The psychologisation of natal astrology in the twentieth century

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DECLARATION

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Abstract

This thesis discusses the idea that natal astrology was psychologised in the twentieth century through an examination of 'psychological astrology'. It is the first in-depth exploration of psychologisation in the English-speaking world through textual analysis of astrology books. It takes as a starting point the argument from Wouter Hanegraaff that magic survived the disenchantment of the world due to a process of psychologisation, which broadly means that magic has adapted along psychological lines to become a different sort of magic to that previously found before the period characterised by disenchantment. The main reason for this adaptation is to acquire legitimisation from a subject, psychology, deemed to be scientific and acceptable in the modern world. The thesis asks whether the issues raised by Hanegraaff's psychologisation thesis, and wider ideas on psychologisation, apply to the natal astrology of the twentieth century, focusing on the form known as psychological astrology.

The question is tackled through textual analysis of the works of the three major astrologers identified by existing scholarship as having contributed to the twentieth century development of psychological astrology: Alan Leo (1860-1917), Dane Rudhyar (1895-1985) and Liz Greene (1946-). Significant consideration is also given to the major psychological influence on Rudhyar and Greene: the psychologist Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961).

Wider definitions of psychologisation considered include Christopher Plaisance's extension of Hanegraaff's work through his four-fold typology of psychologisation as applying to esoteric discourse.

In exploring conceptions of psychologisation and modernity as presented within the works of the key psychological astrologers, the thesis demonstrates that the label of psychologisation may be partly applied to psychological astrology. However, this form of astrology does not represent a fully adapted, disenchanted form seeking legitimisation but is an adaptation for modern people for philosophical reasons and principally to maximise the use of astrology to enhance free-will and psychological development. In doing so it can be characterised as more enchanted than disenchanted.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction to thesis

This thesis seeks to answer the question of whether natal astrology in the English-speaking world became 'psychologised' in the twentieth century and whether this was a strategy to increase its legitimacy in relation to modernity. Astrology may broadly be defined as 'the practical implementation of cosmological ideas in order to understand the past, manage the present, and forecast the future, in a range of cultures, past and present.'[1] It remains a popular subject of interest in contemporary society, particularly its 'psychological' form, psychological astrology, which developed into the dominant strand in the twentieth-century.[2] This is a form of astrology primarily focused on reading the natal chart (a horoscope set for the date, time and place of birth, also known as the birth-chart) of an individual.[3] Astrology is however a contested subject, with its validity in the modern world questioned by some, it being seen as part of a magical worldview which has no place in modernity.[4] The idea that astrology and related subjects such as magic are problematic has led some scholars to consider how it is that they have survived into the modern world. This is the problem taken up by Wouter Hanegraaff, who has asked how it is that magic has survived the transition into the 'disenchanted' modern world.[5] His conclusion is that it survived through a process of 'psychologisation', broadly the idea of something becoming too psychological relative to its true nature or purpose. Hanegraaff reaches this conclusion through a comparison between magic in the Renaissance compared with magic in the twentieth century. In his book on New Age Religion, Hanegraaff writes that:

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[1] Nicholas Campion, *Astrology and Cosmology in the World's Religions* (London: New York University Press, 2012), p.1.
[2]Nicholas Campion, *Astrology and Popular Religion in the Modern West* (Fareham: Ashgate, 2012), p.3; Patrick Curry in: Patrick Curry and Roy Willis, *Astrology, Science and Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2004), p.73.
[3] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, pp.72-73.
[4] See for example Bart J. Bok et. al, *Objections to Astrology* (Prometheus, Buffalo, NY: 1975).
[5] Wouter Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived the disenchantment of the world' *Religion* 33 (2003), pp.357-380.

> Magic and astrology are theoretically two distinct streams, but in the context of Renaissance esotericism it is perhaps more correct to say that astrology is implicit in the very concept (however unclearly defined) of *magia*.[6]

The claim that magic has survived the disenchantment of the world through becoming psychological is relevant to psychological astrology. Olav Hammer has claimed that many astrologers have adopted a 'psychologizing approach to interpretation' and Patrick Curry has claimed that psychological astrology is a an extremely youthful form of astrology which embraces the subjective part of the 'modernist carve-up'; for Curry psychological astrology is a disenchanted form of astrology.[7] This raises the question of whether psychological astrology is a psychologised form of astrology, having become so as a result of a transition to a disenchanted, modern world. If it is psychologised, the question arises as to what is the nature of this psychologisation.

The exploration of psychologisation will be achieved through an examination of the works of the protagonists involved in twentieth-century psychological astrology. This involves textual analysis of the primary works by the most significant psychological astrologers. It aims to contribute to the scholarship on a subject that is clearly of contemporary relevance, in addition to furthering an understanding of what psychologisation means in relation to the twentieth-century form known as 'psychological astrology'.

This chapter begins by considering the contemporary importance of astrology and then discusses astrology as a magical subject. It considers psychological astrology and the key astrologers who have been identified as important contributors to it in the twentieth century before considering the key themes arising from Hanegraaff's psychologisation thesis. It then discusses the methodology of the thesis including justification for the selected astrologers before addressing the question of the 'insider-

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[6] Wouter J. Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), p.394.
[7] Olav Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge* (Leiden, Brill, 2004), p.50; Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.74.

outsider' debate. Finally, it outlines the structure of the remaining chapters of this thesis and expands on its objective.

1.2 The contemporary relevance of astrology

Writing in 2012, Nicholas Campion asked whether astrology could be considered a contemporary million-dollar business.[8] The implication was that it has that potential, and Campion cited the 'ubiquitous presence of the horoscope column' both in print and on the web as evidence of astrology's success.[9] In recent years, the popularity of astrology with millennials has become so prevalent that it has attracted discussion and debate in the high-quality media. *The Guardian* asked in 2018 why millennials were turning to astrology in significant numbers, citing in their article interviews with popular millennial websites such as The Cut, whose staff claim that the 2017 horoscope posts attracted 150% more hits than in 2016.[10] In 2019 BBC Radio 4 ran a programme called 'Why are millennials obsessed with astrology?' asserting that astrology is now mainstream, particularly for millennials.[11]

Sophisticated astrology apps are now available for the masses. For example, the app 'Co-Star' allows users to access fully personalised horoscopes based on their own birth-data; their website claims that 'our powerful natural-language engine uses NASA data, coupled with the methods of professional astrologers, to algorithmically generate insights about your personality and your future.'[12] Co-Star launched in 2017, and in April 2019 raised an additional 5.2 million US dollars to continue growing its app and producing a version for Android devices; by late 2019 the app had over 800,000 users

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[8] Campion, *Astrology and Popular Religion*, p.1.
[9] Campion, *Astrology and Popular Religion*, p.3.
[10] Rebecca Nicholson, 'Star gazing: Why millennials are turning to astrology' (2018), https://www.theguardian.com/global/2018/mar/11/star-gazing-why-millennials-are-turning-to-astrology (accessed 13 April 2020).
[11] BBC Radio 4 series Beyond Today, 'Why are millennials obsessed with astrology?' (2019), https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/p07sr57l (accessed 13 April 2020).
[12] https://www.costarastrology.com/ (accessed 13 April 2020).

on the social-networking site Instagram.[13] Astrology's contemporary popularity suggests it is a worthy subject for investigation and research.

1.3 Astrology as magic

Astrology has frequently been associated with magic or a magical world view. This is evident from scholars examining astrology and magic. For example, Lynn Thorndike, in his *History of Magic and Experimental Science* over the first thirteen centuries, concluded that astrology should be classified as 'a magic art.'[14] Thorndike considered magic to be:

> a way of looking at the world which is reflected in a human art or group of arts employing varied materials in varied rites, often fantastic… by operations supposed to be efficacious here in the world of external reality.[15]

For Patrick Curry, astrology is 'concrete magic', a term he borrows from J.R.R. Tolkien which refers to the experience of being enchanted and in a blissful union with the environment.[16] In her 2006 thesis on astrology in education, Alison Bird defines astrology as 'magicoreligious'.[17] By this she means that astrology fits broadly into the category of religion and magic as opposed to science.

Lynn Thorndike had analysed various attempts to separate magic and astrology but concluded that these attempts had been 'illogical and unconvincing.'[18] One of the most influential recent works on the history of magic was Keith Thomas' *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, which devoted three chapters to astrology.[19] Thomas argued that 'the links between magic, astrology and witchcraft were both intellectual and

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[13] Allie Jones, 'Rising Signs' (2019), https://www.theverge.com/2019/10/4/20879631/co-star-astrology-app-zodiac-signs (accessed 13 April 2020).
[14] Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science, Volume II* (London, Read Books, 2018), p.973.
[15] Thorndike, *History of Magic*, p.974.
[16] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.74;
J.R.R. Tolken, *Tree and Leaf* (London: Unwin, 1964), pp.15-16.
[17] Alison Bird, 'Astrology in Education: An Ethnography' (PhD thesis, University of Sussex, 2006), p.78.
[18] Thorndike, *History of Magic*, p.974.
[19] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London: Penguin, 1991), pp.335-460.

practical.'[20] For Thomas, it was astrology that provided the justification for practices such as palmistry and geomancy (a method of divining from reading patterns on the ground or formed by soil, rocks or sand). He argued that the 'links between magic and astrology' facilitated a reinforcement of both and that 'this blurring of different magical beliefs was characteristic of the period.'[21]

The idea of astrology as magic also appeals to sceptics, for whom the association discredits astrology on the grounds that it is no longer relevant in the modern world. In 1946 Theodore Adorno saw astrology as being at odds with modern culture.[22] This clash, in his view, is due to astrology being a superstition and belonging to 'animistic magical practices' which humanity has now outgrown.[23] In 1975, 192 scientists issued a statement in *The Humanist* objecting to astrology:

> In ancient times people believed in the predictions and advice of astrologers because astrology was part and parcel of their magical world view.[24]

The statement voiced their concern about astrology's popularity, something they viewed as suspect given astrology's basis in magic:

> One would imagine, in this day of widespread enlightenment and education, that it would be unnecessary to debunk beliefs based on magic and superstition. Yet, acceptance of astrology pervades modern society…[25]

In similar vein, the science writer Lawrence Jerome wrote that 'astrology is false because it is a system of magic, based on the magical "principle of correspondences".'[26]

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[20] Thomas, *Decline of Magic*, p.755.
[21] Thomas, *Decline of Magic*, p.756; p.758.
[22] Theodor Adorno, *The Stars Down to Earth* (London: Routledge, 1994), p.49.
[23] Adorno, *Stars Down to Earth*, p.51.
[24] Bart J. Bok et al., 'Objections to Astrology' *The Humanist* 35, no. 5 (September/October 1975), reprinted in Bart J. Bok and Lawrence E. Jerome, *Objections to Astrology* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus, 1975), pp.9-10.
[25] Bok et al, 'Objections to Astrology', p.10.
[26] Lawrence E. Jerome, 'Astrology: Magic or Science?' in Bart J. Bok and Lawrence E. Jerome (eds), *Objections to Astrology* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1975), pp.37-38.

The substantial connection between astrology and magic is found in their shared reliance on the theory of correspondence and sympathies, which Hanegraaff regards as one of 'three dominant theories' on how magical effects were thought to work in Renaissance Hermeticism.[27] As Franz Cumont writes, the fundamental idea of astrology is that 'everything in sky and earth alike is incessantly changing, and it was thought that there existed a correspondence between the movements of the gods above and the alterations which occurred here below.'[28] The Renaissance astrologer Marsilio Ficino (1433 -1499) wrote of the correspondence between Gold and the Sun and Jupiter, stating that the association with the Sun was due to its 'splendor' and to Jupiter due to its 'temperedness'.[29] Writing in 1952, astrologer Margaret Hone also equated the Sun with Gold, 'this metal is shining like the Sun and is that generally used for a king's crown.'[30] To take a twenty-first century example, Clare Martin, writing in 2005, equated the Sun with gold in addition to palaces, royalty, the heart, peacocks and sunflowers.[31]

As noted in section 1.1, Hanegraaff himself argues that astrology is implicit in ideas of Renaissance magic. Hanegraaff's view is widely shared. Campion, for example, argues that one of the justifications for magic was the ''sympathetic' connections between terrestrial and celestial objects.'[32] Geoffrey Cornelius goes further and argues that astrology actually underpins magic, in some forms, writing that in the European tradition, 'natural magic is in large part a branch of applied astrology' and rests on a system of correspondences which refers to hidden qualities in all things such as plants, gems and animals.[33] For Cornelius,

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[27] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.360-1.
[28] Franz Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans* (New York, Dover: 1960), p.12.
[29] Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, trans. C.V. Kaske, J.R. Clark (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1989 [1489]), p.195.
[30] Margaret Hone, *The Modern Text Book of Astrology* (London: LN Fowler, 1951), p.60.
[31] Clare Martin, *Mapping the Psyche Volume 1* (London: CPA, 2005), p.15.
[32] Campion, *A History of Western Astrology Volume II* (London: Continuum, 2009), p.75.
[33] Geoffrey Cornelius, *The Moment of Astrology* (Bournemouth: Wessex Astrologer, 2003), p.3.

> The astrological *is* the system of those correspondences. Hence natural magic utilises astrology – and in European culture it is hardly conceivable to be a natural magician *without* being at the same time an astrologer.[34]

For Ronald Hutton magic is:

> Any formalised practices by human beings designed to achieve particular ends by the manipulation and direction of supernatural power or of spiritual power concealed within the natural world.[35]

On this basis Campion then argues that 'if magic is the deliberate attempt to change the future then all astrology which moves beyond a simple prediction into any sort of action must be considered magical.'[36]

Given that astrology is often associated with magic it is appropriate to use Hanegraaff's ideas on psychologised magic as a springboard for exploring twentieth-century psychological astrology.

1.4 Psychology and psychological astrology

The rise of psychology as a discipline in its own right in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has been discussed by Sonu Shamdasani. He argues that the 'dream' to make psychology a science ushered in a new age for the subject, with the first chair of psychology being awarded in 1892 to Theodore Flournoy (1854-1920) at the University of Geneva.[37] This was symbolic of a period of rapid development for the fledgling science, as can be seen by data from the United States: whilst in 1800 there was no discipline of psychology or recognised profession of psychologist, by 1903 the US could claim at least 30 psychology laboratories, a professional society (the American Psychological Association (APA), founded 1892), and specialist psychological journals.[38] According to Shamdasani, advocates of the new psychology saw what they were doing

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[34] Cornelius, *Moment of Astrology*, p.3.
[35] Ronald Hutton, *Witches, Druids and King Arthur* (London: Hambledon, 2003), p.106.
[36] Campion, *History II*, p.67.
[37] Sonu Shamdasani, *Jung and the Making of Modern Psychology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.4.
[38] Roger Smith, *Between Mind and Nature* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), p.72.

as the final step in the Scientific Revolution and wished to emulate the methods of the most respected sciences: physics and chemistry.[39]

Since its nineteenth-century beginnings, psychology has become very significant to Western societies. In 1978 Martin Gross coined the term the 'Psychological Society' to describe the extent to which psychology 'sits at the very center of contemporary society as an international colossus whose professional minions number in the hundreds of thousands.'[40] He compares the situation in the late 1970s with that in 1909 when Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) visited Clark University in America, noting the huge increase in the influence of psychological ideas on culture. Gross argues that, for many, the Psychological Society fulfils the role that formal religion used to play; psychology and psychiatry offer:

> mass belief, a promise of a better future, opportunity for confession, unseen mystical workings and a trained priesthood of helping professionals devoted to servicing the paying-by-the house communicants.[41]

Just as Gross refers to the Psychological Society, so Ellenberger refers to 'the psychological revolution' in which psychology developed rapidly and invaded all fields of life.[42]

One of the most culturally important and influential forms of early psychology that arose around the turn of the twentieth century was psychoanalysis. Such an approach is principally associated with the work of Sigmund Freud and Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961), both of whose work centres on the concept of the unconscious.[43] Such approaches are sometimes referred to as psychologies of the unconscious or depth psychologies rather than psychoanalysis, which is a term often linked with Freud alone. Jung's version of psychoanalysis is also known as Analytical Psychology.[44]

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[39] Shamdasani, *Jung and the Making*, p.4.
[40] Martin L. Gross, *The Psychological Society* (New York: Touchstone, 1978), p.3.
[41] Gross, *The Psychological Society*, p.9.
[42] Henri F. Ellenberger, *The Discovery of the Unconscious* (New York: BasicBooks, 1970), p.843.
[43] Peter Homans, *Jung in Context: Modernity and the Making of a Psychology, Second Edition* (London: University of Chicago, 1995), p.xxix.
[44] See Homans, *Jung in Context*, p.xv; Shamdasani, *Jung and the Making*, p.13.

The rise of psychology and psychoanalysis forms the backdrop to the claim that the twentieth century brought a new form of Western astrology to the English-speaking world, which has been labelled 'psychological astrology'. Writing on the history of astrology, Patrick Curry and Nicholas Campion have considered this strand of astrology in particular. Curry argues that psychological astrology grew from the 'astrology of Alan Leo at the beginning of the twentieth century' and was 'most influentially developed by Dane Rudhyar, Liz Greene and Stephen Arroyo.'[45] Curry identifies psychological astrology as a new development, but one that is 'the dominant kind of astrology among contemporary practitioners.'[46] This is a form of astrology which Curry sees as viewing a birth-chart as a map of the psyche; he sees this as a disenchanted type of astrology, a form which 'does not contest the modernist carve-up' and which ignores or reduces the importance of the outer world.[47] Curry identifies the strongest influence on its formation as Carl Jung, a point with which Nicholas Campion concurs:

> Jung was the seminal figure in the development of twentieth-century astrological thought, probably even more so than [the astrologer] Alan Leo. He gave astrology an intelligent, modern voice, allowing it to appeal to a much wider educated constituency than had previously been the case.[48]

Astrologers too have promoted the idea that psychological astrology was a new, twentieth-century phenomenon. Writing in 1936, the French-American astrologer Dane Rudhyar wrote that the purpose of his psychological reformulation of astrology was to:

> pave the way to a new type of astrology which would be philosophically sound and whose application to modern psychology would help men to live more significant, therefore more spiritual, lives.[49]

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[45] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.72.
[46] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.73.
[47] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.74.
[48] Campion, *History II*, p.251; Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.73.
[49] Dane Rudhyar, *The Astrology of Personality* (Sante Fe, NM: Aurora, 1991 [1936]), p.81.

Later twentieth-century psychological astrologers also claimed their work was new. Stephen Arroyo began his 1975 work, *Astrology, Psychology and the Four Elements*, as follows:

> This new kind of astrology takes traditional theories and attitudes and turns them inside out, exposing at times a degenerated mass of contradictions and empty banalities, and at other times an inspiring essence of universal truth.[50]

Psychological astrology is seen as a twentieth-century phenomenon by both scholars and astrologers alike, a new phase of astrology arising in the context of psychology and psychologies of the unconscious beginning to permeate society.

To date there has been limited exploration of the form of psychological astrology which Curry and Campion have examined and it is this form, i.e. the tradition in the English-speaking world stemming from Alan Leo, influenced by Jung, and then picked up by Dane Rudhyar, that I shall examine in this thesis. This strand of psychological astrology is not the only example however of psychologically informed astrologies which developed in the twentieth century. Howe notes, for example, the twentieth-century German revival of astrology, which developed a psychological astrology also influenced by Jung, by astrologers such as Oskar A. H. Schmitz (1873-1931).[51] Corinna Treitel, writing on the occultism which was part of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Germany, notes the substantial fees charged by astrologers for their character analyses.[52] The development of psychological astrology also continued into the twenty-first century, for example, through the work of philosopher and astrologer Richard Tarnas. Drawing on the work of both Jung and psychologist James Hillman, particularly the concept of archetypes, Tarnas wrote a philosophical work early in the twenty-first

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[50] Stephen Arroyo, *Astrology, Psychology and the Four Elements* (Sebastopol, CA, 1975), p.xi.
[51] Ellic Howe, *The Strange World of the Astrologers* (London: William Kimber, 1967), p.94.
[52] Corinna Treitel, *A Science for the Soul: Occultism and the Genesis of the German Modern* (London: John Hopkins University Press, 2004), p.77.

century relating archetypes of planets to world events in history, called *Cosmos and Psyche*.[53]

I will use the term 'psychological astrology' in this thesis to refer to the form of psychological astrology that developed in the English-speaking world from the reforms of Alan Leo and which was influenced by Carl Jung. I use this term for convenience in writing this thesis rather than to indicate this is the only form of psychological astrology which developed over the twentieth century.

1.5 Hanegraaff's psychologisation thesis

According to Wouter Hanegraaff, magic survived the disenchantment of the Western world by becoming psychologised.[54] He argues that the secularisation characteristic of modernity has led to a transformation of religion and esoteric practices, rather than their dying out.[55] This has led to a change in the nature of magic; the crucial point being, which Hanegraaff stresses by using italics, that the modern form of magic '*will no longer be the same magic* that could be found in periods prior to the process of disenchantment.'[56] For Hanegraaff modern practitioners see magic as ultimately based on the powers of the psyche, with some asserting invisible entitles are worked with only on the psychological plane rather than having any ontological reality.[57] From all this Hanegraaff concludes that the magical practice of modern occultists, this being his term for modern magicians, is 'essentially a series of psychological techniques' for raising the consciousness of the individual.[58]

The underlying reason for the psychologisation of magic in the twentieth century, as argued by Hanegraaff, is one of legitimisation. Whist practices classified as magic have always relied on the innate human ability to participate directly in the cosmos, the privileging of causality over participation in the modern era has led to a problem for

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[53] Richard Tarnas, *Cosmos and Psyche* (London: Viking, 2006).
[54] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', pp.357-380.
[55] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.358.
[56] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', pp.359-360.
[57] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.368.
[58] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.368.

the modern magician. In a disenchanted world, a psychologised form of magic is far easier to adopt, understand and explain to sceptical observers:

> Practices traditionally classed as 'magic' have always relied, and still rely, upon the spontaneous human tendency of participation. The coexistence of participation with instrumental causality did not cause acute problems on the level of society in general, until the establishment of an ideology of instrumental causality as the dominant narrative of western society. … 'Magic' survives because the spontaneous tendency of participation belongs to human nature; but it becomes 'occultist' magic because practitioners feel the need to legitimate their practice in a disenchanted world.[59]

For Hanegraaff therefore, magical practice is not necessarily invalid, but it has changed in its presentation and focus in the modern world in order to present itself as a legitimate practice. Applied to psychological astrology, his thesis suggests that one of the reasons for the survival of astrology into the modern world is that it has cloaked itself in psychological language and techniques, becoming something other than what it was before disenchantment and the modern period.

Hanegraaff's work on psychologisation has been extended by Christopher Plaisance, who has constructed a four-fold typology of psychologisation in relation to esoteric subjects.[60] Plaisance's work will be discussed further in chapter two as part of the broader discussion on psychologisation.

1.6 Methodology

My primary research aims to explore the twentieth-century strand of psychological astrology discussed in existing scholarship by Curry and Campion.[61] This is the strand of natal astrology developing from both Alan Leo and Carl Jung in the English-speaking world. In exploring this strand, I aim to assess whether it is a psychologised form of astrology, utilising Hanegraaff's ideas on the psychologisation of magic as a starting point. I will also consider wider ideas on psychologisation and psychological astrology,

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[59] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.378.
[60] Christopher Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie and the Psychologization of Esoteric Discourse' *Correspondences 3* (2015), pp.5-54.
[61] Campion, *History II*, pp.251-263; Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, pp.72-75.

particularly Plaisance's ideas on the psychologisation of the esoteric and Curry's assessment of psychological astrology as a disenchanted form.

I will fulfil this aim by examining the writings of the key psychological astrologers (their 'astrology books') in the English-speaking world, that is, textual analysis, and additionally by considering the work of the psychologist Carl Jung, who, as discussed earlier, has been identified as the most important psychological influence.[62]

Textual analysis is a methodology which enables the researcher to 'understand the ways in which members of various cultures and subcultures make sense of who they are.'[63] It involves examining the texts of a particular culture or subculture; such texts include books, images and other objects of material culture. There are different ways to explore and examine texts, including those that involve qualitative content analysis and those of a more quantitative nature.[64] I will take a qualitative approach; by this I mean I will analyse the texts in relation to their content and meaning but without attempting to employ quantitative methods. The latter approach includes those that, for example, count the number of particular terms or themes and then analyse whether the number is significant through statistical methods.[65] A qualitative approach to textual analysis recognises the 'wide variety of things found in texts', many of which may elude a more quantitative approach.[66] I will examine astrology books, and will adopt a broadly post-structuralist approach. This means approaching the texts with an appreciation that different cultures and subcultures will experience and understand reality differently.[67] Alternatives to a post-structuralist approach could be realist or structuralist. A realist approach contains the assumption that my culture has the correct view of reality, whilst

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[62] Campion, *History II*, p.251; Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.73.
[63] Alan McKee, *Textual Analysis: A Beginner's Guide* (London: Sage, 2003), p.1.
[64] Joshua D. Atkinson, 'Qualitative Methods' in *Journey into Social Activism* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2017), p.84.
[65] Atkinson, 'Qualitative Methods', p.84; Norman Fairclough, 'Discourse and text: linguistic and intertextual analysis within discourse analysis', *Discourse and Society*, 1992, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp.193-217, p.194.
[66] Roberto Franzosi, 'Response: Eco, Shakespeare, Galileo and the Problem of Textual Analysis' *Sociological Methodology*, August 2012, Vol. 42, pp.100-102, p.100.
[67] McKee, *Textual Analysis*, p.10.

a structuralist approach assumes that there are common underlying structures to each cultural approach.[68] I have chosen not to adopt a realist approach because I do not believe that one culture necessarily has the right or true perspective. I have also chosen not to adopt a structuralist approach because the presupposition of an underlying common structure to all cultures is unnecessary for my research.

Post-structuralism developed in France over the 1960s and 1970s with Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida identified as key thinkers in the approach.[69] Foucault highlighted the struggle between different forms of knowledge for dominance and the complexity between the authors of historical accounts and their role in influencing readers.[70] Derrida emphasised the elusive nature of texts, and the overlaps between literature and philosophy, science and theology; texts contain multiple meanings. For Derrida, there was 'nothing outside of the text.'[71]

In examining the astrology books of the strand of psychological astrology that developed in the English-speaking world through Alan Leo and Carl Jung, I recognise that this is only one subculture amongst the astrological communities of the twentieth century. As such, it will provide one perspective on the psychologisation of astrology. As McDowell notes, 'historical problems often have to be considered from different angles to arrive at a satisfactory solution.'[72] The angle that I will bring to the question of psychologisation will add to the scholarship in this area but will not necessarily cover every possible angle or perspective. Franzosi, discussing the problem of inevitably making some form of selection when undertaking textual analysis, articulates it as follows:

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[68] McKee, *Textual Analysis*, p.9.
[69] Thomas C. Patterson, 'Post-Structuralism, Post-Modernism: Implications for Historians', *Social History*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Jan., 1989), pp.83-88, p.84.
[70] Michael Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (London: Routledge, 1989).
[71] Jacques Derrida, 'The Exorbitant: Question of method' in *Art in Theory 1900-2000*, eds Charles Harrison & Paul Wood (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), p.945.
[72] W. H. McDowell, *Historical Research: A Guide* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2013), p.4.

> Heavens or texts, the point is this: There is no single instrument (no single method) that allows us to see everything on heaven and earth, far away and close by[73]

My research will be limited by the finite nature of any research project, and choices will need to be made. It will additionally be influenced by my own perspective.

A post-structuralist approach recognises that there is no one single correct interpretation of a text.[74] The interpretations and meanings I derive from the astrology books considered will be informed by my own position. Writing about art history, Cothren and D'Alleva outline the same issue, this being that the 'shape of the final interpretation' will be influenced by the perspective of the interpreter 'and the selected evidence they bring to bear in an attempt to explain an aspect of its cultural meaning.'[75] As Franke argues, different interpretations in the Humanities contribute to a tradition of interpretation that is continually added to over time.[76] I explore the question of my own background in astrology, that it as an 'insider', and the potential this has to influence my interpretations of the texts, further in the next section.

Textual analysis of astrology books is appropriate as they are written for the interested reader in astrology and also for practising astrologers. They often contain example charts and discussion of methods of technique and interpretation, supplemented by brief consideration of philosophical and theoretical matters. They are the public face of astrology, and the astrologer who writes such a text is showing their style of astrology to the world, presenting their beliefs on astrology for the observer. Examining such texts is the way in which the voice and views of a particular astrologer is shown to the world. Each astrologer has a slightly different approach and worldview, and their presentation of astrology reflects these individual nuances. It is through such texts that students and general readers learn astrology, following the example interpretations and explanations

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[73] Franzosi, 'Response: Eco, Shakespeare, Galileo and the Problem of Textual Analysis',p.101.
[74] McKee, *Textual Analysis*, pp.63-64.
[75] Michael W. Cothren and Anne D'Alleva, *Methods & Theories of Art History*, Third Edition (London: Laurence King, 2021), p.171.
[76] Richard J. Franke, 'The Power of the Humanities & a Challenge to Humanists' *Daedalus*, Vol. 138, No. 1 (Winter, 2009), pp.13-23, p.16.

of astrological ideas. Astrology books could be termed a 'textual culture', a broad term which has been used to cover not just the content of texts, but their production, reception and transmission.[77] A key component of astrology in the twentieth century is the textual culture of the astrology book, a prime means for influential astrologers to market their own particular version of astrology.

Turning to the leading psychological astrologers, this thesis will consider the astrological texts of Alan Leo (1860-1917), Dane Rudhyar (1895-1985) and Liz Greene (1946-), the three astrologers who clearly stand out above others as critical to the period. Scholars are united in their view that Alan Leo (1860-1917) was exceptionally important to the development of twentieth-century psychological astrology. Leo set out to reform astrology, and to integrate it with this theosophical beliefs.[78] Campion describes him as 'the creative powerhouse' of a new way of thinking that saw the cosmos as a spiritual entity, with theosophical astrology a means to interpret it.[79] Kim Farnell argues that 'Alan Leo is commonly thought of as being the first modern astrologer and is revered by astrologers the world over.'[80] For Cornelius, Leo stands 'at the centre of the modern European revival of astrology' whilst for Howe, Leo is 'the most important' of the pioneers who developed astrology from their theosophical backgrounds.[81] Leo wrote seven substantial books on astrology, still available in print today, and founded a new lodge of the Theosophical Society in 1914 to teach both astrology and theosophy.[82] Several astrological organisations grew from this lodge, which represent 'almost every major English astrological organization.'[83]

Scholarly literature identifies Dane Rudhyar as the second essential pioneer to the development of psychological astrology, and as the first to integrate Jung's work into

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[77] Joe Bray and Ruth Evans, 'What is Textual Culture?' *Textual Cultures*, Autumn, 2007, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp.1-8, pp.1-2.
[78] Patrick Curry, *A Confusion of Prophets* (London: Collins & Brown, 1992), p.132.
[79] Campion, *History II*, p.238.
[80] Kim Farnell, *Flirting with the Zodiac* (Bournemouth: Wessex Astrologer, 2007), p.81.
[81] Cornelius, *Moment of Astrology*, p.167; Ellic Howe, *Urania's Children: The Strange World of the Astrologers* (London: William Kimber, 1967), pp.56-57.
[82] Curry, *A confusion of Prophets*, p.151.
[83] Curry, *A Confusion of Prophets*, p.152.

astrology books written in English. Campion describes Rudhyar as 'the second most important astrologer [after Alan Leo] in the twentieth-century English-speaking world.'[84] For Radermacher, Leo and Rudhyar are the two pioneers of psychological astrology.[85] In relation to post-Jung psychological astrology, Rudhyar is seen as the critical innovator. As Hammer writes:

> Many practicing astrologers seem to have adopted a psychologizing approach to interpretation, created more or less single-handedly by Dane Rudhyar in the 1930s.[86]

Dane Rudhyar was a musician, artist, writer and astrologer who has been identified as one of the important, 'yet still fairly unrecognised', modernist American composers.[87] Rudhyar emigrated to the United States from France in 1916, keen to leave the old European world behind and instead embrace the new possibilities of America.[88] Having first encountered astrology in theosophical circles around 1920, his interest was awoken once more through contact with the astrologer Marc Edmund Jones in 1930.[89] It was only however when he encountered Carl Jung's work that he was truly gripped, and saw the means through which he could use astrology to bring together psychology and an understanding of the cosmos. As Rudhyar explains:

> My interest in depth-psychology began in the Spring, 1932, when I was given a copy of *The Secret of the Golden Flower*, a treatise on Chinese esoteric doctrines with a commentary by Richard Wilhelm and Carl Jung. I was deeply impressed and soon after, wrote a circular entitled Harmonic Psychology marking the beginning of my work in astropsychology, or as I called it much later, Humanistic Astrology.[90]

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[84] Nicholas Campion, 'Prophecy, Cosmology and the New Age Movement: The extent and nature of contemporary belief in astrology' (PhD Thesis, Bath Spa University, 2004), p.118.
[85] Lindsay Radermacher, 'The Role of Dialogue in Astrological Divination' (MPhil Thesis, University of Kent, 2011), p.iii.
[86] Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge*, p.50.
[87] Deniz Ertan, *Dane Rudhyar: His Music, Thought, and Art* (University of Rochester Press, Woodbridge, Suffolk: 2009), pp, xi, xvii.
[88] Ertan, *Dane Rudhyar*, p.xix.
[89] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.vii.
[90] Dane Rudhyar, *Astrology and the Modern Psyche, Second Edition* (Vancouver, WA: CRCS, 1976), p.vii.

Rudhyar wrote *The Astrology of Personality* in 1936, which set out to reform astrology.[91] He went on to write some twenty astrology books in total over a period of almost fifty years, spanning the 1930s to the early 1980s.[92]

Maggie Hyde asserts that whilst Rudhyar represents one of the two major streams of psychological astrology stemming from Jung, Liz Greene (1946-) represents the other.[93] She writes:

> Liz Greene represents a newer generation and an altogether different and more ambitious attempt to draw Jungian ideas into astrology.[94]

Liz Greene became one of the best-selling authors of psychological astrology from the 1970s onwards. In 1982 she co-founded the Centre for Transpersonal Astrology, although the name was changed just one year later to the Centre for Psychological Astrology (CPA), to recognise the fact that a wide range of psychological approaches were reflected in the course and the books arising from the CPA Press.[95] She is recognised by both scholars and other astrologers as an extremely influential astrologer. Fellow astrologer Dennis Elwell described her as 'the most notable' of the 'modern astrologers influenced by the depth psychology of Jung' whilst John Frawley named her the 'Queen of the Bookshelves.'[96] Greene wrote nineteen astrology books, from 1976 to 2003.[97]

My exploration of psychological astrology in the twentieth-century will be undertaken by textual analysis of the works of these three key astrologers: Alan Leo, Dane Rudhyar and Liz Greene for the reasons set out above. These astrologers are the leaders out of what is a wider cultural milieu which includes others such as Stephen Arroyo and Howard

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[91] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality.*
[92] See Ertan, *Dane Rudhyar*, pp.xxiii-xxx.
[93] Maggie Hyde, *Jung and Astrology* (London: Aquarian, 1992), p.83.
[94] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.85.
[95] Liz Greene, *Barriers and Boundaries* (London: CPA, 1996), pp.250-1.
[96] Dennis Elwell, *The Cosmic Loom* (London: Urania Trust, 1999), p.90; John Frawley, *The Real Astrology* (London: Apprentice Books, 2000), p.21.
[97] Liz Greene, *Saturn* (York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1976); Liz Greene, *The Dark of the Soul* (London: CPA, 2003).

Sasportas.[98] Both Arroyo and Sasportas were involved in collaborations led by Liz Greene and are considered in a minor sense through their joint works with Greene.[99]

The astrological texts underlying the analysis span Alan Leo's first work, *Astrology for All*, published in 1899, and finish with Liz Greene's last astrology book, *The Dark of the Soul*, published in 2003.[100] This translates to forty-six astrology books.

The interpretation of astrological books is a complex matter requiring astrological knowledge. I have such knowledge by virtue of my former position as an insider in the astrological community in the UK. I consider this further in the next section.

1.7 My position: The insider-outsider debate

The idea of a researcher being 'inside' or 'outside' their research topic has been discussed by Jo Pearson, who has outlined the benefits of coming from inside a field of research to study it, for example having a deep understanding of the language of those used on the 'inside' of a subject.[101] Conversely, someone 'inside' may also lack sufficient objectivity to research a particular subject if for example they have a vested interest in taking a positive stance. The issue has also been discussed by McCutcheon who has described the insider-outsider debate as 'one of the most important issues confronting scholars who study human behaviour, institutions and systems.'[102] To be 'inside' or 'outside' is particularly important when it comes to researching a contested subject such as astrology. As such, I have outlined below my own background and experience of the subject, and the position I currently hold as regards being 'inside' or 'outside'.

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[98] Curry, *Astrology Science and Culture*, p.72; p.74.
[99] E.g. Stephen Arroyo and Liz Greene, *New Insights in Modern Astrology* (Sebastopol, CA: CRCS, 1984); Liz Greene and Howard Sasportas, *The Inner Planets* (York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1993).
[100] Alan Leo, *Astrology for All* (London: Forgotten Books, 2013 [1899]); Liz Greene, *The Dark of the Soul* (London: CPA, 2003).
[101] Jo Pearson, '"Going Native in Reverse": The Insider as Researcher in British Wicca' in: *Theorizing Faith, The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Ritual*, eds. Elisabeth Arweck and Martin Stringer (London: Continuum, 2002), p.105.
[102] Russell T. McCutcheon (ed.), *The Insider/Outsider Problem in the Study of Religion – A Reader* (London: Cassell, 1999) p. vii.

I recall always having an interest in astrology, particularly as a teenager, but formal study of the subject did not begin until the year 2000 when I enrolled with the Faculty of Astrological Studies, a UK based educational organisation dedicated to raising standards in the teaching and practice of astrology and the oldest and largest such organisation in the UK.[103] I learnt both astrology and of the history of the School, which had grown out of the reforms of astrologer Alan Leo at the start of the twentieth century. Dane Rudhyar was liberally referenced in the course material as a guiding figure and our most prestigious contemporary alumni and Patron was Liz Greene, universally acknowledged as the authority on psychological astrology, a position she had held from the 1970s onwards. I received their Diploma in 2006, and soon after became a distance-learning tutor, and also a member of their Council, the body responsible for running the organisation. Between 2009 and 2012 I served as Vice-President and from 2012 to 2015 as President. In addition to being involved in education and management I also practiced as an astrologer during this period, seeing clients for sessions where we would explore their astrological chart. During these years, 2006 to 2015, I would describe myself as having been a deep insider in the world of astrology in the UK. Yet I was also slowly beginning to develop a more critical, 'outside' perspective. As a result of this experience, I am able to read and interpret astrology books like those underlying my primary research in this thesis, understanding in full the astrological terminology.

In 2008 I enrolled on the MA in Cultural Astronomy and Astrology at the University of Wales, Lampeter (now Trinity Saint David). This began a period of more distanced reflection on astrology, its history, philosophy and phenomenology of practice. I graduated in 2011 with my MA and in 2013 joined the staff of tutors to teach on one of the MA modules, 'Sky and Psyche', which deals with psychological astrology. 2013 was also the year in which I enrolled for my PhD. Thus began a period of gradually moving away from a direct role in astrological teaching and practice to a role in the academic study of astrology. Whilst I still remained close to the astrological world, numbering

[103] http://www.astrology.org.uk/about-the-faculty, (accessed 28 August 2021).

numerous astrologers amongst my friends and acquaintances, I was slightly further to the outside than I had previously been. This process of gradually moving from the inside to nearer the outside has continued in recent years. I ceased tutoring for the University of Wales in late 2020 to finalise this thesis and I now have additional work unrelated to astrology. Furthermore, I no longer undertake consultations as a practising astrologer, although I retain a personal relationship to the movements of the heavens (and the planets in particular) watching the pattern weave in relation to my own chart and to those close to me, and reflecting on what that may mean (or otherwise) for the course of my own life. My position as I finalise this thesis, therefore, is that of someone who has been on the inside of astrology and who now straddles the dividing line of inside and outside. My belief is that this is a valuable place from which to explore psychological astrology in the twentieth century. I understand the astrology texts that are the core of my primary research, although I have had to re-read such texts with a new awareness from that which I had on first encountering them years ago. At the same time I have no great vested interest in my research outcome, it being unrelated to my primary work or income. To what extent astrology in the twentieth century became psychologised is a genuinely interesting question to me, and I have sought to explore it in this thesis with a dual viewpoint – both understanding why and how an astrologer writes as they do, but also viewing the text (to the degree this is possible given my background) as how someone from outside the world of astrology might see it.

1.8 Structure of this thesis

Chapter two, *Psychologisation,* considers Hanegraaff's theory on the survival of magic through the process of psychologisation in detail including the key reason for psychologisation. It then goes on to consider the subject of psychology including older versions before the formal academic discipline was formed. Wider definitions of psychologisation are also considered, from the social sciences in particular. An extension of Hanegraaff's work, Plaisance's four-fold typology of the psychologisation of the esoteric, is discussed. The chapter also identifies three main consequences of psychologisation arising from the literature to date.

Chapter three, *Modernity,* asks what modernity is, and considers its key characteristics as presented in the literature. This is important given the idea of psychologisation is intimately bound-up with ideas of modernity, for example the idea that the modern world can be described as disenchanted. Different versions of modernity are considered such as cultural modernism and postmodernity as is the relationship of the individual to modernity and how modernity relates to psychoanalysis.

Chapter four, *Astrology,* introduces astrology and natal astrology in greater depth, considering their definitions and primary rationales. Astrology's nature is revisited and the origins of psychological astrology are considered. The nature of astrology before twentieth-century psychological astrology is discussed before the literature on psychological astrology is considered. The chapter considers the consequences of psychological astrology and the relationship of psychological astrology to modernity, disenchantment and legitimisation, all key issues in the psychologisation debate. A framework for analysing the development of psychological astrology and its relationship to psychologisation is developed.

Chapter five, *Carl Gustav Jung and psychologisation,* considers the work of Carl Jung in relation to the psychologisation of astrology. It introduces Jung and his model of the psyche before examining how Jung's psychology relates to astrology and whether the ideas within it may be considered to have adapted astrology. This section includes consideration of astrologers' reception of Jung. I discuss the underlying rationale for Jung's work and whether his psychology may be considered to be purely about psychological technique. The relationship of Jung's work to legitimisation is discussed as is a consideration of whether Jung's work may be regarded as disenchanted and whether it can be classified as part of modernity, modernism or postmodernity. Throughout Jung's work is discussed in relation to theories of psychologisation.

Chapter six, *Alan Leo and psychologisation,* examines the work of astrologer Alan Leo. It discusses his life and works and then considers his adaptation of astrology in detail, drawing out the key features relevant to psychologisation and considering examples of

his method of interpreting horoscopes. The chapter considers whether Leo's astrology may be characterised as psychological techniques and its underlying rationale. It then considers the reasons why Leo turned to a psychological approach and whether this is linked with the idea of legitimisation. It further discusses whether Leo's astrology is disenchanted before considering the relationship of Leo's astrology to ideas about modernity. Throughout I consider how Leo's astrology relates to theories of psychologisation.

Chapter seven, *Dane Rudhyar and psychologisation,* examines the work of astrologer Dane Rudhyar in detail. It introduces him and his life before considering the main psychological features of his adaptation of astrology, including the nature and extent of Jung's influence on his work. I consider the underlying rationale for Rudhyar's astrology and whether it may be characterised as psychological techniques. The relationship of his astrology to legitimisation, disenchantment and ideas about modernity is considered. Throughout I examine whether his astrology relates to theories of psychologisation.

Chapter eight, *Liz Greene and psychologisation,* examines the work of astrologer Liz Greene in detail. It considers the main features of her psychological adaptation of astrology, including her embrace of the dynamic model of the psyche and psychoanalytic ideas. I consider whether her astrology can be understood as psychological techniques, and the rationale underlying her astrology. The relationship of her work to legitimisation, disenchantment and modernity are considered. Throughout I aim to assess to what extent her work conforms to theories of psychologisation.

Chapter nine, *Conclusion*, concludes the thesis and assesses whether twentieth-century natal astrology has been psychologised and what original contribution my research has made to knowledge. It considers how far Wouter Hanegraaff's psychologisation thesis and other theories of psychologisation apply and reflects on what has been learnt about the features of psychological astrology. This chapter considers whether ideas on psychologisation are adequate to capture any adaptation seen within natal astrology in the twentieth century. It contains a section on further studies.

1.9 Summary of the aims of this thesis

The overarching objective is to explore the psychologisation of psychological astrology in the twentieth century with the following supporting aims:

1. Whether twentieth-century psychological astrology is characterised by the ideas included in Hanegraaff's psychologisation thesis on the disenchantment of magic;
2. Whether wider theories of psychologisation might apply including Plaisance's four-fold typology of the psychologisation of the esoteric;
3. Whether twentieth-century psychological astrology fits into conceptions of modernity;
4. Whether psychologisation is an adequate concept to capture any adaptation of natal astrology in the twentieth century.

1.10 Chapter conclusion

Astrology remains a subject of contemporary relevance, with its dominant form in the twentieth century English-speaking world having been a variety known as psychological astrology. Despite its popularity however, it is a contested subject, and the reasons for its survival, alongside other subjects regarded as magical in nature, into the modern world have been questioned. This has led Wouter Hanegraaff to postulate that magic has survived the disenchantment of the world, that is, its entry into modernity, through a process of psychologisation in which magic is reduced to a series of psychological techniques in order to gain legitimisation in a disenchanted cosmos. Astrology has been associated with magic by Hanegraaff, other historians, scholars writing on astrology and scientists. Patrick Curry has argued that psychological astrology is disenchanted. There are thus grounds for assuming that there is a case for psychological astrology having the attributes of psychologisation, and having taken on a psychological form for the reasons of gaining legitimacy in the modern world. The psychologisation of astrology has not previously been explored in depth through textual analysis of astrology books; as such this thesis fills a gap in existing scholarship.

Psychological astrology developed from the reforms of astrologer Alan Leo at the beginning of the twentieth century and the work of psychologist Carl Jung, who had a life-long interest in astrology. It was principally developed through the work of Dane Rudhyar and Liz Greene. This thesis will consider the work of Jung and the three key astrologers, examining to what extent they have contributed to a form of astrology that may be called psychologised and disenchanted and whether psychologisation is an adequate concept to capture the adaptations that produced psychological astrology.

Chapter 2: Psychologisation

2.1 Introduction

This thesis examines whether natal astrology was psychologised in the twentieth century by exploring the form of astrology known as 'psychological astrology' in the English-speaking world. This chapter examines Hanegraaff's thesis on the survival of magic in detail, considering his argument on how magic has adapted to become more psychological, and thus psychologised, as a result of a process of disenchantment. It then discusses the subject of psychology and underlying ideas of the soul, including those of the philosopher Plato (428/427 – 348/347 BCE). Scholarship to date on the concept of psychologisation is then considered including views from sociologists on definitions of psychologisation. I then proceed to examine Christopher Plaisance's extension of Hanegraaff's work through his postulation of a four-fold typology of psychologisation as it applies to esoteric fields. Finally, I consider views on the consequences of psychologisation.

