. The balance between conflicting concerns had thereby been destroyed.

The cluster of three cards in the fifth position pointed to Sam's current inability to undertake clear and focused decision-making. Sam literally fluctuated between his vocational calling (The Magician) and the Shadow part of his nature (The Devil) that was progressively making him a dependent personality unable to move forward. At this point Sam said that I was wrong and he did not depend on anyone: just the opposite, he was working at a job that he'd rather give up because he was currently supporting his wife financially through law school. So in Sam's mind it was his wife who was dependent on him and not he himself who was chained by the Devil: such was the projection! The three of swords in the position of significant others indicated that Sam's role in the family was not appreciated at all. Before interpreting the meaning of this card, since it was such a sensitive issue, I asked Sam if he felt supported; he said that he never felt

supported at home but he accepted it and had learned to live with it. Such was the Devil in the action: this image took away Sam's self-esteem; it imprisoned Sam, making him repress his strong emotions and exist in a state of denial of the actual state of affairs. The three of swords provided further insight into the Empress. Sam, who was governed by the activated Mother archetype into the behavioural pattern of giving love, attention and support to others, was not getting the reciprocal qualities in return and – his energy thereby depleted – he was unable to get a desired job in his professional field. Sam was a slave of emotional and, quite possibly, sexual dependency, as depicted by the Devil; he was immobile, as if chained by his feelings towards his wife, who, however, was not giving him any support so as to keep his psyche in balance.

The Devil indicated that although Sam was convinced that, as he said, he had 'learned to live' with a total lack of emotional support or love, as if having made a conscious choice, he was in fact driven by unconscious instincts and co-dependent character traits. The symbolism of the Devil carried connotations of those traits functioning as chains that were keeping Sam in the underworld of denial and dependency. To win over the polarity of opposites in his personality (the Magician and the Devil) Sam would have to use the help of the Chariot (the overall card), that is, make a conscious effort to move forward and learn to control his presently unrecognized impulses. From the inertia, idealism and immaturity of the Knight of Cups, Sam would be carried by the Chariot into the new life cycle, his next step to individuation represented by the equally noble – yet wise – King of Cups (in the position of hopes and fears, not incidentally) as a symbol of personal development and growth. The Chariot signified that Sam definitely had the potential energy he needed to accomplish a desired

goal. An image, when 'purposely interpreted . . . seems like a symbol, seeking to characterize a definite goal with the help of the material at hand, or trace out a line of future psychological development' (Jung, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, p. 720), such future development culminating for Sam in the Death card representing transformative, even if painful, change in his whole character and attitude. On the everyday level, the Queen of Wands in the sixth position indicated supportive energies belonging to the woman, perhaps Sam's business associate, who would not only be affected by Sam's positive qualities but was also herself capable of affecting his future. Sam said at this point that he wanted to contact an agent. Indeed, The Queen of Wands promised enthusiastic assistance from a concrete person. Sam then asked a question regarding the state of his health (thus confirming the layout's statement that his energy had been overused). He picked up a card, which happened to be the Ace of Swords. Sam's physical health had been damaged to the point where it needed to be watched continuously and protected, his life thus being a constant battle to overcome obstacles pertaining to his health. Assisted by determination, though, the upright sword promised to win against the illness, especially should Sam's emotional and mental health start improving as a result of the insights provided by this reading.

When I finished interpreting the layout, Sam said that it had made him nervous when 'it hit emotional nerves'. Well, thus spike the Devil: the stripping of old outgrown feelings and thoughts that were about to be discarded as broken chains can be. The poisonous quality of the shadow must be recognized; otherwise, it will fall into the depths of the unconscious while being projected into actual life events. Often people almost deliberately create an illusion of being free and self-conscious when in fact, and similar to Sam,

they are imprisoned by their own repressions and denials. However, human development is impossible without recognition of the bondage that might have created an obstacle to the journey ahead. Due to this reading, Sam was given an opportunity to start the process of understanding some aspects of himself that kept him in an emotionally destructive pattern of behaviour. Sam's reading represented a path towards his individuation, seen as a process of integrating the unconscious aspects of one's self into consciousness for the 'achievement of a greater personality' (Jung, *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, p. 136). The integration of the Shadow, by means of becoming aware of its projective effects via Tarot readings, leads to potential change in self-destructive ways of thinking, feeling and behaving. To achieve mental health means to work continuously on expanding the boundaries of individual consciousness, and Tarot readings serve as a tool that helps in achieving this purpose. The extra, spiritual dimension brought 'within reach' by virtue of Tarot has profound therapeutic implications for the subject of the reading. It enables a critical and self-reflexive look at oneself and empowers one with the ability to make sense of conflicting experiences, thereby providing a timely intervention that contributes to the healing of the psyche. As Roberts (1987, p. 4) said, it is 'wilful change, conscious evolution, spiritual growth' that become attributes of those who choose the road to individuation marked by Tarot images.

Inna Semetsky, PhD, Postdoctoral Research Fellow, Faculty of Education, Monash University, Australia.
Inna.Semetsky@education.monash.edu.au

Notes

1. The Rorschach Inkblot Method originated in 1921, with the publication of Hermann Rorschach's *Psychodiagnostics*. It fulfils such clinically relevant assessments tasks as personality description, personality structure and personality dynamics, and provides a differential diagnosis.
2. The illustrations in Figure 1 and Figure 2 are from the Rider-Waite Tarot Deck, known also as the Rider Tarot and the Waite Tarot. Reproduced by permission of US Games Systems Inc., Stamford, CT 06902, USA. Copyright 1971 by US Games Systems, Inc. Further reproduction prohibited.
3. This section is a reworked excerpt from my article 'What evil lurks in the hearts of men? The Shadow!', *Trickster's Way*, 1(3), 15 July 2002, available online at: <http://www.trinity.edu/org/tricksters/TrixWay/>

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