2.2 Hanegraaff's theory on the survival of magic

The idea that magic declined from the seventeenth century onwards has been asserted by Keith Thomas.[104] Focusing on England, he argued that it was the individual nature of the practice of magic which led to its decline in the face of increasing requirements for rational and objective knowledge, whilst religion survived due to its social importance and efforts to remove more magical elements from religious practice, particularly through Protestant reforms.[105] Thomas included astrology in his examination of beliefs which in his view have declined, devoting three chapters to the subject.[106] For Thomas, these forms of belief had flourished because 'a wizard or an astrologer was always able to explain away any apparent failure in his operations by suggesting that there must have been a mistake in his calculations or that he had omitted some vital ritual

[104] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London: Penguin, 1991).
[105] Thomas, *Decline of Magic*, p.766.
[106] Thomas, *Decline of Magic*, pp.335-460.

precaution.'[107] The break away from these beliefs, argued Thomas, became possible through the intellectual changes of the seventeenth century which rested on the idea of 'the mechanical philosophy', the idea that the universe was like a machine with its operations working on a basis of cause and effect.[108] This, argued Thomas, had led to a collapse of ideas such as the microcosm theory (that the individual is a microcosm of the macrocosm) and as such this destroyed 'the whole intellectual basis of astrology, chiromancy, alchemy, physiognomy, astral magic and their associates.'[109] Despite a brief flirtation with magical concepts, modern science quickly broke away with Thomas asserting that, 'the triumph of the mechanical philosophy meant the end of the animistic conception of the universe which had constituted the basic rationale for magical thinking.'[110]

Hildred Geertz challenged Thomas' thesis on the grounds that he used questionable definitions of religion and magic.[111] Geertz argued that for Thomas magic was equated with primitive religion and that magic was used in his book as,

> a label for those beliefs and practices which are specific, incoherent, and primarily oriented toward providing practical solutions to immediate problems and not referable to any coherent scheme of ideas.[112]

According to Geertz, magic was assumed by Thomas to be ineffective and clearly demarcated from something called religion, a separation difficult to support.[113] Thomas responded to Geertz' challenge, arguing that although he agreed that he could have spent more time demarcating the terms religion, science and magic, the principal

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[107] Thomas, *Decline of Magic*, p.767.
[108] Thomas, *Decline of Magic*, p.769.
[109] Thomas, *Decline of Magic*, p.769.
[110] Thomas, *Decline of Magic*, p.771.
[111] Hildred Geertz, 'An Anthropology of Religion and Magic, I', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* Vol. 6 no 1 (Summer 1975), pp.71-89.
[112] Geertz, 'An Anthropology', p.72.
[113] Geertz, 'An Anthropology', p.73.

thrust of his thesis, that collective beliefs changed over time i.e. that there was a decline in belief in practices that may loosely be called magic, remained sound.[114]

Wouter Hanegraaff begins his article about psychologisation by quoting from Thomas' *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 'Astrology, witchcraft, magical healing, divination, ancient prophecies, ghosts and fairies, are now all rightly disdained by intelligent persons.'[115] He does so in order to underscore what he sees as an error in Thomas' thinking, the error being the idea that such practices do not enjoy recognition.[116] He does accept however that there has been an adaptation in magic caused by a process of disenchantment; magic survived between the Renaissance and the twentieth century, and did so due to a process of psychologisation, its continuity being due to its ability to adapt.[117] Hanegraaff asserts that there is a difference between the magic of the Renaissance and of the twentieth century and that 'most important in this respect is the dominant tendency among 20th-century magicians to psychologize magic.'[118] Hanegraaff understands disenchantment as a general process of secularisation where this is seen as 'a profound *transformation* of religion.'[119] The secularisation of culture for Hanegraaff refers to the historical development whereby Christianity is no longer the central grounding principle. Such a process has led to a change in the nature of magic; the crucial point being that this sort of magic (Hanegraaff's italics) '*will no longer be the same magic* that could be found in periods prior to the process of disenchantment.'[120] On the contrary, it will be a 'disenchanted magic.'[121] Hanegraaff distinguishes between the change in magic over time, with twentieth-century magic being an 'adaptation of magic to a secular environment.'[122] Thus one of the principle

[114] Keith Thomas, 'An Anthropology of Religion and Magic, II', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 6 no 1 (Summer 1975), pp.91-109.
[115] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.357; Thomas, *Decline of Magic*, p.xi.
[116] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.357.
[117] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', pp.357-380.
[118] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived',p.366.
[119] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.358.
[120] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.359-360.
[121] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.360.
[122] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.360.

tasks of my research is to ask whether the same point applies to astrology i.e. whether psychological astrology is the same sort of astrology that can be found prior to the process of disenchantment or whether it has adapted to become a disenchanted form through its encounter with psychology.

In arguing for his thesis, Hanegraaff compares the theory of magic in the Renaissance period with that in the twentieth century. He suggests that in the Renaissance, three theories underpinned the operation of magical effects: i) correspondences, ii) spiritus and iii) demonic intervention.[123]

i) Correspondences

The theory of correspondences relies on the idea that 'God had created the world as a beautiful and harmonious whole.'[124] This means that there were considered to be real qualitative links between different parts of the world and that 'Nature itself spoke to man in a language of more or less mysterious signs, which were there to be deciphered.'[125] Tamsyn Barton describes correspondences as the idea 'which designated animals, plants and stones as sympathetic or antipathetic to particular conditions, which might or might not be seen to be caused by the heavenly bodies.'[126] This world of correspondences extended to human beings. As Hanegraaff wrote:

> Man carried the key to those mysteries within himself, for his very constitution was a microcosmos reflecting the macrocosmos in all respects. All the answers were there, if only one could learn how to interpret the signs. Therefore, the ultimate key to knowledge of the world consisted in self-knowledge; such knowledge, however, required the attainment of an exalted visionary state of 'prophecy' which far transcended normal human understanding.[127]

[123] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.361.
[124] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.361.
[125] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.362.
[126] Tamsyn Barton, *Ancient Astrology* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 1994), p.103.
[127] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.363.

To illustrate the theory Hanegraaff turns to an astrological example citing the Renaissance astrologer and philosopher Marsilio Ficino (1433-99).[128] Writing of the correspondence between Gold and the Sun and Jupiter, Ficino stated:

> All writers place gold before everything else, as the most suitably mixed of all things and the most safe from decay – consecrated to the Sun because of its splendour and to Jupiter because of its temperedness; it can therefore marvellously temper the natural heat with moisture, save the humors from corruption, and bring a Solar and a Jovial power to the spirits and the bodily parts.[129]

Similarly, writing in 1952, Margaret Hone, co-founder of the Faculty of Astrological Studies, also equated the Sun with Gold, 'this metal is shining like the Sun and is that generally used for a king's crown.'[130] Continuity in the astrological use of correspondences continues to the present day; for example, Clare Martin, writing in 2005, equated the Sun with gold in addition to palaces, royalty, the heart, peacocks and sunflowers.[131]

ii) Spiritus

Whilst correspondences work on a theory of preestablished harmony, spiritus is the postulation of 'a subtle medium by which magical influences were transmitted: the invisible *spiritus*, which permeated all of creation.'[132] Spiritus is the means by which the soul is linked to the material body and as such is able 'to explain both physical and psychological effects.'[133] This theory was often found alongside the theory of correspondences in the works of Renaissance magicians and together these formed a natural theory of magic. Frances Yates suggests that spiritus 'descends from the above to the below and resides in the place where it is caught.'[134] Part of the art of magic, for

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[128] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.363; Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, trans. C.V. Kaske, J.R. Clark (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1989 [1489]).
[129] Ficino, *Three Books on Life*, p.195.
[130] Margaret Hone, *The Modern Text Book of Astrology* (London: LN Fowler, 1951), p.60.
[131] Clare Martin, *Mapping the Psyche Volume 1* (London: CPA, 2005), p.15.
[132] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.363.
[133] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.364.
[134] Frances Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London: Routledge, 2002) p.55.

Yates, is the means by which spiritus is guided and captured into material objects. The subtle spiritual medium is found in 'magical' texts popular in the Renaissance such as the *Asclepius* and *Corpus Hermeticum:*

> Soul feeds on the ever restless stirring of the world. Bodies grow on water and earth, foods of the lower world. The spirit that fills all mixes with everything and enlivens everything.[135]

> The heavens appeared in seven circles, the gods became visible in the shapes of the stars and all their constellations, and the arrangement of [this lighter substance] corresponded to the gods contained in it. The periphery rotated [in] the air, carried in a circular course by divine spirit.[136]

iii) Demons

The third rationale stated by Hanegraaff, who argues this was cited by critics of magic, 'held that magical effects were caused by supernatural intervention of demonic beings' and involved drawing down pagan deities that were actually 'evil demons in league with Satan.'[137]

D.P. Walker has discussed both the spiritus and demonic theories at length.[138] He argues that they both play a similar role in the theory of astrological influence with the difference being that demons are 'individual, personal' whereas the spirit is 'general, impersonal'.[139] He goes on however to suggest that it would be difficult to 'believe simultaneously in both kinds of planetary influence; the celestial spirits cannot be both personal and impersonal.'[140]

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[135] Asclepius, in *Hermetica*, trans. Brian P. Copenhaver (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.70.
[136] *Corpus Hermeticum*, in *Hermetica*, trans. Brian P. Copenhaver (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.13.
[137] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.364.
[138] D. P. Walker, *Spiritual & Demonic Magic* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000).
[139] Walker, *Spiritual & Demonic Magic*, p.47.
[140] Walker, *Spiritual & Demonic Magic*, p.47.

The Renaissance magicians, Hanegraaff contends, were keen to present their magic as part of the natural world, to avoid criticism and punishment from religious authorities:

> Renaissance magi were forced to try to legitimate their beliefs and practices by convincing the critics that magic – or at least *their* magic – was a purely natural affair based upon the first two theories; and they needed to refute the suspicion that they actually relied on supernatural intervention, which to the critics could only mean that they were in league with demons.[141]

Hanegraaff then compares the Renaissance theories of magic with those of the twentieth century. He suggests that this later magic be termed 'occultist magic' to distinguish it from the magic practised in the Renaissance, with occultist magic attempting to be more scientific by associating itself with psychological terminology. He goes on to use the writings of Israel Regardie as an example, who admitted to editing and rewriting magical texts so as to, in Regardie's words, 'render them more coherent.'[142] Hanegraaff argues that, whilst the theory of correspondences is important to the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn, the magical organisation Regardie was writing about, the idea of the personal God which underlies the classical theory of correspondences is no longer important. Regardie wrote:

> Though the Golden Dawn rituals persistently use phraseology which implies the belief in a personal God, that usage to my mind is a poetic or dramatic convention… these rituals take on added and profound meaning from a purely psychological point of view. That is, they are seen to be technical methods of exalting the individual consciousness until it comes to a complete realisation of its own divine root.[143]

Hanegraaff asserts that the 'difficulty of understanding the Renaissance perspective on correspondences appears to be *shared* by most contemporary magicians.'[144] Whilst using the correspondence theory as a technical background, Hanegraaff's assertion is that contemporary magicians do not fully embrace the idea of real correspondences

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[141] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.365.
[142] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.366; Israel Regardie, *The Golden Dawn: An Account of the Teachings, Rites and Ceremonies of the order of the Golden Dawn*, Revised and Enlarged Edition (River Falls: St Paul, 1969), p.87.
[143] Regardie, 'The Golden Dawn', p.29.
[144] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.367.

but use it as a means for individual consciousness to be enlarged. This may not however be the case with twentieth-century astrologers. One of the most respected astrologers in the English-speaking world from the 1980s, Robert Hand, writes that astrologers are dealing with 'psychological, spiritual and metaphysical energies that lie both within ourselves and within the universe.'[145]

Hanegraaff asserts that spiritus is also present in occultist magic. Hanegraaff argues that the idea of a 'subtle force' which occultists assert transmits magical force can be traced to spiritus and through the work of Franz Anton Mesmer (1734-1815) in his idea of a magnetic fluid, which was an early influence on modern psychotherapy.[146] For Hanegraaff modern occultists are pragmatic and are not unduly concerned with theoretical justification:

> Important for occultists is only that there is 'some kind of subtle stuff' which 'somehow' bridges the gap between mind and matter. The presupposition is that magic is ultimately based on the powers of the psyche: 'it is the mind that works magic.'[147]

Mesmer's university dissertation discussed the influence of the planets on human health although he was keen to assert that his thesis was not connected with previous claims astrologers had made:

> I do not wish to defend the theory regarding the influence of the stars which was formerly defended by the astrologers, who boast powers to predict events to come and to know the destiny of men…[148]

Mesmer argued that planetary patterns and phenomena such as lunations and eclipses are clearly related to earthquakes, tides and weather and as such fluids and solids in the earth are influenced by the heavenly bodies.[149] By extension therefore the fluids and solids in animals, and humans, should also be influenced and thus the planets are

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[145] Robert Hand, *Horoscope Symbols*, (Atglen, PA: Whitford Press, 1980), p.20.
[146] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.368.
[147] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.368.
[148] Anton Mesmer, 'Physical-Medical Treatise on the Influence of the Planets' in *Mesmerism*, trans. George J. Bloch (Los Altos, CA: William Kaufmann, 1980), p.3.
[149] Mesmer, 'Influence of the Planets', p.13.

important in human disease. Building on this theory, Mesmer developed the idea of 'animal magnetism' which he described as:

> The property which bodies have of being susceptible to the action of a universally distributed fluid, a fluid which surrounds all that exists and which serves to maintain the equilibrium of all the vital functions.[150]

Disease, according to Mesmer, stems from disequilibrium in this fluid, but this can be cured by techniques involving magnets. According to Ellenberger, Mesmer was an early influence on the emergence of dynamic psychiatry with his chief contribution not the theory of magnetism as such but the discovery that the establishment of rapport between a patient and therapist was vital to their recovery.[151] This finding paved the way for modern theories of psychotherapy which emphasise the importance of the therapeutic relationship.

In relation to the third theory of magic, the theory of demons, or supernatural entities, Hanegraaff argues that there are different views on whether communication with such 'angels' or 'higher selves' are psychological or more than psychological.[152] However:

> Since the supernatural God has been replaced by an autonomous Nature, the traditional demonological theory of magic as based on supernatural intervention by demons has ceased to be a clear alternative to the two others. Even if magic works with 'entities', it is assumed to do so in a natural way.[153]

From his analysis Hanegraaff concludes that the magical practice of modern occultists is 'essentially a series of psychological techniques' for raising the consciousness of the individual.[154]

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[150] Anton Mesmer, 'Catechism on Animal Magnetism' in *Mesmerism*, trans. George J. Bloch (Los Altos, CA: William Kaufmann, 1980), p.81.
[151] Ellenberger, *Discovery of the Unconscious*, p.69.
[152] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.368.
[153] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.368.
[154] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.368.

2.2.1 The reason for psychologisation

Hanegraaff claims that the underlying reason for the psychologisation of magic in the twentieth century is one of legitimisation.[155] He argues that whereas Renaissance magicians had to defend themselves against the charge of worshiping demons or pagan gods, contemporary magicians face the problem of legitimising themselves in a disenchanted world, in which science is the dominant narrative. As such, magic, not obviously fitting in to a world that is disenchanted, requires legitimatisation through associating itself with ideas linked to science such as psychological ones. It also requires a rationale that does not contradict the idea of a disenchanted everyday world. Hanegraaff suggests legitimisation is connected with the idea of a magical plane:

> Fundamental to the way occultists rationalize magic is their concept of a separate-but-connected 'magical plane' which exists on a different level of reality. On this plane the things of the imagination are believed to be as real as tables and chairs are real in our everyday world…. Processes of secularisation and disenchantment in the everyday world simply *have no bearing on the magical plane*, and hence do not have to affect the reality of magic.[156]

Tanya Luhrmann discusses the magical plane in her examination of magic in the twentieth century.[157] She argues that this plane, which is often referred to as the 'inner plane' is not inner in the sense of only imaginative, emotional or internal but somehow linked to the physical:

> The notion of a real-but-different magical reality is central for a modern magician, for it allows him both to assert the magic and to block it off from the sceptic's probing stare.[158]

Luhrmann relates this rationale to psychoanalysis, which she asserts is invoked by magicians 'to explain that not all mental activity is rational or logical, and indeed that the irrational is powerful, effective… and inaccessible to conscious analysis.'[159]

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[155] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.396.
[156] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.370.
[157] Tanya Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witches Craft* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), p.274.
[158] Luhrmann, *Persuasions*, pp.274-275.
[159] Luhrmann, *Persuasions*, p.275.

Hanegraaff asserts that, in practice, magicians could simply abandon their magical language for psychology and investigation of the powers of the psyche.[160] Why is it then that they do not do this? Hanegraaff suggests it is due to the enduring human need to feel that they are participating in the cosmos. He argues that magic has always relied on 'the spontaneous human tendency for participation' but that this became an issue when explaining the world in terms of causality became 'the dominant narrative of western society.'[161] This privileging of causality has led to a problem for the modern magician who is practising in a world conceived as disenchanted; as such magicians have psychologised their magic as a way of legitimising their practice.[162] Hanegraaff is not arguing that magical practice is necessarily invalid, but that it has changed to a different form in the modern world so that it appears to be legitimate. This for Hanegraaff creates a different kind of magic which he labels 'occultist' to distinguish it from the magic practised in the Renaissance. The participatory nature of magic, for Hanegraaff, is intimately bound up with his definition of disenchantment which is:

> The social pressure exerted upon human beings to deny the spontaneous tendency of participation, by accepting the claims of a culturally established ideology according to which instrumental causality amounts to a worldview capable in principle of rationally explaining all aspects of reality.[163]

The downplaying of participatory experience in the modern world is thus central to Hanegraaff's thesis given its fundamental role in legitimising magic as a human practice. If participation were equally valued, then there would be no need for magic to require legitimisation by way of psychologisation.

The idea of participation stems from the work of Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857-1939) who characterised the practice of magic not as irrational but as organised through a different mode of relating to the world, the participatory mode.[164] He wrote that this mode involves 'a "participation" between persons or objects which form part of a

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[160] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.371.
[161] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.378.
[162] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.378.
[163] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.377.
[164] Lucien Levy-Bruhl, *How Natives Think* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1966), p.62.

collective representation.'[165] The idea of two orientations to the world, participation and causality, has been taken up by Stanley Tambiah.[166] He proposes two modes of ordering the world that 'are simultaneously available to human beings as complementary cognitive and affective interests.'[167] Whilst causality is connected with ideas such as distancing, neutrality, evolution, construction of scientific knowledge and experimentation, participation is associated with expressive action, telling of myths, performance of rituals, pattern recognition and sense of encompassing cosmic oneness.[168]

Applied to psychological astrology, Hanegraaff's thesis suggests that one of the reasons for the survival of astrology in modernity is that it has cloaked itself in psychological language and techniques, becoming something other than what it was before disenchantment and the modern period.

Hanegraaff has proposed a related concept; this being the psychologisation of the sacred and the sacralisation of psychology.[169] He argues that the line of thought that religion and the gods are simply projections of the human mind and therefore reducible to psychology, as found in Freudian psychology, is often used as an argument for atheism.[170] However, and this is the central point, he argues that whilst modern esotericists, a term he uses to describe those engaged in what might broadly cover magical or occult practices, often accept the projection argument, they reject the conclusion of atheism and see God as transcending the idea that there is an objective metaphysical reality distinct from subjective impressions that only belong to the psyche. This means that imaginative experience cannot be dismissed as simply subjective or unreal and for Hanegraaff this use of transpersonal experiences 'as an empirical foundation for a spiritual worldview is a prominent example of the

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[165] Levy-Bruhl, *How Natives Think*, p.76.
[166] Stanley Tambiah, *Magic, science, religion, and the scope of rationality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p.86.
[167] Tambiah, *Magic, science, religion*, p.108.
[168] Tambiah, *Magic, science, religion*, p.109.
[169] Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion*, p.224.
[170] Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion*, p.225.

psychologizing of religion and sacralization of psychology.'[171] These interlocking ideas are similar to his conception of the psychologisation of magic. The theory is that previously overt esoteric or sacred concepts have become psychologised i.e., their psychological expression and meaning becomes the most important characteristic with esoteric aspects underplayed. Conversely, for Hanegraaff, what is psychological has come to be seen as sacred. An example that Hanegraaff gives is the idea of transpersonal experiences taking place in what has been called altered states of consciousness; those having had such experiences, according to Hanegraaff, agree that these are in the mind but then assert that what is in the mind is real, such that the sacred and the psychological are inextricably linked.[172]

2.3 Psychology

Psychology as an academic discipline originated in the nineteenth century with the critical period for establishing the major forms of psychology and psychotherapy being the 1870s to the 1930s.[173] A broad definition of modern psychology is as giving 'detailed explanations of mind and behaviour without invoking a supernatural soul.'[174] As Smith puts it, 'in broad intellectual terms, the modern sciences of psychology depend on the argument that mind, or behaviour, cognition or whatever else is thought to be their subject-matter, is part of nature.'[175] And for Everson, the modern science of psychology presupposes a distinction between the mental and the physical and that the mental is a defined area that can be discussed scientifically.[176] However, a simple definition of psychology as the science of mind or behaviour belies the complexity in trying to get to the heart of its subject. According to Shamdasani:

> The singularity of the term "psychology" should not mislead one into thinking that such a discipline was ever successfully founded. Or that there is an essence

[171] Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion*, p.227.
[172] Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion*, p.227.
[173] Shamdasani, *Jung and the making*, p.10.
[174] Thomas Hardy Leahey, *A History of Psychology: Main Currents in Psychological Thought* (New Delhi: Pearson, 2007), p.113.
[175] Smith, *Mind and Nature*, p.39.
[176] Stephen Everson, 'Introduction' in *Psychology* ed. Stephen Everson (Cambridge: CUP, 1991), p.1.

> to "psychology" that could encompass the various definitions, methodologies, practices, world-views, and institutions that have used this designation.[177]

This problem of arriving at a simple definition of psychology is also raised by Kessen and Cahan who assert that 'despite attempts to define psychology exclusively as a positivistic natural science, the field has remained as broad and diverse as the human mind itself.'[178] The word psychology literally means 'study (logos) of the soul (psyche).'[179] But the 'soul' is missing from many modern accounts. Otto Rank summed up the definition problem by getting to the heart of the paradox; psychology is the scientific study of the soul, but for science the soul does not exist:

> the soul as we know it from antiquity in folk belief, religion, and mythology, does not exist for scientific psychology, yet research goes on as if it did.[180]

The history of psychology must therefore necessarily deal with notions of soul.

Although psychology may be 'modern' in its development as a self-contained discipline, the 'study of the soul' has much older roots which both complicate our understanding of the history of psychology and illustrate aspects of psychology's historic relationship with astrology. As Everson argues:

> The philosophers and scientists of antiquity, were, like their modern successors, properly intrigued by the fact that some natural substances are capable of movement and action – that is, of behaviour – whilst others are not.[181]

In the works of Plato (428/427 – 348/347 BCE) we find a developed theory of soul where each individual has a soul as does the world. In *Timaeus* Plato's cosmology situates each soul within a living, intelligent cosmos. Both individuals and the world have soul and each soul has a destiny linked with the stars.[182] Plato wrote:

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[177] Shamdasani, *Jung and the making*, p.8.
[178] William Kessen and Emily D. Cahan, 'A Century of Psychology: From Subject to Object to Agent', *American Scientist*, Vol. 74, No. 6 (Nov-Dec 1986), pp.640-649, p.640.
[179] Leahey, *History of Psychology*, p.4.
[180] Otto Rank, 'Psychology and the Soul', *Journal of Religion and Health*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Fall, 1996), pp.193-201; pp. 193-194.
[181] Everson, 'Introduction', p.1.
[182] Plato, *Timaeus*, trans R.G. Bury (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931), 41E-42A.

> Thus he [the Creator] spake, and once more into the cup in which he had previously mingled the soul of the universe he poured the remains of the elements, and mingled them in much the same manner; they were not, however, pure as before, but diluted to the second and third degree. And having made it he divided the whole mixture into souls equal in number to the stars, and assigned each soul to a star; and having there placed them as in a chariot, he showed them the nature of the universe, and declared to them the laws of destiny… [183]

In *Phaedrus* Plato argued the human being consists of four different parts, the body and three-part soul.[184] These parts are the rational soul, the spirited soul and the appetitive soul. The rational soul is the mind or intellect and is able to determine what is true and real. This is the part of the soul that makes rational decisions. The spirited soul is the active part which carries out the decisions made by reason. The appetitive soul is the part of emotion and desire, and it is this part which needs restraint. These components can be described by 'a pair of winged horses and a charioteer.'[185] The rational soul is the charioteer which is immortal and steers the spirited and appetitive parts.

In *Republic* book ten, Plato outlined the 'Myth of Er' which recounts each soul choosing its parents and pattern of life prior to birth.[186] This process contributes to the soul having an innate form and destiny which is connected with the stars and planets which the soul passes through as it receives its chosen destiny:

> The largest (of fixed stars) is spangled, and the seventh (or sun) is brightest; the eighth (or moon) coloured by the reflected light of the seventh; the second and fifth (Saturn and Mercury) are in colour like one another, and yellower than the preceding; the third (Venus) has the whitest light; the fourth (Mars) is reddish; the sixth (Jupiter) is in whiteness second. Now the whole spindle has the same motion; but, as the whole revolves in one direction, the seven inner circles move slowly in the other, and of these the swiftest is the eighth; next in swiftness are the seventh, sixth, and fifth, which move together; third in swiftness appeared to move according to the law of this reversed motion the

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[183] Plato, *Timaeus*, trans. Benjamin Jowett, http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/timaeus.html, (accessed: 27 June 2020).
[184] Plato, *Phaedrus,* trans. C Rowe (London, Penguin, 2005).
[185] Plato, *Phaedrus*, trans. Benjamin Jowett, http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/phaedrus.html, (accessed: 27 June 2020).
[186] Plato, *Republic*, Book X, trans. Benjamin Jowett, http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/republic.11.x.html, (accessed: 27 June 2020).

> fourth; the third appeared fourth and the second fifth. The spindle turns on the knees of Necessity…[187]

Stanley Rosen argues that in the *Republic* Plato also considers soul and body as separable, and thus has no need to consider 'whether the dissolution of the body is not also the dissolution of the soul.'[188] The separate nature of the soul is a presupposition of the argument for immortality. For Sarah Broadie, Plato 'believes that the soul thinks best when dissociated from the body.'[189] Sabina Lovibond argues that Plato is responsible for a developed theory of psyche, or mind:

> It is Plato, more than any other thinker, who is responsible for the pervasive intellectualism of that tradition – for the entrenched tendency to posit 'mind' (or in certain contexts, 'soul') as a substantial component of our nature, and to revere this as our most precious possession.[190]

Lovibond views Plato as the originator of the idea that the soul/psyche/mind of human beings is a microcosm of the world; although Plato did not use this term, she argues that his theory of psyche links the soul of human beings with that of the world with the goal to realise ourselves and become what we potentially have been since birth.[191] Von Stuckrad also emphasises the connection between Plato's ideas on the soul and the unity 'between macrocosm and microcosm'; this is connected with Plato's view that the human soul is 'a representation of the cosmic soul.'[192] E. R. Dodds argues that Plato's inclusion of the appetitive part of the soul may be likened to Freud's later concept of libido, a form of energy that is an essential part of the life of the mind.[193] Some twentieth-century psychologists rely on some of Plato's ideas of the soul. James Hillman, for example, founder of the archetypal school of psychology, links his thinking

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[187] Plato, *Republic*, Book X, trans. Benjamin Jowett, http://classics.mit.edu/Plato/republic.11.x.html, (accessed: 27 June 2020).
[188] Stanley Rosen, *Plato's Republic* (London: Yale University Press, 2005), p.378.
[189] Sarah Broadie, 'Soul and Body in Plato and Descartes' *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, 2001, Vol.10 (2001), pp.295-308, p.302.
[190] Sabina Lovibond, 'Plato's theory of mind' in *Psychology*, ed. Stephen Everson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 35-55, p.35.
[191] Lovibond, 'Plato's theory of mind', p.46.
[192] Kocku von Stuckrad, *A Cultural History of the Soul* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2022), p.4.
[193] E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (London: University of California Press, 1951), p.213.

back through a long line including Jung, Freud and Plato.[194] His own definition of the soul, which lies at the heart of his approach to psychology, is as the perspective that 'mediates events and makes differences between ourselves and everything that happens.'[195] For Hillman soul is the 'unknown component which makes meaning possible, turns events into experiences, is communicated in love, and has a religious concern.'[196] It is further, for Hillman, the 'mode which recognizes all realities as primarily symbolic or metaphorical.'[197]

Whilst Plato promoted the idea that part of the soul was immortal, for Aristotle (385-323 BC), the soul was natural, and inseparable from the body:

> If then we must say something in general about all types of soul, it would be the first actuality of a natural body with organs. We should not then inquire whether the soul and body are one thing, any more than whether the wax and its imprint are, or in general whether the matter of each thing is one with that of which it is the matter.[198]

For Aristotle soul belonged to all living things; the soul helps to give something its shape and imprint like the imprint which makes the wax into some particular object. Irwin has discussed what seems to be a contradiction in Aristotle's work, that whilst soul and body are two different substances, they are also united; this seems to place him both as a dualist and a materialist.[199] He concludes that Aristotle's theory, whilst not postulating soul as radically different from body, usefully distinguishes between the two. Opinions over whether Plato's and Aristotle's concepts of soul were divided into parts or formed a unity are however complex; for example, John Finamore argues

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[194] James Hillman, *Re-Visioning Psychology* (London: Harper, 1976), p.xvii.
[195] Hillman, *Re-Visioning Psychology*, p.xvi.
[196] Hillman, *Re-Visioning Psychology*, p.xvi.
[197] Hillman, *Re-Visioning Psychology*, p.xvi.
[198] Aristotle, *De Anima*, trans. Hugh Lawson-Tancred (London: Penguin, 1986), p.157.
[199] T.H. Irwin, 'Aristotle's philosophy of mind' in *Psychology*, ed. Stephen Everson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 56-83.

that Aristotle rejected Plato's tripartite theory of soul and that for Aristotle the soul was not in discord i.e., not in parts but formed a unity.[200]

For the philosophical school known as the Stoics, which stemmed from Zeno of Citium (333-262 BCE), the soul was perishable; this did not however mean that souls were destroyed at death in entirety, 'but that they undergo a sort of natural change which the Stoics called broadly 'resolution', by which they are unified with the imperishable world soul so as to become its parts.'[201] Stoicism taught that life was fully determined and as such one's life was foreordained. However, humans were in control of their mental world and could choose to accept their fate. In the *Enchiridion*, the stoic Epictetus teaches:

> Men are disturbed not by the things which happen, but by the views which they take of things. Thus death is nothing terrible, else it would have appeared so to Socrates. But the terror consists in our notion of death, that it is terrible. When, therefore, we are hindered or disturbed, or grieved, let us never impute it to others, but to ourselves – that is, to our own views.[202]

The Christian theologian Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) did much to reinforce the idea of a soul separate to the body. Drawing on Aristotle, Aquinas wrote:

> For living things, since they are physical beings, are composed of matter and form. Now they are composed of a body, and of a soul which makes them actually living. Therefore one of these must be the form, and the other the matter. But the body cannot be the form, since the body is not in something else as its matter and subject. Therefore the soul is the form. Consequently it is not a body, since no form is a body.[203]

Aquinas' assertion that the soul is a different substance from the body does not mean that one does not affect the other, however. The soul can be affected by something else affecting the body, 'the soul does not suffer with the body except accidentally because,

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[200] John Finamore, 'Aristotle's criticisms of Plato's Tripartite Soul' *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, Supplement, 2013, No. 117, ANCIENT APPROACHES TO PLATO'S "REPUBLIC" (2013), pp. 3-13, p.5.
[201] A. E. Ju, 'Stoic and Posidonian Thought on the Immortality of the Soul' *The Classical Quarterly*, May 2009, New Series, Vol. 59, No. 1 (May, 2009), pp. 112-124, p.115.
[202] Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, trans. A Salomon (London: Amazon, 2020), pp.3-4.
[203] Thomas Aquinas, trans. English Dominican Fathers *The Summa Contra Gentiles* (London: Aeterna Press,2014), p.230.

since it is the form of the body, it is moved accidentally through the body being moved.'[204] Indeed, for Aquinas, the soul as the form of the body cannot really exist without a body; Denys Turner argues that this means that for Aquinas there is no larger problem 'about how the soul is related to the body' as might be found in Plato.[205] Joseph Novak stresses Aquinas' assertion that the soul is incorruptible although argues that Aquinas' arguments are not wholly successful.[206]

Although speculation on the nature of the mind and soul are found in the classical world and throughout history, many histories of psychology, as Everson asserts, begin with a discussion of the thought of René Descartes (1596-1650).[207] This presupposes that psychology is the study of consciousness, a separate realm of the mental that is distinct from the body. Descartes argued for such a difference between mind and body:

> First of all, I perceive that there is a big difference between the mind and the body insofar as the body, by its nature, is always divisible whereas the mind is evidently indivisible… [208]

Rank argues that modern psychology is the study of conscious mental phenomena, and as such the foundations were laid for the modern science with Descartes; the soul-concept deviates at this point and evolves into the idea of the unconscious in natural philosophy with the two eventually uniting in psychoanalysis.[209] The idea that classical ideas of the soul re-emerge into psychology through the concept of the unconscious, which lies at the heart of psychoanalysis, has been argued by Robert Fuller, 'Americans discovered the unconscious simultaneously with their entry into a modern, secular world.'[210] Whyte similarly argues that the 'discovery' of the unconscious became

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[204] Aquinas, *Summa Contra Gentiles*, p.231.
[205] Denys Turner, *Thomas Aquinas* (London: Yale University Press, 2013), p.71
[206] Joseph A Novak, 'Aquinas and the Incorruptibility of the Soul', *History of Philosophy Quarterly*, Oct., 1987, Vol. 4 (Oct., 1987), pp.405-421.
[207] Everson, 'Introduction', p.1.
[208] Rene Descartes, *Meditations and Other Metaphysical Writings*, trans. Desmond Clarke (London: Penguin, 2000), p.67.
[209] Otto Rank, 'Psychology and the Soul', p.195.
[210] Robert Fuller, *Americans and the Unconscious* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p.3.

necessary after Descartes who had too narrowly defined the psychic life of human beings, restricting it to consciousness.[211]

Despite the difficulty in defining psychology as a single discipline, since its nineteenth-century beginnings, it has become very significant to Western societies. Martin Gross created the term 'Psychological Society' in 1978, arguing that psychology had become 'an art, science, therapy, religion, moral code, life style, philosophy and cult.'[212] Gross lamented that 'human problems are no longer seen as normal variations or unseemly twists of fate.'[213] Instead, he argued, problems are seen 'as the products of internal psychological maladjustments.'[214] For Gross the intellectual root of the explosion of psychology in all areas of society is the 'supposed existence of the *Unconscious*, man's anticlerical equivalent of the *Soul*.'[215] Ellenberger discusses the rapid evolution of psychology as 'the psychological revolution' which saw psychology start to invade all fields of life.[216]

2.4 Definitions of psychologisation

Gross refers to the invasion of psychology into all areas of modern, Western, lives as the psychologisation of culture.[217] Hanegraaff uses the term psychologisation as a way to describe how esoteric practices transformed in the modern era by becoming psychological techniques.[218] The word esoteric had originally been used as a means of describing secret knowledge or that which described what was interior and hidden in human beings.[219] This gave it a natural affinity with psychology, which aimed, at least in part, to describe the inner life of human beings.

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[211] Lancelot Law Whyte, *The Unconscious before Freud* (New York: Basic Books,1960), p.60.
[212] Gross, *Psychological Society*, p.3.
[213] Gross, *Psychological Society*, p.7.
[214] Gross, *Psychological Society*, p.7.
[215] Gross, *Psychological Society*, p.10.
[216] Ellenberger, *Discovery of the Unconscious*, p.843.
[217] Gross, *Psychological Society*, p.9.
[218] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.366.
[219] Wouter J. Hanegraaff, *Esotericism and the Academy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p.337.

Social scientists have discussed psychologisation with Jan De Vos offering one definition as follows:

> psychological vocabulary and psychological explanatory schemes entering fields which are supposed not to belong to the traditional theoretical and practical terrains of psychology.[220]

Elsewhere, De Vos and Angel Gordo explain that psychologisation relates to 'the modern, and ever expanding, tendency to manage non-psychological issues in psychological terms.'[221] They clarify that this means the 'way psychology as a discipline occupies terrains which ordinarily would not be classified as "properly" psychological ones.'[222] Madsen uses a similar definition of psychologisation, employing the term as follows: it is a process 'whereby increasingly more non-psychological phenomena are understood as something that arise from and thereby has its natural solution in the psyche of the individual.'[223]

This concept of psychologisation is principally concerned with the overflow of psychological language and explanations into areas not usually considered the domain of psychology. But what is the domain of psychology as it is generally conceived of and when might it be said to overflow? As discussed above, psychology does not have one neat definition, with the science of mind or behaviour inadequate to describe some of the psychologies that are practised and theorised about; for example the 'archetypal psychology of James Hillman is a conscious effort to:

> restore the mythical perspective to depth psychology by recognizing the soul's intrinsic affinity with, nay, love for, the Gods.[224]

Ascertaining what is and is not psychological is therefore part of the problem of identifying when psychology has 'overflowed' and when psychologisation has occurred.

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[220] Jan De Vos, *Psychologisation in Times of Globalisation* (London: Routledge, 2012), p.1.
[221] Angel Gordo and Jan De Vos 'Psychologism, Psychologising and De-psychologisation', *Annual Review of Critical Psychological*, 8, 2010, pp.3-7; p.3.
[222] Gordo and De Vos, 'Psychologism', p.4.
[223] Ole Jacob Madsen, *The Therapeutic Turn* (London: Routledge, 2014), p.171.
[224] Hillman, *Re-Visioning Psychology*, p.xi.

A related way of considering psychologisation, also connected with the idea of overflow, sees psychology itself as inherently bound up with psychologising and psychologisation. This view sees psychology as proceeding through psychologisation i.e. it claims that the very nature of psychology is for it to expand into non-psychological realms. Such a view is proposed by Nickolas Rose:

> The 'disciplinization' of psychology was intrinsically bound to the 'psychologization' of a range of diverse sites and practices, in which psychology came to infuse and even to dominate other ways of forming, organizing, disseminating, and implementing truths about persons.[225]

This view identifies the very formation of psychology as a discipline as being connected with the act of psychologisation. To assert that it is possible to study the causes of human behaviour through psychology is to aim for ultimate explanations of human action. It is therefore natural for psychology to expand into every domain of human life, given that ultimately all human society and culture has its origins in the minds of individual human beings. De Vos argues that psychoanalysis, a technique for examining the psychology of the unconscious, in particular provides evidence for this principle:

> On the one hand, psychoanalysis is not a psychology – as it is principally a non-generalizable praxis involving only two people – on the other hand, it offers a true theory of the psyche (perhaps more than mainstream psychologies do). On that account, moreover, psychoanalysis can rightfully be called the mother of all psychologization, as its vast impact on culture and society instigated the generalization of psy-outlook on oneself and the world. Precisely because psychoanalysis is on this cutting edge, she is an interesting way-in to answer the question of whether psychologization is only the unhappy, accidental overflow of psychology or whether it is actually inextricably bound up with it.[226]

Psychoanalysis is seen as a branch of psychology intimately bound-up with the idea of psychologisation. This may be defined as 'an assortment of ideas and activities derived in one way or another from the Freudian revolution in psychology', a social

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[225] Nikolas Rose, *Inventing Our Selves* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.59.
[226] Jan De Vos, *Psychologization and the Subject of Late Modernity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p.4.

phenomenon that Peter Berger suggests is 'of truly astounding scope.'[227] Berger argues that psychoanalysis has influenced society well beyond its own 'institutional core' to penetrate law, religion, literature and media.[228]

De Vos grapples with what he sees as the central difference between the two ideas of psychologisation as overflow, which is whether it is accidental or intrinsic. He goes on to conclude that the latter definition outweighs the simple 'overflow' one and that psychology actually proceeds by way of psychologisation. To discuss something in psychological terms is to begin to reduce all to psychological vocabulary, to the inner world of the individual:

> The radical conclusion is that psychologization – the adoption of the particular signifiers and the particular discursive schemes of psychology to look upon itself and its world – cannot be seen apart from the discipline of psychology itself. Psychologization is psychology's very paradigm… psychology proceeds via psychologization, by dispersing its discourse into everyday life.[229]

De Vos therefore concurs with Rose; psychologisation is the very means by which psychology disperses itself and becomes increasingly important in modern society. They both see psychology as leading to a reductionist perspective. By this they mean that if it is possible to analyse all human behaviour in terms of interior causation then ultimately all human constructions can be reduced to psychological causes. This increases the focus on the inner life of the individual as the seat of causative factors and allows psychology to examine all and any phenomena with a view to understanding the underlying psychological factors. And for De Vos, psychoanalysis has played a particular role in the proliferation of this perspective.

Psychologisation as intrinsically bound up with psychology links psychologisation to the idea that all human action can be explained by psychology. De Vos explains this association as 'the fact of the knowledge of psychology having become central in

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[227] Peter L. Berger, 'Towards a Sociological Understanding of Psychoanalysis' *Social Research*, vol. 32, no. 1, 1965, pp.26-41, p.6.
[228] Berger, 'Towards a Sociological Understanding', p.27.
[229] De Vos, *Psychologization and Late Modernity*, p.9.

mediating the presence of the human being with himself.'[230] He thus identifies psychologisation as descriptive of the rise and advance of psychology in Western societies whereby psychological language and theories are the principal means of individuals understanding themselves, having much greater weight than religious ideas or concepts of external fate. Psychologisation as being associated with immersion in the depths of the self is brought out by Alvarez-Uria et al., who see psychologisation as follows:

> a process of establishing in the interior of the subjective self a kind of underground existence, a soul understood as the source and root of all things, an immaterial vital principle which can be explored and analysed… to the extent that the individual's existence is converted into a kind of endless immersion in the depths of the psychological self.[231]

This endless immersion in one's own depths forms a cornerstone of identity in the twentieth century, a means by which individuals are able to understand themselves and their wants, needs and behaviours.

James Hillman has employed the term 'psychologise' when discussing his view of the psyche. Hillman's background was Jungian, but he developed his own version of psychology specifically to focus on a view of the psyche as soul, with the purpose of psychology being 'soul-making.'[232] For Hillman, it is natural for the soul or psyche to psychologise. He suggests that this concept is to be found in 'the ideas that the soul is ever-writing on itself, that psychologizing is a perpetual operation.'[233] Hillman is therefore partly in accord with De Vos and Rose, that there is something inherent in the nature of psychology or the psyche itself which means that psychologising is a natural action. In this sense 'psychologisation' is a perfectly natural operation of the psyche and thus of psychology, one where the psyche seeks to make sense of the world in psychological terms given that all experience is mediated through psyche.

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[230] De Vos, *Psychologization and Late Modernity*, p.2.
[231] Fernando Alvarez-Uria et al., 'Psychologised Life and Thought Styles', *Annual Review of Critical Psychology*, 8, 2010, pp.11-27; p.11.
[232] Hillman, *Revisioning Psychology,* p.1.
[233] James Hillman, *Loose Ends*, (New York: Spring, 1975), p.153.

Psychologisation is intrinsic to the psyche. The difference in Hillman's view however lies in his orientation to such a process, which is generally positive, as opposed to critical.

Hillman also however recognises psychologisation as bringing potential pitfalls. He suggests the term 'psychologising' is also appropriate when too much is attributed to human and psychic factors:

> By psychologizing I also mean the tendency to attribute too much to the human and the psychic, burdening our lives with an overweening sense of responsibility for matters that are not ours, but are archetypal, i.e. historical, mythical, psychoid…[234]

In this sense, Hillman sees psychologising as potentially a form of philosophical mistake. Not everything originates with the individual and their psychology. Human beings cannot be responsible for everything, nor should they assume that the human psyche contains all the answers to why the world is as it is. This is to make the error of reducing everything to the psychological. Hillman, writing in conjunction with Sonu Shamdasani, has questioned the need for psychological terminology, for example, the unconscious, at all.[235] Such terminology may actually alienate the soul by attempting to reduce human experience to concepts which sound scientific, but which add nothing to simpler ways of expressing the same idea.

2.5 A four-fold typology of the psychologisation of the esoteric

An extension of Hanegraaff's thinking on psychologisation in relation to the esoteric has been made by Christopher Plaisance, who has examined this in relation to the work of Israel Regardie (1907-1985).[236] Plaisance asserts that Regardie's overriding focus was to 'elucidate the ways in which esoteric theory and praxis overlapped with the psychological modelling and psychotherapeutic practice of his day.'[237] Plaisance argues

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[234] James Hillman, *Loose Ends*, p.143.
[235] James Hillman and Sonu Shamdasani, *Lament of the Dead: Psychology after Jung's Red book* (London: W. W. Norton, 2013), p.8.
[236] Christopher A. Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie and the Psychologization of Esoteric Discourse', *Correspondences 3* (2015), pp.5-54.
[237] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.7.

that a single definition of psychologisation is insufficient to describe the different ways in which this phenomena is present in Regardie's work; instead psychologisation is proposed as a 'manifold network of discursive strategies that are mutually independent, but non-exclusive and capable of overlap.'[238] This precludes the idea that whether Regardie's work was psychologised can be answered by a simple yes or no. As a consequence of his study of Regardie, Plaisance proposes a four-fold typology which offers four different types of psychologisation in relation to esotericism.[239] The categories are explained further below:

1. **Complementary psychologisation**; this refers to the case where psychological and esoteric discourses are separate categories but relate to each other in a way that is complementary.[240] For example, the esoteric and the psychological might have the same goal but represent different stages of an overall process. An instance of this would be where psychological development is seen as an important part of a wider spiritual process, such as Regardie's insistence that psychotherapy is necessary for esoteric development.[241]
2. **Terminological psychologisation**. This refers to the process whereby metaphysical terminology within esotericism is replaced by psychological terminology despite the meaning of the underlying concepts remaining unchanged.[242] This leads to concepts which imbue both the psychological and the esoteric. This is seen as a legitimisation strategy, whereby esotericists replace their terminology with psychology so as to seem legitimate and scientific. This mode of psychologisation 'seeks to position esoteric discourse as being relevant to modernity by "demonstrating" the esoteric's agreement with science.'[243] Whilst in mode one, (complementary psychologisation), the

[238] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', pp.8-9.
[239] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.9.
[240] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.17.
[241] Israel Regardie, *The Middle Pillar* eds. C Cicero and S Cicero (Woodbury: Llewellyn Publications, 2010), p.20-21.
[242] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.17.
[243] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.17.

psychological and the esoteric are seen as separate disciplines, in mode two they are not separate but, 'their identity is maintained in a very particular way, which reinforces the inward metaphysical primacy of the esoteric alongside the outward terminological primacy of psychology.'[244] Examples of this type of terminology are Carl Jung's use of 'archetype' and 'collective unconscious'. Plaisance sees a dual process at work here, in which 'esoteric concepts are on the one hand couched in a psychological terminology, and on the other, psychological terms are imbued with an esoteric metaphysics.'[245]

3. **Reductive psychologisation**. This category covers psychological systems which have been masked in esoteric language. Such systems may simply be reduced to the psychological factors through a process of reductive psychologisation.[246] According to Plaisance, this type of psychologisation is almost the opposite of type two with psychology being seen as the real and irreducible discipline that may be found beneath a cloak of esoteric language. An example would be Alistair Crowley's assertion that it is the brain that causes the illusion of seeing a spirit in a triangle during a magical ritual.[247] This type of reductive psychologisation can be linked to Hanegraaff's thesis, for Hanegraaff effectively asserts that modern magic is a form of reductive psychologisation.
4. **Idealistic psychologisation**. Plaisance asserts that this category is close to Hanegraaff's definition of a bidirectional process of the psychologisation of the sacred whilst the sacred is also psychologised.[248] This complex process is described by Plaisance thus:

> Mode four's subjectivisation does not process by reducing formerly objective esoteric phenomena to a wholly private psyche. On the contrary, the psychologized vista is seen as public in the sense that it is

[244] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.17.
[245] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.18.
[246] Plaisance, Israel Regardie, p.18.
[247] Aleister Crowley, 'The Initiated Interpretation of Ceremonial Magic' in *The Goetia: The Lesser Key of Solomon the King, Clavicula Salomonis Regis*, trans. Samuel Liddell Mathers and ed. Aleister Crowley (York Beach, MA: Samuel Weiser, 1997), p.16.
[248] See Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion*, p.224.

> not ontologically contained within a single esotericist's psyche, but is rather seen as a "separate but connected" locus accessible to all by means of the application of esoteric praxis. In this way, although esoteric discourse is radically reinterpreted in psychological terms, idealistic psychologization is not a simple reduction of the esoteric to psychology, but is rather grounded in a valuation of the psyche itself as the root of sacrality.[249]

This can lead to a focus not on a personal God but divinity as a state of consciousness, but this is not a retreat 'into a private interior world where the truths gleaned are *only* subjective. On the contrary, the psychologized divine is treated as something objectively real, but whose reality can only be accessed and understood through esoteric practices of "elevating" or "exalting" individual consciousness such that it comes to reach the divine locus that is the psyche.'[250]

This fourth conception of psychologisation interweaves esoteric truth with the psychological. The psyche itself is seen as sacred and the truths found in the psyche are not simply relevant to the individual. Instead the psyche contains a layer of collective truth accessible by all. Like Hanegraaff, Plaisance suggests that this form of psychologisation, the interweaving of esotericism with psychology and psychoanalytic theory and language, is pursued for reasons of legitimisation. According to Plaisance then, the association with psychology and therefore science brings credibility that esoteric practitioners craved in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[251]

Plaisance discusses the idea that psychology is the means by which pre-Enlightenment esoteric currents are continued. In this sense the idea of modern esoteric currents being psychologised 'depend on a psychology that is itself greatly dependent on prior esoteric currents – the relationship between the two being bidirectionally formative.'[252]

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[249] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.19-20.
[250] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.20.
[251] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.21.
[252] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.25.

Turning to Regardie's works, Plaisance finds examples of all four modes. According to Plaisance, Regardie asserted that 'some form of psychotherapy functioned as an essential precursor to the practice of magic.'[253] This demonstrates mode one whereby psychology and the esoteric are complementary. Mode two is also however strongly present, with Plaisance pointing out Regardie's view that the average person does not respond to religious terminology and as such psychological language rather than religious or esoteric language gets a better response.[254] Despite the surface incompatibility of modes two and three, Plaisance also finds reductive psychologisation in Regardie's work, with the Jungian idea of complexes being a particular example.[255] According to Plaisance, Regardie regarded the magical practice of evoking spirits to be an example of an individual dialoguing with their own personal complexes and as such being subjective and psychological. This is not to say that Regardie thought that all supernatural beings were simply reducible to personal psychological factors; as such not all of his work is connected with reducing esoteric ideas to psychological factors. Plaisance also identifies mode four in Regardie's work. An example of this is in Regardie's views on God; according to Plaisance, Regardie asserts the existence of both an external God which has objective reality and an individual God which is 'the psychologized microcosmic reflection of the macrocosmic God.'[256] This two-fold system allows Regardie to claim that the goal of magic is psychological. For Plaisance this 'psychologizes the idea of God by viewing an aspect of the self as divine, but it sacralises this psychological outlook by treating this personal divinity as a reflection of an objective, universal God.'[257]

In concluding, Plaisance argues that his typology of psychologisation enables:

> us to specifically identify Regardie as participating in four distinct psychologizing discursive strategies, both in isolation and in combination with one another in

[253] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.31.
[254] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.34.
[255] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.38.
[256] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.44.
[257] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.45.

ways that are on occasion logically problematic, but tend towards an internal consistency.[258]

The four types of psychologisation may act alone or in tandem with each other. Whilst this occasionally leads to some logical inconsistency, overall there is a tendency for internal consistency.

2.6 Consequences of psychologisation

A consequence of psychologisation is the process of transforming social problems into individual ones. This is part of the focus on individuality which is sometimes considered so important to modernity, and which is discussed in chapter three. Arguing in such a vein, Crespo and Serrano see psychologisation as 'a specific, systematised practice of constructing the modern individual.'[259] Rieff emphasises the change in moral focus as characteristic of a 'psychologising age', which is one in which 'clarity about oneself supersedes devotion to an ideal as the model of right conduct.'[260] A psychologised society therefore is one in which individuals are primarily concerned with their own psychology rather than following a particular standard of conduct or moral code, or in their own contribution to society or political change. Some have identified this consequence in negative terms, as a neglect of the world. This leads to the word 'psychologisation' being used as a pejorative term, being associated with a situation whereby the individual self has become so psychologised that moral and political action has become paralysed in favour of an endless fascination with one's own depths.[261] Such a view locates the psychologised personality as a reaction to voracious capitalism in which human beings have become goods. The psychologised self has become a form of retreat into safety from a world which treats people like things, and consequently goes hand in hand with a withdrawal from public and social life. Such a withdrawal is reinforced by the rise of therapeutic culture and the idea of individuals as

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[258] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.48.
[259] E. Crespo, and A. Serrano, 'The Psychologisation of Work, The Deregulation of Work and the Government of Will' *Annual Review of Critical Psychology*, 2010, pp.43-61, p.45.
[260]Philip Rieff, *Triumph of the Therapeutic* (Wilmington, DE: ISI, 2006), p.46.
[261] Gordo and De Vos, 'Psychologism', p.5.

vulnerable subjects requiring professional help. As Kenneth McLaughlin argues, this increases reliance on external authorities and diminishes their capacity to act politically.[262]

A second consequence of psychologisation in Western societies is the use of psychology in the service of capitalism. For example, personality and intelligence tests help to identify key attributes of ideal workers for large corporations.[263] In this manner psychology simply acts in service to the existing capitalist and consumerist agenda, as opposed to genuinely focusing on understanding human beings.

A third consequence of psychologisation is as a means to engage with the world in a more caring way. Hillman's psychologising process means using the imagination to approach events in a way that is psychological, using personification for example to see the world as having soul. In this sense, to psychologise is to actually invest the world with agency and meaning.[264] Such an approach, Hillman claims, has contributed to ecological thinking and concern for the environment.[265] In this sense psychologisation is not a negative term but a strategy for engaging with the world in a more caring manner. By seeing the world as soulful and alive, human beings are more likely to take greater care in how they relate to the environment around them.

2.7 Chapter conclusion

This chapter has examined the concept of psychologisation, beginning with a detailed consideration of Hanegraaff's thesis on the psychologisation of magic. Magic is a contested term whose overlap with religion makes its decline or survival into the modern period a difficult question to address. Nonetheless, Hanegraaff's

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[262] Kenneth McLaughlin, 'Psychologisation and the Construction of the Political Subject as Vulnerable Object', *Annual Review of Critical Psychology*, 8, 2010, pp. 63-79, p.75.
[263] Ron Roberts, *Psychology and Capitalism* (Winchester: Zero, 2015), pp.22-23.
[264] Hillman, *Revisioning Psychology*, p.169.
[265] For example see David Tacey, *Edge of the Sacred: Jung, Psyche, Earth* (Einsiedeln, Switzerland: Daimon Verlag, 2009).

psychologisation thesis argues that magic survived the disenchantment of the world through becoming psychologised. The characteristics are as follows:

i) The process involves an adaptation of magic to a new form relative to magic prior to the disenchantment of the world
ii) The adapted form is focused on magic as a psychological technique to increase consciousness
iii) The new form appeals to some of the older rationales for magic such as the theory of correspondences and spiritus but only as a technical framework
iv) The adaptation occurs because of a desire for magic to be legitimised in the disenchanted, modern world
v) the adapted form is disenchanted.

The main reason, as in iv) above, for the process of psychologisation is legitimisation. Magic which rests on psychology is ultimately based on the powers of the psyche; it is based on something studied by a science. Hanegraaff argues that modern magicians assert a separate magical plane which is a different level of reality and in which the things of the imagination are real. On this plane disenchantment is not present and as such the disenchantment of the everyday world does not affect the reality of magic.

Hanegraaff argues that magic is part of a natural human tendency to experience the world as participatory but that this tendency is devalued in the disenchanted, modern world in favour of theories of causality, hence the need for psychologised magic.

Psychology has been a dominant force in the culture of the twentieth century with terms such as the 'Psychological Society' and 'psychological revolution' being used to describe the extent to which psychology has permeated culture. Psychology arose as the science of mind and behaviour in the nineteenth century with its key twentieth century strands being formed around the turn of the century, albeit that no one definition or discipline of psychology was ever definitively established. As a scientific discipline psychology does not appear to have a long history. However, interest in the psyche or soul has long been a concern of humankind and a developed theory of soul

may be found in the works of Plato, who Lovibond has argued was also responsible for the idea the psyche is a microcosm of the world with the purpose of each individual to develop themselves in accord with their innate purpose. The rise of psychoanalysis stemmed from ideas on the unconscious mind which some have argued is the return of the soul to psychology.

Other scholars have considered the idea of psychologisation. Sociologists such as De Vos, Gordo and Rose have broadly considered it as the overflow of psychology, the advance of psychology into domains not strictly concerned with the psychological; this has been termed the accidental aspect of psychologisation. They have also advanced the idea that psychology itself and the method by which it develops incorporates the need to psychologise; this is the intrinsic aspect of psychologisation. This has been identified as particularly the case with psychoanalysis, which is seen to be directly connected with the idea of psychologisation.

Christopher Plaisance has explored psychologisation of the esoteric in relation to the work of Israel Regardie. His four-fold typology of psychologisation, an extension of Hanegraaff's work, is the result, with these being complementary (psychological and esoteric discourses complement), terminological (esoteric terminology becomes psychological), reductive (psychological systems cloaked in esoteric language), and idealistic (the sacred and the psychological intertwined). His idealistic psychologisation is closely related to Hanegraaff's concept of the psychologisation of the sacred and the sacralisation of the psychological.

Three consequences of psychologisation have been identified, the neglect of the outer world and retreat from social and political activity, the use of psychology in the service of capitalism and thirdly the idea that psychologising can be a positive and soulful process. This latter consequence comes through the process of giving soulful qualities to the world and seeing personification everywhere which is claimed to be healing for the soul and helpful to promoting a sense of concern for the environment.

Chapter 3: Modernity

3.1 Introduction

The concept of psychologisation is closely related to ideas of the modern and of modernity. De Vos and Gordo define psychologisation as a modern tendency.[266] For Gross, the psychologisation of culture is a feature of modern, Western lives.[267] The idea of modernity, in particular that modernity is primarily characterised by disenchantment, lies at the heart of Hanegraaff's thesis on the psychologisation of magic. Hanegraaff's view is that the idea of disenchantment has gained currency due to the 'internalisation' of the ideology of instrumental causality, which is concerned with what is rational and scientific, with the result that there is an 'acute tension with participation', the latter being crucial to validate the human experience of magic.[268] The dominance of the idea of disenchantment leads to the idea that magic has adapted to a psychological form in order to gain legitimacy in the modern world.

The idea of being modern is also important to twentieth century astrologers. Writing in 1895 in the first issue of his magazine, *Modern Astrology*, Alan Leo declared the time had come to 'modernise the ancient system of Astrology.'[269] The concept of astrology becoming or being modern was also important to astrologer Margaret Hone, who in 1951 named her influential textbook, *The Modern Text book of Astrology.*[270] In addition then, to modernity being at the centre of ideas about psychologisation, it is also of significance to the psychological astrologers of the twentieth century.

The concept of modernity has wider importance, often being used in connection with characterisations of the twentieth century, and therefore important to this thesis as it considers the changing nature of astrology during this period. Whilst Bruno Labour has argued that 'we have never been modern', the category 'modern' remains a useful way

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[266] Gordo and De Vos, 'Psychologism', p.3.
[267] Gross, *Psychological Society*, p.3.
[268] Hanegraaff, 'How Magic Survived', p.376.
[269] Alan Leo, 'Introduction' in *Modern Astrology*, August 1895, Vol 1. No. 1, p.1.
[270] Margaret Hone, *The Modern Text Book of Astrology* (London: LN Fowler, 1951).

of describing certain time periods or as a cultural description, and I will use it in this thesis, alongside related terms such as modernism and postmodernity.[271] Accepting, at least initially, that there is a set of characteristics which may form something called modernity, this chapter asks what modernity is, and how many versions of modernity may be found in twentieth-century thought. It then considers the individual within modernity, and how psychoanalysis fits into notions of the modern.

3.2 Modernity

According to Jürgen Habermas, the word modern was first used in the fifth century as a means of distinguishing the superior present, the official Christian age, from the inferior heathen and Roman past; consistent with this first use, the term modernity denotes the consciousness of an era that defines itself by referencing an inferior past, seeing itself as the transition from old to new.[272] In the fourteenth century Petrarch (1304-1374) introduced the idea of the 'Dark Ages' to cover the contrasting prior period to the current superior modern one, with the idea of the modern comprising a revival of the greatness of the ancient world following this darkness:

> My fate is to live amid varied and confusing storms. But for you perhaps, if as I hope and wish you will live after me, there will follow a better age. This sleep of forgetfulness will not last for ever. When the darkness has been dispersed, our descendants can come again in the former pure radiance.[273]

Scholars of the twentieth century generally conceive modernity or 'the modern period' as having begun around the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with the Renaissance having laid the foundations, and to have extended at least up until the late nineteenth or mid twentieth century.[274] In the words of Anthony Giddens modernity, 'refers to

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[271] Bruno Latour, *We have never been modern*, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), p.10.
[272] Jurgen Habermas, 'Modernity: An Unfinished Project' in Charles Jencks (ed). *The Post-Modern Reader* (London: Academy, 1992), p.158.
[273] Petrarch, Africa IX, 451-57, *Edizione nazionale delle opere di Francesco Petrarca* (Florence: G.C. Sansoni, 1926), vol. 1 p.278.
[274] See Michael Saler, 'Modernity and Enchantment: A Historiographic Review' *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 111, No. 3 (June 2006), pp.692-716, p.694 and Stephen Toulmin, *Cosmopolis*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p.9.

modes of social life or organisation which emerged in Europe from about the seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence.'[275]

The idea of the modern period, or modernity, covers a vast swathe of time from the sixteenth to at least the twentieth century. Despite this, it is often spoken of as consisting of a set of characteristics that are the dominant features of the era.

3.3 Characteristics of modernity

The main characteristics of modernity, as discussed in the scholarly literature, are examined below.

3.3.1 Disenchantment

One of the principal characterisations of modernity, and the one that lies at the heart of Hanegraaff's psychologisation thesis, is as disenchanted.[276] The term is well known from Max Weber's (1864-1920) analysis which puts intellectualisation and rationalisation at the heart of modernity; as Weber explains:

> It means something else, namely, the knowledge or belief that if one but wished one *could* learn it at any time. Hence, it means that principally there are no mysterious incalculable forces that come into play, but rather that one can, in principle, master all things by calculation. This means that the world is disenchanted. One need no longer have resource to magical means in order to master or implore the spirits, as did the savage, for whom such mysterious powers existed.[277]

The idea that there are no mysterious forces or magical operations, and that modernity is an age of reason and science that provided the key to universally understanding the world, underlies the analysis of many scholars. Habermas, for example, writes of the 'relentless development of the objectivating sciences' and the 'universalistic bases of

[275] Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), p.1.
[276] Hanegraaff, 'How Magic Survived', p.358.
[277] Max Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in sociology*, ed. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (London: Routledge, 2009), p.139.

morality and law.'[278] And Pippin discusses the mastery of nature, a 'mathematizable' and 'materialistic' view.[279] The association of science and modernity runs deep; Herbert Butterfield identifies the rise of science as 'the real origin both of the modern world and of the modern mentality.'[280] Scientific developments such as Isaac Newton's *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy,* which established that the planets orbit the sun as a result of gravity and demonstrated the truth of Kepler's laws of planetary motion, helped support the idea of a mathematical universe which by the nineteenth century was thought to be free of divine influence.[281] This reinforced the idea of a disenchanted world. Hanegraaff's view of disenchantment, however, is not that the modern world is inherently disenchanted but that the perspective that goes with disenchantment, namely instrumental causality, is privileged in modernity above human experience that relies on participation. Participatory experience places the human being at the centre rather than aiming to eliminate any human effect and be 'objective' as is the case with modern science.

Steven Seidman explained Weber's conception of modernity as the 'eclipse of a religio-cosmological world view by a secular one.'[282] Seidman also pointed out that for Weber, because of the irreligious nature of the scientific and the intellectualized culture of modernity, religious belief has to empty itself of worldly content, so that it assumes 'an other-worldly and mystical form' which becomes the private concern of the individual.[283] Seidman explains that Weber puts forward the thesis that modernity 'with its institutional differentiation and intellectualization of culture, marks the end of a religiously or philosophically based cosmic order.'[284] Christopher Partridge argues

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[278] Habermas, 'Modernity: An Unfinished Project', p.162-163.
[279] Robert B. Pippin, *Modernism as a Philosophical Problem, Second Edition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), p.20.
[280] Herbert Butterfield, *The Origins of Modern Science*, 1300-1800, Second edition (London: Bell, 1957), p.viii.
[281] Isaac Newton, *Principia Mathematica Philosophiae Naturalis* (1687); Terry Eagleton, *Culture and the Death of God* (London: Yale University Press, 2014).
[282] Steven Seidman, 'Modernity, Meaning, and Cultural Pessimism in Max Weber' *Sociological Analysis*, Vol. 44 No. 4 (Winter, 193), pp.267-278. p.268.
[283] Seidman, *Modernity*, p.269.
[284] Seidman, *Modernity*, p.276.

that rationalisation, which lies at the heart of Weber's theory, is a concern with routines, procedures, predictability and order and that as such:

> Everything can and should be done better, faster, cheaper, and more efficiently. Consequently, religious beliefs such as, for example, the value of petitionary prayer and divine providence are at odds with a culture that values predictability, order, routine, and immediate quantifiable returns.[285]

In similar vein, Bryan Wilson suggests that modern Western societies, now disenchanted, are more rational than those labelled as pre-modern:

> It seems to me difficult to maintain that man in western society is no more rational than ever he was, within the normal usage of the word 'rational'. So much more of his ordinary everyday behaviour is controlled by cause-and-effect thinking, even if only because he knows more about the workings of the physical and social worlds.[286]

According to Maureen Perkins, the promotion of rationalisation in the modern period along with the idea of progress, led to practices which seemed to threaten such progress being labelled as superstitious and irrational.[287] She argues that any unorthodox belief came to be classified as superstition, the occult or magic, as part of nineteenth century moral and social reforms. However, of particular concern were those practices which might promote apathy as opposed to hard work and industriousness, required for the successful growth of capitalism and industrialisation. This, according to Perkins, included the practice of natal astrology, which was one of a number of practices that were viewed as revealing a desire to know the future.[288] These practices were viewed as a threat to workers self-belief in their ability to create their own destiny. Hence, although prediction has not disappeared from modern, secular society, the means of prediction have changed – prediction is no longer to do with personal destiny but is to do with impersonal social forces which may or may not apply to the individual. Perkins sees this shift as a 'colonisation of the future.'[289]

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[285] Christopher Partridge, *The Re-Enchantment of the West* Volume I (London: T&T, 2004), p.13.
[286] Bryan Wilson, *Religion in Secular Society* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1966), p.17.
[287] Perkins, *The Reform of Time*, (London: Pluto, 2001), p.4.
[288] Perkins, *The Reform of Time*, p.6.
[289] Perkins, *The Reform of Time*, p.6.

The idea of a disenchanted world leads to a rejection of the supernatural; as such, spirits and demons came to be seen not as real entities but as parts of human beings, which had been projected onto nature:

> The supernatural, spirits and demons, are taken to be reflections of human beings who allow themselves to be frightened by natural phenomena. According to enlightened thinking, the multiplicity of mythical figures can be reduced to a single common denominator, the subject [the perceiving human].[290]

If nature is purely natural and disenchanted, then it can be controlled by humans and supported by their growing confidence in rational and objective methods:

> From now on matter was finally to be controlled without the illusion of immanent powers or hidden properties… anything which does not conform to the standard of calculability and utility must be viewed with suspicion.[291]

The taming of nature which has lost any mysterious or supernatural element has also been given as a reason for the development of modern science and increased confidence in human willpower:

> Modern science was born out of the overwhelming ambition to conquer Nature and subordinate it to human needs… Nature came to mean something to be subordinated to human will and reason – a passive objective of purposeful action, an object itself devoid of purpose and hence waiting to absorb the purpose injected by its human masters.[292]

If many scholars continue to talk about disenchantment, some tackle the issue from its opposite, enchantment. Patrick Curry has argued that there can be no enchantments within modernity, for enchantment is characterised by wonder which cannot be repeatable or calculated.[293] Enchantment for Curry is always both material and spiritual

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[290] Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002), p.4.
[291] Horkheimer and Adorno, *Dialectic*, p.3.
[292] Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), pp.39-40.
[293] Patrick Curry, 'Enchantment and Modernity' *PAN: Philosophy, Activism, Nature*, Issue no. 12 2012, pp.76-77.

and is opposed to 'the toxic modernist assumption… of an 'inner' world as against an 'outer' one, a 'spiritual' self as against a 'material' world.'[294]

However, the idea that modernity is disenchanted has itself been criticised. Michael Saler has traced historians treatment of the concept of disenchantment, suggesting that in the twenty-first century there has been a challenge to the widespread idea that modernity is chiefly characterised by disenchantment.[295] He argues that Western elites became enchanted, paradoxically, with the idea of disenchantment but that this idea is now being questioned and modern possibilities for enchantment discussed.[296] Saler suggested that given the emphasis on the positivistic approach in the nineteenth century, which championed natural science, Weber's phrase seemed apt. This helped, according to Saler, to create two dominant models of discussion of enchantment, the first binary and the second dialectical. In the binary model, disenchantment goes hand-in-hand with modernity's rational, secular and progressive tenets. In what Saler calls the dialectical approach modernity itself is identified as inherently irrational, a mythic construct no less enchanted than the myths it sought to overcome.'[297] This latter approach sees modernity as explicitly enchanted in the sense of being entranced by its own mythology. For Saler however modern enchantment 'might be defined as one that enchants and disenchants simultaneously: one that delights but does not delude.'[298] Josephson-Storm makes a related analysis, arguing that both disenchantment and modernity are myths.[299] These myths were formed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with the twentieth century seeing a 'call to purge or hide occult beliefs' of the philosophers and scientists often held up as the pioneers of modernity.[300]

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[294] Curry, 'Enchantment', p.78.
[295] Saler, 'Modernity and Enchantment', p.692.
[296] Saler, 'Modernity and Enchantment', p.693.
[297] Saler, 'Modernity and Enchantment', p.698.
[298] Saler, 'Modernity and Enchantment', p.702.
[299] Jason A. Josephson-Storm, *The Myth of Disenchantment* (London: University of Chicago, 2017), p.13, p.312,
[300] Josephson-Storm, *Myth of Disenchantment*, p.312.

The idea that modernity may be enchanted but in a different way to that previously understood is taken up by both Kocku von Stuckrad and Alex Owen, who identify the subjective search for meaning, characteristic of the modern era, as forms of enchantment. Von Stuckrad asserts that disenchantment provided 'room for the subjective search for meaning and significance.'[301] Hence it is the removal of magic from the world that has led to the fascination with the inner world as the residing place of mystery in the human being. Von Stuckrad argues that modern Western shamanism is an example of a counter-reaction 'to modern tendencies towards the exclusion or sublimation of the "sacred".'[302] Such practices rely on an animistic conception of the world, where all is alive and connected.[303] They may be viewed however as connected very much with modernity, as it is modernity which has led to the desire to reconnect with a sacramental view of reality such as that provided by neoshamanism.[304]

Owen urges caution in accepting the notion of disenchantment, arguing that the occultism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries:

> was one manifestation of a secularising process that spells neither the inevitable decline nor the irreconcilable loss of significant religious beliefs and behaviours in a modern age. What it does indicate is the way in which the search for spiritual meaning can renew itself and adapt to the changing climate of a secularising culture.[305]

Treitel argues similarly, suggesting that students of the occult objected to the 'meaningless universe' of the scientific worldview and 'sought to reinvigorate their world' by 'researching and developing the occult powers of the human psyche.'[306]

Some argue that modern enchantment may be found in science. This is the approach which Greisman takes, citing the example of Norman Vincent Peale who encouraged

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[301] Kocku von Stuckrad, 'Reenchanting Nature: Modern Western Shamanism and Nineteenth-Century Thought', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* Vol. 70, No. 4 (Dec., 2002), pp.771-799, p.772.
[302] von Stuckrad, 'Reenchanting Nature', p.773.
[303][303] von Stuckrad, 'Reenchanting Nature', p.779.
[304] von Stuckrad, 'Reenchanting Nature', p.792.
[305] Alex Owen, *The Place of Enchantment* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2004), p.11.
[306] Treitel, *Science for the Soul*, p.245.

people to pray in a particular manner employing tried and tested methods.[307] This contradicts the idea however that a key tenet of enchantment is that it is not repeatable, nor achievable through a mechanised process. Despite these challenges, disenchantment, and the control of nature through human reason, science and will remains a major characteristic of modernity for most scholars.

3.3.2 Breaking with the past

The concept of modernity has been associated with breaking from the past and this has been called 'a decisive break in intellectual tradition.'[308] As Bruno Latour argues:

> The adjective 'modern' designates a new regime, an acceleration, a rupture, a revolution in time. When the word 'modern', 'modernization', or 'modernity' appears, we are defining, by contrast, an archaic and stable past. Furthermore, the word is always being thrown into the middle of a fight, in a quarrel where there are winners and losers, Ancients and Moderns. 'Modern' is thus doubly asymmetrical: it designates a break in the regular passage of time, and it designates a combat in which there are victors and vanquished.[309]

The quest for starting anew, for continually revising knowledge and revisiting assumptions, leads to the idea of progress as a fundamental characteristic of modernity and its associated process, modernisation. As Zygmunt Bauman describes it, modernity is 'a perpetual, compulsive, obsessive and addictive *modernisation.*'[310] It is also a sweeping away of the past, which Bauman likens to a bereavement:

> the global spread of the modern form of life set loose and put in motion enormous and constantly rising quantities of human beings bereaved of their heretofore adequate ways and means of survival in both the biological and social/cultural sense of that notion.[311]

Modernity is seen however as a move onwards which is never satisfied. Its ideas are constantly revised. Gianni Vattimo argues that 'modernity is defined as the era of

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[307] H. C. Greisman, ''Disenchantment of the world': romanticism, aesthetics and sociological theory', *British Journal of Sociology* Vol. 27, No. 4 (Dec., 1976), pp.495-507, p.498.
[308] Robert B. Pippin, *Modernism as a Philosophical Problem*, Second Edition (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), p.10.
[309] Latour, *We have never been modern*, p.10.
[310] Zygmunt Bauman, *Wasted Lives* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004), p.6.
[311] Bauman, *Wasted Lives*, p.7.

overcoming and of the new which rapidly grows old and is immediately replaced by something still newer.'[312] Bauman describes the same idea as 'an obsessive march forward'; modernity is never content with its latest revision and must therefore revise once again, 'its adventures are bitter and its ambitions frustrated.'[313] There is therefore something inherent within the idea of modernity of never having reached the end point, meaning that an endless process of revision is necessary.

3.3.3 Time, space and place

Modernity, according to some scholars, involves seeing the construction of the world in a different way to the previous focus on particular localities, with changing ideas of time, space and place. It separates time from space and place becomes less important than was previously the case. This is particularly argued by Giddens:

> In premodern settings, however, time and space were connected through the *situatedness* of place….The separation of time from space involved above all the development of an 'empty' dimension of time, the main lever which also pulled space way from place…. A world that has a universal dating system, and globally standardised time zones as ours does today, is socially and experimentally different from all pre-modern eras.[314]

The emptying of time does not allow for the qualitative notion that was wrapped up with older conceptions of fate. Giddens adds:

> Time which 'carries us along' implies a conception of fate like that found in many traditional cultures, where people are the prisoners of events and preconstructed settings rather than able to subject their lives to the sway of their own self-understanding.[315]

Bauman also discusses the problem of place in modernity, suggesting that individuals have become displaced:

> All individuals are displaced, and displaced permanently, existentially – wherever they find themselves at the moment and whatever they may happen to do. They are strangers everywhere and, their efforts to the contrary

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[312] Gianni Vattimo, *The End of Modernity* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1988), p.166.
[313] Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence*, p.10.
[314] Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), pp.16-17.
[315] Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*, p.73.

> notwithstanding, at all places. There is no single place in society in which they are truly at home and which can bestow upon them a natural identity. Individual identity becomes therefore something to be yet attained (and presumably to be created) by the individual involved and never securely and definitely possessed – as it is constantly challenged and must be ever anew negotiated.[316]

Bauman's idea that individuals are displaced may be related to the idea that modernity can be fragile. This is explored further in the next characteristic.

3.3.4 Lack of certainty

Terry Eagleton argues that modernity, for all its notions of progress and advancement, is an inherently unstable affair, characterised by doubt and uncertainty, and containing the seeds of its own destruction. He asserts that in its most advanced forms, it brings the realisation that it has failed to agree fundamental issues. He puts its thus:

> The dawning of modernity was the moment when we began to realize that there were many conflicting versions of the good life; that none of these versions could be unimpeachably grounded; and that, strangely enough, we were no longer able to agree on the most fundamental issues in the field.[317]

The lack of certainty within modernity is also argued by Anthony Giddens:

> Modernity is a post-traditional order, but not one in which the sureties of tradition and habit have been replaced by the certitude of rational knowledge. Doubt, a pervasive feature of modern critical reason, permeates into everyday life as well as philosophical consciousness, and forms a general existential dimension of the contemporary social world.[318]

For all its confidence that now is the time to establish firm foundations and retest assumptions, that salvation is in the hands of human beings, and that modern science is the privileged means of seeking knowledge about the world, scholars assert that modernity also contains a current of doubt and uncertainty, an absence of surety about any overarching sense of meaning or unity, and difficulties in agreeing fundamentals. Conceptions of modernity are thus complex, containing what seem to

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[316] Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence*, p.201.
[317] Terry Eagleton, *Illusions of Postmodernism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), p.76.
[318] Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*, p.3.

be contradictory ideas; on the one hand, order and predictability are bound up with ideas of modern science and disenchantment, but on the other, there is doubt and uncertainty.

3.3.5 Differentiation

Linked to the concept of rationalisation and the management of components of life from the bottom-up, is the concept of differentiation. Paul Heelas argues that such differentiations are one of the great marks of modernity.[319] Examples are the emphasis on a range of contrasts such as the division of labour, the division between work and the home i.e. the public and private spheres. As Heelas says:

> Modernity is characterized by the attempt to 'pin down': to establish the determinate; to find order by way of classification; to explain how things work by distinguishing between essences and finding relevant mechanisms of operation.[320]

Steve Bruce discusses the concept of differentiation which he defines as the 'fragmentation of social life as specialized roles and institutions are created to handle specific features or functions previously embodied by one role or institution.' An example of this is at work, where people have to be rational and pragmatic and universalistic, treating customers alike, whereas in the private sphere those same people can be expressive, indulgent and emotional.[321] A consequence of differentiation for the public and private spheres in particular is that religious belief can be confined to the private domain. The acceptance or not of particular teachings thus become a matter for the individual alone to decide and is not a matter for state or society.[322] This segmentation of religion or belief to the private sphere has been described as the 'privatization' of religion and this, according to Berger, has been seen as a solution to

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[319] Paul Heelas, 'Introduction: on differentiation and dedifferentiation' in *religion, modernity and postmodernity*, ed. P. Heelas, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), p.1.
[320] Heelas, 'on differentiation', p.2.
[321] Steve Bruce, *God is Dead* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), p.8.
[322] Bruce, *God is Dead*, p.20.

the problem of religion in modernity which has lost social significance; in finding a place in the private sphere however it is able to maintain itself.[323]

The privatisation of what Terry Eagleton calls the symbolic sphere is characterised in his view by relativism. The peak of modernity, he argues, is 'marked by a divorce between the symbolic and the politico-economic, one which frees symbolic activities for new possibilities while relegating them to the sidelines.'[324] On the one hand such developments may mean that individuals are no longer persecuted for their individual beliefs or sexual habits for example. But on the other hand such beliefs and behaviours are no longer thought to matter or be of interest. The privatisation of the symbolic sphere may therefore be a mixed blessing.

3.4 Cultural modernism

Conceptions of modernity of the nineteenth and later centuries become an increasingly complex matter with a lack of uniformity in scholarly writing or agreement on terms such as modern, modernity, modernism, postmodernity and postmodern. This is particularly so with the rise of the idea of cultural modernism as a literary and artistic movement and the idea that somewhere between the late nineteenth century and the mid-twentieth century modernity gave way to postmodernity or late modernity, a period of history in which the tenets of modernity break down or develop in significant ways. As Charles Jencks argues:

> Modernity, as a condition, grew out of the Renaissance until, in the nineteenth century, it gave birth to cultural modernism. Since then it has been a two-term dialectic between the 'Ancients and Moderns', a struggle which has occasionally been fruitful and in which both sides have enjoyed legitimising their position by exaggerating the faults of their opponent.[325]

The complexity of the notion of modernity, and some of its contradictory characteristics, relate to the idea that there may be more than one 'modernity' spanning the modern period. Several scholars have discussed the idea of 'two

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[323] Peter L . Berger et al, *The Homeless Mind* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1976), p.76.
[324] Terry Eagleton, *Culture and the Death of God* (London: Yale University Press, 2014), p.3.
[325] Charles Jencks, *Preface* in *The Post-Modern Reader* ed. Charles Jencks (London: Academy, 1992), p.6.

modernities' in the first portion of the twentieth century, one being the modern proper (hereafter 'modernity'), and one being cultural modernism (hereafter 'modernism'). An early scholar promoting the term modernism was Graham Hough, who in 1960 wrote that 'the years between 1910 and World War Two saw a revolution in the literature of the English language' and referred to this period as modernist.[326] In discussing the split between modernity and modernism, Amanda Anderson argues:

> The crucial point here is that there emerge two opposed projects that celebrate the freedom of autonomous self-authorization, one philosophical/political… one more self-consciously aesthetic (but certainly often still carrying philosophical and political elements) and allied with a corrosive scepticism [to the other].[327]

The two modernities are both concerned with freedom and autonomy, with the individual as the author of their own destiny, but modernism has a sceptical streak towards some of modernity's characteristics. Calinescu draws out the features of these two modernities:

> The first, bourgeois idea of modernity… by and large continued the outstanding traditions of earlier periods in the history of the modern idea. The doctrine of progress, the confidence in the beneficial possibilities of science and technology, the concern with time (a measurable time, a time that can be bought and sold and therefore has, like any other commodity, a calculable equivalent in money), the cult of reason, and the ideal of freedom defined within the framework of an abstract humanism, but also the orientation toward pragmatism and the cult of action and success… By contrast, the other modernity, the one that was to bring into being the avant-gardes, was from its romantic beginnings inclined toward radical antibourgeois attitudes. It was disgusted with the middle-class scale of values and expressed its disgust through the most diverse means, ranging from rebellion, anarchy, and apocalypticism to aristocratic self-exile.[328]

Calinescu's analysis suggests that, in his view, the key features of modernity are progress, a concern with science and technology, time as a commodity, reason,

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[326] Graham Hough, *Image and Experience: Studies in a Literary Revolution* (London: Duckworth, 1960), p.5.
[327] Amanda Anderson, 'Victorian Studies and the Two Modernities' *Victorian Studies*, Volume 47, Number 2, Winter 2005, pp.195-203, p.197.
[328] Matei Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity* (Durham: Due University Press, 1987), pp.41-42.

freedom and orientation towards action and success. In contrast, modernism may exhibit some of these features, but at the same time contains radical, critical undertones, which undermine and critique those very qualities it sometimes appears to evoke. Pippin argues that modernism allowed art to become the leading force in modern culture:

> Modernism has also been understood to propose (or to threaten) a great shift in European high culture, or at least an implicit insistence on a shift in authority, from philosophy primarily, but also from science and religion, to art as the leading or "legislating" force in a genuinely modern culture.[329]

In simple terms, science, religion and philosophy could be categorised as belonging to modernity, whereas art primarily belongs to modernism. Daniel Bell characterises the tension between ideas of modernity and modernism as a 'disjunction of realms' which may be clearly observed in twentieth century culture. On the one hand there are the technological, economic and legal structures organised along the lines of roles and specialization and on the other culture which sees the individual able to:

> ransack the world store house and to engorge any and every style it comes upon. Such freedom comes from the fact that the axial principle of modern culture is the expression and remaking of the "self" in order to achieve self-realization and self-fulfilment.[330]

The argument of the two conflicting but interdependent modernities explains some of the tensions identified in ideas of modernism:

> Literary modernism, to take one quick example, is thus both modern and antimodern: modern in its commitment to innovation, in its rejection of the authority of tradition, in its experimentalism; antimodern in its dismissal of the dogma of progress, in its critique of rationality, in its sense that modern civilization has brought about the loss of something precious, the dissolution of a great integrative paradigm, the fragmentation of what once was a mighty unity.[331]

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[329] Pippin, *Modernism*, p.29.
[330] Daniel Bell, *Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1978), p.13.
[331] Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity*, p.265.

An example of literary modernism is James Joyce's novel *Ulysses*.[332] The early pages contain an Englishman who confidently makes a statement on Stephen Dedalus's (one of the central characters) unbelief; 'either you believe or you don't', he says, typifying a modern search for certainty and individual choice to believe in God or not. In return Stephen says, 'you behold in me a horrible example of free thought.'[333] This response shows Stephen not wishing to be associated with the atheism known in his day; instead his own form of unbelief is particular to himself. Thus here is an example of being modern (disbelief in God as a matter of individual choice) whilst also being antimodern in a rejection of the standard version of atheism of the day.

Whilst modernity may be said to be a more straightforward version of the characteristics associated with the modern age, modernism contains a stronger element of critiquing the modern whilst also having elements of the modern, and has a stronger association with art and aesthetics.

3.5 Postmodernity

Modernity and modernism already provide two terms for characterising part of the twentieth century, or for applying to cultural practices, in overall terms. Yet a third idea, that of the post-modern, is also important. According to Jencks, the term was used in the 1870s although did not become widely used until the 1980s when it became a means of discussing the values and meanings of contemporary life.[334] Jencks refers to the 'post-modern' project as follows:

> The attempt to go beyond the materialist paradigm which characterises modernism; an intense concern for pluralism and a desire to cut across the different taste cultures that now fracture society; an obligation to bring back selected traditional values, but in a new key that fully recognises the ruptures caused by modernity…[335]

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[332] James Joyce, *Ulysses* (London: Bodley Head, 1960).
[333] Joyce, *Ulysses*, p.23.
[334] Charles Jencks, 'The Post-Modern Agenda' in *The Postmodern Reader*, p.10.
[335] Jencks, *The PostModern Reader*, p.7.

The idea that postmodernity is related to the tension between the first two modernities has also been argued by Bauman:

> In modernism, modernity turned its gaze upon itself and attempted to attain the clear-sightedness and self-awareness which would eventually disclose its impossibility, thus paving the way to the postmodern reassessment.[336]

Postmodernity as a negative or suspicious turn against the characteristics of modernity and modernism is also emphasised in the works of Eagleton, Pippin, Martin and Jencks. Eagleton argued it is:

> a style of thought which is suspicious of classical notions of truth, reason, identity and objectivity, of the idea of universal progress or emancipation, of single frameworks, grand narratives or ultimate grounds of explanation.[337]

In similar vein Pippin argues that the distinct character of postmodernity is in its 'negative relationship to the failed promises of the past' whilst Bernice Martin talks of the demise of unified categories of thought.[338] Charles Jencks summed up this negative definition in his suggestion that the overarching characteristic of postmodernity is a lack of cultural agreement:

> But the uncontested dominance of the modern world view has definitely ended… the West has become a plurality of competing subcultures where no one ideology and *episteme* dominates for long. There is no cultural consensus, even if the actual dissensus and fragmentation into many subcultures has been exaggerated.[339]

Despite postmodernity in the main being defined as a breakdown or antithesis of modernity and modernism, it may also be seen as a coming of age of earlier modernities. Bauman has argued thus:

> Postmodernity is modernity coming of age: modernity looking at itself at a distance rather than from inside, making a full inventory of its gains and losses, psychoanalysing itself, rediscovering the intentions it never before spelled out,

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[336] Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence*, p.4.
[337] Eagleton, *Illusions of Postmodernism*, p.vii.
[338] Pippin, *Modernism as a Philosophical Problem*, p.1; Bernice Martin, 'from pre to postmodernity in American: the case of Pentecostalism' in Paul Heelas (ed), *religion, modernity and postmodernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), pp.102-146, p.102.
[339] Charles Jencks, 'The Post-Modern Agenda', p.11.

> finding them mutually cancelling and incongruous. Postmodernity is modernity coming to terms with its own impossibility; a self-monitoring modernity, one that consciously discards what it was once unconsciously doing.[340]

Bauman's idea of postmodernity is as an extension of, or reaction against, modernity, a more self-aware version of modernity, which understands the contradictions inherent in the original ideals of modernity, and which accepts a condition in which no ultimate resolution or synthesis is found. For Bauman, if modernity is defined by grand narratives and universal dreams of objective science, postmodernity is characterised by a lack of these things. The idea of postmodernity being a reaction against modernity is similar to some ideas of modernism, making it difficult to always distinguish between the two concepts. Jean-Francois Lyotard explains his understanding of the postmodern, as opposed to modern, as follows:

> I will use the term *modern* to designate any science that legitimates itself with reference to a metadiscourse of this kind, making an explicit appeal to some grand narrative… I define postmodern as incredulity toward metanarratives.[341]

The incredulity towards metanarratives which Lyotard sees as characterising postmodernity has extended to modern science. Feyerabend points out the contradiction between, 'the traditional humanist views of man and the world on the one hand, and the value devoid mechanistic description of science on the other.'[342] In *Farewell to Reason*, Feyerabend argues that two of the key early tenets of modernity, namely reason and objectivity, can now be thoroughly criticised and in particular that there is no special objectivity or authority in modern science. He asserts the sciences 'have no common structure' and there are 'no 'objective' reasons for preferring science and Western rationalism to other traditions.'[343] He goes on to argue:

> Finally there is the old argument that non-scientific traditions have already had their chance, that they did not survive the confrontation with science and

[340] Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence*, p.272.
[341] Jean-Francois Lyotard, 'Answering the Question: What is Postmodernism? In Charles Jencks (ed). *The Post-Modern Reader* (London: Academy, 1992), p.138.
[342] Paul Feyerabend, *Farewell to Reason* (London: Verso, 1987), p.1.
[343] Feyerabend, *Farewell to Reason*, p.281, p.297.

> rationalism and that attempts to revive them are therefore both irrational and unnecessary. Here the obvious question is: were they eliminated on rational grounds, by letting them compete with science in an impartial and controlled way, or was their disappearance the result of military (political, economic etc.) pressures? And the reply is almost always: the latter.[344]

The lack of a privileged place for science in the post-modern outlook is also noted by Giddens, 'the post-modern outlook sees a plurality of heterogeneous claims to knowledge, in which science does not have a privileged place.'[345] Giddens argues for a phase of history in which the consequences of modernity 'are becoming more radicalised and universalised than before.'[346]

The undermining of modern science did not simply come from better understandings of its limitations and culturally constructed nature, however; it also came from advances in science itself, particularly modern physics. David Bohm argues:

> The modern mind went from one triumph to another for several centuries through science, technology, industry, and it seemed to be solidly based for all time. But in the early twentieth century, it began to have its foundations questioned… the nature of the world began to fade out into something almost indescribable.[347]

The questioning of the universal scope of modern science that is characteristic of postmodernity supports the re-examination of contested subjects such as astrology, which some, as discussed in chapter one, have thought unworthy of attention in the modern world. The rejection of traditional subjects and ways of thinking is no longer valid; instead there is scope to consider other ways of relating to the world, such as the participatory mode identified by Hanegraaff, and by Tambiah, who suggests that whilst modern science takes the perspective of the disinterested observer, knowledge gained by a feeling of direct involvement with the natural world may be characterised by the term participation.[348] If Hanegraaff's thesis on the use of psychology as a means of

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[344] Feyerabend, *Farewell to Reason*, p.303.
[345] Anthony Giddens, *Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), p.2.
[346] Giddens, *Consequences of Modernity*, p.3.
[347] David Bohm, 'Postmodern Science and a Postmodern World' in Charles Jencks, *The Post-Modern Reader* (London: Academy, 1992), p.383.
[348] Tambiah, *Magic, Science, Religion*, p.107.

legitimising magic in a culture that privileges modern science is accepted, it is likely that this tendency to psychologise is less required in the latter part of the twentieth century, given the rise of postmodernity and greater appreciation of the validity of pluralism and the participatory mode of human experience.

Rejecting both the concepts of modernity (including modernism) and postmodernity (including postmodernism), Josephson-Storm has proposed the idea of metamodernism. This new term 'works through both postmodernism and modernism' but is 'reducible to neither.'[349] This re-appraisal of categories connected with modernity recognises the limitations involved in trying to ascribe characteristics to categories which intersect and contradict, an issue I return to in chapter nine.

3.6 Modernity and the Individual

Many scholars argue that the period around the turn of the nineteenth to twentieth centuries was a period of key change in Western human character. Cushman attributes this, in American society, to:

> the cultural confusion of the nineteenth century, brought on by the increased industrialization, urbanization, European immigration, and secularization of the age, combined with the moral conflicts caused by slavery and the Indian Wars, and the horror that was the Civil War.[350]

This, Cushman argues, contributed to a turn of the century Self that was lonely, undervalued, unreal, fragmented and desperate for personal recognition.[351] T. J. Jackson Lears takes a similar view, arguing that during this period there was a key shift from a 'Protestant ethos of salvation through self-denial toward a therapeutic ethos stressing self-realization in this world – an ethos characterized by an almost obsessive concern with psychic and physical health defined in sweeping terms.'[352] Lears locates

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[349] Jason A Josephson-Storm, *Metamodernism: The Future of Theory* (London: University of Chicago, 2021), pp.276-277.
[350] Philip Cushman, *Constructing the Self, Constructing America* (New York: Da Capo, 1995), p.63.
[351] Cushman, *Constructing the Self*, p.67.
[352] T. J. Jackson Lears, 'From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of the Consumer Culture 1880-1930' in *The Culture of Consumption*, edited by Richard Wightman Fox and T.J. Jackson Lears (New York: Pantheon, 1983), pp. 1-38, p.4.

the roots of the shift in a reaction to the rationalisation of culture, which had led to an increasing sense of being cut off from physical, emotional and spiritual experience.[353] Humankind was ready for what Rieff called the 'therapeutic ethos', and Sigmund Freud and his associates were only too ready to provide the basis for the culture of the therapeutic to grow, suited as the theory of psychoanalysis was to the individualistic culture of the modern age.[354]

The supposed predicament of the Self in the early twentieth century was symptomatic of the fragmentation of modernity into different branches i.e. the two modernities. Calinescu argues:

> Modernity in the broadest sense, as it has asserted itself historically, is reflected in the irreconcilable opposition between the sets of values corresponding to (1) the objectified, socially measurable time of capitalist civilization … and (2) the persona, subjective, imaginative duree, the private time created by the unfolding of the "self" … the end result of both modernities seems to be the same unbounded relativism.[355]

Calinescu brings out what he sees as the disconnected nature of modernity, whereby the objective, external world is juxtaposed against the subjective, inner world leading to a crisis of individual expression explored through modernist art and literature. Bell makes a similar analysis in his argument that the twentieth century is characterised by a disjunction of realms, one which has society organised in terms of roles and specialisation but in which fulfilment of the self and the whole individual is key.[356] This tension between capitalist society, representative of modernity, and individual expression, representative of modernism, is summed up by Bell in the tension between entrepreneur and artist:

> The impulse driving both the entrepreneur and the artist is a restlessness to search out the new, to rework nature, and to refashion consciousness… Both impulses, historically, were aspects of the same sociological surge of modernity. Together they opened up the Western world in a radical way. Yet the

[353] Lears, 'From Salvation to Self-Realization', p.17.
[354] Rieff, *Triumph of the Therapeutic*, pp.59-60.
[355] Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity*, p.5.
[356] Bell, *Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, p.14.

> extraordinary paradox is that each impulse then became highly conscious of the other, feared the other, and sought to destroy it.[357]

According to Bell, modernism, as the commentator and subversive partner of modernity, takes modernity's focus on the individual and the subjective to new levels. Habermas describes modernism as, 'the great seducer, bringing about the dominance of the principle of unrestricted self-realisation, the demand for authentic experience of the self, and the subjectivism of an overstimulated sensibility.[358] From this point of view modernism is seen as accentuating modernity's obsession with the self and with the experience of the self. This leads to a negation of outer reality, which George Lukacs argues 'is present in almost all modernist literature.'[359]James Joyce's work is an example of this; whilst the background to his novels includes Dublin and the Hapsburg Monarchy, these are not central to their artistic intention but a backdrop. The extreme attention on the self, according to Lukacs, however, brings an understanding that there is no consistent view of human nature, 'man is reduced to a sequence of unrelated experimental fragments; he is as inexplicable to others as to himself.'[360]

Modern societies have been seen as societies of individuals rather than citizens. In this view, each person strives after the fulfilment of their own needs rather than concern for the common good:

> What defines bourgeois society is not needs, but wants. Wants are psychological, not biological, and are by their nature unlimited. Society is seen not as a natural association of men – the polis or the family – ruled by a common purpose, but as a composite of atomistic individuals who pursue only their own gratification. Man's psychology… is an appetitive drive which reverses the Platonic hierarchy of the rational spirit, and these appetites drive him ferociously to achieve his desires.[361]

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[357] Bell, *Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, pp.16-17.
[358] Habermas, 'Modernity: An Unfinished Project', p.160.
[359] George Lukacs, 'The Ideology of Modernism' in *Literature in the Modern World* ed Dennis Walder (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp.158-164, p.163.
[360] Lukacs, 'Ideology of Modernism', p.163.
[361] Bell, *Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, p.22.

The individual in modernity is characterised by Bell as one obsessed by his or her own psychology and the wants and desires of the Self. Another facet identified as part of the modern self is reflexivity, as Giddens argues:

> The reflexivity of modernity extends into the core of the self. Put in another way, in the context of a post-traditional order, the self becomes a *reflexive project*. Transitions in individuals' lives have always demanded psychic reorganisation, something which was often ritualised in traditional cultures in the shape of *rites de passage*. But in such cultures, where things stayed more or less the same from generation to generation on the level of the collectivity, the changed identity was clearly staked out – as when an individual moved from adolescence into adulthood. In the settings of modernity, by contrast, the altered self has to be explored and constructed as part of a reflexive process of connecting personal and social change.[362]

The emphasis on the individual and the differentiated nature of modern life means that the individual is increasingly focused on his or her own experience, which starts to acquire connotations of depth and complexity. This is a result of individual experience becoming more real than social interaction and happenings in the world. Individuals find certainty within themselves rather than outside so that the psychology of an individual becomes 'increasingly differentiated, complex – and 'interesting' to himself. Subjectivity acquires previously unconceived 'depths'.'[363]

A potential problem for the modern individual focused on his or her own inner depths and psychology is a sense of alienation and homelessness in the world. Berger et al. argue that 'the experience of 'alienation' is the symmetrical correlate of the same individuation.'[364] This means that the state of alienation is the price paid for someone striving to be an individual. Ultimately this alienation or loss of metaphysical home leads to a longing for a place in the universe:

> It goes without saying that this condition is psychologically hard to bear. It has therefore engendered its own nostalgias – nostalgias, that is, for a condition of 'being at home' in society, with oneself and, ultimately, in the universe.[365]

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[362] Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*, pp.32-33.
[363] Peter L. Berger et al., *The Homeless Mind* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1976), pp.74-75.
[364] Berger et al., *The Homeless Mind*, p.175.
[365] Berger et al., *The Homeless Mind*, p.77.

The loss of a place in the universe is seen by Berger et al. as a consequence of being an individual in the modern world. Another consequence, argued by Bell, is the changing nature of moral standards, and what constitutes an accepted level of moral behaviour. In modernity, the standard often held up is authenticity as opposed to any collective code of morality:

> This concern with the authentic self makes the motive and not the action – the impact on the self, not the moral consequence to society – the source of ethical and aesthetic judgments…. In effect, the culture – particularly modernist culture – took over the relation with the demonic. But instead of taming it, as religion tried to do, the secular culture (art and literature) began to accept it, explore it, and revel in it, coming to see it as a source of creativity…. Modernism has thus been the seducer. Its power derived from the idolatry of the self.[366]

For the modern individual, Bell argues, ethics may relate more to a question of personal authenticity and what 'feels right' to the individual, than any external system of ethics of morality. This, coupled with modernity's stress on freedom and liberation, may suggest that the modern individual is free to do whatever they like whenever they like, without censor. But this does not quite hold true, because modernity's focus on the individual, the human as the source of all, takes the emphasis off society or traditional notions of fate or destiny. In modern society there is no possibility to opt out of a significant degree of individual responsibility:

> In the land of the individual freedom of choice the option to escape individualization and to refuse participation in the individualizing game is emphatically *not* on the agenda…. if they fall ill, it is assumed that this has happened because they were not resolute and industriousness enough in following their health regime; if they stay unemployed, it is because they failed to learn the skills of gaining an interview…[367]

According to this point of view, in modernity, the individual is always responsible for their own failures and illnesses. Since there is no external fate to explain what happens to someone, it is the individual's own failures of rationality or effort which have caused their current predicament. Thus whilst on the surface the modern individual is let off

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[366] Bell, *Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, p.19.
[367] Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), p.34.

the dictates of conventional morality and ethics, they gain a new burden in terms of being held responsible for their success in capitalist society. The modern era has an association with liberation and emancipation, through which freedom and autonomy may be obtained. Giddens argues:

> From the relatively early development of the modern era onwards, the dynamism of modern institutions has stimulated, and to some extent has been promoted by, ideas of human *emancipation*. In the first place this was emancipation from the dogmatic imperatives of tradition and religion. Through the application of methods of rational understanding, not just to the areas of science and technology, but to human social life itself, human activity was to become free from pre-existing constraints.[368]

Giddens does not suggest however that modernity has been successful in bringing freedom to the individual, in fact, it may often do the opposite:

> Modernity, one should not forget, produces difference, exclusion and marginalisation. Holding out the possibility of emancipation, modern institutions at the same time create mechanisms of suppression, rather than actualisation, of self.[369]

In this view, the freedom of individuals to improve their own lives is contradicted by the modern institutions which Giddens describes. The idea of freedom however remains strong, and extends to the concept that in modern life it is humans who must help themselves, rather than rely on any help from God or other ideas of the divine. Bauman writes that the modern formula for human life is this:

> by design or by default, humans are alone to take care of things human, and *therefore the sole things that matter to the humans are the things humans may take care of.* This means that modernity's concerns are those of problems which can be solved by human means.[370]

Bauman suggests that modern life is defined by the absence of a given order of things so that the task for modernity is to start ordering life from the bottom. This is a process of rational adjustment in which there is little place for religion with its pre-ordained,

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[368] Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*, p.210.
[369] Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*, p.6.
[370] Zygmunt Bauman, 'Postmodern religion?' in Paul Heelas (ed.), *religion, modernity and postmodernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), pp. 55-78, pp.60-61.

once-off created world, rigid social structures and concern with destiny, existence and death.[371]

3.7 Modernity and psychoanalysis

Pippin argues that disillusionment with modernity was a reason for the rising interest in the irrational elements lying behind the surface of life in the early twentieth century, as exemplified in the writings of Freud:

> This sense of dashed hopes had its origins both in historical observation and in theoretical claims, claims that took many forms, from a belief (most famously associated with Freud) in an underlying, ahistorical, irrational element in human life, unreachable by humanistic reform.[372]

One of Freud's earliest and most famous irrational interests was in dreams:

> I shall bring forward proof that there is a psychological technique which makes it possible to interpret dreams, and that, if that procedure is employed, every dream reveals itself as a psychical structure which has a meaning…[373]

Bauman makes a similar comparison to Pippin:

> Modernism, seen as a whole, exhibits a striking parallel to a common assumption of the social science of the late nineteenth century. For Marx, Freud, and Pareto, the irrationality of the substructures of reality belied the surface rationality of appearances.[374]

That both locate Freud with modernism rather than modernity suggests that the focus on the individual in the modern period, at least in a psychoanalytic sense, was particularly associated with modernism. The intense focus on the self which is characteristic of modernism leads to the idea of what Lears has defined as a 'therapeutic ethos':

> To a bourgeoisie suffering from identity diffusion and inner emptiness, the creators of the therapeutic ethos offered harmony, vitality, and the hope of self-realization. The paths to self-realization could vary. One might seek wholeness and security through careful management of personal resources; or

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[371] Bauman, 'Postmodern religion?', p.63.
[372] Pippin, *Modernism*, p.30.
[373] Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, trans. James Strachey (London: Penguin, 1958), p.57.
[374] Bell, *Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, p.47.

> one might pursue emotional fulfilment and endless "growth" through intense experience.[375]

Central to the rise of psychoanalysis and the therapeutic ethos was the changing conception of the mind. As Lears notes:

> whatever their theoretical perspective, early psychological consultants rejected the nineteenth-century view that the mind was a static collection of "faculties"; instead they followed the "new psychology" in viewing the psyche as a dynamic organism interacting in constant process with its environment.[376]

In Lears' view, the new therapeutic ethos that accompanied the dynamic conception of the mind rose as a reaction to the rationalisation of culture, as a reaction to modernity itself. This ethos brought a promise to heal the wounds and confusion of the self which had been rendered by modernity's certainty.[377] It also however embraced modernity's concern with growth and progress, but simply transferred these to the personal sphere. Now the obsession became growth and fulfilment of the individual, with a neglect of ultimate purposes in favour of worship and devotion of the inner self.

The idea lying at the heart of psychoanalysis is the unconscious and the discovery of this dimension of the mind was, in Homans words, 'a repertoire of cultural symbols that, because the unconscious was a universal structure of the mind, could revitalize the mental and moral impoverishment of modern, mass man.'[378] Zaretsky concurs that the psychoanalytic concept of the unconscious was new:

> The idea of a *personal* unconscious was new. In traditional societies, healers were effective insofar as they mobilized symbols that were simultaneously internal *and* communal. When a priest performed a successful exorcism, it worked because he, the possessed person, and the surrounding community all believe in the devil…[Freud's] core insight, which differed fundamentally from romantic and Victorian notions of the self, was that the inner lives of modern men and women were organized through symbols and narratives that were idiosyncratic and apparently devoid of socially shared meaning.[379]

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[375] Lears, 'From Salvation to Self-Realization', p.11.
[376] Lears, 'From Salvation to Self-Realization', p.19.
[377] Lears, 'From Salvation to Self-Realization', p.17.
[378] Homans, *Jung in Context*, p.xxix.
[379] Eli Zaretsky, *Secrets of the Soul* (New York: Vintage, 2005), p.6.

It has already been suggested above that psychoanalysis and the therapeutic ethos developed as a result of disillusionment with modernity. It has also been argued that they developed as consequences of modernity. Charles Taylor writes:

> The concept of an inexhaustible inner domain is the correlative of the power of expressive self-articulation. The sense of depth in inner space is bound up with the sense that we can move into it and bring things to the fore. This we do when we articulate. The inescapable feeling of depth comes from the realization that whatever we bring up, there is always more down there…[380]

The focus on the self as the source of not only self-expression but also of salvation forms the core of Philip Rieff's analysis. He identifies Freud's work as one of several twentieth century ideologies that ultimately rest on the idea of self-salvation, as the modern individual tries to come to terms with his or her separateness from the world by focussing on his or her inner life.[381] Rieff argues that the domination of psychotherapeutic ideals is a 'tyranny of psychology', located in 'the individual's failure to find anything else to affirm except the self,' which is the condition of modernity as previous salvation through religion/God is no longer a respectable path.[382] Psychological human beings are a twentieth-century creation in particular, different from previous incarnations of humanity such as religious human beings or political human beings:

> The psychological man lives neither by the ideal of might nor by the ideal of right which confused his ancestors, political man and religious man. Psychological man lives by the ideal of insight – practical, experimental insight leading to the mastery of his own personality.[383]

The loss of political and religious humans which Rieff identifies suggests that psychoanalysis and therapy may lead to the neglect of the outer world in favour of mastery of the inner world. Elsewhere Rieff discusses psychoanalysis as a method of

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[380] Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), p.390.
[381] Philip Rieff, *Freud: The Mind of the Moralist* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1959), p.329.
[382] Rieff, *Mind of the Moralist*, p.355.
[383] Rieff, *Mind of the Moralist*, p.356.

'learning how to endure the loneliness produced by culture.'[384] This loneliness, in Rieff's view, is a result of the loss of community which is an intrinsic part of traditional cultures but which has been lost by modern Western societies. Thus this argument suggests that the modern Western human being is inherently psychological, as he or she struggles in societies which have no wider agreed collective meaning. The lack of externally-imposed purpose forces the individual back in on himself, with salvation resting on the mastery of the inner personality.

Alex Owen's analysis of the self at the beginning of the twentieth century identifies the unconscious as a secularised version of what was previously a non-rational spiritual dimension.[385] She sees the unconscious as replacing the soul, a trend she sees as part of wider modern culture.[386] This substitution of the concept allows individuals to access their soul through psychological analysis, with the conscious 'I' seeking in the depths of the unconscious the meaning of existence. This for Owen is an example of a psychologised self.

The conception of psychoanalysis as a central tenet of modernism is a view also held by Eli Zaretsky.[387] Zaretsky further argues that psychoanalysis helped to reshape ideas of what autonomy meant to twentieth century individuals:

> No longer restricted to the sphere of morality, autonomy now applied as well to such extramoral experiences as creativity, love, and happiness. Psychoanalysis was associated with this new, modernist idea of personal – as opposed to moral – autonomy.[388]

The morality of psychoanalysis may be seen as a morality of the self, i.e. being true to one's own nature including one's own creativity, love and happiness. This contrasts earlier notions of morality and autonomy which placed greater emphasis on duty to community and conventional notions of ethics.

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[384] Rieff, *Triumph of the Therapeutic*, p.25.
[385] Owen, *Enchantment*, p.116.
[386] Owen, *Enchantment*, p.115.
[387] Zaretsky, *Secrets of the Soul*, p.7.
[388] Zaretsky, *Secrets of the Soul*, p.9.

Although psychoanalysis has been associated with modernism by several scholars as outlined above, some have also emphasised the extent to which it acted as a bridge towards a postmodern era. De Vos argues:

> It is precisely there, in the breaches of the project of modernity, that Freudian theory situated subjectivity…. Psychoanalysis created the possibility of thinking a new link between the subject and its world via the subject's unconscious and its symptoms.[389]

John Burnham suggests that psychoanalysis attracted and developed amongst those who had doubts about the Western worldview of the time:

> If, as has been suggested, interest in psychoanalysis coalesced around anomalies, doubts, and inconsistencies in the world view of most members of Western civilization, then the question must be raised concerning the relationship of the proponents of Freudianism to that general civilization…. Psychoanalysis had a very substantial cultural importance in the countries of the West. [390]

Psychoanalysis, in this view, had a decentring impact thereby helping to prepare the way for postmodernism. This is also argued by Starks in her discussion of psychoanalysis and cinema. She sees both of these as having, 'prefigured postmodernism by questioning the boundaries of the modern subject and decentering its position in the world.'[391] In a similar vein Barnaby Barrett argues:

> To experience and understand psychoanalytic process, or even to study afresh the Freudian texts from 1896 to 1914, is to cast oneself into a vertiginous movement in which the coordinates of life itself, of one's self and one's world, shift endlessly with every moment of interrogation. It is to step toward new ways of thinking profoundly divergent from those that have structured and secured at least four centuries of Western endeavour. It is to be invited toward dimensions of life as yet unarticulated… its free-associative method exposes a relation between knowing and being that is inextricably polysemous and

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[389] De Vos, *Psychologization and Late Modernity*, p.88.
[390] John C. Burnham, 'The Reception of Psychoanalysis in Western Cultures: An Afterword in Its Comparative History', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 1982, pp.603-610, p.604.
[391] Lisa S. Starks, '"Remember me": Psychoanalysis, Cinema, and the Crisis of Modernity' *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 53, No. 2, Screen Shakespeare (Summer, 2002), pp.181-200, p.181.

> intrinsically contradictorious, and this exposition initiates an epistemic revolution that will issue us into the postmodern era.[392]

Psychoanalysis, arising as a result of modernity and the problems it poses for the individual, can be seen as part of modernism and also as having an important role in ideas about postmodernity. This has important consequences for a psychological astrology heavily influenced by Jung's version of psychoanalysis. For it suggests that the extent to which psychological astrology was so influenced, and embraced a dynamic conception of the mind, is indicative of the extent to which psychological astrology may be viewed as part of modernism and ideas about postmodernity.

3.8 Chapter conclusion

Concepts of psychologisation are strongly related to ideas on being modern, and to the idea of modernity. Twentieth-century astrologers like Alan Leo also appeal directly to ideas of the modern in relation to their astrology. Given its importance for this thesis, this chapter has discussed the concept of modernity and the related ideas of modernism and postmodernity; it has also discussed the relationship of ideas of modernity to the individual and to psychoanalysis.

Modernity has been a popular means of scholars categorising periods in history. Despite the extensive period of time it is supposed to cover, some dominating characteristics are often ascribed to it, some of which appear contradictory. The idea of modernity is further complicated by the concept of there being more than one version of modernity prevalent in the twentieth century. In particular, ideas on modernism developed, and this has been seen as containing some of the hallmarks of modernity but also particularly associated with art and aesthetics and a subversive and corrosive scepticism towards the earlier modernity that grew alongside the development of modern science. To add even further complexity, the concept of postmodernity is postulated by those who assert that the modern period has now ended and that

[392] Barnaby Barratt, *Psychoanalysis and the Postmodern Impulse* (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1993), p.5.

Western culture in particular has moved to a new era, one in which the limitations of science are recognised, in which plurality is embraced and in which there may be scope for a re-enchantment of the universe. Modernism and postmodernity have both been characterised as being sceptical and critical of modernity and are sometimes difficult to distinguish from one another.

Individuals in the modern period were situated in a world transitioning from old concepts of religious salvation to new ideas of personal salvation through self-discovery. With the external world classified and codified, a new private realm of subjectivity and relativity arose. This led to an accentuation on the self and individual autonomy.

In order to assess the work of the astrologers discussed in this thesis, and to what extent their work may be classified within ideas of modernity, the following characteristics of modernity identified from the scholarly literature, will be used:

1. Disenchantment

   Disenchantment lies at the heart of characterisations of modernity and is broadly the idea the modern world no longer contains mystery, magic or supernatural beings. Instead, nature may be studied by rational, objective means, namely modern science, and controlled. Supernatural phenomena are seen as projections of human beings who in their enlightened, modern state, realise their previous error in belief. If there is a supernatural realm, it is a monotheistic one. Belief in God is still possible, but science no longer requires any such element to underpin its truths and success.
2. Starting afresh

   Modernity has been associated with starting afresh, a new period of time that breaks with the past. It has been conceived however as never being satisfied with its progress, and an endless process of revision is the result.
3. Homogeneity of time, space and place

Modernity has been seen as a departure from previous ideas of the situated nature of place, and qualitative time. This has implications for fate, which is no longer relevant to human life. Instead, individuals may feel displaced and experience a sense of alienation. This relates to the idea that modern individuals are homeless in the universe.

4. Lack of certainty

   Contradicting the seeming certainties that potentially come from a disenchanted world reliant on modern science, some scholars have seen modernity as lacking certainty and characterised by doubt.

5. Differentiation

   Modernity has been seen as concerned with the separation of different spheres of life. The public, political realm is divorced from the private realm and subjective experience, which includes the religious and symbolic spheres.

6. Self-realisation

   The modern individual is characterised by scholars as concerned with self-realisation as opposed to salvation and obsessed with individual depth and subjective experience.

7. Freedom and responsibility

   The idea of human freedom is important in ideas of modernity, but also that individuals take responsibility for everything that happens to them, given that the concept of fate is redundant, and disenchantment means that rational explanations may be found for what happens in human life.

Modernism is difficult to define separately to modernity but is often seen as containing some of the qualities of modernity whilst also emphasising individual and artistic expression in addition to being critical of modernity and having radical and anarchic tendencies such as its association with the irrational. Modernist literature has been seen as negating outer reality and focusing strongly on subjective experience.

The consensus is that psychoanalysis is best classified as part of modernism, it being a consequence of, and reaction to, modernity, but also radically subversive given its

embrace of the irrational and promotion of the idea of the unconscious. In its cultural role it has been identified as contributing to ideas on postmodernity. This is potentially important for psychological astrology given that this has been seen as influenced by Jung's version of psychoanalysis.

Chapter Four: Astrology

4.1 Introduction

This thesis seeks to answer the question of whether natal astrology became 'psychologised' in the twentieth century. In chapter three modernity was discussed, given its importance to ideas on psychologisation. It concluded that modernity is a complex concept with more than one version identified in the twentieth century; nevertheless certain features were identified from existing scholarship to support the exploration of the works of psychological astrologers.

In this chapter astrology is discussed in detail. I discuss what astrology and natal astrology are before considering astrology's nature. I then consider the origins of psychological astrology, asking to what extent astrology has always had a psychological component. Next, the distinct features of twentieth-century psychological astrology are discussed, after which I consider the relationship between psychological astrology and modernity, disenchantment and legitimisation. Finally, I outline a framework for the exploration of psychologisation within the works of the psychological astrologers.

4.2 Astrology and natal astrology

Astrology is difficult to define tightly. A foundational concept is that of the correspondence between the heavens above and the Earth below. This rests on an idea found in the Emerald tablet of Hermes Trismegistus:

> What is above is like what is below. What is below is like what is above.[393]

In this vein, and writing about astrology amongst the Greeks and Romans, the fundamental idea of astrology was described by Franz Cumont as being that 'everything in sky and earth alike is incessantly changing, and it was thought that there existed a correspondence between the movements of the gods above and the

[393] Jabir ibn Hayyan, 'The Emerald Tablet of Hermes Trismegistus' in E.J. Holmyard, *Alchemy* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1957), pp.97-98.

alterations which occurred here below.'[394] The idea of correspondences between above and below being possible was underpinned by two key ideas from the classical world. The first is the idea of cosmic sympathy and the second the idea that there is a link between macrocosm and microcosm. According to Campion, early classical astrology espoused the idea of cosmic sympathy; this idea was that all phenomena, both divine and material, were essentially connected by 'sympathetic' powers or energies.[395] This concept was developed particularly by the Stoics, who according to Peter Struck, would contemplate flights of birds, or twitches of a nose, and connect them to a future event by reliance on the 'power of the divine which flows from one point to the next, and furnishes the links in the whole networks of causal chains that interconnect the cosmos.'[396] These interconnections are what the Stoics call sympathy and are possible because of the 'fine mist', the *pneuma* in Greek (literally, breath) that permeates the matter in the universe.[397] As Seneca, the first century Roman philosopher, wrote:

> Our Stoic philosophers, as you know, say that there are two things in nature from which everything is produced – cause and matter. Matter lies inert… Cause, on the other hand, being the same as reason, shapes matter and directs it wherever it wants, and from matter produces its manifold creations.[398]

Everything that moves is moved by the breath which works in tandem with the principle of interconnection called sympathy. This concept, which became known as the doctrine of sympathies or correspondences, allowed each planet to be connected to a variety of attributes or items. For example, the planet Mars was intrinsically linked to the colour red, to iron, soldiers, war, knives, anger and courage, that is, people, things and attributes that all share an underlying concept of connection which could be described as male assertion and aggression. The prominent seventeenth century

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[394] Franz Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans* (New York, Dover: 1960), p.12.
[395] Nicholas Campion, *The Dawn of Astrology* (London: Continuum, 2008), p.185.
[396] Peter T. Struck, 'A World Full of Signs' in *Seeing with Different Eyes* eds Patrick Curry and Angela Voss (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), pp.6-20, p.7.
[397] Struck, 'A World Full of Signs', p.7.
[398] Seneca, Letters 65.2 fragment 55E in A.A. Long and D.N. Sedley, eds. *The Hellenistic Philosophers* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987).

English astrologer William Lilly (1602-1681), to take a specific example, writing in 1647, associated Mars with War, Army Generals, Soldiers, Plague and Anger amongst other things and qualities.[399] The doctrine of correspondences still underlies the work of many psychological astrologers. Clare Martin, a former President of the Faculty of Astrological Studies, writing in 2005, presented it as a form of energy field:

> Everything in the universe is perceived as vibrating in descending frequency from the level of spirit to soul, mind, body and matter, which includes the various frequencies of the animal and plant worlds as well as the densest frequencies of the colours, metals, minerals and stones.[400]

This theory allowed Martin to relate the planets not only to psychological qualities but to a whole range of other phenomena. Taking the Sun as an example she links this with the Zodiac sign of Leo, the 5th house in the astrological chart, palaces, royalty, the heart, lions and saffron.[401]

The difficulty of defining astrology also comes through the different emphases given to its use. In discussing past uses of astrology Crystal Addey argues that it was often used 'to predict the deaths of emperors' and 'discover potential rivals so that they could destroy them' whilst also being used in a more sacred form, to discover 'divine patterns' within the self and the cosmos.[402] The idea of prediction is in evidence in the work of nineteenth century astrologer Raphael who describes astrology as 'the art of foreknowing and predicting future events, by the motions, positions, configurations, and influences of the planetary orbs and various celestial phenomena' whilst the divine pattern idea is closer to Robert Hand's description of astrology as a means of studying individuality whilst recognising the individual is a 'creator and focus for divine energy.'[403] This gives two definitions of astrology relating to its use, firstly as a predictive discipline, and secondly, as a means of obtaining self-knowledge. The

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[399] William Lilly, *Christian Astrology Books 1 & 2*, (Bel Air, MD: Astrology Classics, 2004), pp.66-67.
[400] Clare Martin, *Mapping the Psyche Volume One* (London: CPA, 2005), p.14.
[401] Martin, *Mapping the Psyche*, p.15.
[402] Crystal Addey, 'Oracles, Dreams and Astrology in Iamblichus' *De Mysteriis*' in *Seeing with Different Eyes* eds. Patrick Curry and Angela Voss (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), pp.35-58, pp.49-50.
[403] Raphael, *A Manual of Astrology*, p19; Hand, *Horoscope Symbols*, pp.15-17.

definition of astrology as a predictive discipline is bound up with its long association with ideas of fate and destiny. This can be seen in the works of the first century astrologer Ptolemy, who included sections in his major astrological work that covered matters pertaining to material fortune, marriage, children and the quality of death, which could all be read from the birth-chart.[404]

A third definition, which focuses not on use but on astrology's essence, is of a symbolic language; Mike Harding suggests that 'most astrologers have referred to astrology as some form of language, often as a language of symbols.'[405] These descriptions and differing uses indicate the difficulty of defining astrology, and suggest a broad definition is required to capture the breadth of the subject. Such a definition may be taken from Patrick Curry, who defines astrology as any practice or belief which centres on 'interpreting the human or terrestrial meaning of the stars.'[406] This definition brings out a fourth emphasis, that of establishing meaning. Encapsulating all of the above, Nicholas Campion defines astrology as 'the practical implementation of cosmological ideas in order to understand the past, manage the present, and forecast the future, in a range of cultures, past and present.'[407] This definition captures the vast array of practices and ideas that have been talked about under the astrology umbrella.

Astrology has long been broken into two broad branches, natural and judicial, a distinction which Nicholas Campion argues can be traced back to the ideas of Isidore of Seville (c.560- 636).[408] Whilst natural astrology concerned things such as astrological influence or correlation with the weather or farming patterns, judicial astrology was concerned with predictions or advice for specific individuals i.e. specific 'judgements'

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[404] Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, see pp.373-461.
[405] Mike Harding, 'Astrology as a Language Game' in *Astrology and the Academy* eds. Nicholas Campion, Patrick Curry and Michael York (Bristol: Cinnabar, 2004), pp.170-180, p.170.
[406] Patrick Curry, *Prophecy and Power: Astrology in Early Modern England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), p.4.
[407] Nicholas Campion, *Astrology and Cosmology in the World's Religions* (London: New York University Press, 2012), p.1.
[408] Campion, *Astrology and Popular Religion*, p.8; Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies*, trans. Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge, 2007), p.99.

hence 'judicial'. It was under the latter umbrella that natal astrology is found.[409] Natural and judicial astrology are not mutually exclusive however, as is observed by Campion.[410] Natural patterns, such as the association of planetary cycles with various cycles on Earth, may be part of a judgement obtained from a judicial horoscope.

Natal astrology relies on the use of a horoscope cast for the planets' positions at the moment of a person's birth; this horoscope is then used to draw conclusions about a person's character and life.[411] The oldest natal horoscope, accompanied by an interpretation, known to scholars is dated April 410 BC.[412] Natal astrology therefore has a long history, and despite peaks and troughs in its popularity over the intervening centuries in Western societies, continues to be popular into the twenty-first century.[413] The reading of a natal horoscope for a client, either in person or over the phone or internet, is the core of the work of many contemporary Western astrologers.[414]

A horoscope is a map of the heavens for a particular time and place, usually represented by a two-dimensional drawing, often circular in contemporary practice, which shows the positions of the Sun, Moon and planets, as viewed from Earth, at a particular time and place.[415] These bodies are set against the backdrop of a zodiac and other astronomical points, which are divided by twelve different signs and also by divisions known as 'houses' which signify different domains of a person's life such as 'partnership', 'home', and 'career'.[416] In Western astrology, the convention is to use the tropical zodiac, which is defined in relation to the seasons in the Northern Hemisphere; this places the first sign of the zodiac, Aries, at the point at which the Sun moves to the Vernal Equinox (the first

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[409] Curry, *Prophecy and Power*, p.8.
[410] Campion, 'Prophecy, Cosmology and the New Age Movement: The extent and nature of contemporary belief in astrology', (PhD Thesis, Bath Spa University, 2004), p.22.
[411] Curry, *Prophecy and Power*, p.8; A. Van Gijsen, 'Astrology I' in *Dictionary of Gnosis & Western Esotericism*, ed. W.J. Hanegraaff (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp.109-110.
[412] A Sachs, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* (1952), Vol. 6, pp.54-7.
[413] See Nicholas Campion, *Astrology and Popular Religion in the Modern West* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp.1-3.
[414] Darrelyn Gunzburg, 'How Do Astrologers Read Charts?' in Astrologies, ed. Nicholas Campion and Liz Greene (Ceredigion, Wales: Sophia Centre Press, 2011), pp. 181-200., p.181.
[415] John Filbey, *Natal Charting* (London: Faculty of Astrological Studies, 1981), p.9.
[416] Hone, *Modern Text book of Astrology,* pp.37-98.

day of Spring in the Northern Hemisphere, usually 21 March) with each of the twelve zodiac signs then being thirty degrees so as to make the complete zodiac circle of 360 degrees.[417] Apart from the planets, situated in their zodiac signs and houses, another key component of the natal horoscope is the relationships formed between the planetary bodies. These are referred to as 'aspects' and the principal aspects are the conjunction (two planets together), opposition (planets 180 degrees apart in zodiacal longitude), trine (planets 120 degrees apart), square (planets 90 degrees apart) and sextile (planets 60 degrees apart).[418]

The link between microcosm and macrocosm, in addition to being relevant to the theory of correspondences, is also very relevant to natal astrology in the form that each human being is a microcosm of the universe i.e. of the macrocosm; such an idea may be found in the works of the Roman astrologer Marcus Manilius (c. 1st century AD):

> Why wonder that men can comprehend heaven, when heaven exists in their very beings and each one is in a smaller likeness the image of God himself?[419]

The microcosm-macrocosm rationale for astrology is also present in the works of twentieth-century psychological astrologers, for example Dane Rudhyar. Rudhyar argues that:

> The life-substance circulating and differentiated within both macrocosm and microcosm is one and the same. The Light is the same, whether it shines as Sun and stars, or as the radiant centers *within man's psycho-mental organism* – once the latter is built by a long process of psychological integration.[420]

One of Dane Rudhyar's key influences was the Chinese esoteric text *The Secret of the Golden Flower*, which had been translated into English by Richard Wilhelm.[421] Wilhelm explains the underlying psychological and cosmological premises of the text as follows:

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[417] Filbey, *Natal Charting*, p.22.
[418] Filbey, *Natal Charting*, pp.129-130.
[419] Manilius, *Astronomica*, trans. G. P. Goold (London: Harvard University Press, 1997), pp.293-295.
[420] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.26.
[421] See, Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.75.

> It is built on the premise that the cosmos and man, in the last analysis, obey the same law; that man is a microcosm and is not separated from the macrocosm by any fixed barriers. The very same laws rule for the one as for the other, and from the one a way leads into the other. The psyche and the cosmos are to each other like the inner world and the outer world. Therefore man participates by nature in all cosmic events, and is inwardly as well as outwardly interwoven with them.[422]

Astrology then is multi-faceted, being associated with a correspondence between heaven and earth, prediction, self-knowledge, a language of symbols and a system of meaning. At the heart of natal astrology lies the idea the human being is a microcosm of the macrocosm; as such, a horoscope can be cast for the time and place of birth, and interpretations made.

Astrology's complex nature has made it remarkably adaptable throughout history. Campion argues that its ability to traverse the pressures of the early Church Fathers, who had condemned it, and survive into early medieval Europe, was an example of 'intellectual adaptation'.[423] This point has also been made by Patrick Curry, who argues that the difficulty in defining astrology has:

> lent astrology much of its longevity, and its interest. Such adaptability and elusiveness is thus not simply a problem; it is what makes astrology worth studying.[424]

The identification of astrology as an adaptable subject links to the issues raised by Hanegraaff's psychologisation thesis which rests on the idea that magic has adapted by becoming psychological, and has thereby survived into the disenchanted modern world.

4.3 Astrology's nature

Astrology has frequently been associated with magic or a magical world view. Hanegraaff, in his paper on the psychologisation of magic, focuses on what he calls

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[422] Richard Wilhelm, *The Secret of the Golden Flower: A Chinese Book of Life* (London: Arkana, 1931), p.11.
[423] Campion, *History II*, p.52.
[424] Curry, *Prophecy and Power*, p.1.

'European 'hermetic' magical currents since the Renaissance.' [425] These currents are practices which rely on at least one of 'three dominant theories' on how magical effects worked, the first of these being the theory of correspondences.[426] As discussed above, the fundamental concept of astrology is the theory of correspondences, also known as sympathies.[427] Cornelius writes that in the European tradition, 'natural magic is in large part a branch of applied astrology' and rests on a system of correspondences which refers to hidden qualities in all things such as plants, gems and animals.[428] For Cornelius,

> The astrological *is* the system of those correspondences. Hence natural magic utilises astrology – and in European culture it is hardly conceivable to be a natural magician *without* being at the same time an astrologer.[429]

Hanegraaff makes a similar point, arguing that astrology is implicit in ideas of Renaissance magic:

> Magic and astrology are theoretically two distinct streams, but in the context of Renaissance esotericism it is perhaps more correct to say that astrology is implicit in the very concept (however unclearly defined) of *magia*.[430]

Campion, in his *History of Astrology Volume II*, argues that one of the justifications for magic was the ''sympathetic' connections between terrestrial and celestial objects.'[431] As Davies notes, defining magic is 'a maddening task.'[432] Nonetheless, one definition given by Ronald Hutton is:

> Any formalised practices by human beings designed to achieve particular ends by the manipulation and direction of supernatural power or of spiritual power concealed within the natural world.[433]

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[425] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.360.
[426] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.361.
[427] Franz Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans* (New York, Dover: 1960), p.12; Nicolas Campion, *The Dawn of Astrology* (London: Continuum, 2008), p.185.
[428] Cornelius, *Moment of Astrology*, p.3.
[429] Cornelius, *Moment of Astrology*, p.3.
[430] Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion*, p.394.
[431] Campion, *History II*, p.75.
[432] Owen Davies, *Magic: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.1.
[433] Ronald Hutton, *Witches, Druids and King Arthur* (London: Hambledon, 2003), p.106.

In making use of the construction of horoscopes which rely on the theory of correspondences for purposes such as forecasting or gaining self-knowledge, astrology fits Hutton's definition of magic well. Indeed, Campion argues that 'if magic is the deliberate attempt to change the future then all astrology which moves beyond a simple prediction into any sort of action must be considered magical.'[434]

Lynn Thorndike, in his *History of Magic and Experimental Science* over the first thirteen centuries, concluded that astrology should be classified as 'a magic art.'[435] Thorndike had analysed various attempts to separate magic and astrology but concluded that these attempts had been 'illogical and unconvincing.'[436] His research led to a definition of magic as:

> a way of looking at the world which is reflected in a human art or group of arts employing varied materials in varied rites, often fantastic… by operations supposed to be efficacious here in the world of external reality.[437]

In his examination of what he sees as the decline of magic over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Keith Thomas devotes three chapters to astrology.[438] He argues that 'the links between magic, astrology and witchcraft were both intellectual and practical.'[439] For Thomas, it was astrology that provided the justification for practices such as palmistry and geomancy (a method of divining from reading patterns on the ground or formed by soil, rocks or sand). Thomas argues that the 'links between magic and astrology' facilitated a reinforcement of both and that 'this blurring of different magical beliefs was characteristic of the period.'[440] Thomas identifies the intellectual changes of the seventeenth century, such as the 'triumph of the mechanical philosophy', as contributing to the collapse of astrology, astral magic and associated subjects.[441] The changes in intellectual environment, for Thomas, 'meant the end of

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[434] Campion, *History II*, p.67.
[435] Thorndike, *History of Magic*, p.973.
[436] Thorndike, *History of Magic*, p.974.
[437] Thorndike, *History of Magic*, p.974.
[438] Thomas, *Decline of Magic*, pp.335-460.
[439] Thomas, *Decline of Magic*, p.755.
[440] Thomas, *Decline of Magic*, p.756; p.758.
[441] Thomas, *Decline of Magic*, p.769.

the animistic conception of the universe which had constituted the basic rationale for magical thinking.'[442]

Twentieth-century sceptical critiques of astrology have often been made on the basis that astrology belongs to a magical worldview; this, in their view, means that astrology ought not to have a place in the modern world. In 1975, 192 scientists issued a statement in *The Humanist* objecting to astrology:

> In ancient times people believed in the predictions and advice of astrologers because astrology was part and parcel of their magical world view.[443]

The statement voiced their concern about astrology's popularity, something they viewed as suspect given astrology's basis in magic:

> One would imagine, in this day of widespread enlightenment and education, that it would be unnecessary to debunk beliefs based on magic and superstition. Yet, acceptance of astrology pervades modern society…[444]

In similar vein, science writer Lawrence Jerome wrote that 'astrology is false because it is a system of magic, based on the magical "principle of correspondences".'[445] Sceptics from other disciplines have adopted a similar line of argument. Theodore Adorno saw astrology as being at odds with modern culture.[446] This clash, in his view, is due to astrology being a superstition and belonging to 'animistic magical practices' which humanity has now outgrown.[447]

For Patrick Curry, astrology is 'concrete magic.'[448] Curry's use of the term 'concrete magic' may be traced to J.R.R. Tolkien who uses it to refers to the experience of being enchanted and in a blissful union with the environment.[449] Alison Bird, in her 2006

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[442] Thomas, *Decline of Magic*, p.771.
[443] Bart J. Bok et al., 'Objections to Astrology' *The Humanist* 35, no. 5 (September/October 1975), reprinted in Bart J. Bok and Lawrence E. Jerome, *Objections to Astrology* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus, 1975), pp.9-10.
[444] Bok et al, 'Objections to Astrology', p.10.
[445] Lawrence E. Jerome, 'Astrology: Magic or Science?' in Bart J. Bok and Lawrence E. Jerome (eds), *Objections to Astrology* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1975), pp.37-38.
[446] Theodor Adorno, *The Stars Down to Earth* (London: Routledge, 1994), p.49.
[447] Adorno, *Stars Down to Earth*, p.51.
[448] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.74.
[449] J.R.R. Tolkien, *Tree and Leaf* (London: Unwin, 1964), pp.15-16.

thesis on astrology in education, defines astrology as 'magicoreligious'.[450] By this she means that astrology fits broadly into the category of religion and magic as opposed to science.

The question of whether astrology is a form of magic/religion or science has occupied both astrologers and scholars in recent decades and has led to a debate as to whether astrology may be labelled as science or 'divination'. The use of the term divination in this debate is problematic as divination has often been associated with that which is predictable and continuous, concepts often associated with science. For example, the *New Encyclopaedia Britannica* defines astrology as a 'type of divination that consists in interpreting the influence of planets and stars on earthly affairs in order to predict or affect the destinies of individuals, groups or nations.'[451]

A new way of using the term divination in relation to astrology was however introduced by Geoffrey Cornelius in the 1980s.[452] In *The Moment of Astrology* Cornelius discusses the nature of astrology, critiquing the idea that there is a continuous correspondence between Earth and heavens out there waiting to be read and in particular suggesting that all natal astrology may be traced back to Ptolemy and 'the doctrine of origin' which 'places the natal horoscope at the centre of astrological practice and makes of its symbolism a passive record of a seemingly objective fate.'[453] Instead he argues that astrology is akin to other appearances of signs and omens and that these do:

> not come from some abstracted universal working of things, some natural law, but from a participatory consciousness. An omen is understood to be for someone who perceives it as significant.[454]

Cornelius draws on the natural/judicial split to inform his argument, suggesting that a natural astrology may exist but any judicial form of astrology should be regarded as

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[450] Bird, 'Astrology in Education', p.78.
[451] 'Astrology ' in *New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, fifteenth edition, (University of Chicago Press: 1992), p.654.
[452] Geoffrey Cornelius, *The Moment of Astrology* (Bournemouth: Wessex Astrology, 2003).
[453] Cornelius, *Moment of Astrology*, p.177.
[454] Cornelius, *Moment of Astrology*, p.177.

divination.[455] For natal astrology the implication is that the objective birth moment is not the critical factor in a successful reading of a natal horoscope:

> Let us get away from the illusion that we are really dealing with an 'objective' birth moment… from the symbolist's point of view even the recorded time on the birth certificate is but one more potent image assigned to the client.[456]

Cornelius argues that this shift in perspective, to viewing all judicial astrology as divinatory including natal astrology, is a 'massive conceptual disruption':

> The disruption is most deeply felt in natal astrology as we cut the bindings of its old determinism and its implied claim to read some ultimate pattern of destiny in the objective moment of birth… We assign our natal astrology to the hospital clock to see what the divination gives us – but the horoscopes we work with are not astronomical records of an event in the physical world. They are symbols in a world of human significance.[457]

The idea of participation is central to Cornelius' conception of astrology as divination. He argues that the 'modern non-divinatory attitude' attempts to assign theoretical significance to events rather than participatory significance, and as such has struggled to recognise the nature of astrological omens.[458] Yet:

> an omen is only an omen if it is recognised as such, it is clear that its significance is dependent on the participation of those for whom it is present.[459]

This argument has led to the idea that in practicing astrology there are two orders at work. In her interview with Garry Phillipson, Maggie Hyde asserts:

> You have to practise your [astrological] work *as if* it were objective, and about other people and other things in the world, but every now and again that objective position is actually cut through by something else, by some other order of thing. If you notice it, you suddenly find that the symbols don't just address that objective thing in the world, but they address you and your relationship with it.[460]

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[455] Cornelius, *Moment of Astrology*, p.83.
[456] Cornelius, *Moment of Astrology*, pp.252-253.
[457] Cornelius, *Moment of Astrology*, p.253.
[458] Cornelius, *Moment of Astrology*, p.133.
[459] Cornelius, *Moment of Astrology*, p.133.
[460] Maggie Hyde quoted in Garry Phillipson, *Astrology in the Year Zero* (London: Flare, 2000), p.184.

The idea of astrology as divination has been developed by Patrick Curry who argues that 'divination is an act of intervention, not prediction' and that is involves 'an ongoing dialogue with more-than-human agents.'[461]

The responsive cosmos is a concept put forward by James Brockbank, whose doctoral thesis is concerned with the nature of astrology.[462] He argues that all astrology requiring judgement from horoscopes, i.e. all forms of judicial astrology (which includes natal astrology) involve a process of judgement that is best described as divination, with the involvement of a non-human agency required.[463] If this argument is accepted, psychological astrology, as a form of natal, and hence judicial, astrology, should be classified as divination. This may have implications for its association with psychology. If the nature of astrology is divinatory, psychological astrology may have adopted psychology as a strategy for legitimisation given that divination fits awkwardly with the idea of a disenchanted modern world.

The question of astrology's place in contemporary epistemology has been extended by Garry Phillipson's recent doctoral thesis.[464] He divided astrology for the purposes of his discussion broadly into astrology-as-science and astrology-as-divination where divination requires a responsive cosmos, something more than human and a relationship with this something more to work, whereas astrology-as-science is conceived as information retrieval, and critically, the ability to assess it without the astrologer being present i.e. without the participation of the astrologer.[465] He describes it thus:

> An astrology whose truth-status could be assessed without the involvement of astrologers would therefore be astrology-as-science. On the other hand, an

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[461] Patrick Curry, 'Astrology: From Pagan to Postmodern?' *The Astrological Journal*, January/February 1994, Vol. 36, no 1, pp. 69-75 (p. 73); Patrick Curry, 'Embodiment, Alterity and Agency' in Patrick Curry (ed.), *Divination: Perspectives for a New Millennium* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp.114-5.
[462] James Brockbank, 'The Responsive Cosmos: An Enquiry into the Theoretical Foundation of Astrology' (PhD Thesis, University of Kent, 2007).
[463] Brockbank, 'Responsive Cosmos', p.34.
[464] Garry Phillipson, 'Astrology and Truth: A Context in Contemporary Epistemology' (PhD Thesis, University of Wales: Trinity Saint David, 2019).
[465] Phillipson, 'Astrology and Truth', pp.311-312.

> astrology in which the astrologer is necessarily involved in the interpretation of horoscopic factors – because such interpretation requires the existence of a responsive, dialogical relationship to the more-than-human – would be astrology-as-divination.[466]

Phillipson asserts that to classify astrology-as-science it would need to be an astrology that works without the need for the astrologer to be present i.e. it works independently of the astrologer.[467] This leaves the astrology-as-divination label to cover the position of astrology which depends on the astrologer and something more than human i.e. does not work in an objective sense without the interpretative element of the individual astrologer and some wider non-human response from the cosmos. A similar position has proved popular with twenty-first century scholars, for example, Roy Willis and Patrick Curry, whose 2004 *Astrology, Science and Culture* argues that 'astrology is best understood as a divinatory technique: a dialogue with the divine in a postmodern, post-Christian, and newly reanimated, universe.'[468] Other examples of scholars who have embraced what Phillipson would call the astrology-as-divination position (that the involvement of both the astrologer and a non-human element are crucial) are Alison Bird, James Brockbank, Lindsay Radermacher, Anthony Thorley and John Wadsworth.[469]

Phillipson's category of astrology-as-divination does not capture a view of astrology as divination in which divination is defined as requiring the participation of the astrologer but not an additional non-human element. Instead, the 'divination' occurs through processes such as intuition or creativity. Examples of scholars holding this view of astrology are Bridget Costello, Kirstine Munk and Elena Kozlova.[470] For example Munk's

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[466] Phillipson, 'Astrology and Truth', p.312.
[467] Phillipson, 'Astrology and Truth', pp.312-313.
[468] Curry and Willis, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.1.
[469] Alison Bird, 'Astrology in Education: An Ethnography' (PhD thesis, University of Sussex, 2006); Brockbank, 'Responsive Cosmos'; Lindsay Radermacher, 'The Role of Dialogue in Astrological Divination' (MPhil Thesis, University of Kent, 2011); Anthony Thorley, 'Perceptions of Divination in the Astrological Consultation: A Pilot Study' *Correlation* 24 (2) 2006/2007; John Wadsworth, 'The Astrological Ritual: A Phenomenological Study of Astrological Practice in Glastonbury' *Correlation* 24(2) 2006/2007).
[470] Kirstine Munk, 'Signs of the Times' (PhD thesis, University of Southern Denmark, 2007); Elena Kozlova, 'A Phenomenological Inquiry into the Process and Effects of Finding Meaning with Astrological

definition of astrology as divination is where divination is seen as 'a ritual of orientation and disclosure that aims at finding the hidden significance of apparently random events in everyday life.'[471] This label of astrology as a divinatory practice, as seen by Munk, encompasses a psychological approach. Astrologer Bernadette Brady asserts the importance of the role of intuition in astrological interpretation, using the analogy of an eagle to represent a focus on techniques and a lark to represent intuition; both the eagle and the lark are needed for success:

> An astrologer's intuition is like the tiny lark in the fable and the techniques and methodology of an astrologer's craft, the mighty eagle. Separately they are both valid and valuable. Together they can achieve results before unreachable.[472]

It has been argued that the characterisation of astrology as requiring the presence of an astrologer and not being 'science' is uncommon amongst practising astrologers. For example, Costello asserts that:

> From the point of view of the astrologer, astrology does not rely on supernatural or metaphysical mechanisms – planets are part of the natural order, and influence the personality in a similar manner as the moon influences the tides… astrology does not serve to delineate the sacred and profane any more than any other secular activity.[473]

Costello found that less than a tenth of her survey sample of astrologers had any reservations about defining astrology as science.[474] She also however found that the majority wished to additionally call astrology an art 'with respect to the fact that it contains an explicitly interpretive element in describing the synthesis and significance of individual planetary relationships.'[475] Campion's research from astrological conferences from 2001 to 2011 indicated that over half of attendees (and in some

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Symbolism' (PhD Thesis, Institute of Transpersonal Psychology, California, 2011). Bridget Costello, 'Unsettled Lives' (PhD Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2006).

[471] Munk, 'Signs of the Times', p.3.

[472] Bernadette Brady, *Predictive Astrology* (Boston, MA: Weiser, 1999), p.xiv.

[473] Costello, 'Unsettled Lives', p.85.

[474] Costello, 'Unsettled Lives', p.147.

[475] Costello, 'Unsettled Lives', p.149.

cases over three-quarters) were comfortable to label astrology as science.[476] The astrologers surveyed however had the option to tick multiple definitions and some of the cohorts who were comfortable with the science label also rated astrology a 'form of divination'; for example in Serbia in 2001, 87.5% ticked the science label and 72.9% ticked the 'form of divination' label.[477]

Alison Bird argues that astrology may be broadly categorised as a magical-religious practice but that most astrologers deny this:

> Numbers of them struggle to see quite how their activities could in any way be taken to resemble those of the exotic diviners whose dramatic exploits are recorded with gusto in the anthropological literature. They will tell you that what they do is altogether too ordered, rule-bound, mundane and, for that matter, too commercially oriented to have much of the divine about it.[478]

Astrology's ambiguous nature, whether as science or divination, complicates the examination of whether psychological astrology may be said to be psychologised or otherwise. Hanegraaff discusses astrology as one of the 'occult sciences', with magic being another one of the three identified, the third being alchemy.[479] However he claims that 'it is often impossible to separate the domains of magic and astrology.'[480] Indeed, he writes that 'within the boundaries of the Renaissance period, esotericism and *Magia* [magic] are almost equivalent terms and that 'it is perhaps more correct to say that astrology is implicit in the very concept' of magic.[481]As such it is clear that it is valid to consider astrology in relation to Hanegraaff's psychologisation thesis on how magic has adapted to survive into the modern world. The application of Hanegraaff's thesis does however depend on to what extent astrology became more psychological in modernity. If it has always had psychology as an important part of its nature, then

[476] Campion, *Astrology and Popular Religion*, p.178.
[477] Campion, *Astrology and Popular Religion*, p.178.
[478] Bird, 'Astrology in Education', p.82.
[479] Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion*, p.392.
[480] Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion*, p.393.
[481] Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion*, p.394.

the psychologisation thesis may not be wholly relevant. It is to this question of astrology's longer-term relationship with psychology that I now turn.

4.4 Origins of psychological astrology

Patrick Curry has classified various twentieth century schools of astrology, with one such school, the most dominant, being 'psychological astrology'.[482] Similarly, Campion identifies 'psychological astrology' as the most influential strand within modern professional astrology.[483] Curry identifies the origins of this school as stemming from the theosophical astrology of Alan Leo at the beginning of the twentieth century, then being subsequently developed most influentially by astrologers Dane Rudhyar, Liz Greene and Stephen Arroyo.[484] Kozlova asserts that:

> Modern Western astrology started developing in the 20th century and presupposes that the free will of an individual has significant impact on his or her life. It focuses on psychological traits reflected in the horoscope, and operates on the principle that character is destiny.[485]

There is however a question as to exactly how old psychological astrology is. Curry clarifies that 'psychological' in psychological astrology means something different from the academic social science, and relates to the idea of psyche as soul, defined as 'an individuality partaking of, and mediating between, spirit and matter.'[486] Curry's assertion that 'psychological' for astrologers means something different from that used in the academic social science suggests that astrologers may be incorporating an older form of psychology into their interpretations during the twentieth century rather than a more scientific and modern form of psychology. This opens up the question of whether 'psychological astrology' is as new a development as Curry initially contends since it potentially rests on concepts predating the modern cosmos.

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[482] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, pp.72-73.
[483] Campion, 'Prophecy', p.27.
[484] Curry, *Astrology*, *Science and Culture*, p.72.
[485] Kozlova, 'Finding Meaning', p.6.
[486] Curry, *Astrology*, *Science and Culture*, p.72.

Campion has argued that in the classical world and from an individual perspective, the cosmos 'possessed an interior aspect as much as an external one, and astronomy was a psychological practice as well as an observational or mathematical one.'[487] An example is the first century astrologer Ptolemy who ascribed psychological qualities to the planets:

> If Venus alone takes the domination of the soul, in an honourable position she makes her subjects pleasant, good, luxurious, eloquent, neat, cheerful, fond of dancing, eager for beauty, haters of evil, lovers of the arts…[488]

In similar vein he stated that Mars 'makes his subjects noble, commanding, spirited' and 'rash, unruly, indifferent, stubborn' whilst Mercury 'makes those who are born under him wise, shrewd, thoughtful, inventive' and sometimes also 'impetuous', 'fickle' and 'undiscriminating'.[489] A strongly placed Saturn, according to Ptolemy, makes someone 'strong-minded', 'austere', but more poorly placed could cause a person to be 'petty', 'mean-spirited', 'solitary' and 'unfeeling'.[490]

In chapter two classical ideas about the soul or psyche were discussed. Plato's theory of soul embraced a wider cosmology in which each soul is part of a living, intelligent cosmos.[491] Campion has argued on the basis of the *Timaeus* that 'Plato's theory of soul takes us to the heart of the development of astrology in the Greek world' and that the cosmos was psychological in the modern sense, 'having personality, driven by manners, habits, opinions, desires, pleasures, pains or fears.'[492] He further argues that two of the forms of astrology which emerged by the first century BCE were Platonic, and whilst one was concerned with reading horoscopes to give precise details about the past, present and future, the other emphasised the soul's ascent to the stars with the key to this second type of astrology the 'quest not for knowledge, but personal transformation.'[493]

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[487] Nicholas Campion, 'Astronomy and Psyche in the Classical World: Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, Ptolemy' *Journal of Cosmology,* 2010, Vol 9. pp.2179-2186, p.2179.
[488] Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos* trans. F.E. Robbins (London: Harvard University Press, 1940), p.357.
[489] Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, pp. 353; 361.
[490] Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, p.341.
[491] Plato, *Timaeus*, trans R.G. Bury (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931), 41E-42A.
[492] Campion, *Dawn of Astrology*, p.164.
[493] Campion, *Dawn of Astrology*, p.173.

He sees the first type represented in authors such as Ptolemy, and the second in the theurgic practices of the Neoplatonists, such as Iamblichus (245-325).[494] That the Platonic cosmos was psychological and that an astrology existed in the first century BCE which had the primary purpose of personal transformation raises the question of whether the psychological astrology of the twentieth century was a new phenomenon, or simply a resurgence of a type of astrology found in previous eras.

A further means of considering whether astrology has always been psychological is to consider the fact that natal astrology has always dealt with character as part of its remit. For example, the works of the second-century astrologer Vettius Valens suggest, similarly to a modern textbook, that Aries means being assertive and Gemini people enjoy talking.[495] Campion therefore argues that:

> …from 2000 years ago, we have a series of character descriptions that constitute the world's oldest psychological model and which remains the most widely known form of personality analysis.[496]

Similarly, Daryn Lehoux argues that the ancient understanding of astrology meant that it could account for personality traits in addition to political and social events.[497] Dorian Greenbaum has argued that the theory of 'temperament' was key to understanding classical astrology and that temperament is not restricted to personality or character but is connected with a 'person's nature or disposition.'[498] For example in describing the planet Mars in combination with the planet Venus in the birth chart, Ptolemy suggests individuals who are amongst other things, 'erotic', 'able to secure themselves property' and 'difficult to convict'.[499] Margaret Hone, writing in the mid-twentieth century, describes the combination of planets as bringing an 'ability to love and to

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[494] See Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*; Gregory Shaw, *Theurgy and the Soul: The Neoplatonism of Iamblichus* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995).
[495] Vettius Valens, *The Anthology* I.2. ed. David Pingree (Leipzig, Verlag: 1986).
[496] Campion, *Dawn of Astrology*, p.184.
[497] Daryn Lehoux, 'Tomorrow's News Today: Astrology, Fate, and the Way Out' *Representations*, Vol. 95, No. 1 (Summer, 2006), pp.105-22, p.106.
[498] Dorian Greenbaum, *Temperament: Astrology's Forgotten Key* (Bournemouth: Wessex Astrologer, 2005), p.1.
[499] Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, p.355.

enjoy sexual life' or (where the relationship between the two planets is more difficult) 'feelings are strong but cause and receive hurt.'[500]

Eugenio Garin, analysing astrology in the Renaissance, identifies two types; one is:

> Conceptual and mathematical and reduces the heavenly intelligences and the souls of things to necessary principles of rationality inherent in the picture of an absolute, completely predetermined. The other instead accentuates the personality of the divine and underlines the free individuality of souls, and gives life and humanity to everything, and is expressed in terms which are fantastic and emotive, imaginative and poetic.[501]

Garin goes on to suggest that the ambiguity between these positions 'is so deep that it is useless to think it can be resolved by the commonplace of the oppositions between astrology and magic.'[502] A good example of this ambiguity may be found in the work of Renaissance astrologer Marsilio Ficino (1433-99). Garin argues that for Ficino:

> It is neither enough to build a perfect model of the world nor only to look at it: we must also bring it within ourselves through intense meditation… and the contemplation of its painted image in the rooms in which we live. Man the microcosm, that is, must adapt himself to the macrocosm through the technique of images, he must synthesise himself and so realise perfect harmony by identifying himself with the life and with the power of everything.[503]

Melissa Bullard argues that Ficino conceptualised astral forces in a new psychological way, 'for Ficino, the astral forces and humors, which according to accepted wisdom originated in the planets, resided also in man, where they can be more easily observed and manged.'[504] Bullard notes that James Hillman has observed 'the striking parallels between Ficino's soul medicine and modern depth psychology.'[505] Indeed, Hillman sees Ficino as one of the primary influences on his own psychological thought; this can be

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[500] Hone, *Modern Textbook of Astrology*, p.191.
[501] Eugenio Garin, *Astrology in the Renaissance: The Zodiac of Life*, trans. C. Jackson and June Allen (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983), p.61.
[502] Garin, *Astrology in the Renaissance*, p.61.
[503] Garin, *Astrology in the Renaissance,* p.76.
[504] Melissa Bullard, 'The Inward Zodiac: A Development in Ficino's Thought on Astrology' *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 43. No. 4 (Winter, 1990), pp.687-708, p.699.
[505] Bullard, 'The Inward Zodiac', p.701.

seen in his early essay which includes Ficino as one of three identified major influences on archetypal psychology.[506] At the centre of Ficino's thought is the human soul:

> This [the soul] is the greatest of all miracles in nature. All other things beneath God are always one single being, but the soul is all things together…[507]

An example of this may be seen in Bullard's contention that the key to Ficino's mature thought lies in understanding that for Ficino the soul was a middle agent which moderated the forces in the cosmos; she notes that Hillman has identified Ficino's view of the soul as polycentric and polytheistic.[508] This is evidenced in Ficino's writings when he encourages consideration of all the planets:

> When you fear Mars, set Venus opposite. When you fear Saturn, use Jupiter. And see to it that you engage in some continual motion so far as possible, just so you avoid weariness… and that you imitate so far as possible the action of the heavens.[509]

Ficino's exhortation to imitate the heavens suggests a place for all the planets within the soul, a polycentric perspective rather than one which privileges certain planets. Julia Cleve emphasises that Ficino argues strongly that the stars are signs rather than causes.[510] This means that the stars may mirror the future, although do not directly cause it. She continues:

> the ability to read the signs is as much a property of soul as it is of reason. It requires the exercise of our highest human faculties. It is more a question of seership than of science.[511]

Cleve locates Ficino's astrology as closer to seership than science, arguing that reading the signs requires more than rational understanding.

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[506] Hillman, 'Plotino, Ficino, and Vico as precursors of Archetypal Psychology' in *Loose Ends* (New York: Spring, 1975), pp.146-169.
[507] Ficino, 'Theological Platonica', trans. P.O Kristeller, in *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters*, (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1956), p.268.
[508] Bullard, 'The Inward Zodiac', p.703.
[509] Ficino, 'On obtaining life from the heavens' in A. Voss (ed). *Marsilio Ficino* (Berkely, CA: North Atlantic Books, 2006), p.133.
[510] Julia Cleve, 'Ficino's Approach to Astrology as Reflected in Book VII of his Letters', *Culture and Cosmos*, Vol. 7 no 2, 2003, pp.63-70, p.68.
[511] Cleve, 'Ficino's Approach to Astrology', p.68.

4.5 Pre-twentieth century astrology

As discussed above, astrology prior to the psychological astrology of the twentieth century exhibited psychological features, particularly in its application to character description. It also however covered far more than just character. Ptolemy gives a long description for example on how to calculate the length of life.[512] He also discussed the impact of the planets on the body; this depends on exactly where the planet is in the horoscope, for example he stated Saturn near the eastern side of the horoscope 'makes his subjects in appearance dark-skinned, robust, black-haired.'[513] Jupiter, in contrast, gives light skin, 'with moderately curling hair and large eyes' whilst Mars gives a tall and robust appearance 'with thick hair.'[514]

Disease is also indicated by the horoscope in Ptolemy's first-century work. He wrote that Saturn may cause someone to be 'rheumatic, meagre, weak, jaundiced' and 'prone to dysentery' whilst Mars may cause 'men to split blood' and to be melancholy.[515] Material fortune is also discussed, with Saturn associated with 'richness through building', Jupiter with 'guardianships', Mars with 'military operations', Venus with 'gifts from friends or women' and Mercury with 'eloquence and trade'.[516] Further interpretation is provided by Ptolemy covering topics as diverse as possible professions, quality of marriage and number of children.[517]

William Lilly's *Christian Astrology*, published in 1647, provides additional examples of pre-twentieth century psychological astrology. A summary of some of his associations for the planets known at that time (including the Sun and the Moon) are given below. I have included the psychological and non-psychological associations.

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[512] Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, pp.271-307.
[513] Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, p.309.
[514] Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, p.309; p.311.
[515] Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, p.327.
[516] Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, p.375.
[517] Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, pp.373-413.

Saturn's psychological associations include profundity, patience, gravity, studiousness, austerity, jealousy and mistrust.[518] Saturn is also associated with miners, colliers, leprosy, dropsy, Hemlock, Parsnip, Cumin and Willow trees in addition to mice, crocodiles, deserts, woods, sapphires and cloudy weather.[519]

Jupiter's psychological associations include magnanimity, honour, indulgence, being hypocritical, and carelessness.[520] Other associations include judges, priests, pleurisy, cramps, purple, basil, pine trees, sheep, elephant, courts of justice, marble and topaz.[521]

Mars' psychological associations include boldness, confidence, rashness and inhumanity.[522] Other associations include soldiers, barbers, migraines, ringworm, red, nettles, pepper, ginger, thorn trees, tigers, Iron, Arsenic, Bloodstone and red clouds.[523]

The Sun's psychological associations include faithfulness, punctuality, humanity, arrogance, pride and foolishness.[524] Other associations include Kings, Courtiers, Goldsmiths, diseases of the heart, yellow, Saffron, Laurel trees, Lemon trees, lions, Starfish, Peacocks, theatres, Hyacinths and extreme heat.[525]

Venus' psychological associations include being neat, pleasant, loving, musical, being scandalous and incestuous.[526] Other associations include musicians, jewellers, wives, gonorrhoea, white, daffodils, apples, white roses, peaches, sparrows, swans, fountains, beds, copper, coral and Cyprus.[527]

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[518] William Lilly, *Christian Astrology* (Bel Air, MD: Astrology Center of America, 2004 [1647]), p.58.
[519] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, pp.59-60.
[520] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, pp.62-63.
[521] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, pp.63-64.
[522] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, p.66.
[523] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, pp.67-68.
[524] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, p.70.
[525] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, p.71-72.
[526] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, pp.73-74.
[527] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, pp.75-76.

Mercury's psychological associations include intelligence, learnedness, wit, curiosity, being a liar, boasting, and being a busybody.[528] Other associations include philosophers, astrologers, vertigo, coughs, walnut trees, foxes, weasels, parrots, markets, schools, quicksilver and boisterous weather.[529]

The Moon's psychological associations include tenderness, timidity, unsteadfastness, idleness and carelessness.[530] Other associations include queens, fishermen, palsy, white, cabbages, melons, poppies, frogs, otters, owls, fields, baths, silver and crystals.[531]

According to Lilly, the signs of the zodiac have a similar range of associations:

Aries is fiery, hot, dry, intemperate and violent and associated with headaches, baldness and hilly ground.[532]

Taurus is earthly, cold, dry, melancholy and associated with the throat and stables.[533]

Gemini is hot, sanguine, airy and associated with the hands and barns.[534]

Leo is fiery, hot, dry, commanding, barren and is associated with passions of the heart, desert places and chimneys.[535]

Virgo is earthly, cold, melancholy, barren and associated with studies, worms and bowel obstructions.[536]

Libra is airy, hot and sanguine, human and moveable and is associated with diseases of the kidneys, and ground near windmills.[537]

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[528] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, p.77.
[529] Lilly, Christian *Astrology*, pp.78-79.
[530] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, p.81.
[531] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, pp.81-82.
[532] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, p.93.
[533] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, p.94.
[534] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, p.94.
[535] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, p.95.
[536] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, p.96.
[537] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, p.96.

Scorpio is cold, watery, nocturnal and subtle, deceitful men and associated with bladder problems and orchards and vineyards.[538]

Sagittarius is fiery, hot, dry and associated with falls from horses and sporting accidents and stables.[539]

Capricorn is cold, dry, melancholy, domestic and is associated with problems with the knees, ox houses and dunghills.[540]

Aquarius is airy, hot and moist, sanguine, rational, human and associated with problems of the legs and hills and uneven places.[541]

Pisces is northern, phlegmatic, feminine, nocturnal, idle, effeminate and associated with lameness, colds and grounds full of water.[542]

Thus both planets and signs have some psychological qualities in pre-twentieth century astrology; the situation is different with the houses however, with Lilly having made the following associations:

1st house: physical characteristics of the person

2nd house: wealth, movable goods, friends or assistants

3rd house: siblings, cousins, neighbours, small journeys, messengers

4th house: fathers, land, houses, hidden treasures

5th house: children, taverns, plays

6th house: servants, small animals, sickness, tenants, shepherds

7th house: marriage, public enemies

8th house: inheritance, death, wills

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[538] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, p.97.
[539] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, pp.96-97.
[540] Lilly, Christian Astrology, p.98.
[541] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, pp.98-99.
[542] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, p.99.

9th house: long voyages, religion, books, learning

10th house: kings, authority, mothers, office, profession

11th house: friendship, hope, councils

12th house: private enemies, witches, large animals, sorrow, prison.[543]

The majority of these associations for the astrological houses are either particular places, people, animals, or things, rather than psychological qualities.

4.6 Twentieth century psychological astrology

The evidence suggests that there is much within pre twentieth century astrology that might be considered psychological. This raises the question of what is different about twentieth century psychological astrology. One suggested difference is the influence of Carl Jung in the English-speaking world which is stressed by many scholars and astrologers. For example, Munk argues that the depth psychology of Jung 'has been a formative influence in the growth of 20th century astrology' with his ideas of synchronicity and individuation (both explored in chapter five) being particularly important and Hanegraaff asserts that 'Jungian psychology has been adopted by the great majority of practising astrologers as their chief theoretical framework.'[544] Campion describes Jung as a 'seminal' influence, a point echoed by Kozlova and Radermacher.[545] Glenn Perry, an influential psychological astrologer from the 1990s onwards, argues that 'there was very little in astrology prior to the 1960s that bore much relationship to what we would generally consider "psychological" today.'[546] He further argues that Jung has played a major role in influencing the development of psychological astrology; Perry asserts that it was Jung 'who first recognized the vast

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[543] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, pp.50-56.
[544] Wouter Hanegraaff, *Esotericism and the Academy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p.294; Munk, 'Signs of the Times', pp.116-117.
[545]Campion, *History II*, p.251; Kozlova, 'Finding Meaning', p.9; Radermacher, 'Dialogue in Astrological Divination', p.14.
[546] Glenn Perry, 'The Birth of Psychological Astrology' http://www.aaperry.com (accessed: 15 November 2017).

potential of astrology as a tool for exploring the depths of the human psyche.'[547] The influence of Jung may thus be seen as the first key attribute of psychological astrology.

The influence of Jung is seen to have initially come through the work of Dane Rudhyar.[548] As Hammer asserts:

> Many practicing astrologers seem to have adopted a psychologizing approach to interpretation, created more or less single-handedly by Dane Rudhyar in the 1930s.[549]

Campion also identifies this shift, and further argues that there is a key change in approach between Alan Leo and Dane Rudhyar. Whilst Leo's astrology involved an attempt to move in a more psychological direction, he was writing before the development of depth psychology and his astrology therefore considered psyche as soul rather than a set of internal processes.[550] The former approach is seen as descriptive and the latter, with psyche as a set of processes, as dynamic. As discussed in chapters two and three, it was this dynamic approach to the psyche that underlay the work of the early pioneers in psychoanalysis, such as Jung. Whilst the influence of Jung is the first key characteristic of twentieth century psychological astrology, the dynamic approach to the psyche may be seen as the second. Psychological astrology, defined as one influenced by psychoanalysis, therefore has the potential to contain intrinsic psychologisation, given this is associated with psychoanalysis as a branch of psychology. This does leave another form of psychological astrology however, which is based on character description rather than dynamic processes. This latter type may evidence less psychologisation than the former.

A third key quality is that psychological astrology is a secular form of astrology. Curry for example argues that psychological astrology has been 'unevenly and inconsistently secularised.'[551] In similar vein, Radermacher suggests that whilst astrology has always

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[547] Perry, 'The Birth of Psychological Astrology'.
[548] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.83-85; Kozlova, *Inquiry*, p.33-34.
[549] Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge*, p.50.
[550] Campion, 'Prophecy', p.119.
[551] Curry, *Astrology*, *Science and Culture*, p.73.

had a non-rational element in previous times the non-rational source would have been externalised as a spirit, god or daemon but that in:

> Our current, more psychologised times, we would tend to internalise it, using more secular terms, including, for example, intuition, conscience, the unconscious, the higher self or innate wisdom.[552]

Darrelyn Gunzburg's paper on how astrologers read charts emphasises how astrologers create meaning with her conclusion being that the hidden factor involved is creativity rather than any supernatural element.[553] Bird asserts that schools of astrology like the Faculty of Astrological Studies which teach psychological astrology were 'founded upon a modern, rationalised astrological philosophy shorn of all vestiges of magical divination.'[554] A non-magical, secular astrology is claimed in the works of astrologers. For example, in 1960 astrologer Marc Edmund Jones wrote:

> Astrology's fundamental method requires no departure from the basic procedures of general psychology, and certainly it is not necessary to affirm that there is any magical penetration to hidden plans or purposes of a cosmic nature or of a divine intelligence of some sort… the *modus operandi* of the horoscope is still a well-established procedure that has had its principal validation and most consistent refinement through the commonly accepted scientific realizations of the present day.[555]

Similarly, Margaret Hone is keen to point out that astrology is 'NOT an innate ABILITY, such as clairvoyance or psychometry or telepathy.'[556]

A fourth key quality is a focus on character and meaning as opposed to both these and fate. Kozlova suggests that twentieth century astrologers have 'attempted to shift astrology from a conceptual framework of determinism, toward the perspective that astrology can be used as a map of evolving consciousness.'[557] A similar view is adopted by Kirstine Munk, who claims that modern astrology is different from older astrology

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[552] Radermacher, 'Dialogue in Astrological Divination', p.82.
[553] Darrelyn Gunzburg, 'How Do Astrologers Read Charts?' in *Astrologies* (Wales: Sophia Centre Press, 2011), pp. 198.
[554] Bird, 'Astrology in Education', p.189.
[555] Marc Edmund-Jones, *Essentials of Astrological Analysis* (Victoria, Canada: Trafford, 1960), p.9.
[556] Hone, *Modern Text Book*, p.16.
[557] Kozlova, 'Finding Meaning', p.33.

and that a psychologicalization has taken place in Western divination.[558] She asserts that Hellenistic astrology 'was primarily concerned with the character and fate of the individual', whereas her view of modern astrology is that it is more individualistic or psychological than this former type of astrology.[559] For her therefore a 'psychologicalization' is a move away from interpretation focused on both character and fate to one concentrating on psychology only:

> A psychologicalization has taken place in Western divination in recent times, and divination is today most often a conversation about the client's life situation, personality, and significant others.[560]

In recounting her own experience of learning astrology Bird claims that her tutor explained that in psychological astrology the horoscope is seen only as 'aspects of the native's personality' whilst a different perspective would see the planets in a chart manifest in the world, for example as other people.[561] Thus there is a common theme that suggests psychological astrology is concerned only with character and psychology rather than the wider remit of older forms of astrology.

Maggie Hyde contrasts what she calls traditional and psychological approaches to astrology although she does not give examples of what she means by traditional astrology. She suggests that:

> A key difference between traditional and psychological astrology is that the former remains rooted first and foremost in the person's action and conduct in the world and does not have to presuppose underlying motives, conscious or unconscious.[562]

For Hyde not presupposing underlying motives means that traditional astrology was not psychological in the same way twentieth-century astrology is. In summary, the literature to date has seen psychological astrology as influenced by Jung, as adopting a

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[558] Munk, 'Signs of the Times', p.79.
[559] Munk, 'Signs of the Times', p.85.
[560] Munk, 'Signs of the Times', p.78.
[561] Bird, 'Astrology in Education', p.200.
[562] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.113.

dynamic view of the psyche, as secular, and as focusing on character and meaning rather than the external world and events.

4.7 Consequences of psychological astrology

The four key attributes of psychological astrology, the influence of Jung, the dynamic approach to the psyche, its broadly secular nature and its focus on character and meaning rather than external events have been seen as having consequences.

Hyde suggests that psychological astrology may bring a problem of reductionism; for Hyde this means the danger of reducing social and political action to 'inner, psychological dilemmas' and 'unconscious motivations'.[563] This concern is similar to one identified by sociologists discussing psychologisation who emphasise a consequence as neglect of the outer world leading to a lack of social and political action.[564] For Hyde, psychological astrology neglects the outer world and promotes a reduced idea of the psyche as only belonging to one individual rather than also being found in the world:

> Psyche and world are not separate and one of the first essential steps in freeing ourselves from psychological reductionism is to free ourselves from the birthchart. The natal chart need not be the only horoscope through which we understand the psyche, nor even the most appropriate one. If we adopt the psychological understanding that projection is in play, psychic components will be found in the world and in events as much as 'in' the individual.[565]

Kozlova suggests that those participating in astrology 'employ it as a symbolic system that represents a more global framework of reference than their internal subjective perspective allows' and when accurate correlations between an astrological archetype and meaning occur this shifts the symbolic to literal, an 'aha' moment for the individual whose horoscope is being read.[566] She concludes that astrology provides psychological benefits for those involved with it; these come from an increase in self-knowledge:

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[563] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.113.
[564] Gordo and De Vos, 'Psychologism', p.5.
[565] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.114.
[566] Kozlova, 'Finding Meaning', p.127.

> Recognition of the most essential psychological qualities is a valued psychological process that contributes to self-identification and self-validation. Self-understanding eases inner tensions, promotes self-acceptance, and often encourages positive changes in behaviour.[567]

Munk argues that facilitating individual narrative about their life story is one of the main benefits of psychological astrology. She asserts that narrative helps to create and maintain the self by giving a sense of continuity of self through time and in relation to others; it also promotes a reflexive approach to the self and ability to evaluate oneself, with astrology being 'a popular tool in peoples' narrative constructions of self.'[568] She argues that 'astrology can be used as a flexible, multi-layered identity system which enables the storyteller to connect incidents with his own personality.'[569] A similar view is taken by Costello whose research focuses on astrology as a cultural material from which people construct strategies for navigating everyday life.[570] She found that astrologers use their craft to construct identity, structure action and maintain a worldview; in these ways astrology facilitates action.[571] For Costello, the information obtained from psychological astrology supports decision-making through improving reflection and self-awareness.

4.8 Psychological astrology and modernity

In relation to the cultural descriptions modernity, modernism and postmodernity, some scholars make a distinction between how psychological astrology is classified and how astrology should generally be classified. For philosophical reasons such scholars see astrology as properly belong to postmodernity. In Willis and Curry's analysis, for example, astrology requires an animated universe and an interested, benevolent divine presence, capable of dialogue with diviners.[572] This suggests a tension with the characteristics commonly associated with modernity, which is primarily associated with

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[567] Kozlova, 'Finding Meaning', p.128.
[568] Munk, 'Signs of the Times', p.259, p.268.
[569] Munk, 'Signs of the Times', p.282.
[570] Costello, 'Astrology in Action', p.ii.
[571] Costello, 'Astrology in Action', p.91.
[572] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.1.

the inanimate cosmos of modern science, and as such astrology is better classified within ideas of postmodernity. Brockbank draws out the problem of placing astrology (which to his mind can only work in a Responsive Cosmos) within the cosmology of modernity:

> For a cosmology to be compatible with the Responsive Cosmos it will have to allow for two things: first, for a non-human agency interested in the minutia of human lives; and second, that there are no rules or laws which the non-human agency must conform to…. In most cases the first requirement will mean that the cosmology must allow space for the spirit or for a living cosmos with a consciousness of its own. This would exclude any modern cosmology which seeks the universe in purely material terms.[573]

A similar view is taken by astrologer Robert Hand, who argues that:

> astrology makes no sense unless we postulate that life, mind and consciousness are central to the functioning of the Universe… astrology, and the metaphysics of science – also known as scientism – are indeed incompatible.[574]

This view sees astrology as better placed in the category of postmodernity, in which the limitations of science have been acknowledged. However, Hand talks about 'modern astrology' in which he includes psychological astrology, asserting that the 'tragic flaw' of modern astrology is 'its complete lack of a philosophical foundation rooted in any coherent philosophical of spiritual tradition of the world.'[575] Thus, in his view, psychological astrology is modern but somehow also not fully modern in that it does not conform to the worldview of modernity; Hand asserts it cannot stand as a science nor is it part of a recognised modern religion or spiritual tradition. The argument from Curry is similar; whilst astrology, due to its underlying divinatory nature, properly belongs to the category of postmodernity, psychological astrology is modern because it falls into what Curry calls 'the modernist trap' of having to either side with the material/objective or the spiritual/subjective; he claims psychological astrologers have opted for the spiritual/subjective half, albeit one that has been turned

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[573] Brockbank, 'Responsive Cosmos', p.92.
[574] Robert Hand, 'Towards a Post-Modern Astrology' www.astro.com/astrology/in_postmodern_e.htm, (accessed: 18th November 2013).
[575] Hand, 'Towards a Post-Modern Astrology'.

into something secular through planets as psychological functions rather than divinities and Jung's psychological types awkwardly equated with the classical elements of Earth, Air, Fire and Water.[576] Curry does not separate modernity from modernism, but rather contrasts what he sees as one 'modernist' category with postmodernity.

In contrast, Munk argues that psychological astrology fits into ideas of postmodernity; she argues that postmodern life entails a fragmentation of social life that means identities are continually changing, being constructed and reconstructed multiple times.[577] Psychological astrology contributes to this because horoscopes 'can play an important role in constructing coherent and meaningful individual biographies.'[578] For Munk, the multiplicity of ideas that a horoscope can stimulate make it applicable to a post or late modern world:

> Multi-interpretability and polyvalence in modern aesthetic experience reflect the world and invite the individual to become a co-creator of it.[579]

Some scholars adopt a wider conception of modernity within which psychological astrology may fall. In his ethnography of astrology in contemporary Brazil, Luis Vilhena examines the relationship between astrology and modernity, suggesting that the problem is of particular importance, given that those using astrology recognise that it does not fit with the principal criterion of truth in modern Western society – science.[580] He concludes however that modern astrology is neither anachronistic nor an activity that is deviant and marginal but is a system that expresses the tensions of modernity, it being very difficult to classify as clearly science or religion.[581] Vilhena thus adopts a view of modernity which is wide enough to incorporate practices which do not conform to the demands of modern science but which may still be considered a natural

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[576] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.74.
[577] Munk, 'Signs of the Times', p.146.
[578] Munk, 'Signs of the Times', p.148.
[579] Munk, 'Signs of the Times', p.246.
[580] Luis Vilhena, *The World of Astrology* (Ceredigion, Wales: Sophia Centre Press, 2014), p.66.
[581] Vilhena, *World of Astrology*, p.187.

part of the modern world, modernity itself being a complex notion which contains paradoxes.

More explicitly, Nicholas Campion has argued that twentieth-century astrology can be seen as a natural part of the modern world; it fits into the variety of practices which have been labelled 'New Age' and can be seen as a product of the tendency for modern Western societies to become increasingly secular.[582] As Campion argues, this is consistent with a view of modernity in which religion and spirituality diversify rather than decline outright.[583] Campion has further noted the links between modernism and esotericism, pointing for example to Wassily Kandinsky's theosophy and André Breton's practice of astrology.[584] Both of these are often classified as part of modernism. In particular, Campion questions the idea that modernism is materialist whilst esotericism belongs to postmodernity, given the artists' interest in spiritual and esoteric practices.

4.9 Psychological astrology and disenchantment

In this section I consider discussion to date on astrology and enchantment/disenchantment. Campion has argued that astronomy, a subject related to astrology, can be seen as fundamentally enchanting.[585] He argues that the idea of disenchantment as proposed by Weber does not necessarily obstruct an enchanted state of mind as science and technology also offer the possibility of enchantment; as an example he cites his own experience of being enchanted by astronomical phenomena seen through a telescope, the latter supposedly disenchanting as a product of modern science:

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[582] Campion, 'Prophecy', p.289.
[583] Campion, 'Prophecy', p.290.
[584] Nicholas Campion, 'Astrology's Place in Historical Periodisation' in *Astrologies* (Ceredigion: Sophia Centre Press, 2011), pp. 217-254, p.223.
[585] Nicholas Campion, 'Enchantment and the Awe of the Heavens' in *The Inspiration of Astronomical Phenomena VI ASP Conference Series*, Vol. in press, 2011, pp. 1-11.

> I was also enchanted by my first view of the rings of Saturn and the phases of Venus, sights visible only through a telescope.[586]

He questions the idea that science and technology are necessarily disenchanting citing astronomers who have found their own subject visionary and inspiring.[587] Munk views psychological astrology as enchanted; this is related to her view of astrology as postmodern and she argues that the way in which astrology answers the social and metaphysical homelessness of postmodernity is through providing an enchanted world.[588] As such it can be said to be enchanted.

In contrast, Curry does not regard all astrology as fundamentally enchanting and argues that the majority of psychological astrology is disenchanting. He claims that psychological astrology neglects the world by focusing on the inner realm of the psyche and reducing the outer world to projections of inner unconscious contents. For Curry this is indicative of a process of disenchantment.[589] He does however see the possibility for enchantment in some forms of psychological astrology, and particularly through the work of James Hillman.[590] James Hillman was a psychologist inspired by Jung who was deeply immersed in astrology.[591] In *Astrology, Science and Culture*, Curry argues:

> In a fascinating new development *within* psychological astrology, James Hillman has recently suggested applying the pluralism he has been developing within archetypal psychology since the 1980s. This involves a significant break with the monistic emphases of Jung… in such an astrology, each planetary deity would receive its due without any attempt – virtually a reflex, among astrologers no less than anyone else – to arrive at an overarching meta-principle which would magically accommodate all differences and reconcile all conflicts… this hare Hillman has started… thus has real potential for re-enchantment within, and probably beyond, psychological astrology.[592]

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[586] Campion, 'Enchantment and the Awe of the Heavens', p.7.
[587] Campion, 'Enchantment and the Awe of the Heavens', p.11.
[588] Munk, 'Signs of the Times', p.143.
[589] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.74.
[590] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.75.
[591] James Hillman, '"Heaven Retains Within Its Sphere Half of All Bodies and Maladies"' (1997), www.springpub.com/astro.htm (accessed 13 November 2013).
[592] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.75.

Curry juxtaposes Hillman's astrology with that of the mainstream of psychological astrologers who he implicitly equates with following the 'monistic' emphasis found in the work of psychologist Carl Jung. In his discussion surrounding this claim he identifies Jung's 'archetype of the Self' as relating to the astrological Sun.[593] This archetype of the Self is the core archetype underlying Jung's theory, and is Jung's name for the potential of each person to find total integration of the personality.[594] The process of attaining this integrated state Jung called individuation, which he defined as the gradual assimilation of unconscious contents into consciousness.[595] Curry's argument is that the mainstream of psychological astrology follows Jung in its overemphasis on individuation and the archetype of the Self. This overemphasis shows itself in astrological terms by the dominance of the astrological Sun and the development of the personality through the overarching principle of the Sun, whilst the other planets play a lesser role and are seen as less important. For Curry, psychological astrologers may thus be said to practice a 'monistic' form of astrology, which has implications for the disenchantment of psychological astrology.

Curry asserts that disenchantment is connected with monotheism, with universal truth, and with anything repeatable or predictable.[596] He also regards emphasis on integration and unity such as found in the process of individuation (translated astrologically as the Sun) as 'a tacit valuing of monotheism' and therefore disenchanting.[597] In contrast, his view of enchantment is of 'wonder' which 'cannot be repeatable or calculated'.[598] Enchantment, for Curry, is that which cannot be predicted, and which recognises pluralism and relativism. Curry's assertion is that Hillman's variety of astrology satisfies the characteristics of enchantment. This, according to Curry, is a 'significant break with the monistic emphases of Jung… and a move toward a

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[593] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.75.
[594] C. G. Jung, *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious,* Second Edition, trans. R.F.C. Hull (London: Routledge, 2008), p.357.
[595] Jung, *Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, p.275.
[596] Patrick Curry, 'Enchantment and Modernity' *PAN: Philosophy, Activism, Nature*, Issue no. 12, 2012, pp. 76- 89.
[597] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.75.
[598] Curry, 'Enchantment and Modernity', p.76-77.

genuine (and uncomfortably agonistic) pluralism.'[599] Curry sees in Hillman's astrology the possibility that 'each planetary deity would receive its due.'[600] In contrast, he asserts, mainstream psychological astrology overemphasises the astrological Sun and is consequently monistic. It also posits the 'birth-chart as a map of the psyche', with psychological dynamics represented by the planetary pattern at birth. It is thereby linked to 'science' in the broadest sense of the world i.e. empirical claims which are in theory testable and repeatable.[601] For these reasons, according to Curry, it may be labelled disenchanting.

4.10 Psychological astrology and legitimisation

One of the ideas arising from Hanegraaff's psychologisation thesis is that magical practices are psychologised so that they can survive the disenchantment characteristic of modern societies. They adopt psychology as a means of achieving legitimisation in societies that privilege science over other modes of knowledge or experience. Alison Bird makes a similar argument in relation to psychological astrology, asserting that twentieth century astrology has sought ways to legitimise itself. For Bird, natal astrology must either be divination or science, religious or secular. She identifies the secularisation of Western societies as having undermined the status of divination, leading to the presentation of astrology as secular, scientific knowledge.[602] According to Bird then, it is modernity itself, in particular its secular nature, which has contributed to the presentation of astrology than other to what it really is, i.e. as something secular, universal and objective as opposed to a method of divination. She suggests that major astrological schools of the twentieth century, such as the Faculty of Astrological Studies (FAS), were established on a modern, rationalised philosophy which deliberately omitted any divinatory elements.[603] Instead, they increasingly focused on psychological interpretation in an attempt to make the subject as scientific

[599] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.75.
[600] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.75.
[601] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.74.
[602] Bird, 'Astrology in Education', p.80.
[603] Bird, 'Astrology in Education', p.189.

and secular as possible. Bird argues that astrology's use of actual astronomical data and its ability to be performed without a person at hand (for example, a chart can be cast for a famous person if their birth details are known) has 'facilitated its twentieth century practitioners' promotion of the fact that they are actually doing something else other than divining.'[604] Bird claims this is to do with making astrology legitimate:

> Its practitioners concede personal agency and responsibility for their practice to its rational technique: claiming astrology is reliable knowledge allows them to distance themselves from notions of belief in 'magico-religious' divinatory practices which are less than respectable in modern terms.[605]

She continues:

> Astrology in its current guises has been well fitted to the requirements of members of today's technologically driven societies: for it invokes the archaic wisdom associated with pre-modern, magical and enchanted cosmologies; but it does so in a methodological structure which honours individual agency and avoids embarrassing modern and rational sensibilities with the palpable presence of unruly daemons and occult spirit guides.[606]

Bird's own ethnographic study of astrology in education gave her the experience of learning astrology but not being introduced to what she terms its 'magico-religious' nature:

> In sharp contrast to my experience of learning Tarot, no astrology tutor ever told me I needed to work on my intuition, empathy or psychic abilities: fellow students invoking such phenomena were invariably encouraged to concentrate on developing their technical knowledge of astrology…[607]

Costello asserts that 'astrologers feel that they are vilified by the mainstream scientific community, which happens to be the very community to which they feel they should legitimately belong.'[608] She identifies astrology as a devalued cultural practice, interest in which comes with stigma.[609] Costello recognises that there is a problem of legitimacy

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[604] Bird, 'Astrology in Education', p.95.
[605] Bird, 'Astrology in Education', p.107.
[606] Bird, 'Astrology in Education', p.138.
[607] Bird, 'Astrology in Education', p.145.
[608] Costello, 'Unsettled Lives', p.147.
[609] Costello, 'Unsettled Lives', p.130.

when it comes to astrology given it does not conform to the 'normative American stance of obligatory scientific rationality' and argues that:

> Astrologers and non-astrologers alike seem to agree that astrology is generally perceived as a less legitimate form of knowledge than either science or religion, the two paradigms against which it is most likely to be contrasted… this is party to do with the fact that astrology is a magical practice – that is, individual, furtive, and symbolic/metaphysical.[610]

A similar view is given by Garry Phillipson, who suggests that part of twentieth century astrologers' interest in the works of the psychologist Carl Jung was based on a desire to gain some respectability by associating astrology with a science.[611]

4.11 A framework for analysing the development of psychological astrology

Having explored psychologisation, modernity and astrology, the next four chapters will consider the development of psychological astrology with a view to addressing the question of whether the natal astrology of the twentieth century may be regarded as having been psychologised. Chapter five will consider the psychologist Carl Jung's psychological ideas, his own use of astrology and how his psychology might be considered to have adapted astrology; this will be key to understanding the development of psychological astrology through the two post-Jung key psychological astrologers, Dane Rudhyar (considered in chapter seven) and Liz Greene (considered in chapter eight).

Chapter six will examine the work of Alan Leo, who has been identified as an important moderniser and someone who provided foundations for psychological astrology to develop even though he was writing before much of Carl Jung's work was available in English. In chronological terms, Jung (recognising when his works were translated into English) comes after Alan Leo; however, discussing him prior to the three astrologers recognises that he is primarily a psychologist rather than an astrologer.

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[610] Costello, 'Unsettled Lives', p.187.
[611] Phillipson, *Astrology in the Year Zero*, p.94.

In order to assess the matter of psychologisation, the chapters, after introducing each psychologist or psychological astrologer, will consider the potential adaptation of astrology by each. The features of any adaptation in relation to psychologisation theory will be considered by examining the following areas:

1. The psychological nature of any adaptation of astrology
   Hanegraaff's theory of psychologisation rests on the idea of adaptation, that magic adapted and was psychologised so it could survive into the disenchanted modern world. Did each astrologer adapt astrology and if so what were the key psychological features of each astrologer's adaptation? Do these exhibit qualities of psychologisation such as Plaisance's four-fold typology? In the case of Jung, I will firstly consider his own use of astrology before considering how his psychology incorporated astrological concepts and how astrologers' received Jung's work. This will enable a consideration of the extent to which Jung's ideas contributed to an adaptation of astrology.
2. For Rudhyar and Greene, the nature and extent of Jung and any other psychoanalytic influence
   The first core characteristic of psychological astrology has been identified by existing scholars of astrology as the influence of Jung. Psychoanalysis has also been identified by sociologists as intrinsically psychologising in that it seeks to explain all human life and behaviour on the basis of underlying psychological motivations. To what extent did Rudhyar and Greene incorporate Jung's work and what does this mean for their astrology in terms of it having been psychologised?
3. The rationale upon which their adaptation rests
   Hanegraaff has argued that psychologised magic adopts the technical framework of earlier magic through theories such as correspondences but that modern magicians do not really believe in these as real properties of the world. Instead, modern magicians assert a magical plane that is accessed through the mind and which does not impinge upon the disenchanted modern world.

Recent scholars of astrology have argued that astrology is 'divinatory' in nature, juxtaposing 'divination' with one other broad category, 'science'. What rationale does each astrologer present for their astrology? What rationale underlies Jung's work, given his influence on Rudhyar and Greene?

4. The question of whether their psychology or astrology may be regarded as a form of psychological technique

   Psychologisation has been associated with reducing magical subjects to a form of psychological technique. Is this a reasonable assessment of the astrology of the three key psychological astrologers? Is their astrology just psychological technique? This question will also be considered in relation to Jung's psychology, given his influence on Rudhyar and Greene.

5. The question of legitimisation

   Hanegraaff has argued that the principal reason for psychologised magic is legitimisation and a similar argument specific to astrology has been made by Bird; that psychology supports a more acceptable face of magic in modernity. What was the reason each astrologer turned to psychology and how did they understand the relationship of astrology to psychology? Was their embrace of psychology connected with the idea of legitimisation? Jung's work will also be examined in relation to this question, given his influence on the later astrologers.

6. If there was adaptation, was the adapted astrology disenchanted?

   Curry has argued that psychological astrology is disenchanted, focusing too much on Jung's individuation and archetype of the self, and being predictable and repeatable. Disenchantment has also been associated with psychologisation. Are the characteristics of disenchantment present in psychological astrology and can the natal astrology of the twentieth century be classified as disenchanted?

7. If there was adaptation, how did the adapted astrology relate to modernity?

> Subjects such as astrology have been thought, often by outsiders in particular, to be problematic in modernity and the means of their survival questioned. Does psychological astrology cohere with the characteristics of modernity identified in chapter three and can it be classified as one of the cultural descriptions known as modernity, modernism or postmodernity?

Throughout the analysis, I will consider whether wider ideas of psychologisation apply, such as Plaisance's four-fold typology of the psychologisation of the esoteric.

4.12 Chapter conclusion

Astrology, including natal astrology, has a long history of over two thousand years. It is difficult to define tightly, having been associated with a correspondence between heaven and earth, prediction, self-knowledge, a language of symbols and a way of establishing meaning. These various uses are encompassed by a broad definition from Campion, 'the practical implementation of cosmological ideas in order to understand the past, manage the present, and forecast the future, in a range of cultures, past and present.'[612]

Natal astrology is the judgement of a horoscope for an individual set for the date, time and place of that individual's birth, and relies heavily on the idea that there is a resemblance between the microcosm and the macrocosm. It is often classified as a judicial form, although natural and judicial forms of astrology are not mutually exclusive, meaning that natal astrology potentially conforms to some of the ideas underlying Phillipson's division of astrology into astrology-as-science and astrology-as-divination. The principal criterion for the former is that astrological interpretation can be made without the need for an astrologer (e.g. by a computer program) whereas the latter requires an astrologer and something 'more-than-human'. Not all scholars or astrologers would however understand this meaning of 'divination' and some label

[612] Campion, *Astrology and Cosmology*, p.1.

psychological astrology as divination without postulating something more than human is required to render it a meaningful practice.

Astrology has a long association with psychology in the broadest sense of the term. Classical astrology was practised in societies with cosmologies that were ensouled and natal astrology has always had a concern with character or temperament of the individual in addition to addressing other matters. Astrology's relationship with soul or psyche (which are what psychology aims to study) was complicated by Christian theologians such as Thomas Aquinas, who aimed to show that the rational soul was free and subject only to God rather than to heavenly influence. This helped to reinforce the idea of two strands of astrology, one that focuses on natural influence (including the human body) and one that is soulful and allows for freewill. Both forms may be found in the Renaissance with Ficino being a good example of someone who practised a psychological form. He encouraged individuals to imitate the heavens and work with the planets, using herbs and talismans.

Despite astrology's long-standing relationship with psyche and psychology, the psychological astrology of the twentieth century is seen to have some additional characteristics which may suggest it has been psychologised. These are i) a change due to the incorporation of the ideas of Jung ii) a dynamic approach to the psyche which stems from psychoanalytic ideas (which is thus linked to i) iii) a secular nature and iv) focusing only on character and meaning as opposed to additional concern with fate and outer life events.

The relationship of psychological astrology to modernity is a complex issue. Those who view astrology as divination in the sense that an animate cosmos is required, place psychological astrology in the category of postmodernity, which they see as offering the possibility for enchantment. Others such as Kozlova view psychological astrology as part of postmodernity for a different reason, because it enchants through its potential for an individual to discuss multiple stories and facets of personality in its symbols. Some have argued, notably Bird, that psychological astrology developed in a scientific

and secular form to conform with modernity, i.e. to be legitimate. This is in line with Hanegraaff's thesis that magical subjects have become psychologised as a strategy for survival in a disenchanted world. Curry has argued that psychological astrology is generally disenchanted due to its monistic emphasis on the astrological Sun and its adoption of Jungian theories which allows the planets to be secular but that a more enchanted, postmodern form may be found in the work of psychologist James Hillman. However, others like Vilhena and Campion, argue that astrology belongs in the modern world if a sufficiently wide definition of modernity is used i.e. one that recognises modernity as a period of diversifying views on religion and spirituality.

In order to analyse the development of psychological astrology the following chapters will consider the work of the psychologist Carl Jung, and then the astrologers Alan Leo, Dane Rudhyar, and Liz Greene. These will consider their adaptation of either psychology or astrology and the extent of any psychoanalytic influence (for Rudhyar and Greene); the rationale underlying their work and whether their work can be considered to have been reduced to a form of psychological technique. They will then consider the question of legitimisation, asking, in the case of the astrologers, why each has embraced psychology, how they view astrology in relation to psychology and whether psychology has been adopted to make astrology more legitimate. The question of whether the protagonists' work is disenchanted will then be considered before discussing the relationship of their work to ideas about modernity. Throughout the analysis, features of psychologisation will be identified, such as whether Plaisance's four-fold typology of the psychologisation of the esoteric is present.

Chapter 5: Carl Gustav Jung and psychologisation

5.1 Introduction

This thesis considers whether natal astrology was psychologised in the twentieth century. This requires examination of the key psychological astrologers of the twentieth century and whether their adaptations of astrology constitute a psychologisation. It also requires a consideration of the work of psychologist Carl Jung, whose work is considered, along with Leo, Rudhyar and Greene, a key influence on psychological astrology. For natal astrology to have been psychologised, it will have been adapted so as to become more psychological, with its emphasis on psychological technique rather than meaningful statements about the world. It will have adopted psychology for the purposes of legitimisation in a disenchanted world; as such it will have become a disenchanted form of astrology.

Jung, as one of the founders of psychoanalysis, played a major role in the development of psychotherapy, the precursor to what has been called 'therapy culture'.[613] Furedi describes the culture of therapeutics as a 'serious cultural force' which has arisen in tandem with modernity but has gained influence in Western, capitalistic societies, through 'officials, policy-makers and business managers.'[614] Jung's psychology has been cited as an example of psychologisation, with Hanegraaff arguing he 'psychologized esotericism' whilst he also 'sacralized psychology, filling it with the contents of esoteric speculation.'[615] Rieff claims that Jung's theory of archetypes offered 'a pantheon of psychologized god-terms, from which men could choose their spiritual medicine.'[616] This argument is that Jung has overlaid older religious and esoteric concepts with psychological language, draping them in the cloak of science. According to Hammer, it is only natural that in a psychologising age a form of psychology has been incorporated into esoteric practice. Jung's psychology in particular has been attractive, 'the Jungian

[613] Frank Furedi, *Therapy Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004), p.21.
[614] Furedi, *Therapy Culture*, p.17.
[615] Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion*, p.513.
[616] Rieff, *Triumph of the Therapeutic*, p.77.

concept of a collective unconscious as the seat of the archetypes has become a mainstay of the New Age worldview.'[617] Hammer argues that Jung may be regarded as an esotericist and as someone who 'adopted esoteric motifs to the requirements of a psychologizing and scientific epoch.'[618] As Hammer points out however, there is a difference between Jung's own work and its influence on later practitioners of astrology and related fields – Hammer claims that what will be found is the 'highly selective reception of Jung's vast opus.'[619]

The work of astrologer Alan Leo will be discussed in chapter six. This is often classified as different to later psychological astrology, given it had not been substantially influenced by the work of Carl Jung. This influence came through significantly in the work of Dane Rudhyar, who declared in his first astrology book:

> We are above all stressing values and using a terminology which are found in C.G. Jung's works, because we are deeply convinced of their inherent validity, and also because they dovetail so remarkably with the general set-up of astrological symbolism.[620]

Campion identifies Jung as the 'seminal' figure in the development of twentieth century astrological thought whilst Curry argues that Jung is the most important yet indirect influence on the formation of psychological astrology.[621] Campion argues that Jungian language has had a significant impact:

> Equipped with this new lexicon, the astrologer is able to analyse and discuss the client's psychological complexes, desires and needs in a way that contrasts with all previous astrology, no matter how deeply it was concerned with the psyche, which could only describe emotional and intellectual tendencies.[622]

Hyde identifies two major streams in astrology stemming from Jung, one in the style of Dane Rudhyar and one in the style of Liz Greene, the latter being a more ambitious

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[617] Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge*, p.55.
[618] Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge*, p.68.
[619] Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge*, p.69.
[620] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.81.
[621] Campion, *History II*, p.251; Curry and Willis, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.73.
[622] Campion, *History II*, p.254.

attempt to incorporate Jung's ideas into astrology.[623] The work of these two astrologers will be considered in chapters seven and eight respectively.

The chapter will consider Jung's psychological ideas and their relationship to the psychologisation of astrology. It begins by introducing Jung and describing the key components of his psychology. His possible adaptation of astrology will be considered next; this will involve considering Jung's own interest in astrology before assessing how his key ideas relate to astrological concepts and to what extent his work can be considered to have adapted astrological ideas. I then proceed to discuss Jung's reception by astrologers before examining the underlying rationale for his work. I will then consider whether Jung's work may be considered to be only about psychological techniques. The relationship of Jung's work to legitimisation will be considered next before discussing to what extent Jung's work may be considered disenchanted. I will then discuss how Jung's work relates to modernity. Throughout I will consider how Jung's work relates to psychologisation theory. Finally, in the chapter conclusion I assess Jung's contribution to the psychologisation of astrology in the twentieth century.

5.2 Carl Gustav Jung

Carl Gustav Jung was born on 26 July 1875 in Kesswil, Switzerland to a clergyman father and a mother from a well-established Basel family.[624] In 1895 he began medical school and soon became interested in matters of the mind, and particularly in the mediumistic capability of his cousin Helene Preiswerk, making the decision to become a psychiatrist in 1900.[625] His university thesis, "On the Psychology and Pathology of So-Called Occult Phenomena", was published in 1902.[626] Jung worked at a psychiatric clinic in the early years of the twentieth century and began corresponding with Freud in 1906, first meeting him in 1907 and establishing a strong friendship that lasted until 1913 when

[623] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, pp.83-85.
[624] 'Preface', *The Cambridge Companion to Jung, eds. Polly Young Eisendrath and Terence Dawson* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.xxiii.
[625] 'Preface', *Cambridge Companion to Jung*, pp.xxiii – xxiv.
[626] 'Preface', *Cambridge Companion to Jung*, p.xxiv.

the divergence between their two perspectives proved too much to reconcile.[627] In particular, Jung had argued that fantasies of incest may have a symbolic rather than a literal meaning and that unconscious images can be meaningful and not always have an exclusively sexual content.[628] From this point Jung continued to develop his own version of psychoanalysis which was called 'Analytical psychology'.[629]

Although Jung often stressed his empiricism and that his ideas were derived from clinical experience, he also had a great interest in and familiarity with classical and esoteric ideas and it is clear his work may derive from both sources, particularly in the light of the publication of his *Red Book* (further discussed below). In his autobiography Jung clearly distinguishes between his two inner selves, which he labels as personality number one and personality number two.[630] As Claire Douglas writes, the first personality fits with the 'rational and enlightened' side of Jung whilst the second is of a much broader and more religious personality with great interest 'in the psyche's heights and depths.'[631] Douglas argues that it is this combination, along with Jung's 'romantic genius', that allowed him to understand that human beings can be at the same time, 'western, modern, secular, civilized and sane – but also primitive, archaic, mythical and mad.'[632] Douglas asserts that Jung's work is partly grounded in empirical work, and partly from his great interest in the occult and paranormal experiences. This was not unusual however, since many of those originally interested in depth psychology were also involved in parapsychological investigation.[633] For Douglas, Jung's work can be seen as having a grounding in empirical science but also valuing a heritage beyond that of the rational scientists of the modern age, and instead recognising the

[627] 'Preface', *Cambridge Companion to Jung*, p.xxvii.
[628] 'Preface', *Cambridge Companion to Jung*, p.xxvii.
[629] 'Preface', *Cambridge Companion to Jung*, p.xxviii.
[630] Carl Gustav Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (London: HarperCollins, 1995), p.50.
[631] Claire Douglas, 'The historical context of analytical psychology', in *The Cambridge Companion to Jung* eds. Polly Young-Eisendrath and Terence Dawson, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, p.20).
[632] Douglas, 'The historical context', p.23; original quote by Hillman and Roscher, 1972.
[633] Douglas, 'The historical context', p.29.

shamanic, religious and mystical tendencies within human beings, and attempting to synthesise these with modern knowledge of the mind.[634]

Understanding Jung's work has been complicated by the relatively recent (2009) full publication of his *Red Book*, a manuscript which arose from his intense experience of his inner processes and attempt to translate these experiences into images. This has added to an understanding of how Jung's ideas were developed. In constructing the *Red Book* Jung first used black notebooks to record his fantasies before revising the text and copying them in calligraphic script into a red leather book, supplemented with his own drawings.[635] The *Red Book* or *Liber Novus,* was not in a similar style to previous work thereby showing a new side to Jung.[636] As Liz Greene (writing as a scholar rather than astrologer) argues however, 'it is clear that this very personal 'diary' of Jung's journey into his troubled inner world provided most if not all of the raw material for the ideas which he later developed into his 'analytical psychology'.'[637] She suggests that the narrative in the *Red Book* is of Jung's journey from spiritual alienation to the restoration of his soul, the healing of the conflict between reason and vision, outer and inner worlds, subjectivity and objectivity, and between scientist and mystic.[638] As Christine Malliard explains, the central figure of the *Red book* is Philemon, a wise old man, who teaches a symbolic form of knowledge.[639] She argues that Jung's work is pervaded by the traditions of European esotericism, and that 'he strived to understand

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[634] Douglas, 'The historical context', p.34.
[635] Ulrich Hoerni, 'The Genesis of the Red Book' in *The Red Book – Reflections on C.G. Jung's Liber Novus*, eds. Thomas Kirsch and George Hogenson (Hove, East Sussex: Routledge, 2014), p.5.
[636] Paul Bishop, Jung and the Quest for Beauty: The Red Book in relation to German Classicism' in *The Red Book – Reflections on C.G. Jung's Liber Novus*, edited by Thomas Kirsch and George Hogenson (Hove, East Sussex: Routledge, 2014), p.11.
[637] Liz Greene 'Receiving the 'Messengers': The Astrology of Jung's Liber Novus' in *Sky and Symbol* eds. Nicholas Campion and Liz Greene (Ceredigion, Wales: Sophia Centre Press, 2013), pp.257-199, p.257.
[638] Greene, 'Receiving the Messengers', p.258.
[639] Christine Maillard, 'Jung's Seven Sermons to the Dead (1916) in *The Red Book – Reflections on C.G. Jung's Liber Novus*, edited by Thomas Kirsch and George Hogenson (Hove, East Sussex: Routledge, 2014), p.87.

phenomena that rationality alone did not allow him to comprehend, from alchemy to astrology or paranormal phenomena.'[640]

The idea that most of Jung's psychological ideas actually arose from this period of intense inner reflection was advanced by Henri Ellenberger in 1970; Ellenberger traces many of Jung's most important concepts to what he terms this period of 'creative illness'.[641] Emerging from his own exploration of the unconscious, Jung felt that his personality had been helped and directed towards a goal; this notion of growing through integrating parts of the unconscious into consciousness eventually became his concept of individuation.[642] Ellenberger argues that this period of experimentation was the source not only of individuation but also of several of his other key ideas.[643] Such an assertion is backed up by Jung's own account. His period of intense inner reflection is described in his semi auto-biographical *Memories, Dreams and Reflections* in the chapter entitled 'Confrontation with the Unconscious', a period which started during 1912.[644] Through his pursuit of inner images, Jung came to believe that there are elements in the psyche which are not created by the individual human being:

> Philemon and other figures of my fantasies brought home to me the crucial insight that there are things in the psyche which I do not produce, but which produce themselves and have their own life.[645]

The period of delving into the unconscious was formative for Jung's later work; as he described late on in his life:

> All my works, all my creative activity, has come from those initial fantasies and dreams which began in 1912, almost fifty years ago.[646]

Jung's psychology can be seen as having a strong relationship with his own inner reflection and exploration of his own unconscious.

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[640] Maillard, 'Jung's Seven Sermons', p.87.
[641] Ellenberger, *Discovery of the Unconscious*, p.673.
[642] Ellenberger, *Discovery of the Unconscious*, p.672.
[643] Ellenberger, *Discovery of the Unconscious*, p.699.
[644] Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, pp.194-225.
[645] Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p.207.
[646] Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p.217.

5.3 Jung's model of the psyche

To ascertain Jung's contribution to the psychologisation of astrology it is necessary to understand his model of the psyche. Jung argued that the psyche:

> Is a thing of such infinite complexity that it can be observed and studied from a great many sides.[647]

Jung's basic division of the psyche was into two parts, conscious and unconscious. It is this difference between what human beings are conscious of and what remains unconscious that causes the tension required to stimulate what Jung called 'individuation', which he described as 'a process or course of development arising out of the conflict between the two fundamental psychic facts'; these facts being the conscious and unconscious parts of the psyche.[648] For Jung the unconscious was not however only opposed to the conscious activity of the psyche, its seeming opposition in fact belies a deeper purpose and teleology:

> The collaboration of the unconscious is intelligent and purposive, and even when it acts in opposition to consciousness its expression is still compensatory in an intelligent way, as if it were trying to restore the lost balance.[649]

According to Jung, the unconscious psyche contains archetypes which he defined as 'universal images that have existed since the remotest times.'[650] The manifestation of archetypes however varies considerably, although each representation has a basic outline or essence in common. Jung identified certain archetypes as being particularly prevalent in the human psyche. For example, he names as Anima and Animus the hidden feminine personality present in every man (Anima) and hidden masculine personality present in every woman (Animus).[651] Archetypes have a transcendent

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[647] Carl Gustav Jung, *The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche,* trans. R. F. C. Hull, 2nd Edition (Hove: Routledge, 1960), p.139.
[648] Carl Gustav Jung, *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, trans. R.F.C. Hull, 2nd Edition (London: Routledge, 1990), p.288.
[649] Jung, *Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, p.282.
[650] Jung, *Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, p.5.
[651] Jung, *Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, p.284.

quality; Jung wrote that, 'the archetype is psychoid, i.e., transcendental and thus relatively beyond the categories of number, space, and time.'[652] He elaborated:

> Archetypes are forms of different aspects expressing the creative psychic background. They are and always have been numinous and therefore "divine." In a very generalizing way we can therefore define them as attributes of the creator. That would explain the compelling character of such inner perceptions. The pictures themselves would have the significance of ikons.[653]

Campion argues that Jung 'looked to Plato for his theory of archetypes.'[654] Similarly, Samuels identifies Plato as an antecedent; Plato had postulated Ideas in the mind of God from which all subsequent matter and ideas derive.[655] Samuels notes that Jung's later formulations about archetypes were similarly transcendent, that is, contained an element beyond space and time.[656]

Jung asserted that the archetypes reside in the unconscious, which he defines thus:

> A more or less superficial layer of the unconscious is undoubtedly personal. I call it the *personal unconscious*. But this personal unconscious rests upon a deeper layer, which does not derive from personal experience and is not a personal acquisition but is inborn. This deeper layer I call the collective unconscious. I have chosen the term "collective" because this part of the unconscious is not individual but universal; in contrast to the personal psyche, it has contents and modes of behaviour that are more or less the same everywhere and in all individuals. It is, in other words, identical in all men and thus constitutes a common psychic substrate of a suprapersonal nature which is present in every one of us.[657]

Jung's concept of the unconscious had two key components. The personal unconscious, fairly superficial in nature, is the part that stems from personal experiences. But this rests on a much deeper layer, a collective unconscious, which has contents shared by all human beings. In this sense, Jung's psychology is not purely personal but contains a collective dimension.

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[652] Carl Gustav Jung, *Letters Volume 2 1951-1961* ed. Gerhard Adler, trans. R.F.C. Hull (Hove: Routledge, 1976), p.318.
[653] Jung, *Letters 2*, p.606.
[654] Campion, *History II*, p.253.
[655] Samuels, *Jung and the Post-Jungians*, p.23.
[656] Samuels, *Jung and the Post-Jungians*, p.23.
[657] Jung, *Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, pp.3-4.

Jung's prioritisation of the inner was taken to a new level through the language of his psychology, and particularly the idea of 'individuation' which lies at the heart of his psychological model:

> Only after I had familiarised myself with alchemy did I realise that the unconscious is a process, and that the psyche is transformed or developed by the relationship of the ego to the contents of the unconscious. In individual cases that transformation can be read from dreams and fantasies. In collective life it has left its deposit principally in the various religious systems and their changing symbols. Through the study of these collective transformation processes and through understanding of alchemical symbolism I arrived at the central concept of my psychology: *the process of individuation.*[658]

For Jung, Individuation is akin to fulfilling one's own uniqueness:

> Individuation means becoming an "ind-dividual," and, in so far as "individuality" embraces our innermost, last, and incomparable uniqueness, it also implies becoming one's own self. We could therefore translate individuation as "coming to selfhood" or "self-realization."[659]

The new centre of the personality created by the individuation process is what Jung calls the 'self'. This he describes as follows:

> The self is not only the centre, but also the whole circumference which embraces both conscious and unconscious; it is the centre of this totality, just as the ego is the centre of consciousness.[660]

Andrew Samuels argues that Jung's concept of the self can be understood in relation to the terms, 'unity, order, organisation, wholeness, balance, integration, totality, regulation, pattern, centrality and synthesis.'[661] Samuels suggests that central to the quest for the self is meaning and purpose in life and that the Self is different from the psychoanalytic concept of personal identity, which would be a concept related to the ego.[662]

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[658] Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p.235.
[659] Carl Gustav Jung, *Two Essays on Analytical Psychology*, trans. R.F.C Hull (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p.173.
[660] Carl Gustav Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, 2nd Edition, trans. R.F.C Hull (London: Routledge, 1968), p.41.
[661] Samuels, *Jung and the post-Jungians*, p.89.
[662] Samuels, *Jung and the post-Jungians*, p.91.

The path to achieving individuation may be aided by both active imagination and the use of mandalas. These processes are important as they demonstrate Jung's view that achieving individuation was interwoven with what might be termed irrational or magical ideas. To firstly consider active imagination, this for Jung is something different to fantasy and is a conscious effort to work with images that arise. He explained that, whereas fantasy is an invention of the mind, active imagination 'means that the images have a life of their own and that the symbolic events develop according to their own logic.'[663] The importance of active imagination to the overall analytic process is stressed by Jung in 1947 when he wrote in a letter to a colleague:

> I'm somewhat astonished that you haven't learned yet to apply what I call "active imagination," as this is the indispensable second part of any analysis that is really meant to go to the roots.[664]

Hart argues that Jung borrowed the idea of a mandala to denote a symbol of the inherent opposites within each human psyche; this was a circle that could contain all parts of psychic life and reconciling the opposites in general was a major theme of Jung's work.[665] Jung stressed that these mandalas are very important to the process of individuation:

> When I began drawing the mandalas, however, I saw that everything, all the paths I had been following, all the steps I had taken, were leading back to a single point – namely, to the mid-point. It became increasingly plain to me that the mandala is the centre. It is the exponent of all paths. It is the path to the centre, to individuation.
>
> During those years, between 1918 and 1920, I began to understand that the goal of psychic development is the self. There is no linear evolution; there is only a circumambulation of the self. Uniform development exists, at most, only at the beginning; later, everything points towards the centre.[666]

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[663] Carl Gustav Jung, *The Symbolic Life*, trans. R.F.C Hull (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), p.530.
[664] Carl Gustav Jung, *Letters Volume 1 1906-1950* ed. Gerhard Adler, trans. R.F.C. Hull (London: Routledge, 1973), p.459.
[665] David L. Hart, 'The Classical Jungian School' in *The Cambridge Companion to Jung* eds. Polly Young-Eisendrath and Terence Dawson, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p.101.
[666] Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, p.222.

Jung concerned himself with the problem of psychological types out of a belief that an objective psychology could only be achieved if individuals were aware of their own propensity to see things a certain way due to the lens of their individual predisposition i.e. their own typology.[667] Jung developed a psychological language to describe the basic nature of individuals. He asserted that each individual contained a mixture of both introversion and extraversion, the former being someone who values inner subjective experience above the outer world and the latter vice-versa; within these two broad orientations, he suggested a further division into four functions:

> I have found from experience that the basic psychological functions, that is, functions which are genuinely as well as essentially different from other functions, prove to be thinking, feeling, sensation, and intuition. If one of these functions habitually predominates, a corresponding type results… *Each of these types may moreover be either introverted or extraverted*, depending on its relation to the object we have described above.[668]

In 1923 Jung offered a clearer account of his four functions: those 'who restrict themselves to the simple perception of concrete reality, without thinking about it or taking feeling values into account' are sensation types; those who are 'exclusively oriented by what they think' are thinking types; those who are guided 'entirely by feeling' are feeling types and those who 'surrender themselves wholly to the lure of possibilities' are intuitive types.[669]

Jung recognised that in his conception of the unconscious he was really talking about the ability to experience the world as so-called 'primitive' man did, 'The country [the primitive] inhabits is at the same time the topography of his unconscious.'[670] He claimed that primitive man was not psychological, as:

> Psychic happenings take place outside him in an objective way. Even the things he dreams about are real to him; that is his only reason for paying attention to dreams.[671]

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[667] Carl Gustav Jung, *Psychological types*, trans. H.G. Baynes (London: Routledge, 1991), p.9.
[668] Jung, *Psychological types*, p.6.
[669] Jung, *Psychological types*, p.518-519.
[670] Jung, *Civilisation in Transition*, trans. R.F.C. Hull (London: Routledge, 1964), p.26.
[671] Jung, *Civilisation in Transition*, p.63.

In contrast, Jung's psychology is inner, in the sense that the external world is deemed separate, at least on the surface, to what is occurring internally.

Jung was influenced by Lucien Levy Bruhl's ideas on participation mystique:

> primitive man does not see anything mystical in these matters, but considers them perfectly natural. It is only we who find them so strange, because we appear to know nothing about the phenomenon of psychic dissociation.[672]

Jung developed Levy Bruhl's idea of a mystical mentality different from modern logical, rational thought into the 'fantasy thinking' component of his two kinds of thinking. The first of these he labelled 'directed thinking' which could also be called reality or logical thinking.[673] For Jung, directed thinking has developed significantly in the modern world and stands behind the developments in science and technology seen in the modern period.[674] Jung argued:

> History shows that directed thinking was not always as developed as it is today. The clearest expression of modern directed thinking is science and the techniques fostered by it. Both owe their existence simply and solely to energetic training in directed thinking.[675]

The other kind of thinking, according to Jung, is akin to dreaming or fantasy thinking; this sort of thinking is guided by 'unconscious motives'.[676] This type of thinking is linked to symbolic expression and mythology. Jung argued:

> Whereas directed thinking is an altogether conscious phenomenon, the same cannot be said of fantasy-thinking. Much of it belongs to the conscious sphere, but at least as much goes on in the half-shadow, or entirely in the unconscious, and can therefore be inferred only indirectly.[677]

According to Main, Jung's life-long interest in the paranormal culminated in the theory of synchronicity, 'the view that the structure of reality includes a principle of acausal

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[672] Jung, *Civilisation in Transition*, p.64.
[673] Carl Gustav Jung, *Symbols of Transformation* 2nd Edition, trans. R.F.C. Hull (London: Routledge, 1967), p.11.
[674] Jung, *Symbols of Transformation*, p.16.
[675] Jung, *Symbols of Transformation*, p.19.
[676] Jung, *Symbols of Transformation*, p.18.
[677] Jung, *Symbols of Transformation*, p.29.

connection which manifests itself most conspicuously in the form of meaningful coincidences.'[678]

5.4 Jung and the adaptation of astrology

In order to assess whether astrology was psychologised in the twentieth century it is necessary to assess Jung's contribution to the adaptation of astrology along psychological lines. This will be done by considering how his psychological ideas, which have already been discussed above, relate to astrological ideas, with a view to assessing to what extent Jung's ideas can be said to have changed astrology. Prior to considering the relationship of Jung's concepts to astrology, and how they relate to the theory of psychologisation, I first consider Jung's wider relationship to astrology.

5.4.1 Jung and astrology

Jung was deeply interested in astrology and its use for psychology and this is evidenced throughout his work and letters. Astrology may also have been important to Jung's own psychological development. Greene for example argues that Jung 'worked with ritual invocations of the planetary archetypes he identified in his own horoscope'.[679]

One of Jung's earliest references to astrology is contained in his 12 June 1911 letter to Sigmund Freud:

> My evenings are taken up very largely with astrology. I make horoscopic calculations in order to find a clue to the core of psychological truth… I dare say that we shall one day discover in astrology a good deal of knowledge that has been intuitively projected into the heavens. For instance, it appears that the signs of the zodiac are character pictures, in other words libido symbols which depict the typical qualities of the libido at a given moment.[680]

In 1954 Jung wrote to the French astrologer Andre Barbault, with answers to questions that had been posed to him about astrology. In this letter Jung noted that he had found 'many instances of striking analogies between astrological constellations and

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[678] Roderick Main, 'Introduction' in Carl Gustav Jung, *Jung on Synchronicity and the Paranormal* (London: Routledge, 2008), p.1.
[679] Liz Greene, *Jung's Studies in Astrology* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2018), p.185.
[680] Jung, *Letters 1*, p.24.

psychological events' and that it was 'even possible to predict to a certain extent the psychic effect of a transit.'[681] Jung found astrology efficacious in a psychological sense, in that he had found planetary movements (known as transits) to the radix positions within horoscopes to be meaningful as regards movements in the psyche. Jung became interested in the idea that 'astrological symbolism could reveal key developments in western religion from the birth of Christ up to the present era.'[682] This led to an extensive exploration of the symbolism of the zodiac sign Pisces which Jung identified as ruling the period of history covering the birth of Christ and the rise of Christianity. In *Aion*, Jung wrote:

> The course of our religious history as well as an essential part of our psychic development could have been predicted, both as regards time and content, from the precession of the equinoxes through the constellation of Pisces.[683]

Jung oscillated between three different views on how astrology worked, sometimes claiming it was projected psychology, sometimes suggesting it might have a causal mechanism and at other times that it was 'mantic' or acausal in operation. Discussing his theory of astrology as projected psychology in a letter to B. V. Raman in 1947 he stated:

> As I am a psychologist I'm chiefly interested in the particular light the horoscope sheds on certain complications in the character. In cases of difficult psychological diagnosis I usually get a horoscope in order to have a further point of view from an entirely different angle… I have formed the opinion that astrology is of particular interest to the psychologists, since it contains a sort of psychological experience which we call "projected" – this means that we find the psychological facts as it were in the constellations.[684]

The fact that Jung saw horoscopes as giving different points of view from a conventional psychological diagnosis indicate the present of Plaisance's category of complementary psychologisation.[685] This is the idea that the esoteric and the

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[681] Jung, *Letters 2*, p.175.
[682] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.13.
[683] Carl Gustav Jung, *Aion, Second Edition*, trans. R.F.C Hull (London: Routledge, 1981), p.95.
[684] Jung, *Letters 1*, pp.475-6.
[685] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.17.

psychological work as complementary systems. In this case, astrology is the esoteric system which complements the psychological analysis.

The theory of astrology as projection meant that astrology might be in essence an old form of psychology and that the examination of astrological ideas could thus reveal what can be termed older conceptions of psychology. Jung advanced the view that astrology was the projected psychology of what he termed primitive peoples; he thought it was the work of objective science to remove such projections and return them to the psyche of each individual and the collective.[686] Jung's view of astrology as projected psychology meant that fundamentally astrology was concerned with psychological facts; writing to L. Oswald in December 1928 he argued:

> You are quite right in supposing that I reckon astrology among those movements which, like theosophy, etc., seek to assuage an irrational thirst for knowledge but actually lead it into a sidetrack… Astrology is not mere superstition but contains some psychological facts (like theosophy) which are of considerable importance. Astrology has actually nothing to do with the stars but is the 5000-year-old psychology of antiquity and the Middle Ages…. in all these dubious fields there is at least something that is worth knowing and that our present-day rationalism has cast aside rather too hastily. This something is projected psychology.[687]

Jung's view of astrology as projected psychology implied a view of astrology as fundamentally a form of psychology with the heavens not necessarily related to character given astrology might be a projection of inner psychological qualities:

> astrology, in ancient times, even started from interstellar space in order to arrive at those lines of fate whose beginnings lie in the human heart.[688]

The view of astrology as projected psychology implies that astrology can be reductively psychologised, i.e. it can be reduced to its psychological essence by stripping away the esoteric components and revealing the psychological system that stands at its core. This would be an example of reductive psychologisation, as described by Plaisance.[689]

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[686] Jung, *Psychological Types*, p.10.
[687] Jung, *Letters 1*, p.56.
[688] Jung, *Psychological Types*, p.525.
[689] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.18.

His second and third rationales for astrology, as having a causal mechanism or otherwise being 'mantic', that is a method of divination based on acausality, were views he advanced particularly as he developed his theory of synchronicity:

> I must rework the chapter on astrology [synchronicity]. An important change has to be made – Knoll put me on to it. Astrology is not a mantic method but appears to be based on proton radiation (from the sun). I must do a statistical experiment in order to be on sure ground.[690]

He also sometimes sees astrology as a mantic method:

> Although I was obliged to express doubt, earlier, about the mantic character of astrology, I am now forced as a result of my astrological experiment to recognize it again.[691]

There is little within Jung's work in terms of practical horoscope interpretation. However, there is an example in his case study *A Study in the Process of Individuation* which deals with the development of a patient he calls Miss X.[692] Jung wrote:

> Miss X was born in the first degrees of Cancer (actually about 3 degrees). She knew her horoscope and was well aware of the significance of the moment of birth; that is, she realized that the degree of the rising sign (the ascendant) conditions the individuality of the horoscope.[693]

Jung was aware of the idea of the rising sign and that this contributes to the personality. He also used the method of looking at how many planets in each element (earth, air, fire, water) to make some kind of assessment of character. He elaborated in a footnote that 'her horoscope shows four earth signs but no air sign' and that 'the danger coming from the animus [inner male] is reflected in Moon square Mercury'.[694] Jung's interpretation identifies Moon-Mercury as potentially problematic but relates it to his archetype of the animus.

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[690] Jung, *Letters 2*, p.23.
[691] Jung, *On Synchronicity and the Paranormal*, p.100.
[692] Jung, *Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, pp.290-354.
[693] Jung, *Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, p.343.
[694] Jung, *Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, p.344.

5.4.2 Jung's astrological psychology

In this thesis Jung is being treated as both a psychologist who influenced later psychological astrologers and as a thinker whose ideas may have impacted on astrological ideas themselves. Jung's model of the psyche and wider ideas can often be related to pre-existing astrological or esoteric concepts. This is clear in his theory of synchronicity, which shall be discussed first below. However it is also relevant to his other key ideas; the worldview implied by his theory of the collective unconscious, his theory of archetypes, his typology, and in his core psychological process: individuation.

5.4.2.1 The relationship of synchronicity to astrology

The theory of synchronicity is strongly related to rationales for astrology. Jung argued that:

> Synchronicity is a modern differentiation of the obsolete concept of correspondence, sympathy, and harmony.[695]

This was a point Jung emphasised elsewhere, for example in his letters he described synchronicity as 'basically nothing other than *correspondentia* more specifically and more precisely understood.'[696] As discussed in chapter four, the theory of correspondences is the core rationale for astrology and is integral to the astrological worldview. This may be seen through the work of astrologers. William Lilly, writing on astrology in 1647, discussed the planet Mars and its correspondence to War, Soldiers, and Anger.[697] Claire Martin, in her 2005 astrology book, related the astrological Sun to palaces, royalty, the heart and lions.[698]

Jung's initial exploration of synchronicity was connected with astrology and he used astrology as a means of testing out his theory, considering pairs of horoscopes of married couples to look for traditional cross-contacts that suggested marriage such as

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[695] Jung, *On Synchronicity and the Paranormal*, p.101.
[696] Jung, *Letters 1*, p.547.
[697] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, pp.66-67.
[698] Martin, *Mapping the Psyche*, p.15.

Sun conjunct Moon, Moon conjunct Moon and Moon conjunct Ascendant.[699] Whilst overall his results were not statistically significant they threw up a pattern of finding expected traditional astrological correlations by batch. The first batch revealed a greater than anticipated number of Sun conjunct Moon, the second of Moon conjunct Moon and the third of Moon conjunct Ascendant.[700] This strange occurrence led Jung to suggest that meaningful coincidences, even though not detectable by statistical technique, do exist.

The close relationship between astrology and synchronicity was further confirmed by Jung in his correspondence with Barbault. When asked by Barbault about how astrology worked he replied:

> It seems to me that it is primarily a question of that parallelism of "sympathy" which I call synchronicity, an acausal connection expressing relationships that cannot be formulated in terms of causality[701]

Scholars have recognised the close relationship between Jung's synchronicity and astrology/esoteric worldviews. Main argues that the development of synchronicity owes much to Jung's 'extensive research' in the esoteric traditions of the West.'[702] Greene asserts that anyone familiar with synchronicity will recognise the underlying theory of sympathy (another term for the theory of correspondences).[703]

In re-naming the theory of correspondences as synchronicity, Jung did not fundamentally alter the underlying concept of astrology, but he did give it a more psychological sounding name. This was an adaptation in relation to terminology, rather than one of deeper substance.

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[699] Jung, *On Synchronicity and the Paranormal*, pp.98-101.
[700] Jung, *On Synchronicity and the Paranormal*, p.100.
[701] Jung, *Letters 2*, pp.175-176.
[702] Main, 'Introduction', p.14.
[703] Greene, *Jung's Studies in Astrology*, p.84.

5.4.2.2 The Collective Unconscious and astrology

Jung's correspondence with Barbault demonstrates a clear connection between the collective unconscious and astrology:

> Astrology, like the collective unconscious with which psychology is concerned, consists of symbolic configurations: the "planets" are the gods, symbols of the powers of the unconscious.[704]

Both astrology and psychology, for Jung, consist of the planets or gods, which are part of the collective unconscious.

Underlying Jung's theory was a wider connection to nature; the soul is linked to nature and the rest of the world through the Unconscious. This is argued by Ffytche:

> Through the door of the unconscious, the 'soul of everything begins', archetypes manifest the influence of 'inborn and universally present formal elements'; the psyche is 'anything but an incapsulated personal system'.[705]

In linking the soul of the individual to the soul of the collective through the unconscious, Hanegraaff argues that Jung interpreted the 'the doctrine of the correspondence of macrocosmos and microcosmos in a radical psychological fashion.'[706] The consequence of this is that 'the world of the psyche and the world of "outer" reality were just different reflections of the *unus mundus* [one world].'[707] For Hanegraaff this is a perfect example of the psychologisation of the sacred and the sacralisation of psychology.[708]

Jung's collective unconscious was a restatement of the older esoteric idea that the soul of the individual (microcosm) could be likened to the soul of the world (macrocosm). The microcosm-macrocosm theory, as discussed in chapter four, has long been a key

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[704] Jung, *Letters 2*, p.175.
[705] Matt Ffytche, *The Foundation of the Unconscious* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p.224.
[706] Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion*, p.503.
[707] Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion*, pp.503-504.
[708] Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion*, p.504.

rationale for natal astrology.[709] Writing around the first century A.D. the astrologer Manilius had written:

> Why wonder than men can comprehend heaven, when heaven exists in their very beings and each one is in a smaller likeness the image of God himself?[710]

Jung's resurrection of the microcosm-macrocosm theory is a psychological turn on an old esoteric doctrine; the claim is that it is the psyche of human beings that is a microcosm of the cosmos which itself may also be viewed as having a psychological dimension.

Jung's concept was a significant departure from previous psychoanalytic conceptions of the unconscious which had focused on the personal unconscious. As Zaretsky notes, it was the personal unconscious that was a new idea during the advent of psychology whereas traditional societies had healers who 'mobilized symbols that were simultaneously internal *and* communal.'[711] In reinstating the communal dimension of the unconscious Jung's psychology reverted to more traditional ideas of shared psychological experience.

In a letter to Albert Oeri of January 1929, discussing the collective unconscious, Jung wrote, 'it seems to me like an omnipresent continuum, an unextended Everywhere'.[712] Writing in 1946 Jung described it thus:

> It is more like an atmosphere in which we live than something that is found *in* us. It is simply the unknown quantity in the world. Also it does not by any means behave merely psychologically...[713]

In clarifying the concept it is seen that Jung's collective unconscious is more like a psychic layer of the universe present all around us, rather than something within. Jung claimed that 'the collective unconscious appeared to consist of mythological motifs or primordial images' with a good example being the heavenly constellations (i.e. the

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[709] Manilius, *Astronomica*, pp.293-295.
[710] Manilius, *Astronomica*, pp.293-295.
[711] Zaretsky, *Secrets of the Soul*, p.6.
[712] Jung, *Letters 1*, p.58.
[713] Jung, *Letters 1*, p.433.

zodiac), whose originally chaotic forms were organised through the projection of images.'[714] The example of the astrological zodiac as part of the collective unconscious is a further direct link of Jung's concept with astrology.

The language of the collective unconscious gave a means by which the older astrological idea of the personal link to the collective could return to modern, psychological, discourse. It did not fundamentally change the nature of the idea in an astrological context however, as astrology had always seen the planets as having both personal and collective dimension, and had long included psychological interpretations. The planet Saturn, for example, was part of everyone, but also had a specific meaning in each individual horoscope, with Ptolemy in the first century having written that Saturn dominating the Moon and Mercury in a particular horoscope would make an individual a deep thinker, 'austere', 'ready to punish' and 'jealous'.[715] Astrology had always linked personal and cosmic, prior to Jung's development of the idea of the unconscious into a collective form.

5.4.2.3 Archetypes and planets

The archetypes have a direct link with astrology. In his letter to Barbault, Jung inferred that the planets, as used in astrology, are archetypes. He wrote that the planets 'are the gods' and that 'the interpretation of the archetypes (the gods)' are 'the common concern' of both astrology and psychology.[716] Rieff's assertion that Jung's theory of archetypes offers 'a pantheon of psychologized god-terms' is supported by Jung's description of archetypes as being numinous and divine, with a compelling character.[717] The theory of archetypes evidences idealistic psychologisation, in which the sacred and the psychological are combined and work together in a bidirectional process.

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[714] Jung, *Structure and Dynamics*, p.152.
[715] Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, p.341.
[716] Jung, *Letters 2*, p.175; p.177.
[717] Rieff, *Triumph of the Therapeutic*, p.77.

Jung's work on archetypes also linked to his work on complexes, which as Polly Young-Eisendrath explains, can be seen as 'an emotional habit to see, think, feel, and act (including speak) in a predictable way under triggering circumstances.'[718] At the core of each complex lies an archetype. Complexes were central to Jung's work and at one point he considered renaming his psychology, 'Complex Psychology'.[719] Jung argued that 'the universal belief in spirits is a direct expression of the complex structure of the unconscious.'[720]

Astrologers have noted how close Jung's theory of complexes can be to a planetary configuration in a natal horoscope. Liz Greene in particular has explored this in detail:

> It should be fairly obvious by this time that every configuration in the chart can be viewed from the perspective of complexes. Every planet forms part of a web of interlocked complexes.[721]

Liz Greene's work will be further discussed in chapter eight, and astrologers' reception of Jung is further discussed later in this chapter. However it is clear that astrological planets are prime examples of Jung's theory of archetypes; whether the idea of the archetype adds anything to the astrological idea of the planets is a point discussed further below.

5.4.2.4 Jung's typology and the four elements

Astrologers have been using the four elements of fire, earth, air and water to describe the character of individuals from the natal chart since at least the time of the second century astrologer Vettius Valens, who referred to them in relation to groups of signs with Aries, Leo and Sagittarius for example associated with the element of fire.[722] Jung

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[718] Polly Young-Eisendrath, 'Jung and Buddhism: refining the dialogue' in *The Cambridge Companion to Jung* eds. Polly Young-Eisendrath and Terence Dawson, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp.235-252, p.237.
[719] Shamdasani, *Jung and the Making of Modern Psychology*, p.13.
[720] Jung, *Structure and Dynamics*, p.101.
[721] Liz Greene, *The Horoscope in Manifestation* (London: CPA, 1997), pp.82-83.
[722] Vettius Valens, *The Anthology*, trans. R. Schmidt. (Berkeley Springs, W.Va.: The Golden Hind Press, 1993, pp.7-16.

recognised that his typology was an evolution of the four elements already used by astrologers:

> The oldest attempts known to us were made by oriental astrologers who devised the so-called trigons of the four elements – air, water, earth and fire.[723]

In addition to noting this however Jung insisted his own typology rested on empirical grounds 'that there are exactly four was a result I arrive at on purely empirical grounds.'[724]

Liz Greene has argued that Jung may have been inspired to come up with his typology through his reading of Alan Leo.[725] Whether this is the case or it was other esoteric or astrological texts that Jung drew upon, his typology is related to the astrological elements, even if they do not fit together entirely seamlessly, a point which I will examine below when I consider astrologers' reception of Jung.

5.4.2.5 Individuation and astrology

Jung considered individuation central to the astrological process. He likened it to an astrological journey:

> The journey through the planetary houses boils down to becoming conscious of the good and the bad qualities in our character, and the apotheosis means no more than maximum consciousness, which amounts to maximal freedom of the will.[726]

In her scholarly work, Liz Greene has argued that Jung's individuation is a manifestation of the ancient concept of the celestial ascent of the soul through the planetary spheres, which can be understood as an internal transformative process.[727]

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[723] Jung, *Psychological Types*, p.531.
[724] Jung, *Psychological Types*, p.540.
[725] Liz Greene, *Jung's Studies in Astrology*, (London: Routledge, 2018), p.25.
[726] Carl Gustav Jung, *Mysterium Coniunctionis* , 2nd Edition, trans. R.F.C. Hull (London: Routledge, 1970), p.231.
[727] Liz Greene, 'The myth of the soul's ascent: astral bodies, planetary sins, and Jung's concept of 'individuation'; Myth, Literature, and the Unconscious Conference, University of Essex, 2010.

The self-realization which is the goal of individuation is, for Jung, directly linked to the idea of the psyche of a human becoming more like the psyche of the cosmos:

> For the alchemists the process of individuation represented by the opus was an analogy of the creation of the world, and the opus itself an analogy of God's work of creation. Man was seen as a microcosm, a complete equivalent of the world in miniature. In our picture, we see what it is in man that corresponds to the cosmos, and what kind of evolutionary process is compared with the creation of the world and the heavenly bodies: it is the *birth of the self*, the latter appearing as a microcosm. It is not the empirical man that forms the "correspondentia" to the world, as the medievalists thought, but rather the indescribable totality of the psychic or spiritual man, who cannot be described because he is compounded of consciousness as well as of the indeterminable extent of the unconscious.[728]

The process of individuation has often been compared to a religious process by scholars and commentators. Bou-Young Rhi, talking about eastern religions in particular, suggests that 'all religions aim at the actualization of wholeness through self-realization or self-cultivation in various ways according to their specific traditions. Thus, we can observe in the ideas and practices of Eastern religions, symbolically or practically, the individuation process as described by C.G. Jung.'[729] Similarly, John Pennachio argues that individuation is similar to a process of gnosis.[730] Pennachio suggests that Gnosticism strives for transcendence from the physical world through self-knowledge which therefore becomes divine. Both Gnosticism and individuation rest on the idea that through knowing oneself one comes to understand human destiny and God; they are both religious processes.[731] As such, spirituality is seen as a fundamental property of the psyche.[732] David L. Hart argues that individuation is a

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[728] Jung, *Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, p.308.

[729] Bou-Yong Rhi, 'C.G. Jung in Eastern Culture and the Red Book' in The Red Book – Reflections on C.G. Jung's Liber Novus, edited by Thomas Kirsch and George Hogenson (London: Routledge, 2014), pp.54-66, p.56.

[730] John Pennachio, 'Gnostic Inner Illumination and Carl Jung's Individuation' *Journal of Religion and Health*, Vol. 31, No. 3, Fall 1992, pp.237-245.

[731] Pennachio, 'Gnostic Inner Illumination', p.238.

[732] Pennachio, 'Gnostic Inner Illumination', p.245.

spiritual undertaking and that the reconciliation of the opposites of unconscious and conscious was a vital component of finding a life with meaning.[733]

Jung's presentation and naming of the individuation process represented a new term for a process recognised and discussed in religious and spiritual traditions, including in astrological terms as the celestial ascent of the soul. It cannot be regarded as significantly adapting astrology save in the sense that a new modern term had been coined to describe a process that had previously been connected with religious or spiritual language rather than psychological language. The individuation concept is a clear example of idealistic psychologisation, as defined by Plaisance, who relates it to Hanegraaff's psychologisation of the sacred and sacralisation of the psychological.[734] Individuation is both a spiritual and psychological process and as this is the core of Jung's psychology, it is clear that idealistic psychologisation has a central role.

Numerous examples of Plaisance's terminological psychologisation are to be found in Jung's work; this is Plaisance's term for esoteric terminology being replaced by psychological terminology.[735] Jung's psychology could be said to be an example of terminological psychologisation whereby esoteric concepts have been given psychological names to render them more respectable to modern men and women. As discussed above, this could apply to all key areas of his psychology. To take three examples: synchronicity is 'nothing other than *correspondentia*' i.e. a restatement of the theory of correspondences.[736] Astrological planets are examples of archetypes with Jung having asserted that both are 'the common concern' of astrology and psychology.[737] And thirdly, individuation is akin to 'the journey through the planetary houses.'[738] All of these are clear examples of terminological psychologisation.

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[733] David L. Hart, 'The Classical Jungian School' in *The Cambridge Companion to Jung* eds. Polly Young-Eisendrath and Terence Dawson, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) pp.101-106.
[734] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', pp.19-20.
[735] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.17.
[736] Jung, *Letters 1*, p.547.
[737] Jung, *Letters 2*, p.175; p.177.
[738] Carl Gustav Jung, *Mysterium Coniunctionis* , Second Edition, trans. R.F.C Hull (London: Routledge, 1970), p.231.

Reductive psychologisation may also be present if it is accepted that astrology is really just a form of psychology. If this was Jung's overriding view of astrology then his psychology reduces astrology to its true form. This would be an extensive example of Plaisance's reductive psychologisation, which covers psychological systems that have been masked in esoteric language.[739]

5.4.3 Astrologers' reception of Jung

Jung's work would likely have been seen by twentieth century astrologers as primarily psychological and as such a psychology that could be incorporated into astrology, potentially for the purposes of legitimising their astrology in the modern world. This creates a complex picture for the overall psychologisation of astrology, given that astrologers would have been psychologising astrology with psychological ideas which themselves can be seen as representing, in part, a psychologisation of astrological concepts.

There are several strands to astrologers' reception of Jung. Firstly, many have welcomed Jung's work, recognising a compatibility in his psychology and astrological ideas and have attempted to map some of these ideas in detail to existing components within astrology and adopt his terminology. There have however been critiques, and a second strand in astrologers' reception consists of those who find Jung's work either does not apply well to astrological ideas or reject it as not adding value to existing astrological terminology and ideas. Thirdly, there are those who claim that Jung's ideas have been adopted in a selective manner by astrologers, with those selected ones that fit with a modern, rational presentation of the subject. Each of these three strands are discussed below.

Ideas which have proved particularly popular are Jung's typology, his theory of archetypes, ideas of the unconscious and collective unconscious and his theory of synchronicity.[740] Whilst the extent to which such ideas pervade the key twentieth-

[739] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.18.
[740] See Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, pp.81-139.

century psychological astrologers will be discussed in chapters seven and eight, there is some pre-existing discussion amongst astrologers and scholars on how successful the incorporation of Jung's concepts has been.

Jung's typology, for example, has been adopted by some astrologers, such as Karen Hamaker-Zondag, who equates Jung's theory of psychological typology with the four elements used in astrology: fire, earth, air and water.[741] Astrologers have attempted to adopt Jungian language through the adoption of the Jungian definition of the unconscious and Jung's extension of it through his idea of the collective unconscious. For example, Margaret Hone suggests that the astrological chart equals 'unconscious' and that the collective unconscious contains the archetypes with which astrological correlatives can be found.[742]

The success of such a direct equation however has been questioned by other astrologers. Robert Hand for example has argued that whilst it has been tempting for astrologers to try and connect Jung's types with the four elements used in astrology:

> Jung believed they were related, but never specified exactly how, and as a result debate has raged among psychologically oriented astrologers as to which element goes with which psychological type.[743]

According to Elwell, the collective unconscious 'explains nothing which cannot be explained more satisfactorily by ideas which are not only better adapted to the subject matter of astrology, but have far more impressive credentials.'[744] He further suggests that on the concept of the unconscious:

> The horoscope can be understood without such a concept. It has to be remembered that not all charts are for human beings, and if the chart of a nation, a ship, a business enterprise, even an idea, can be interpreted without predicating an unconscious mind, it is by no means self-evident why it should become necessary in the case of people.[745]

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[741] Karen Hamaker-Zondag, *Psychological Astrology* (York Beach, ME: Weiser,1990), p.54.
[742] Hone, *Modern Text book*, pp.301-302.
[743] Robert Hand, *Horoscope Symbols*, p.193.
[744] Dennis Elwell, *The Cosmic Loom* (London: Urania Trust, 1999), p.51.
[745] Elwell, *Cosmic Loom*, p.143.

For Elwell astrology deals in consciousness rather than unconsciousness and as such the idea of a collective unconscious is unnecessary:

> If we are exploring a psychology of the conscious rather than the unconscious, perhaps it would be helpful to propose a 'collective consciousness', as some modern writers on the astrology of world developments are prone to do… the question always has to be, not what is this person up to – consciously or unconsciously – nor what is mankind collectively up to, but what is the *cosmos* itself up to, in this person, or in mankind?[746]

Hyde argues that astrologers have tried to directly import the concept of archetypes into astrology in a manner which did not fit existing astrological practice.[747] Hyde argues that this represents a change from earlier astrological practice, asserting that 'traditional astrologers understand an astrological symbol as a root in its own right, without seeing it as one expression of an archetype.'[748] As an example she discusses the Moon which has many possible meanings, such as mother, child, common people, night, mirrors, silver and baths.[749] In contrast, Jung's reduces the Moon and associations like the Church, sea, cave, tree to the 'mother archetype'. In Jung's system the mother archetype is the root whereas for astrology the root is the Moon. Hyde argues that astrology's language of universals and particulars is also relevant; the Moon as mother is a universal meaning but in a particular horoscope the Moon also has a particular meaning by virtue of where it is placed in the horoscope which could just as easily be father as mother.[750] As such, argues Hyde, Jung's concept of the archetype is akin to an astrological symbol only where this latter is considered as a 'universal'.[751]

Thus, for Hyde, astrologers' adoption of Jung's concept of archetypes into astrology does not add anything to astrological interpretation but simplifies it and fails to deal with the particular meaning of a planet as it is defined by its place in a birth-chart

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[746] Elwell, *Cosmic Loom*, p.145.
[747] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.86.
[748] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, pp.88-89.
[749] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.89.
[750] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.90.
[751] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.91.

rather than as a universal meaning. The focus on the universal meaning also leads to an objectifying of the astrological chart so that it is always meaningful, rather than being a means of divination which will sometimes be relevant and sometimes not.[752] Those astrologers who use archetypes as a term within their astrology are simply changing terminology, swapping the astrological for the psychological; this is unlikely to extend interpretation due to the failure of archetypes to capture both universal and particular astrological meanings. Hyde argues that astrologers wish to see astrology as objective and 'scientific' as this 'avoids the dilemmas of participation' which implicate the astrologer and mean astrology is more akin to a system of divination than science.[753]

According to Munk, many astrologers regard synchronicity as an explanatory model for astrology.[754] Margaret Hone, for example, quotes an early formation of synchronicity in the prelude to her *Modern Text book of Astrology*, 'whatever is born or done this moment of time, has the qualities of this moment of time.'[755] However, there are critiques of this idea. Harding asserts that Jung's concept of synchronicity 'was arrived at to fill a gap.'[756] This gap was the laws of causality which failed to define certain events that were seen to be meaningful. Harding suggests that this gap could actually have been filled directly by astrology, which would 'fit the bill very nicely'.[757] The principal criterion for synchronicity to be in place is for events unconnected by causal factors to occur and be meaningful; however Harding suggests this is insufficient as a rationale for astrology:

> As astrology can be demonstrated to work with earthquakes, plants, chemical processes and a host of mundane events, which presumably neither dream, think nor fantasize, astrologers have to recognize the possibility of external or underlying principles at work… however they operate, it will not be synchronistically.[758]

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[752] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.91.
[753] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.79.
[754] Munk, 'Signs of the Times', p.88.
[755] Hone, *Modern Text Book*.
[756] Michael Harding, *Hymns to the Ancient Gods* (London: Arkana, 1992), p.25.
[757] Harding, *Hymns*, p.25.
[758] Harding, *Hymns*, p.26.

Thus for Harding there is no need for astrologers to adopt the language of synchronicity when astrology is itself a means of explaining acausal connection and meaning. The terminological psychologisation, which is what it could be regarded as, is simply unnecessary.

Jung's idea that astrology is a system of projected psychology has been criticised by Harding, who argued that:

> Astrological symbols may *exist* within the unconscious but they are not confined to it, nor do they originate there. The symbols and energies of astrology are not contained within the psyche, but in some way permeate it as they permeate everything.[759]

Such perspectives question the need for terms such as the 'unconscious' and 'collective unconscious' raising the possibility that these words have been used in astrology not because they add valid concepts, but because they sound scientific and support the legitimisation of astrology in the modern world. If this is the case then the use of such terms in astrology is an example of terminological psychologisation, to use one of the types of psychologisation identified by Plaisance. This is a form where esoteric terminology is replaced by psychological terminology.[760]

The third strand relates to the ways in which astrologers have tried to adapt Jung's ideas in their astrology. It has also been argued that astrologers have only incorporated certain aspects of Jung's theories, ones that conform to a presentation of astrology that does not involve obviously irrational elements. Hyde has argued this in relation to the theory of synchronicity, particularly in relation to Jung's conclusion to his astrological marriage experiment.[761] Hyde argues that:

> Most astrologers using the concept adopt a simplistic view of Jung's approach, and the implications of the theory of synchronicity for astrology have, up to now, remained almost entirely unexamined.[762]

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[759] Harding, *Hymns*, p.28.
[760] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.17.
[761] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.133.
[762] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.121.

She argues there are two versions of Synchronicity, I and II, with Synchronicity I being 'a relationship between an objectively observed psyche and objectively observed events and Synchronicity II being the subjective 'participation of the observing psyche.'[763] Whilst the first brings the possibility of objective laws, and thus legitimacy in the modern world, the second is more akin to divination. Hyde suggests that:

> The mysterious way in which astrology crosses the subject-object divide is found in every bit of astrology we touch. We cast horoscopes and interpret symbols within an accepted symbol system and – often to our own surprise – find that people's lives, characters and actions appear to be, quite independently and objectively, just as the symbols have described them.[764]

For Hyde astrologers have to use both versions of synchronicity, working on the basis 'as if' Synchronicity I is how astrology works:

> The play and counterplay of Synchronicity I and Synchronicity II in our astrology mirrors Jung's own sense of his Number 1 and Number 2 worlds. Like Jung, we have to privilege the Number 1 world in our practice in order to be able to practice at all, and yet for astrology to have life, we also need to remain open to the possibility of this second world. Jung's marriage experiments revealed the intricate union of these two.[765]

The two versions of synchronicity implied by Jung's work is explained by Campion as 'the apparent regularity of the heavenly motions is undercut by a kind of shamanistic subjectivity in which the individual's participation with the cosmos really does matter.'[766] The implication of this view is that the horoscope may not be a means of objective truth, instead being more a means of making inquiry, heavily dependent on the astrologer's own participation.

Hyde argues that 'the implications of Jung's work with divination and the paranormal have been largely ignored by astrologers.'[767] She claims that the embrace of Jung's

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[763] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.128.
[764] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.139.
[765] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.171.
[766] Campion, *History II*, p.256.
[767] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.79.

depth psychology by astrologers was to appease the wider cultural demand for psychology:

> In our psychologised age, there has been a demand that astrology addresses something more than character trait descriptions or straight judgements about the outcome of worldly events.[768]

She continues:

> His [Jung's] respect for traditional wisdom, including astrology, ensured that he was an attractive figure for astrologers who were seeking to draw into their subject the vigorous new growth of psychology. They realised that when interpreted in the light of the psychology of the unconscious, their symbols are capable of a far more meaningful revelation than traditional practitioners had been able to recognise.[769]

Jung's attraction however is seen to be of a selective nature which Hyde argues is a result of the astrologers' desire for scientific respectability.[770] This links to the idea that psychological astrologers have adopted psychology as a means of legitimising their subject. Curry argues that most psychological astrologers focus on Jung's concept of individuation and over-prioritise the archetype of the Self, equating this to the astrological Sun and thereby producing an astrology that he calls monistic and disenchanted.[771] This selection of Jung's material emphasises the parts that Curry equates with the subjective half of the 'modernist carve-up' between inner and outer and thus also leads to the idea that psychological astrologers select the ideas of Jung that best support their subject being legitimate in the modern world.[772]

The difficulty of directly mapping Jungian concepts to astrology, the ambiguity surrounding Jung's work, and the question as to how far it is science and how much derived from his own mystical experiences, has led some to suggest a complex legacy for astrologers. Curry argues this point, suggesting that Jung's own ambivalence between seeking scientific validation and recognition and his adventurous subject

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[768] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.83.
[769] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.83.
[770] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.77.
[771] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.75.
[772] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.74.

matter was never resolved leading to the legacy problem for astrology.[773] Radermacher makes a similar point in relation to Jung's theory of archetypes; she argues Jung's own theory sometimes saw archetypes as ordering principles with a logical, universal nature – she identifies this as a scientific side of Jung, and otherwise as living, autonomous and numinous forces, which she identifies as his mystical side, thus creating difficulty for astrologers trying to incorporate his concepts into astrology.[774]

5.4.4 Did Jung's work significantly adapt astrology?

There are two ways in which Jung's work potentially adapted astrology. The first is direct, given that he may have directly taken astrological ideas and included them in his version of psychology and in so doing, changed them in some material manner. The second is indirect, in his influence on later astrologers. The second will be further considered in the remainder of this thesis, particularly chapters seven and eight which consider the astrology of Dane Rudhyar and Liz Greene. The consideration of Jung's key ideas above and the literature to date on astrologers' reception of Jung suggests that Jung did not significantly alter the nature of astrology through his psychological ideas. There is significant evidence that Jung's psychological reform took account of his background in astrology and the esoteric. His psychology reconnected the individual to the cosmos through the ideas of the interrelationship between the personal and collective unconscious. This was not however new for astrology as the astrological worldview had always viewed the planets as both personal and collective; the whole premise of astrology being a connection between life on Earth, including human beings, and the cosmos i.e. that the microcosm related to the macrocosm. Astrological planets are admitted by Jung to have been examples of archetypes, his key idea of how the psyche is structured and his concept of archetypes has been questioned by astrologers in terms of whether it actually adds much to astrological interpretation. Jung's typology is closely related to the classical four elements used in astrology but does not map directly. His central theory of individuation is a restatement of older

[773] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.73.
[774] Radermacher, 'Dialogue in Astrological Divination', p.56.

ideas of spiritual development including the celestial ascent of the soul which is a theory about astrological development. As such, individuation does not significantly alter astrology in a direct sense, although it may have been important for Rudhyar and Greene; this question will be addressed in chapters seven and eight. Synchronicity, as stated by Jung, is a re-statement of the theory of correspondences, a core concept within the astrological worldview. Whilst the extent to which Jung influenced Dane Rudhyar and Liz Greene will be explored in chapters seven and eight, considering Jung's ideas on their own merits does not indicate a significant adaptation of astrology. Instead, what is indicated is a new layer of psychological language for esoteric/astrological concepts and an intermingling of these with psychological ideas.

5.4.5 Underlying rationale in Jung's work

The cosmology of Jung's work is seen most clearly in his theory of synchronicity, which as discussed earlier, was a restatement of the theory of correspondences. Part of Jung's stated rationale for developing the concept was to fill the gaps left by what he saw as the gaps in the theories of causality:

> if the connection between cause and effect turns out to be only statistically valid and only relatively true, the causal principle is only of relative use for explaining natural processes and therefore presupposes the existence of one or more other factors which would be necessary for an explanation.[775]

Synchronicity went beyond psychological theory. In later writings Jung explicitly asserted it to be a property of the world and irreducible to the human mind:

> the main difficulty with synchronicity (and also with ESP) is that one thinks of it as being produced by the subject, while I think it is rather in the nature of objective events.[776]

Jung was aware that this radical assertion of synchronicity being present in objective events was a challenge to the conventional scientific outlook of the day. Writing to RFC Hull, the translator of many of his works, in 1955, Jung wrote:

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[775] Jung, *Psychological Types*, p.421.
[776] Jung, *Letters 2*, p.181.

> The latest comment about "Synchronicity" is that it cannot be accepted because it shakes the security of our scientific foundations, as if this were not exactly the goal I am aiming at and as if the merely statistical nature of causality had never been mentioned before.[777]

Jung eventually asserted that events covered by the concept of synchronicity brought psychological and physical realms together:

> In so far as both modalities, archetype and synchronicity, belong primarily to the realm of the psychic, we are justified in concluding that they are psychic phenomena. In so far, however, as synchronistic events include not only psychic but also physical forms of manifestation, the conclusion is justified that both modalities transcend the realm of the psychic and somehow also belong to the physical realm. This can be expressed in other words by saying that there is a relativity of the psychic and physical categories – a relativity of being and of the seemingly axiomatic existence of time and space.[778]

As Aziz argues, ultimately Jung's theory of synchronicity meant the fusion of inner and outer worlds in a universe of meaning.[779] Jung wrote:

> synchronicity postulates a meaning which is a priori in relation to human consciousness and apparently exists outside of man. Such an assumption is found above all in the philosophy of Plato, which takes for granted the existence of transcendental images or models of empirical things, the ideas whose reflections we see in the phenomenal world.[780]

The rationale underlying Jung's psychology rests on the theory of synchronicity which is a restatement of the old idea of correspondences. Jung's cosmology fuses inner and outer in a universe of meaning. It does not operate only on the psychological or inner level and does not appeal to the magical plane which Hanegraaff discusses. Jung's core process, individuation, is possible only in this wider cosmology of meaning.

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[777] Jung, *Letters 2*, p.217.
[778] Jung, *Letters 2*, p.447.
[779] Robert Aziz, *C.G. Jung's Psychology of Religion and Synchronicity* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1990), pp.217-219.
[780] Jung, *Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche*, p.501-502.

5.4.6 Jung's work and psychological technique

It has been argued that psychologised magic is magic that has been reduced to psychological technique.[781] In Plaisance's categorisation of psychologisation this is an example of reductive psychologisation.[782] The theory of individuation is at the heart of Jung's work and aids in considering whether Jung's work may be reduced to psychological technique.

Shamdasani stresses that Jung believed that individuation led to human community, because in individuating the individual became more aware of the collective unconscious, i.e. the shared layer of psyche amongst individuals; this means that 'in individuation, there lay the seeds of a new collectivity.'[783] The link between synchronicity and individuation has been explored by Robert Aziz, who argues for synchronicity's importance in understanding Jung's psychology of religion.[784] When individuation is seen as a process that occurs within the framework of events which are examples of synchronicity, it becomes clear that Jung's psychological theory is not an example of psychological reductionism, that is, reducing everything to being within the mind without significance in the world. Instead, his psychology can be seen to have metaphysical implications and to exist within a cosmology that recognises the universe as conscious and meaningful. Von Stuckrad argues that Jung:

> stands for a nonreductionist psychology – a holistic psychology that integrates the human soul into suprapersonal, even cosmic dimensions and takes spiritual experiences seriously rather than pathologizing them.[785]

Main concurs with the idea that Jung's psychology is nonreductionist, suggesting that Aziz's work helps to clarify the point that Jung's core process, individuation, does not just take place at the intrapsychic level, but involves the world beyond the psyche.[786] Ulanov also stresses the interrelationship between individuation and synchronicity. She

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[781] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.368.
[782] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.18.
[783] Shamdasani, *Jung and the Making of Modern Psychology*, p.343.
[784] Aziz, *Jung's Psychology of Religion*, p.1.
[785] Von Stuckrad, *Cultural History of the Soul*, p.78.
[786] Main, 'Introduction', p.37.

suggests that synchronicities can only occur when a certain level of psychological development i.e. certain progress along the route to individuation, has been attained. This is in fact a prerequisite for the collision of outer and inner events which allow the individual to perceive the '*unus mundus*, a wholeness where matter and psyche are revealed to be but two aspects of the same reality.'[787] Thus synchronicity is key to the process of individuation, linking the individual's psychological growth to meaningful experiences within the world.

Given individuation's crucial link to synchronicity and Jung's wider cosmology, Jung's work cannot be said to be only about psychological techniques.

5.4.7 Jung's work and legitimisation

Jung was irritated by what he saw as the prejudice of the Western mind. When writing about introducing the I Ching to the West, Jung issued a warning, 'if you want to avoid the disastrous prejudice of the Western mind you have to introduce the matter under the cloak of science.'[788] Jung understood the difficulty of communicating ideas that did not fit conventional science and the need to legitimise ideas through the badge of science even if they were not really scientific in the modern sense of the term.

A concern with legitimacy may have been the reason for Jung's re-presentation of astrological and other esoteric concepts in psychological language. As discussed above, Jung's psychology is deeply infused with astrological ideas. Planets are specifically named as examples of archetypes. The collective unconscious is a new presentation of the old idea of the microcosm corresponding to the macrocosm, long held as a rational for natal astrology. Jung's typology bears a striking resemblance to the classical four elements, which have long had a place in astrology, and individuation is a way of describing the old idea of the celestial ascent of the soul, a religious process long discussed in spiritual and esoteric literature. Jung admitted his theory of synchronicity,

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[787] Ann Ulanov, 'Jung and religion: the opposing self' in *The Cambridge Companion to Jung* eds. Polly Young-Eisendrath and Terence Dawson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp.315-332, p.329.
[788] Jung, *Letters 1*, p.201.

which he used to test astrology, is actually a re-presentation of the theory of correspondences, which is core to the astrological worldview. Jung's re-presentation of astrology in psychological language was an acknowledgement that esoteric concepts expressed in the language of psychology had a greater chance of being accepted than left in their older astrological form.

Tanya Luhrmann has argued that Jung's theory of the collective unconscious is used by twentieth century magicians as an explanation for how magic might occur:

> Under its influence, the symbolic images of magic were no longer associated directly with an external reality, but became the language of the unconscious[789]

Luhrmann's presentation does not take into account Jung's claim that the collective unconscious is more like the atmosphere we live in, but rests on an earlier idea that it is somehow something inside us, a mysterious yet scientifically named part of psychology. It is the idea that all minds are linked together that makes it so useful for magicians. As Luhrmann notes, the magician finds justification, a legitimisation, for magic through the collective unconscious because it gives weight to the idea that by the magician's manipulation of his or her own mind, the magician is able to influence society. At the same time, the magician, in appealing to something like the unconscious, is able to claim that magical laws are 'necessarily incomprehensible'.[790] The overt practice of magic is thus obscured by the scientific sounding concept of the collective unconscious. Luhrmann's analysis relates to the idea that the collective unconscious is an example of Plaisance's terminological psychologisation with the term being used to aid the explanation of how esoteric or magical practices work in the modern world, whilst sounding psychological and respectable.

Jung's work is related to the concept of legitimisation given his conversion of esoteric and astrological concepts into psychological language. His work has also been used by others for the creation of a legitimising structure for modern magicians, even if his own

[789] Luhrmann, *Persuasions*, p.280.
[790] Luhrmann, *Persuasions*, p.281.

wider cosmology was not confined to the mind, but recognised correspondences and meaning as part of the fabric of reality.

5.4.8 Jung's work and disenchantment

Jung's cosmology contains four pillars of reality; these are his 'principles for the explanation of Nature', which are Space, Time, Causality and Synchronicity.[791] Synchronicity is part of the structure of reality and is concerned with meaningful coincidences. It is a rebranded theory of correspondences. A cosmology that recognises meaningful coincidence and qualitative links between parts of the cosmos cannot be labelled disenchanting.

Predictability, repeatability, and a lack of mysterious forces have been associated with disenchantment. None of these are features of Jung's core process, individuation, which Jung stated was 'an irrational life-process which expresses itself in definite symbols.'[792] For Jung individuation did not follow a rational unfolding – making it difficult to quantify or predict and thus difficult to classify as disenchanting. Symbols form an important part of the process. Jung stated that:

> The unconscious can be reached and expressed only by symbols, which is the reason why the process of individuation can never do without the symbol. The symbol is the primitive expression of the unconscious, but at the same time it is also an idea corresponding to the highest intuition produced by consciousness.[793]

What Jung meant by an irrational life process and the importance of symbols may be seen by following his example case of the individuation of Miss X, contained within his Collected Works.[794] In this study, Jung described the psychological imbalances of Miss X who starts to paint images. One day a particular fantasy image strikes her very forcefully and Jung recognises the resulting image as revealing her unconscious.

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[791] Jung, *Letters 2*, p.46.
[792] Jung, *Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, p.289.
[793] Carl Gustav Jung, 'Commentary on the Secret of the Golden Flower' in Richard Wilhelm, *The Secret of the Golden Flower* (London: Arkana, 1984), p.107.
[794] Jung, *Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, pp.290-354.

Working with this image in the technique he labelled 'active imagination', which is a way of actively interrogating fantasy images that have arisen from the unconscious, he worked with her to explore the psychological issues revealed.[795] In this manner, working with the spontaneous images produced from the psyche through painting or dreams, the individuation of Miss X was furthered. When particular circular images arose, Jung identified them as mandalas, genuine creations of the unconscious. This process did not follow a linear, ordered, predictable pattern, as might be expected if this was a disenchanted process. Instead, in its non-linear unfolding, and dependence on spontaneous images arising from the unconscious, it is better described as enchanted.

5.4.9 Jung's work and modernity

Jung asserted that there is a problem with what he saw as the dominating narratives of modernity such as modern science and rationality. He argued that rationality and science are inadequate for dealing with important areas of human experience, 'rationality is only one aspect of the world and does not cover the whole field of experience.'[796] He goes on to say:

> we in our Western ignorance do not see, or have forgotten, that man has or is visited by subjective inner experiences of an irrational nature which cannot be successfully dealt with by rational argument, scientific evidence, and depreciative diagnosis.[797]

The subjective, inner, irrational, dimension of experience that Jung discussed is the one identified by Hanegraaff as the participatory mode, that mode which encompasses magical experience including astrology. Foreshadowing Hanegraaff's labelling of experience into participatory and causal modes, Jung asserted his two forms of thinking with fantasy thinking being equivalent to the participatory mode; Jung developed this from Levy Bruhl's idea of participation mystique describing fantasy

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[795] See Andrew Samuels, *Jung and the Post-Jungians* (London: Routledge, 1999), p.12 for an explanation of active imagination
[796] Jung, *Letters 2*, p.600.
[797] Jung, *Letters 2*, p.602.

thinking as that guided by 'unconscious motives'.[798] In contrast, he associated directed thinking with science and associated techniques.[799] Jung's work was the elaboration of the language of the unconscious which belongs to the fantasy thinking category. As such, Jung's psychology deals with this participatory dimension of experience i.e. the type of experience which includes magic.

In chapter three, section 3.8, seven characteristics of modernity/modernism were identified, with modernism then having the additional characteristic of critiquing those same characteristics, and being more associated with artistic expression. These characteristics were disenchantment, starting afresh, homogeneity of time, space and place, lack of certainty, differentiation, self-realisation and freedom and responsibility.

Above, it was asserted that Jung's work does not exhibit features of disenchantment. Neither does Jung's work show strong evidence of starting afresh, for his psychology was based on his extensive reading and research in classical and esoteric traditions, albeit he did also have a strong concern with empiricism and clinical experience.[800] Jung's concept of synchronicity, resting on ideas of qualitative time, or the correspondence theory, rules out an affinity with the idea that time, space and place are homogeneous. There is no particular currently of uncertainty or doubt in Jung's work nor significant evidence of differentiation, for Jung did not ultimately separate inner and outer worlds, instead maintaining that reality was psychoid.[801]

The ideas of self-realisation, freedom and responsibility are all central to Jung's work. His central concept is individuation, which is all about realising the Self.[802] Part of the reason for realising the Self, however, is to maximise free-will, as such the idea of freedom is an important one, as is taking responsibility for the effort of individuation.

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[798] Jung, *Symbols of Transformation*, p.18.
[799] Jung, *Symbols of Transformation*, p.19.
[800] Douglas, 'The historical context', p.23.
[801] Jung, *Letters 2*, p.318.
[802] Jung, *Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, p.288.

In chapter three the idea that psychoanalysis fits well with the idea of modernism was discussed. This is related to the idea that psychoanalysis, whilst developed during a period often thought of as modern and as part of modernity, took an interest in the irrational and contributed to the breakdown of the idea of modernity with its conception of the mind as dynamic rather than static, and its promotion of the idea of the unconscious and the importance of dreams.[803] All of these characteristics are important in Jung's work, who in his role in the development of psychoanalysis, embraced the ideas of a dynamic psyche, the unconscious, and the importance of the so-called irrational. This suggests that Jung's work has strong affinity with modernism.

Postmodernity is the name given to the idea that modernity/modernism has given way to pluralism, a recognition that science is not a privileged narrative and the possibility of a re-enchantment of the world.[804] Jung's work, as discussed above, could be considered enchanted, and he certainly questioned the idea that modern science was the only way of viewing the world. In these senses, his work fits well with some of the characteristics attributed to postmodernity.

Jung's self-professed exasperation with the limitations of the modern world mean that he is difficult to classify as fitting into ideas of modernity. He suggested that modern people have been removed from their participation mystique with the collective and are spiritually impoverished, unable to find the religion they need; modern people thus turn to the psyche for salvation.[805] In his critique of the situation in which modern men and women find themselves, Jung showed modernist tendencies. The importance of self-realisation and freedom and responsibility could also support a classification within the category of modernism, as could the wider situation of psychoanalysis as part of modernism. The enchantment within his work and return to traditional ideas also

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[803] Bell, *Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, p.47; Pippin, *Modernism*, p.30; Zaretsky, *Secrets of the Soul*, p.7.
[804] Jencks, *The Post-Modern Reader*, p.7; Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence*, p.4.; Eagleton, *Illusions of Postmodernism*, p.vii; Feyerabend, *Farewell to Reason*, p.281, p.297.
[805] Jung, *Civilisation in Transition*, pp.75-92.

however support the idea his work belongs to postmodernity. As such, his work overall may be labelled as fitting best with ideas on both modernism and postmodernity.

5.5 Chapter conclusion

Jung contributed to the psychologisation of astrology in the twentieth century albeit his work does not cohere with all the ideas associated with psychologisation. Jung's adaptation of psychology involved psychologising esoteric ideas, including those which are astrological, and giving them a new psychological language. This change of language may be viewed as terminological psychologisation using Plaisance's categories and potentially also reductive psychologisation, if it is accepted that astrology is innately a form of psychology. This was one of Jung's theories on how astrology worked, that is, as projected psychology.

The result of Jung's work is a form of psychology that was heavily astrological in nature with synchronicity a restatement of the theory of correspondences, archetypes that covered the planets in astrology, and the collective unconscious which related to the long-held justification for natal astrology in the form of the analogy between the microcosm and the macrocosm. In psychologising astrology in a terminological sense, Jung did not significantly adapt astrology in a direct manner, but he did create a psychology that would later appeal to astrologers who recognised the similarities in his work to astrological ideas.

Jung's work does not relate to the theory of correspondences in only a technical sense. Synchronicity, his term for correspondences, was seen by Jung as part of the structure of reality, which he did not believe was adequately captured by existing theories of causality, space and time.

Jung's work does relate to legitimisation, for he recognised that concepts had to be introduced under the guise of science in order to be accepted. His work has also been used by modern magicians to legitimise their practise.

Jung's astrological psychology is not disenchanted. It is not repeatable or predictable given that the central concept, individuation, is an irrational life process reliant on symbols meaningful to the psyche. Individuation also relies on synchronicity, meaningful coincidences that embed Jung's psychology firmly in the cosmos rather than confine it to the world of the psyche. Mystery is also present in Jung's work, given that the timing of the meaningful coincidences and individuation of the psyche is unknown.

In addition to the terminological and reductive psychologisation categories, Jung's work contains a very strong element of Plaisance's idealistic psychologisation. His core concept of individuation is a psychological version of older spiritual systems of development and represents a fusion of spiritual and psychological ideas. His theory of archetypes is both psychological and spiritual, with Jung having asserted that archetypes have a divine and numinous quality. Complementary psychologisation is also present, such as when Jung stated that horoscopes provided a different point of view to psychological analysis.

Jung's work can be best located within ideas of modernism and postmodernity. His psychology of the unconscious was connected with the participatory realm that is the perspective from which human beings experience magic and related subjects. His frustrations with the limitations of modern science and a rational worldview make Jung a critique of modernity rather than an exponent albeit his focus on self-realisation and freedom fit well with ideas on the individual that are prevalent in both modernity and modernism. His psychology is more enchanting than disenchanting and as a proponent of psychoanalysis, his dynamic model of the psyche may be considered a part of the modernist reaction against narrow conceptions of modernity.

Chapter 6: Alan Leo and psychologisation

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I examine the work of astrologer Alan Leo. Scholars are united in their view that Alan Leo was critical to the development of twentieth century astrology. Curry argues that psychological astrology grew from the 'Theosophical astrology of Alan Leo at the beginning of the twentieth century.'[806] Similarly, Howe identifies Leo as 'the most important' of the pioneers who developed astrology from theosophical backgrounds, and argues that Leo was 'this century's first major astrological publicist' and the 'first astrologer of all time to practise his art on a large and well-organised professional scale.'[807] Cornelius identifies Leo as standing 'at the centre of the modern European revival of astrology.'[808] Leo has also been identified as a central figure in developing what is known as 'sun-sign' or 'star-sign' astrology and Campion has argued that this was Leo's great contribution to popular culture.[809] This chapter will consider Leo, examining his astrology in light of the discussion to date on psychologisation. It will begin with considering Leo's life and involvement with astrology before examining his adaptation of astrology; this section will include a consideration of the main psychological features that constitute his reform of astrology. I will then consider the rationale underlying Leo's astrology and whether his astrology may be considered to be principally concerned with psychological technique. Next, I will address the issue of legitimisation, asking why Leo embraced psychology and how he viewed astrology in relationship to psychology. I will consider whether his attempt to make astrology more psychological was connected with legitimisation, whether Leo's astrology may be considered a disenchanted form, and how it relates to ideas on modernity. The chapter conclusion will summarise how Leo's astrology relates to psychologisation theory and

[806] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.72.
[807] Howe, *Urania's Children*, pp.56-57.
[808] Cornelius, *Moment of Astrology*, p.167.
[809] Campion, *History II*, p.232.

consider Leo's contribution to the possible psychologisation of natal astrology during the twentieth century.

6.2 Alan Leo

Alan Leo was born William Frederick Allen in August 1860.[810] He became interested in astrology around the age of eighteen, and learned more about the subject aged twenty-one from a herbalist-astrologer who had briefly treated him.[811] By his late twenties, Leo had become involved in theosophy, and formally joined the Theosophical Society in 1889, changing his name at the same time to one more reflective of his birth horoscope which contained several planets in the zodiac sign Leo.[812] Through theosophy Leo met others also interested in astrology, including F.W. Lacey, and it was in November 1889 that together they started a new monthly astrological publication called *The Astrologer's magazine* (with the name later changed to *Modern Astrology*); this began Leo's career as an astrologer and author of astrology books and articles.[813] Alan Leo wrote seven substantial books on astrology between 1899 and 1913, these being *Astrology for All*, *Casting the Horoscope*, *How to Judge a Nativity*, *The Art of Synthesis*, *The Progressed Horoscope*, *The Key to Your Own Nativity* and *Esoteric Astrology*.[814] He founded a new lodge of the Theosophical Society in 1914 with the aim of teaching astrology to theosophists and theosophy to astrologers.[815] This ultimately led to several other organisations who grew from splinter groups from Leo's lodge, namely the Faculty of Astrological Studies in 1948, the Astrological Association in 1958 and the Company of Astrologers in 1983; in Curry's words these represent 'almost every major English astrological organization.'[816]

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[810] Curry, *A Confusion of Prophets*, p.123.
[811] Curry, *A Confusion of Prophets*, p.123.
[812] Curry, *A Confusion of Prophets*, p.128.
[813] Curry, *A Confusion of Prophets*, p.128; Kim Farnell, *The Astral Tramp: A Biography of Sepharial* (London: Ascella, 1998), p.17.
[814] Bessie Leo et al., *The Life and Work of Alan Leo* (Hong Kong: Forgotten Books, 2012 [1919]), pp.206-208.
[815] Curry, *A Confusion of Prophets*, p.151.
[816] Curry, *A Confusion of Prophets*, p.152.

Leo's key astrological influence was Helena Petrovna Blavatsky (1831-1891) who had founded the Theosophical Society in 1875 in New York with the aim of recovering lost wisdom contained within the religious and spiritual traditions of the world; she aspired to create a body of people who, in studying this lost wisdom, could prepare the world for a shift to a new age.[817] Blavatsky wrote of a new cycle of history which reclaimed the lost wisdom of the past, 'the cycle has almost run its course; a new one is about to begin…' and in her proclamation of a new era evidenced the typical modern preoccupation with starting again.[818] Her two highly influential texts to support the aims of the Theosophical Society were *Isis Unveiled* and *The Secret Doctrine*.[819] These texts had a significant impact on Alan Leo's thinking about astrology, for Lacey recalled that Leo 'rarely read much' and that:

> I used to suggest he should read them [old astrological books] but he read very few, and those only superficially. Except Mme. Blavatsky's *Isis Unveiled* and *The Secret Doctrine*, which he studied seriously, and Raphael's *Guides*, he never interested himself much in any books at this early period; his book was practical life.[820]

Given Leo was strongly influenced by Blavatsky's work, it is worth exploring her key statement on astrology:

> Astrology is a science as *infallible* as astronomy itself, with the condition, however, that its interpreters must be equally infallible; and it is this condition, *sine qua non*, so very difficult of realisation, that has always proved a stumbling block to both. Astrology is to exact astronomy what psychology is to exact physiology. In astrology and psychology one has to step beyond the visible world of matter…[821]

Blavatsky painted astrology as a precise science, but one that is difficult to practise in an infallible manner due to the imperfections of the astrologer. She further highlighted what she saw as astrology's concern with spiritual or inner meaning, with astrology the

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[817] Joscelyn Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1994), p.xi; see also Campion, *Astrology and Cosmology*, p.192.
[818] Helena Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled* (Wheaton, IL: Quest, 1997), p.15.
[819]Campion, *Astrology and Cosmology*, p.189.
[820] B. Leo et al., *Life and Work of Alan Leo*, p.43.
[821] Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled*, Vol. I, p.259.

inner dimension to the science of astronomy. Her comparison with psychology is revealing, for she suggested both belong in similar territory, beyond what is visible to the human eye; both deal with inner, less tangible realities than those that can be directly observed. Blavatsky frequently mentioned Plato in her works, referencing his views on the soul, such as the entire world being ensouled, his theory of the soul consisting of several parts and Plato's belief in God as a geometer.[822]

According to a friend, referred to only by the initials E.E.D. in Bessie Leo's collation of reminiscences in tribute to her late husband, Leo never called himself a psychologist.[823] In some of his writings however, he showed awareness of what he called the 'New Psychology' and he understood that this may be important in interpreting natal charts:

> Too much stress cannot be laid upon the fact that the radix of Horoscope of Birth contains the germ of the whole life: it is the root of the tree, so to speak. Everything depends upon the character and temperament of the native as to how he will act under any given series of directions. To become a competent judge of the fruit of the tree, as indicated by the directions, the student will require to possess a certain amount of belief in the New Psychology, for it will often happen that influences are maturing under certain aspects which cannot eventuate without the opportunity for their true expression.[824]

This reference to the New Psychology came in 1905, and whilst Leo did not elaborate on what he understood by this term, it was in use around that time referring to the plethora of writings and interest in the burgeoning discipline of psychology.[825] For example, William James, writing in English in 1892, writes that 'people talk triumphantly of 'the New Psychology'.'[826] Lears explains that the 'new psychology' concerned the move to view the psyche as dynamic and as interacting with the environment; this was a key principle of the developing discipline of psychoanalysis.[827]

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[822] Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled*, p.36, p.59, p.111.
[823] B. Leo et al., *Life and Work of Alan Leo*, p.145.
[824] Alan Leo, *The Progressed Horoscope* (London: Ascella, 1905), p.293.
[825] Shamdasani, *Jung and the Making*, pp.3-5.
[826] William James, *Psychology: Briefer Course* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1984), p.468.
[827] Lears, 'From Salvation to Self-realization', p.19.

Leo was writing at a time when psychoanalysis was developing, and few books had been translated into English. However, his work does show traces of the emerging psychoanalytic thinking. In the 1912 edition of *The Art of Synthesis* he referred to the terms conscious and unconscious, in the context of discussing all the things which the planets rule.[828] According to Whyte, the use of the term unconscious had become fashionable by around 1870-1880.[829] Leo also referred to the 'ego' further demonstrating his familiarity with emerging psychoanalytic language.[830]

6.3 Leo's adaptation of astrology

Leo adopted the basic technical framework of astrology: the planets, zodiac signs, houses and aspects describing planetary relationships. Yet he also adapted astrology. In order to assess Leo's contribution to the possible psychologisation of astrology it is necessary to understand this adaptation and to what extent it was psychological. I will consider the psychological features, the rationale underpinning his astrology and whether his astrology can be considered to be a form of psychological technique. I will then consider how his astrology relates to legitimisation, disenchantment and modernity.

6.3.1 Psychological features

Leo's astrology incorporated a turn to the inner which included separating what he called esoteric and exoteric astrology. He placed soul at the centre of his astrology, viewing much of the horoscope in psychological terms, and identified the Sun as representative of the Self. These adaptations underpinned an astrology of expanded character description and his mantra that character equals destiny.

6.3.1.1 Esoteric and Exoteric

Classical astrology had described character but also described physical characteristics and life events. Ptolemy wrote of Mars making people 'red and white of complexion',

[828] Alan Leo, *The Art of Synthesis*, (London: LN Fowler, 1968), p.4.
[829] Whyte, *Unconscious before Freud,* pp.168-169.
[830] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.134.

and 'noble' whilst also bringing 'power founded on generalships.'[831] Leo's adaptation represented a shift in emphasis. He divided natal astrology into two clear types and labelled these as the esoteric and exoteric points of view:

> Esoteric Astrology deals with the abstract cause, the philosophy and the inner or more subtle point of view; whilst Exoteric Astrology is content with the effect, the practice, and the concrete or outer expression, preferring the more tangible and evident to the speculative and theoretical.[832]

For Leo, Esoteric astrology was concerned 'with the science of human nature, and seeks to explain, through its unique symbolism, the realities or fundamental properties governing humanity under the rule of the heavenly bodies.'[833] Favouring this approach, Leo focused more on character or the inner side of astrology as opposed to the external world that is covered by exoteric astrology. For Leo the exoteric astrologer may see life as fully mapped out, which is in contrast to the view of the esoteric astrologer:

> His faith is based upon the belief that as a man sows, so he must reap; his motto is 'MAN KNOW THYSELF'; and he knows that man may become master of his destiny, being himself in essence inseparable from the divine Ruler of that universe in which he is manifesting. It is from this latter standpoint that all the 'directions' given in this work are made, and all its rules are based upon the idea that 'THE STARS CONDITION, THEY DO NOT COMPEL.[834]

Leo pointed to the importance of understanding that the horoscope may give a particular tendency in a certain direction or behaviour, but does not force one into a particular course of action. This is because, in his view, the horoscope reveals the inner dimension which can manifest in various ways and which one can influence through the response of one's soul.

In contrast to Ptolemy, who had discussed both indicators of material fortune and quality of the soul without suggesting soul quality should be regarded as the priority for astrological interpretation, Leo elevated what he called the esoteric side of

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[831] Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, p.311; p.353; p.381.
[832] Leo, *Esoteric Astrology*, p.xiv.
[833] Leo, *Esoteric Astrology*, p.1.
[834] Leo, *Progressed Horoscope*, p.8.

astrology above the exoteric.[835] The inner or psychological was now viewed as superior to interpretation of material circumstance.

The focus on the inner or esoteric domain as opposed to the outer or exoteric raises the question of psychologisation as a neglect of the outer world and turning away from social and political concerns, as is asserted by McLaughlin.[836] In Leo's natal astrology, the inner world is the focus; as such a consequence is less concern with social and political involvement.

6.3.1.2 A concern with soul

Following Campion, a concern with 'soul' may be taken to be a concern with psyche and thus the psychological.[837] Leo's astrology is firmly psychological in that at the heart of his approach was a belief that the soul is linked to the stars. He referred to the beliefs of the Chaldean priests, a term he probably obtained from Blavatsky who uses the term in *Isis Unveiled*.[838] Leo argued that these priests believed that:

> An affinity existed between the stars and the souls of men; that the ethereal essence is Divine; that the souls of men are taken from this reservoir, and return to it at death; and that the souls of the more eminent of mankind are converted into stars.[839]

Leo's focus on the soul was inspired by theosophy and in particular karma and reincarnation, part of theosophy's embrace of occult and religious ideas from the East.[840] Hyde argues that Leo, inspired by his theosophical background, saw the birth-chart as an indicator of the soul's progress in this particular reincarnation.[841] Leo described how,

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[835] See Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, p.333; p.373.
[836] McLaughlin, 'Psychologisation and the Construction of the Political Subject', p.75.
[837] See Campion, 'Astronomy and Psyche in the Classical World', pp.2179-2186.
[838] Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled*, p.47.
[839] Leo, *Astrology for All*, p.iv.
[840] Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge*, p.59; Mark Morrison, 'The Periodical Culture of the Occult Revival: Esoteric Wisdom, Modernity and Counter-Public Spheres' *Journal of Modern Literature*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Winter, 2008), pp.1-22, p.7; Mark Bevir, 'The West Turns Eastward: Madame Blavatsky and the Transformation of the Occult Tradition' *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, Vol. 62, No. 3 (Autumn, 1994), pp.747-767, p.748.
[841] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.81.

at the age of 17, he was present at a discussion between his mother and a man who had recently returned from India, in which the theory of reincarnation was discussed:

> I told my mother that it was the most reasonable hypothesis I had yet heard; and after thinking about it I formed the opinion that our souls were connected with the stars.[842]

Leo saw karma and reincarnation as explaining why different people were born with very different birth-charts, some being easier to cope with than others. The idea that the chart was a result of karma brought a justification for this disparity:

> Today my belief in the science of the stars stands or falls with Karma and Reincarnation, and I have no hesitation in saying that without these ancient teachings, Natal Astrology has no permanent value. The law which gives one soul a nativity of good environment in which refinement, opportunity, and sound moral training are uppermost; and to another poverty, disease, and immoral training, is manifestly unjust, to say the least, apart from its being without any apparent purpose.[843]

Leo's embrace of karma and reincarnation assisted in his understanding of why not all birth-charts are equally good or bad. For Leo, some charts were very much worse than others and it is only karma and reincarnation that can account for such uneven distributions of fate. The solution to the problem is karma, with each chart being the consequence of karma accrued in previous lives. For Leo, karma was shown in the birth chart:

> The nativity indicates what we have sown in the past and how we shall reap what we have sown. It is a chart which should be used as a guide in life. In it are concealed our capabilities, and our character, therefore our destiny.[844]

Complementary psychologisation, Plaisance's first of his four-fold categorisation of the psychologisation of the esoteric, is the idea that the psychological and the spiritual complement each other in an esoteric system.[845] This form of psychologisation forms an important part of the context for Leo's astrology. For Leo astrology only made sense

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[842] Leo, *Esoteric Astrology*, p.vi.
[843] Leo, *Esoteric Astrology*, p.vii.
[844] Alan Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity* (New York: Astrologer's Library, 1983), p.xx.
[845] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.16.

within the boundaries of the theories of karma and reincarnation. This means that his psychological astrology can be seen as complementary to an esoteric system which views karma and reincarnation as a framing for development within this particular lifetime.

Leo's belief in karma and reincarnation was both connected to theories that horoscopes may be more or less fortunate, and also that the soul evolved over time. This level of progress influences how the soul responds to astrological influences. He divided souls into three types:

> In the lowest class stand undeveloped and untrained souls, those who are yet young in evolution; in the highest, those who are older and more experienced souls, practising self-control and using reason and reflection both in thought and action. Between these two stand by far the largest class… such souls are strong on some points and weak on others, not having obtained as yet that all-round experience which is the result of age alone.[846]

For Leo, this condition of the soul influenced the extent to which the individual was subject to fate, that is, younger souls and the group in the middle are more likely to respond to astrological prediction because they have less ability to reason, reflect and practice self-control.[847] Leo's three-fold analysis of the soul indicates he placed the soul outside the remit of the horoscope, although only older souls could genuinely transcend astrological influences and thus attain a greater level of free-will:

> As evolution progresses the soul becomes more clearly outlined in each department of its being, clearer in insight, purer in motive, and more capable in action. That is, the man is less dominated by body… his character is more his own… [848]

Leo related soul to character with more evolved souls having greater control over their characters and thus greater ability to choose how to respond to astrological influence.

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[846] Leo, *Progressed Horoscope*, p.11.
[847] Leo, *Progressed Horoscope*, p.11.
[848] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.131.

The second form of Plaisance's typology of psychologisation is terminological; this refers to esoteric terminology having been replaced with psychological language.[849] An example of this form of psychologisation can be found in Leo's discussion of his 'state of the soul' theory discussed above. On occasion he deviated from the language of souls to discuss the difference in the three types of individual in terms of the ego:

> The undeveloped Ego will always be liable to act in response to outside influences, and will be moulded and shaped in mind and feeling according to the circumstances and the surroundings in which he is placed.[850]

In this case the word soul has been replaced by the word ego, i.e. esoteric ideas have been replaced by psychological terms suggesting terminological psychologisation.

6.3.1.3 Psychological characteristics in the horoscope

Leo discussed the interpretation of the horoscope on three levels, the outer level of events, the world of inner consciousness and the body.[851] He included qualities related to the inner self, which he most often refers to as consciousness, in his planetary significations. For each planet some examples of their psychological characteristics as given by Leo are:

> Sun: 'sense of dignity, authority, grandeur, pride, ostentation, ambition, ardour'[852]
>
> Moon: 'sensation, instincts, impulses; feelings belonging to home and domestic life… receptivity, imagination'[853]
>
> Mercury: 'understanding, reason, intelligence, intellect; the abstract kinds of these rather than the concrete… cunning, craft'[854]

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[849] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.17.
[850] Leo, *Progressed Horoscope*, p.24.
[851] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.5.
[852] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, pp.6-7.
[853] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.7.
[854] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.7.

Venus: 'emotions and affections, especially love and those arising out of love; the aesthetic sense, comfort and pleasure'[855]

Mars: 'courage, bravery, enterprise… dignity, desire, passion …combativeness'[856]

Jupiter: 'benevolence, good nature, sociability, hopefulness… order, harmony, devotion'[857]

Saturn: 'the concrete mind tending to separation, isolation... the sense of 'self' is strong; emotion is held in check by thought and will'[858]

Uranus: 'Will, in the highest sense of deliberate, free, and conscious choice and action; love of freedom, independence… self-reliance, dislike of control, originality'[859]

Neptune: 'feeling, desire, emotion, imagination, aesthetics, psychic faculty, and intuition.'[860]

Many of Leo's associations can be related to the psychological descriptions William Lilly gave in 1647, which were given in chapter four. Lilly had asserted for example that Mars was associated with boldness, recognisable in Leo's 'courage' and 'bravery'; Lilly had associated Jupiter with magnanimity, close to Leo's 'benevolence'.[861]

Leo associated general temperament with the zodiac sign rising on the eastern horizon at the time of birth, called the Ascendant; he associated feelings and emotions with the Moon, mental expressions with the Sun and the planets, and phases of thought with the movement of the horoscope over time.[862] This gives a characterological meaning to the planets, some of the signs and to forecasting techniques, which covers a

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[855] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.8.
[856] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.8.
[857] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.9.
[858] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.9.
[859] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.10.
[860] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.10.
[861] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, pp. 62-63, 67-68.
[862] Leo, *Progressed Horoscope*, p.13.

substantial, if not complete, portion of the make-up of natal astrology. His book *The Key to Your Own Nativity*, contains extensive characterological descriptions of all the planetary places in the different signs of the zodiac; for example he described the blend of the Sun in Scorpio and the Moon in Taurus as showing a 'love [of] order, rhythm, dancing, music' and as someone with a 'studious and somewhat intellectual mind.'[863] Speaking direct to the individual Leo stated the individual would,

> dislike to be blamed and greatly desire those you love to approve of you. You have a large amount of conjugality and the capacity to love very strongly and deeply. You are very fixed and determined when your mind is made up.[864]

Leo's focus on the psychological level of the horoscope, with psychological descriptions covering a substantial portion of the horoscope, relates to the idea of psychologisation as the overflow of psychology. To increase psychological content is, in essence, to psychologise.

To illustrate his psychological approach Leo provided an interpretation of the birth-chart of the art critic John Ruskin (1819 – 1900).[865] He offered a brief outline of the key outer events of Ruskin's life, these being a youth spent in travel, early love of books and writing, unrequited love at seventeen which resulted in Ruskin becoming ill from emotional distress, a marriage that was annulled after six years, skill in drawing and death in 1900 after a lengthy period of losing strength.[866] Leo then drew together an understanding of the natal chart by considering three components, the ruling planet (the planet ruling the zodiac sign rising), the temperament as judged by the prominent planets, and the predominating quality of the person by considering the mix of zodiac signs.[867] From the sign Aquarius rising Leo stated that Ruskin had 'humanitarian ideals, including to the higher socialism; mental qualification, giving artistic tendencies in either

[863] Alan Leo, *The Key to Your Own Nativity* (Rochester, Vermont: Destiny Books, 2002), p.209.
[864] Leo, *Key to Your Own Nativity*, p.209.
[865] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.191.
[866] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.192.
[867] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.193.

literature, art, or music; human principles, and a sacred idea of friendship.'[868] From the ruling planet, Saturn in Pisces, and its placement in the chart, Leo assessed Ruskin as:

> undemonstrative, but faithful and constant in feeling. Intellectually analytical and grave, thorough, and self-reliant, and of independent mind. In action slow, persevering and moved by principles and due appreciation of responsibility.[869]

Leo assessed Ruskin's temperament as 'Uranian' owing to the prominence of the planet Uranus in the horoscope, and leading to the following:

> independence of spirit combined with the true humanitarian principle which is tolerant of all; is original, inventive and expansive without being eccentric, abrupt or irritable; and is intuitive, meditative and concentrated in thought without being selfish, reserved or too self-centred.[870]

Leo then assessed the balance of the planets but noted that synthesising the interpretation was difficult as can be common for 'nativities of exceptional persons with complex natures.'[871] He concluded however that:

> Ruskin was born a Saturnian, but with all the possibilities and probabilities of passing into a Uranian. His attitude toward the external world was highly moral and spiritual; he loved truth for truth's sake. Whilst striving to be a law unto himself, he was ever mindful of his kinship with humanity; and although strongly polarised toward his own centre, was still able to be all things unto all men.[872]

His analysis of Ruskin's birth-chart was entirely psychological, covering questions of attitude, character and essential nature rather than outer events or circumstances. In giving central importance to Ruskin's character, Leo inferred that Ruskin's destiny resulted from this psychological profile. He further indicated that this psychological profile was not entirely static as it contained the possibility of moving from 'Saturnian' to 'Uranian' which for Leo meant moving from an average level of soul to a highly evolved soul.[873] This analysis showed Leo's belief in the possibility of movement from what Leo termed a Saturnian level of awareness to a Uranian one, which he saw as part

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[868] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.193.
[869] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.194.
[870] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.195.
[871] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.195.
[872] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.197.
[873] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, pp.134-135.

of the soul's evolution.[874] This evolution may be seen as a dynamic movement of the psyche, foreshadowing the perspective of the post-Jung psychological astrologers, and indicative of Leo's growing awareness of the 'new psychology' which promoted a dynamic view of the psyche.

The dynamic view of the psyche is bound up with psychoanalysis, which has been labelled as intrinsically psychologising.[875] This suggests that Leo's forays into interpretations which recognised the potentially dynamic nature of the psyche associate his astrology with a degree of psychologisation.

6.3.1.4 Astrological Sun as Self

The importance of the Sun for astrology was described by Leo thus:

> At the centre of our solar system is the Sun, the giver of life and light to the whole system. It is the principal influence throughout the whole science of Astrology, and is, until a certain stage is reached in evolution, the representative of the SELF.[876]

The astrological Sun is identified by Leo as the most important influence in astrology and also as representative of the Self up to a certain level of evolution, the latter showing Leo's position that it was possible for the soul to transcend the horoscope. His focus on the astrological Sun clearly demonstrates Leo's focus on the inner world with Leo having equated this key planet with the central core of each individual in a psychological sense.

Leo's concern with the Sun is evident in his first astrology book *Astrology for All*. He stated that:

> All narrow and bigoted conceptions of religion must fade into insignificance when we realise that the Sun is the light, and the life, of the whole system.[877]

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[874] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, pp.191-197.
[875] Rose, *Inventing Our Selves*, p.59; De Vos, *Psychologization and Late Modernity*, p.4.
[876] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.28.
[877] Leo, *Astrology for All*, p.3.

Leo held the Sun as a symbol for God, 'there can be no grander conception of God than this idea of the Logos who sustains the whole of His universe through His manifestation.'[878] A focus on the Sun is apparent in Blavatsky's cosmology, which identified it as an important spiritual component of the universe, 'the soul animating this purely spiritual universe is the central sun.'[879] A similar view may be found in the works of earlier, theosophically-minded astrologers. The Renaissance astrologer Marsilio Ficino, who subscribed to the idea of a wisdom tradition underlying all religions and who may also therefore be considered theosophical, suggested that the Sun was akin to God, 'the Sun is most able to signify to you God himself.'[880]

A focus on the astrological Sun as the core representation of the Self allowed Leo to develop extensive character delineations from one astrological factor. This is the antecedent of the idea that a great deal of a person's character may be read from their 'Sun-sign' alone. Leo wrote:

> From the Sun's position each month we may judge of the character of each individual, and we shall learn that, more or less, each person born during the period in which the sun passes through a particular sign of the zodiac will take on the characteristics as delineated in the following chapter. This will indicate the character of the INDIVIDUAL born, and by the same rule when the Moon is found in these signs at birth the PERSONALITY will be described.[881]

Campion argues that Leo deliberately created a zodiacal astrology of expanded interpretation which went on to become a notable feature of modern astrology.[882] This was achieved through lengthy character descriptions of each zodiac sign, far beyond what had previously been found in astrological texts. For example, Raphael, writing in the first half of the nineteenth century, described Gemini mainly in terms of associated physical characteristics and its rulerships over various parts of the body, diseases, places and things.[883] In terms of more psychological characteristics he identified only a few;

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[878] Leo, *Astrology for All*, p.3.
[879] Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled*, p.84.
[880] Voss, *Ficino*, pp.191-92.
[881] Leo, *Astrology for All*, p.11.
[882] Campion, *History II*, p.233.
[883] Raphael, *Manual of Astrology* (London: Thomas Tegg, 1834), p.63.

'always in motion', 'persons of greater intellect, and more powerful invention and genius, than any other sign of the zodiac.'[884] Alan Leo however gave an extensive description of Gemini qualities:

> They are dualistic… rarely content with a single occupation or pursuit… quickly adapt themselves to surroundings… love change and diversity… love variety of thought and all mental pursuits… take an especial delight in leaving their work unfinished… quick-witted and mentally impulsive… dualistic and restless, intellectual and sensational, nervous and irritable…[885]

This expanded description paved the way for the development of Sun-sign astrology, still prevalent in newspapers and magazines today as the commercial focus of astrology. It additionally enhanced the extent to which the interpretation of zodiac signs became entirely bound up with psychological qualities.

Curry has argued that psychological astrology places too much emphasis on the astrological Sun as the self; this, he asserts, leads to a disenchanted astrology.[886] Hanegraaff has argued that psychologised magic is disenchanted.[887] The question of whether Leo's emphasis on the Sun made his astrology disenchanted will be explored further below in the section on disenchantment.

6.3.1.5 Character is destiny

In discussing the psychologisation of astrology Hammer argues that psychologised astrology deals 'less with one's destiny and more with one's personality' and that magic in general is concerned 'less with influencing the external world and more with exploring the "archetypal" elements in one's own psyche.'[888] Munk has argued that focusing more on character than on destiny represents a psychologicalization of astrology.[889]

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[884] Raphael, *Manual of Astrology*, p.63.
[885] Leo, *Astrology for All*, pp.17-19.
[886] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.75.
[887] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', pp.357-380.
[888] Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge*, p.52.
[889] Munk, 'Signs of the Times', p.79.

Leo did not separate character from destiny. Instead he argued that character is destiny.[890] The more evolved the individual soul, the more freedom of the will, and the more ability to influence destiny. Hyde asserts that one of Leo's favourite teachings was that character is destiny which recognised an occult law whereby:

> unresolved elements of character and psychology, shown by problematic configurations in the horoscope, become manifested in hostile events in the outer world. A difficult Mars, for example, 'attracts' or manifests in violence from others.[891]

As such, it was vital, in Leo's astrology, to deal with horoscope configurations on the inner level so that these would then influence how the astrology expressed in the external world i.e. freedom of the individual would be enhanced. An example of Leo's emphasis on the possibility of responding on an inner level to astrological movements may be seen in his interpretation of the Sun coming together with Uranus:

> This marks an epoch in the life in which great changes of consciousness will take place and expansion of mind result therefrom… The native should exercise great care with regard to those who come into his life, as very strange engagements and peculiar episodes occur under this conjunction.[892]

Although the combination of the Sun and Uranus may bring strange and peculiar episodes, Leo's words indicated the possibility that the individual has a choice in responding through the exercising of care. The results of any external manifestation of this astrological movement are dependent on the inner response. As another example consider Leo's interpretation of the Moon forming a square with Mars:

> This is an evil aspect and one likely to bring sorrow and trouble, but this will depend upon the native's own attitude towards his environment and general surroundings; for if he does not rein in the excess of force which it brings it will cause him to act very impulsively… it will be an evil time unless the whole of the animal nature has been subdued…[893]

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[890] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.134.
[891] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.82.
[892] Leo, *Progressed Horoscope*, pp.130-131.
[893] Leo, *Progressed Horoscope*, p.222.

Leo interpreted a difficult time due to the excess of force indicated by the planetary combination; however crucially he pointed to the individual's attitude and ability to rein themselves in as the critical factors in how the combination will manifest. The psychological response of the individual was therefore crucial to how the astrology actually manifested in the world. The key to maximising freedom was in the level of psychological awareness.

Leo did focus more on character than destiny in the sense that he viewed character as the means by which destiny could be most influenced. This does not represent a neglect of destiny but rather a philosophical view on how best to change and influence destiny. The maximisation of freedom was the goal. It is a psychologisation in that it is 'more' of character and psychological interpretation but given it is done with destiny in mind, it cannot be said to be a full psychologisation. Rather, it is a nuanced psychologisation because philosophically, for Leo, character and destiny are inseparable.

Leo's psychological adaptations demarcated esoteric from exoteric astrology and explicitly asserted the soul's innate relationship to the stars. He placed his astrology in a wider framework of karma and reincarnation, and advocated expanded character description based on the Sun as a core representative of the self. He asserted that character equates to destiny, which justified an enhanced focus on the psychological component of astrological interpretation. Esoteric astrology, which was inner-focused, was presented as a superior form of astrology, supporting maximum potential for development and the freedom of the individual.

6.3.2 Underlying rationale for Leo's astrology

The question arises as to what the underlying rationale for Leo's astrology was and whether this was simply a technical background or a continuation of older astrological rationales.

6.3.2.1 Classical justifications

The rationale Leo embraced for astrology working goes back to classical justifications. He claimed that astrology, 'through planetary symbology, seeks to explain the One Universal Spirit in its varied manifestations.'[894] Further, he embraced the theory of correspondences and the link between the microcosm and the macrocosm.[895] In relation to the latter he recognised 'the belief that man, the microcosm or little universe, is an image of the macrocosm or great universe' as 'extremely ancient'.[896] In this Leo echoed astrologers of much earlier times; a similar appeal may be found in the work of the 1st century AD Roman astrologer Marcus Manilius:

> Why wonder that men can comprehend heaven, when heaven exists in their very beings and each one is in a smaller likeness the image of God himself?[897]

In relation to the theory of correspondences, Leo referred to there being analogies throughout Nature.[898] As an example he cited the zodiac sign Aries being associated with both spring and the head and face.[899] This was similar to earlier, pre-modern astrologers such as William Lilly, who had also identified Aries with both spring and the face and head.[900] For Leo these correspondences were real connections reflecting the inner essence of the material world. In basing his astrology on such foundations, Leo's reform of astrology did not alter the fundamental ideas that had underpinned astrology for two thousand years.

For Leo, the link between the microcosm and the macrocosm as a rationale for astrology revealed the purpose of his psychological adaptation:

> The belief that man, the microcosm or little universe, is an image of the macrocosm or great universe… is extremely ancient… from the psychological point of view the whole growth and evolution of the soul may be represented as a process by which man becomes a more and more complete image of the

[894] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.vi.
[895] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.4.
[896] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.4.
[897] Manilius, *Astronomica*, pp.293-295.
[898] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.12.
[899] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.13.
[900] See Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, p.87, p.93.

> outer world of things. Consciousness mirrors the universe; the world is reflected in man.[901]

Leo stated that the evolution of the soul is akin to a psychological process of the individual becoming increasingly like the image of the outer world. This explains the purpose of his astrology and the reason why it is fundamentally psychological. This view represents an overlap between the psychological and the spiritual. As such, it is resonant of Hanegraaff's psychologisation of the sacred and sacralisation of the psychological or as Plaisance put it, idealistic psychologisation.[902] In this form of psychologisation, the psyche itself is the root of the sacred such that psychology and the sacred are inextricably intertwined.

Leo believed in God; for him each soul was a 'Divine Fragment', and the solar system had been created by God, whom Leo, following the theosophists, referred to as the 'Solar Logos'.[903]

The theory of correspondences and the belief in God were for Leo not mere technical background. His spiritual conception of the world meant his psychological astrology was not secular in nature. His theosophical cosmology viewed the world as fundamentally soulful and meaningful and he asserted his belief that the soul was linked to the stars. He did not discuss the idea of a magical plane as being the level on which astrology worked. As such, the rationale for Leo's adapted astrology does not conform to the idea of psychologised magic being justified by the postulation of a separate magical plane, untouched by the disenchanted outer world.

6.3.3 Leo's astrology as psychological technique

Leo prioritised psychological interpretation, viewing it as superior to interpretation connected to the outer world of appearances and events. This reflected his wider belief in a cosmology in which the soul is linked to the stars, his fundamental concern being with the welfare of the soul and maximisation of its ability to act freely. To consider the

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[901] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.4.
[902] Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion*, p.227; Plaisance, *Israel Regardie*, pp.19-20.
[903] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.1.

question of psychological technique further I consider below Leo's approach to the three different ways of interpreting horoscopes, and his chart interpretation in *Art of Synthesis* of what he calls 'The Nativity of a Bankrupt'.[904]

6.3.3.1 Leo's theory of planetary meaning

Leo's astrology is not an example of psychological technique because it can be applied to other areas of life beyond the inner, psychological level. Leo identified three possible levels of astrological interpretation, the inner, outer and the body. An example of this is found in his interpretations for the planet Saturn. In the outer world, Leo claimed Saturn signifies brickmakers, miners, hermits, policemen, mountainous areas and the metal lead.[905] Yet Saturn also has associations on the inner level or the level of consciousness, here meaning 'the concrete mind tending to separation, isolation, and the emphasis of the personality.'[906] In relation to the body, Saturn 'governs bones, teeth, the spleen; diseases produced by cold, rheumatism, falls, accidents, melancholia.'[907] For Leo, is it not that astrology only deals with the inner or psychological dimension; on the contrary astrology is quite capable of describing the body and things and people in the outer world. However, it is the inner dimension that contains the possibility for soul growth and some freedom of choice, which for Leo are the overriding matters of importance. As such, his interpretations focused on the inner level of response, whilst also recognising that outer conditions may change under a given astrological movement. The example of Saturn passing through the fifth house of the horoscope, referred to as a transit in astrology, is one which Leo discussed. His interpretation was thus:

> [It] will cause disappointments, the breaking of attachments, loss of children, ill success in speculation, troubles over investments; but to the enlightened it will bring chastity, prudence in affection, careful examination of all investments and the avoidance of hazardous enterprises, and more care and thought with regard to the welfare of the young.[908]

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[904] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, pp.229-231.
[905] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.9.
[906] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.9.
[907] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.9.
[908] Leo, *Progressed Horoscope*, p.287.

The manifestation of this transit, for Leo, clearly depended on the state of the individual soul with enlightened souls experiencing more positive impacts from the transit than those who are unenlightened.

Leo's work contains both psychological and non-psychological interpretations. These demonstrate that his astrology was not confined to the psychological domain and as such his astrology cannot be reduced to psychological technique. For example, he asserted that for female horoscopes, 'a good marriage is made if the Sun is in good aspect to Mars, and Mars well placed….'[909] This claims that the individual is fated to a good marriage based on the relationship and placement of the Sun and Mars in their horoscope. There is no psychological interpretation here, simply a reading of what will be the case if certain factors are found in a horoscope. In his consideration of how death might be shown in the horoscope Leo stated:

> The sign on the cusp of the eighth house, planets in the house, or failing these, the lord of the house, usually indicate the kind of death the native will die.[910]

The interpretation is however qualified by the word 'usually' suggesting that a different kind of death is possible. Leo stated that 'cases of violent death are always very plainly shown in horoscopes where both luminaries are afflicted by the 'malefic' planets.'[911] From this perspective the individual with a birth-chart where the Sun and Moon are in difficult aspect to planets such as Mars and Saturn is more prone to a violent death. This demonstrates that Leo sometimes focused on the outer level of events in addition to more psychological interpretations. That Leo's interpretations show a range in terms of being very psychological to not very psychological at all, is also shown by his interpretation of differing astrological houses. For example, the Sun in the seventh house for Leo was indicative of one's marriage partner, not the subjective view of one's marriage partner or a psychological response to the state of marriage.[912] In contrast, there are other examples within Leo's work that show the astrological houses being

[909] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.194.
[910] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.195.
[911] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.201
[912] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.189.

interpreted in a psychological manner. Take for example this interpretation of the Sun in the third house:

> Magnanimity of mind, with some pride, and ambitious tendencies. Firm and self-reliant in all mental pursuits, always aiming at success, seeking honour and fame through mental qualifications, and ever desirous of benefiting others mentally.[913]

This is a fully psychological interpretation of a house placement allowing many expressions for how someone with the Sun in the third house might express the innate tendency shown. Similarly, a further example would be Leo's consideration of the planet Mercury placed in the ninth house of the horoscope:

> Denotes a love of knowledge, an enquiring and studious mind… If afflicted it denotes a tendency to worry, and to become engaged in too many things at one time, also to wander and take aimless journeys…[914]

Leo's range of interpretations, from fully psychological to those that are more concerned with the outer world and external events, demonstrate that his astrology was not reducible to psychological technique, i.e. that overall it cannot be said to be an example of reductive psychologisation.

6.3.3.2 The Nativity of a Bankrupt

To consider how Leo's astrology worked in practice, and whether it can be construed as psychological technique, I discuss one of his key interpretations, the 'Nativity of a Bankrupt'.

Leo described a man who rose from humble beginnings and became very wealthy. This man however had a psychological flaw, which was 'extreme liberality' and an over-generous nature, being 'never able to resist the entreaties of his friends and acquaintances to advance them money.'[915] As such, the man got into debt with his bankers and became a bankrupt, losing his prominent position in his own company and eventually taking a lower role as a manger to the firm he had built and made

[913] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.161.
[914] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.205.
[915] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.229.

successful.[916] Leo analysed the man's horoscope, and claimed that the planet Mercury in opposition to Uranus and square to the Moon and Saturn denoted 'legal troubles', 'a great deal of opposition' and 'the disruption and entanglement of his affairs.'[917] Additionally:

> The loss and extravagance in connection with his friends and acquaintances is plainly marked by the square aspect of Mars to Jupiter from the eleventh house, the house of friends, to the third.[918]

Yet Leo also noted that the relationship of Mars to Venus, these being in a positive sextile (60 degrees apart as viewed from Earth) aspect was also 'a position which brought him gain.'[919] Despite the interpretations which indicate a more concrete reading of the man's destiny due to planetary patterns, Leo alluded to the man's free choices in how his destiny played out:

> The squares of Mercury and Saturn and the Moon and Uranus were the most trying aspects he had to contend with, and the affliction of Jupiter, ruler of the fourth house, by Mars, together with Saturn… It was only through a knowledge of Astrology that he was prevented from committing a rash act, and his last visit to the author was one in which he expressed himself very strongly with regard to precipitating matters in a way which would have disgraced his good name…[920]

Leo demonstrated his belief that the man was able to influence his destiny through an understanding of his birth-chart and what it meant for his character and tendencies. Indeed, this focus on freely chosen response seems to have formed the basis of Leo's astrological consultation with the man. Leo's conclusion was that 'he was a man ruined of a splendid business, through his own inability to overcome the severe afflictions in his nativity.'[921] This comment suggests that Leo believed in the possibility of freedom to work with particular placements in the natal chart and that overcoming difficult planetary placements is possible.

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[916] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.229.
[917] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.230.
[918] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.230.
[919] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.230.
[920] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.231.
[921] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.231.

The purpose of the astrological consultation was to increase consciousness of innate patterns. In that sense it could be asserted that this is a case where astrology is being used as a psychological technique. However, lying behind the goal of enhanced consciousness is a wider cosmology, one that relates the soul to the stars, and in which psychological development in this life is seen as equivalent to soul development and critical for evolving into the next incarnation in better shape. In this sense Leo's astrology is not just about psychological techniques, for astrology is seen as a real indicator of the state of one's soul that itself is bound up with the wider cosmos.

6.3.4 Leo's astrology and legitimisation

In this section I examine the reasons why Leo adopted a psychological approach and the wider question of his work and legitimisation.

6.3.4.1 Reasons for adopting a psychological approach

Leo had claimed that the student of astrology should be aware of the New Psychology.[922] In doing so Leo claimed that a certain amount of psychological knowledge was necessary to properly consider how a person will react to astrological influences as they unfold over time. This indicates an embrace of psychology or concern with character because natal astrology deals with human matters. It also demonstrates that Leo embraced psychology or an emphasis on character because that approach makes sense philosophically i.e. without understanding a person's character it is difficult to forecast accurately and assist the individual in maximising their free choice. To illustrate his point, he went on to explore an example from his own chart, involving his birth configuration whereby Saturn is close to the Ascendant.[923] Leo stated that this was 'an unfortunate position hindering the personality and retarding progress' yet when Jupiter came to join these two planets this 'liberated a great deal of benefic influence which brought a period of rising fortune.'[924] Leo combined his understanding of the natal configuration with a

[922] Leo, *Progressed Horoscope*, p.293.
[923] Leo, *Progressed Horoscope*, p.293.
[924] Leo, *Progressed Horoscope*, p.293.

broad forecast for a period of better fortune which released the personality from the restriction shown by the natal pattern i.e. the psychological state of the individual is intertwined with the state of the outer life. Leo went on to say that 'it was the radical position of Saturn which gave the perseverance and caution necessary to enable the expansive Jupiter to act temperately and steadily.'[925] For Leo, it is only by understanding the natal chart in full and what it reveals about the personality that accurate forecasting is possible. It is the understanding of the esoteric or inner world that sheds light on the exoteric or external world. Through a thorough understanding of how a personality is coping with the various qualities indicated by different planets, it is possible to assess what may manifest in the external world under a given astrological movement.

As a theosophist, Leo had a strong conviction in the new era which Blavatsky had written about.[926] This new age was an important context for his belief in the importance of soul evolution through psychological growth. Leo wrote that he was motivated to his adaptation of astrology 'by the primary motive of expressing what I believe to be the true Astrology for the new Era that is now dawning upon the world.'[927]

The context of his belief in a new era and the philosophical primacy of the psychological to aid soul evolution were strong motivations for Leo adopting a psychological approach.

6.3.4.2 Brushes with the law

The question of legitimisation in relation to Leo's astrology is also informed by his brushes with the law. Leo operated at a time when 'fortune-telling' could bring one into trouble with the law as the Vagrancy Act of 1824 prohibited the telling of fortunes by any means; this was regarded as inherently deceptive.[928] In April 1914 Leo was summoned to appear at the police courts to answer a charge of unlawfully pretending to tell fortunes.[929] In the subsequent court hearing, which considered the interpretations

[925] Leo, *Progressed Horoscope*, p.293.
[926] Blavatsky, *Isis Unveiled*, p.15.
[927] Leo, *Esoteric Astrology*, p.v.
[928] https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Geo4/5/83/section/4, (accessed: 10 April 2021)
[929] Curry, *A Confusion of Prophets*, p.145.

that had been provided in a single case, the summons was dismissed on the grounds that there was no evidence that Leo had any knowledge of this particular application for a horoscope interpretation and had furthermore been abroad when the interpretation was provided.[930] This incident however left a deep impression on him, and Leo resolved to remove any trace of fortune-telling, i.e. exact predictions, from his astrological interpretations, instead rebranding astrology as a science of tendencies.[931] Leo stated:

> Let us part company with the fatalistic astrologer who prides himself on his predictions and who is ever seeking to convince the world that in the predictive side of Astrology alone shall we find its value. We need not argue the point as to its reality, but instead make a much-needed change in the meaning of the word and call Astrology the science of *tendencies,* thus giving a more elastic interpretation of the old but very good astrological word 'influence'.[932]

Curry argues that this brought astrology to a similar position as to that of psychology, with both subjects recognising that human beings cannot be subject to exact prediction.[933] However, Leo's difficulties with the law and charges against him of fortune-telling were not over, for in July 1917 he was once again serviced with a summons to appear in court on the charge of pretending to tell fortunes, the public prosecutor having decided to bring back the prosecution.[934] Curry reports that a particular prediction from Leo's interpretations was emphasised, this being that 'at this time a death in your family circle is likely to cause you sorrow.'[935] Although Leo was adamant that he only predicted tendencies rather than specific events, it was difficult to refute the charge that a death in the family was a specific prediction of an event rather than a tendency; as such Leo was found guilty and was fined accordingly.[936] This prosecution, according to Curry, pushed Leo further down a road he had already started upon many years before, that of modernising astrology, and he once again resolved to review his own astrological work, to remove any fatalistic and materialistic

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[930] Curry, *A Confusion of Prophets*, p.148.
[931] Curry, *A Confusion of Prophets*, p.149.
[932] Alan Leo, *Modern Astrology* XXV/XI (July 1914), pp.239-393.
[933] Curry, *A Confusion of Prophets*, p.150.
[934] Curry, *A Confusion of Prophets*, p.152.
[935] Curry, *A Confusion of Prophets*, p.154.
[936] Curry, *A Confusion of Prophets*, p.154-155.

tendencies.[937] Leo's focus on an astrology concerned with character was not only self-proclaimed but was recognised by friends and colleagues. Annie Besant (1847-1933), the prominent theosophist, wrote:

> He was one of the foremost in raising Astrology from fortune-telling to a scientific forecasting of conditions, a delineation of tendencies in a character, a map of the personal nature, and a wide outlook on coming evolution.[938]

However, Leo had little time to complete his final revision of his work to remove all predictions and focus just on character, as he died from a brain haemorrhage soon after the trial, in late August 1917.[939]

On balance, given the timing of Leo's brushes with the law, which were both towards the end of his life and after his principal astrological books had been published, it is reasonable to conclude that Leo's adoption of psychology was primarily philosophical and because it offered the best chance of human beings influencing their own spiritual development (seen as akin to psychological development) in preparation for the new era which Leo believed in. This view was however reinforced by the legal situation and his own prosecution which helped to accelerate the need for astrologers to take an increasingly psychological perspective.

6.3.5 Leo's astrology and disenchantment

According to Curry, an emphasis on the Sun, which he sees as typical of psychological astrology, is an example of a monotheistic bias that Curry associates with disenchantment.[940] Leo's astrology had a strong focus on the astrological Sun which he saw as a core representation of the Self; he had written that the Sun was 'the principal influence throughout the whole science of Astrology' and that it represented 'the SELF'.[941] Taking this factor alone, some element of disenchantment is present. However, disenchantment is more widely understood as something which is

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[937] Curry, *A Confusion of Prophets*, p.157.
[938] B. Leo et al, *Life and Work*, p.8.
[939] Curry, *A Confusion of Prophets*, p.158.
[940] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.75.
[941] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.28.

repeatable and predictable with no mysterious forces coming into play.[942] Curry has further argued that psychological astrology neglects the world and that this is part of its disenchanted nature; neglect of the external world has also been identified as a consequence of psychologisation.[943] I examine these further aspects of disenchantment in this section in relation to Leo's astrology.

6.3.5.1 Repeatability and predictability

Leo's astrology is complicated by his 'state of the soul' theory in which souls in differing states of evolution experience astrological fate in different ways as when he wrote that the undeveloped souls 'will always be liable to act in response to outside influences.'[944] In effect this theory means that astrology cannot be used for exact prediction and even two people with the same horoscope will not necessarily have similar personalities or life outcomes. This is because all hinges on the crucial state of soul evolution, which is not shown in the chart; two people with very similar charts could be at very different stages of soul evolution.

Leo's theory of why astrology does not always prove accurate in prediction partly depends on this theory of the state of the soul and also on the existence of free will albeit he stated that the scope of freedom may be 'limited'.[945] In *The Progressed Horoscope* the state of the soul theory and its relationship with freewill was presented using the psychological language of the Ego.[946] Leo stated that:

> The undeveloped Ego will always be liable to act in response to outside influences, and will be moulded and shaped in mind and feeling according to the circumstances and the surroundings in which he is placed.[947]

For Leo then, the person with an undeveloped Ego will be easier to forecast for than other categories, given their limited scope to control their response to outer influences.

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[942] Weber, *Essays in Sociology*, p.139.
[943] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.74; McLaughlin, 'Psychologisation', p.75.
[944] Leo, *Progressed Horoscope*, p.24.
[945] Leo, *Progressed Horoscope*, p.24.
[946] Leo, *Progressed Horoscope*, p.24.
[947] Leo, *Progressed Horoscope*, p.24.

A person with what Leo called 'a developing Ego' has a little more freedom because for Leo this person 'will not always act in precisely the same manner during repeated experiences.'[948] Most free however is the 'developed man' who 'has learned by experience the control of his emotions and thoughts' thereby maintaining 'an attitude of calmness and serenity when passing through events'; such a person will 'seek to turn those events to a useful purpose in furthering his spiritual unfolding.'[949] Every forecasting interpretation therefore must be made bearing in mind that there are these three classes of soul or levels of psychological development, meaning the extent to which an astrological prediction is external is dependent on the level of the individual in question.

6.3.5.2 Mysterious forces

Leo's astrology is situated in an esoteric cosmology in which souls develop; such development is likely to contain elements of the mysterious or the enchanted. In fact his astrology is close to the 'divinatory' position discussed in chapter four, outlined by Cornelius and Phillipson amongst others, which asserts that astrological interpretation is successful only when the conditions are right i.e. when the participation of the astrologer meets the response of the cosmos. The divinatory view relies on the idea of a two-way communication, with the astrologer and the cosmos interacting in a continuous feedback loop. Leo's astrology is less overtly two-way in that it is 'out there' to be used by souls in varying states of evolution, its working dependent on to what extent they have yet to evolve and transcend their birth-chart. Nevertheless, Leo's astrology postulates a dynamic relationship between evolving souls and the cosmos, and contains similar ideas to those underlying the divinatory view.

6.3.5.3 Neglect of the external world

Leo deliberately prioritised esoteric astrology, which considered the inner world, above exoteric astrology, which considered the external world. He subscribed to the dualistic

[948] Leo, *Progressed Horoscope*, p.24.
[949] Leo, *Progressed Horoscope*, p.24.

conception of the universe promoted by theosophy which saw everything as having two sides, the spiritual and the material.[950] Just as the astronomer does the work of tabulation of celestial phenomena, which is an outer activity, the astrologer looks at the internal or subjective conditions.[951] For Leo it was reasonable to consider the inner dimension, this being the one upon which a difference could be made, a difference that could impact the soul growth of the individual.

In summary, Leo's astrology provides evidence for some of the characteristics of disenchantment. It prioritises the astrological Sun and he deliberately set out to neglect the external world by promoting the idea that esoteric astrology, astrology of the inner world, was superior to exoteric astrology, astrology of the outer. However, his astrology is not repeatable or predictable and is situated within a cosmology that is ultimately soulful and meaningful. This gives his astrology affinity with enchantment.

6.3.6 Leo's astrology and modernity

This section discusses to what extent Leo's astrology conforms to characterisations of the modern referencing the discussion in chapter three. The question of disenchantment has been considered above; as such themes from Leo's astrology that are relevant to the remaining characteristics identified in chapter three are considered below.

6.3.6.1 Reviving lost wisdom

In his first astrology book, *Astrology for All*, Leo lamented that 'the star of Astrology appears to have waned' but that it is being rediscovered 'due to the spiritual activity that is again reviving the wisdom religion.'[952] It was through this revival of wisdom that Leo intended to modernise astrology and rescue it from what he saw as its corruption whereby it had become 'nothing more than a form of divination.'[953] He identified divination as prediction, a different definition to the later view of divination taken by

[950] Leo, *Esoteric Astrology*, p.xiii.
[951] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p6.
[952] Leo, *Astrology for All*, p.iii.
[953] Leo, *Astrology for All*, p.iv.

Cornelius or as a broader term for astrology generally, and whilst he recognised that certain branches of astrology fell under this, his concern was with natal astrology which he defined as 'a method of judging the unfoldment of the life of a human being.'[954] Leo saw himself as in the position of rescuing astrology, of producing interpretations that were of higher quality than those of the recent past. In *How to Judge a Nativity* he wrote:

> In dealing with the general rules for judgment in the following pages, an attempt is made to strike a higher note than has hitherto been struck, and although it is not the highest, it is quite high enough for the present…. It strikes the note of the New Astrology…the desire of which is to purify and re-establish the ancient science of Astrology…[955]

Leo's New Astrology, whilst being an attempt to strike a new and higher note was additionally a conscious effort to revive ancient wisdom, in line with theosophy's claim that it represents the revival of ancient spiritual knowledge.[956] In this sense it is both modern and not modern, exemplifying the usual elements of the modern desire to start afresh on firm foundations, sweeping away that which has immediately gone before, but also calling for a return to older, more traditional ideas. A return to 'selected traditional values' has been identified by Jencks as characteristic of postmodernity.[957] In this regard, therefore, Leo's astrology cuts across ideas of twentieth century modernity, evidencing some traits that fit better with modernity/modernism and some with postmodernity.

6.3.6.2 Value on human freedom

Leo's focus on psychology and character was based on a belief in the importance of human free-will, something that has been identified as important to individuals in the modern world and characteristic of both modernity and modernism.[958]

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[954] Alan Leo, *Casting the Horoscope* (London: LN Fowler, 1904), pp.30-31.
[955] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.v.
[956] Raymond Head, 'Holst – Astrology and Modernism in 'The Planets'' *Tempo*, New Series, No. 187 (Dec., 1993), pp.15-22, p.15.
[957] Jencks, *The Postmodern Reader*, p.7.
[958] Anderson, 'Victorian Studies', p.197.

Leo argued that the astrology of outer events and the body had 'received an undue share of attention from astrologers in the past.'[959] He wished however to emphasise the importance of the other area, that of consciousness and the Self:

> It is only in recent times that the importance of the astrology of the Self with its varying powers and states of consciousness has been recognised and attempts been made to develop it.[960]

He saw the focus on the Self within astrology as a relatively new area, and one worthy of attention. It was the development of Self, through the development of character that enhanced free-will, that stood at the heart of his work. As Leo remarked in his book *The Progressed Horoscope*:

> As a factor in the making of Destiny, Character plays the most prominent and important part… it will either control, modify or stir into greater activity passing events… 'character' is found to be at the root of every difference that we remark between one human being and another.[961]

Leo's belief in choice is demonstrated by a reading of his astrological delineations. He stated that for an undeveloped ego in many cases the ego 'will be under the influence of the planet Mars' which for Leo meant that 'his feelings will be swayed by passions and appetites responding only to the coarser vibrations of the physical world.'[962] What Leo called a 'normally developed man', a term which he considered the majority of the population to be covered by, 'will have come more under the prevailing influence of the planet Saturn' meaning a greater ability for restraint, reflection and caution.[963] However the 'highly evolved man', according to Leo;

> will have transcended both Mars and Saturn and will no longer be separative and confined to the use of the physical body, but will exhibit characteristics like those of the 'houseless wanderer' Uranus…[964]

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[959] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.12.
[960] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.12.
[961] Leo, *Progressed Horoscope*, p.21.
[962] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.134.
[963] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.135.
[964] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.135.

The focus on the inner domain promotes the idea of the soul having choice rather than being subject to an external astral fate. This is a philosophical move which is in tune with both modernity's and modernism's emphasis on freedom and individual autonomy. Charles Taylor, writing on the culture of modernity, notes the 'increasingly wide diffusion of the principles of autonomy.'[965] This focus on the inner or 'esoteric' as Leo called it is in accord with the ideals of modernity and modernism and offers the greatest opportunity for human development. As Taylor asserts, there is universal agreement in modernity that 'freedom is a good.'[966]

6.3.6.3 Bell's capitalistic entrepreneur

Bell has argued that modernity consists of a disjunction of realms wherein the capitalist is juxtaposed with the artist. This links to the second consequence of psychologisation discussed in chapter two which is concerned with a tendency for psychology to be used in service to capitalism.[967]

In addition to influencing the later commercial development of astrology, Leo directly participated in its commercialisation. As an astrologer, Leo received many requests for horoscopes which at first he calculated and interpreted, as had many astrologers before him, based on individual birth times and an assessment of the unique birth-chart. Leo realised however that the mass market could be more efficiently served by collating together interpretations for different placements such as the Sun and the Moon in differing zodiac signs and simply fulfilling the request by a number of such discrete interpretations sent together, without further synthesis.[968] This built on his expanded character descriptions for astrological Sun placements. Such an approach meant that employees could respond quickly to requests for horoscopes which could be provided for the price of one shilling, with the option for a more in-depth interpretation costing between five guineas and twenty-five pounds.[969] In this way Leo

[965] Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, p.285.
[966] Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, p.395.
[967] Roberts, *Psychology and Capitalism*, pp.22-23.
[968] Curry, *A Confusion of Prophets*, p.136.
[969] Curry, *A Confusion of Prophets*, pp.136-137.

opened up astrology to the masses, allowing many to access affordable horoscopes that told them a little about different placements in their birth-chart, if not providing an overall synthesis. One of Leo's main innovations in astrology, therefore, is adaptation for the purposes of commercialisation.

As someone with great commercial focus, and the forerunner to sun-sign astrology, Leo fits Bell's description of the modern entrepreneur, at home in capitalist society.[970] The entrepreneur is driven by the same emphasis as the modernist artist in reworking nature and refashioning consciousness, but one works intensely with the capitalist model of society whilst the other emphasises individual expression; these are two personifications of the tension between modernity (entrepreneur) and modernism (artist).

6.3.6.4 A range of modernities

Further characteristics of modernity and modernism identified in chapter three were homogeneity of time, space and place, a lack of certainty, differentiation and self-realisation. Leo's astrology does not generally recognise a homogeneity of time, space and place. Astrological charts are calculated on the basis of a particular time in a particular location, and the theory underlying astrology involves an idea of qualitative time that Giddens argues is no longer part of modernity.[971] A lack of certainty is difficult to find in Leo's astrology, for he has strong conviction in his views of soul evolution and the place of astrology in that evolution. Differentiation is the term given to the idea that modernity seeks to separate and evaluate different spheres of life such as the public and the private.[972] The idea of separation is present in Leo's astrology, as when he deliberately separates esoteric from exoteric astrology. Self-realisation is part of Leo's astrology, given its focus on psychological development, albeit he has not entirely given up the idea of salvation, for his astrology has the purpose of supporting souls to evolve.

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[970] Bell, *Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, pp.16-17.
[971] Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*, p.73.
[972] Heelas, 'on differentiation', p.2.

Leo's astrology exhibits qualities of modernity, modernism and postmodernity. His ambition to start afresh with a new astrology was characteristic of both modernity and modernism although his modernising project also looked back to traditional wisdom, which has more affinity with postmodernity, as does a rejection of the idea that time is not empty but is qualitative. He exhibited characteristics of modernity however in his entrepreneurial activity and in his recognition of a spiritual/material split in the cosmos that could be viewed as in accord with a modern way of seeing the world, a way that sees differentiation as important. The focus on evolution in Leo's astrology is reflective of the modern tendency to place a high value on progress.[973]

Leo's conscious turning to the inner was indicative of both modernity and modernism, and his neglect of the outer world might be seen as disenchanting, the main characteristic of modernity. On balance, Leo's work exhibits a range of qualities associated with modernity, modernism and postmodernity but is not wholly one category or the other.

6.4 Chapter conclusion

Alan Leo's astrology is partially psychologised. Leo adapted astrology along psychological lines, deliberately prioritising the astrology of the inner world, or esoteric astrology as he called it, above astrology of the outer world, which he called exoteric astrology. Leo operated from a belief that the soul was linked to the stars, and that the evolution of the soul, synonymous with psychological development, was the key purpose in life. This evolution took place within a wider framework of karma and reincarnation. Leo saw much of the horoscope as capable of being interpreted in a psychological manner, and saw the astrological Sun as the most important factor, representative of the Self. He advocated expanded character descriptions of the planets and zodiac signs and saw character as equivalent to destiny. To alter destiny, the individual had to understand his

[973] Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence*, p.10; Vattimo, *End of Modernity*, p.166.

or her own character and to make changes on this level. In presenting a more psychological version of astrology, Leo's astrology evidenced some psychologisation.

The underlying rationale for Leo's astrology rested on classical foundations that have served astrology for at least two thousand years. The theory of correspondences is the heart of this foundation and this is related to the idea, critical to natal astrology, that the microcosm is analogous to the macrocosm. Leo's belief in God contradicts Hanegraaff's characterisation of the modern magician who only believes in correspondences as a technical background rather than as something fundamentally true about the world and justified by belief in God.

Leo's astrology cannot be considered to be reducible to psychological techniques, a characteristic Hanegraaff has asserted is the case with psychologised magic. Leo recognised astrology could apply to wider matters than just psychology. His astrology is situated within a wider framework that relates character to the cosmos; this is not adequately described by the idea of psychological technique.

Leo adapted astrology along psychological lines not primarily for legitimacy but for philosophical reasons. Leo believed in a new era which required evolved souls. This meant it was crucial for him to focus on soul development which he did by focusing on the psychological components of astrological interpretation. This allowed maximum chance of psychological and soul growth through increasing the freedom of the individual as they evolved into an older and wiser soul.

Leo's astrology partially conforms to ideas on disenchantment in that it prioritises the astrological Sun to an extent; this is a monistic emphasis which Curry has associated with disenchantment. Leo's astrology also explicitly seeks to neglect the external world in order to prioritise the inner realm, a trait which Curry has linked with disenchantment. His astrology is not however repeatable or predictable due to the crucial, unknown factor of the level of the soul involved.

Leo's astrology strongly evidences Plaisance's category of idealistic psychologisation which is akin to Hanegraaff's psychologisation of the sacred and sacralisation of the

psychological. Spiritual and psychological growth are entirely intertwined in Leo's work with the individual's psychological growth reflecting the state of their soul's evolution. This interrelationship of the psychological and spiritual also provides examples of terminological psychologisation, as when the language of ego development is used by Leo instead of the language of soul evolution.

Complementary psychologisation is also present given the complementary relationship between Leo's psychological astrology and the esoteric framework of karma and reincarnation. Reductive psychologisation is less in evidence as Leo's astrology cannot be reduced to psychology only, given its wider framing in a meaningful cosmos that relates the soul pattern of the individual to the pattern of the cosmos.

Leo's astrology was written before Jung but shows some awareness of the 'new psychology' and a dynamic approach to the psyche which was the hallmark of psychoanalysis. In presenting a more psychological form of astrology than had previously been found, Leo's astrology may be labelled psychologised in the broad sense of psychology overflowing into areas previously considered non-psychological.

It is difficult to categorise Leo's astrology neatly into being characteristic of modernity, modernism or postmodernity. Whilst not being fully disenchanted, it is a break with the past for the purposes of presenting a new, superior, form of astrology. It does however seek to incorporate traditional ideas, what Leo saw as wisdom from the past. In turning to the inner world it also evidences the modern (thus associated with both modernity and modernism) tendency to focus on the inner realm and concentrate on the depths of the psychological world as opposed to other, more externally orientated aspects of life. Leo is a good example of Bell's modern, capitalistic entrepreneur, and he exhibits differentiation in his clear separation of inner and outer realms.

Chapter 7: Dane Rudhyar and psychologisation

7.1 Introduction

Scholarship to date has identified Dane Rudhyar as an important influence on the development of psychological astrology, particularly his integration of Carl Jung's work into astrology.[974] Campion argues that after Alan Leo, Rudhyar was 'the second most important astrologer in the twentieth-century English-speaking world.'[975] Similarly, Radermacher argues that Rudhyar was one of the two pioneers of psychological astrology; the other being Alan Leo.[976] Rudhyar is sometimes credited as the main contributor to the creation of psychological astrology; such a view is taken by Hammer:

> Many practicing astrologers seem to have adopted a psychologizing approach to interpretation, created more or less single-handedly by Dane Rudhyar in the 1930s.[977]

Campion argues that Rudhyar extended Leo's astrology through its deeper contact with depth psychology, with psyche seen as 'a set of internal processes' rather than as soul.[978] Hyde identifies two major streams of direct influence from Jung in the astrology of the English-speaking world, Dane Rudhyar and Liz Greene.[979] Rudhyar is seen by Hyde as someone favouring the idea of the birth-chart as the journey of the soul, a blueprint, whilst she argues that Liz Greene 'represents a newer generation and an altogether different and more ambitious attempt to draw Jungian ideas into astrology.'[980] Greene's astrology will be examined in chapter eight.

This chapter will discuss Dane Rudhyar and his adaptation of astrology. It will firstly consider Rudhyar's life and work, before examining his adaptation of astrology including the extent of Jung's influence and what this means for psychologisation within Rudhyar's astrology. I will then discuss the underlying rationale for Rudhyar's

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[974] Curry, *Astrology*, *Science and Culture*, p.72; Campion, *History II*, p.248.
[975] Campion, 'Prophecy', p.118.
[976] Radermacher, 'Role of Dialogue in Astrological Divination', p.iii.
[977] Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge*, p.50.
[978] Campion, 'Prophecy', p.119.
[979] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.83-85.
[980] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, pp.84-85.

astrology and consider whether his work may be considered to be an example of psychological techniques. Next, I consider whether Rudhyar's astrology relates to the idea of legitimisation and whether his astrology can be considered disenchanted. Before concluding I consider how Rudhyar's work relates to ideas of modernity and whether it can be classified as belonging to modernity, modernism or postmodernity. Finally, in the chapter conclusion, I will assess Rudhyar's overall contribution to the psychologisation of natal astrology in the twentieth century.

7.2 Dane Rudhyar

Dane Rudhyar was born Daniel Chenneviere in Paris, France on 23 March 1895.[981] He died in 1985 as one of the most respected astrologers in the Western world.[982] According to his wife, Leyla Rudhyar, he suffered some ill health as a child and lost his father in 1911 when he was 16.[983] It was shortly after this that he had a realisation that all life was cyclical and that European culture was in its autumn phase, meaning that it was advanced in a cycle consisting of four seasons (starting with spring and ending with winter).[984] In contrast, he felt that America was in a spring phase where new seeds could be sown and Rudhyar decided to sever ties with France and start a new life in America, which he did at the age of twenty-one.[985] Part of this embrace of the new was his adoption of a new name, Dane Rudhyar. Rudhyar's first passion was music and he arrived in America as 'a composer of orchestral and piano music and as a writer of books and articles about music.'[986] Later he found astrology, and used this as an 'unsought avenue of contact with the American consciousness.'[987]

Rudhyar studied occult and oriental philosophies (informally) between 1917 and 1928 which confirmed his earlier conviction that the study of cycles was important and was

[981] Ertan, *Dane Rudhyar*, p.xvii.
[982] See Charles Harvey's 1991 introduction in Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.xix.
[983] Leyla Raël, 'The Essential Rudhyar' www.khaldea.com/rudhyar/ess (accessed: 18 April 2021).
[984] Raël, 'The Essential Rudhyar', p.1.
[985] Raël, 'The Essential Rudhyar', p.1.
[986] Raël, 'The Essential Rudhyar', p.1.
[987] Raël, 'The Essential Rudhyar', p.1.

influenced, like Alan Leo, by Blavatsky's *The Secret Doctrine*.[988] According to his wife Leyla Rael, Rudhyar studied with a view to developing a new type of consciousness that could grasp 'universal, spiritual, and metaphysical principles' and 'cyclic processes' and came to the view that his destiny was to:

> reformulate ancient and traditional metaphysical and occult concepts in terms that would, both, nourish the development of and be understandable by this kind of mind.[989]

According to his biographer, Deniz Ertan, Rudhyar 'did not regard himself strictly as a theosophist'; instead he had an understanding of theosophy without necessarily identifying fully with the theosophical movement.[990] Ertan claims that Rudhyar was unhappy with theosophy's alienation from Western philosophy and lack of major thinkers.[991]

7.2.1 Encountering astrology

Rudhyar explained his early encounter with astrology as follows:

> What I found in New York was Oriental philosophy and the vast and mysterious world of Occultism, especially in the form this word had been given by H. P. Blavatsky, Steiner and students of Gnosticism and Alchemy. Later on, in California, I discovered the fascinating language of astrology – a language which seemed to have lost contact with the basic human experiences of cosmic order and significance as revealed by the night sky.[992]

His encounter with astrology followed his induction into the theosophical world but was almost immediately disappointing. He went on to explain his disappointment around how astrology was used in an 'egocentric, narrowly empirical, superstition-laden, and typically 'American' manner.' His dissatisfaction with what he saw as an empirical and superstitious practice did not lead to a deep interest in the subject. This came only later with his encounter firstly with the work of the astrologer Marc Edmund

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[988] Raël, 'The Essential Rudhyar', p.2.
[989] Raël, 'The Essential Rudhyar', p.2.
[990] Ertan, *Dane Rudhyar*, p.31.
[991] Ertan, *Dane Rudhyar*, p.31.
[992] Dane Rudhyar, *The Planetarization of Consciousness* (Santa Fe, NM: Aurora, 1977), p.v.

Jones[993], and secondly in 1932, when he encountered the work of C. G. Jung. Rudhyar wrote that he was 'deeply impressed' upon reading *The Secret of the Golden Flower*, a treatise on Chinese esoteric doctrines with a commentary by Richard Wilhelm and Carl Jung, and that this marked the 'beginning of my work in astropsychology.'[994]

In chapter four I quoted the psychological and cosmological premises as set out by Richard Wilhelm in *The Secret of the Golden Flower;* given it is vital to Rudhyar's conception of astrology I repeat the relevant quote here:

> It is built on the premise that the cosmos and man, in the last analysis, obey the same law; that man is a microcosm and is not separated from the macrocosm by any fixed barriers. The very same laws rule for the one as for the other, and from the one a way leads into the other. The psyche and the cosmos are to each other like the inner world and the outer world. Therefore man participates by nature in all cosmic events, and is inwardly as well as outwardly interwoven with them.[995]

As discussed in chapter four, the idea of human beings as a microcosm of the cosmos has long-been an important idea in the justification for natal astrology and, as discussed in chapter six, had been adopted by Blavatsky in her theosophical writings and consequently already reincorporated into modern astrology via Alan Leo. It was also adopted by Carl Jung as an underpinning idea to his psychology. As argued by Lovibond, the origin of the idea of the psyche of human beings being a microcosm of the world may be traced back to Plato.[996] The lack of barriers between microcosm and macrocosm and the link of psyche and cosmos is however at odds with early conceptions of modernity. In these, the inner and outer worlds are distinct, with psychology arising to investigate the mysteries of the inner world of the mind, and the outer world consigned to the natural sciences of physics, chemistry and biology.[997]

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[993] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.vii.
[994] Rudhyar, *Astrology and the Modern Psyche*, p.vii.
[995] Wilhelm, *Secret of the Golden Flower*, p.11.
[996] Lovibond, 'Plato's theory of mind', p.46.
[997] Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity*, p.5.

Rudhyar's interest in Jung's work accelerated in 1933 when he was given a gift of all of Jung's works currently available in English translation.[998] According to Ertan, the impact of Jung's ideas on Rudhyar was immense, and in his project proposal for his third Guggenheim application in 1934 Rudhyar singled out Jung's ideas of the collective unconscious and psychomythological symbolism, citing their 'invaluable assistance.'[999] Ertan argues that Jung's depth psychology allowed Rudhyar to make the connection between the psychological and the cosmic, which turned his mind to astrology.[1000] As such, Rudhyar overtly set out to bridge the split between inner and outer, by linking psychology with the cosmos through astrology.

Rudhyar's first astrology book *The Astrology of Personality* was completed in 1936; it carried the subtitle, 'A Re-formulation of Astrological Concepts and Ideals, in Terms of Contemporary Psychology and Philosophy', indicative of its ambitious agenda to reform astrology.[1001] In 1938 *New Mansions for New Men* followed, which aimed to explain old astrological concepts such as the twelve houses and the meanings of the planets as cycles in the development of human consciousness.[1002] In 1943/44 Rudhyar wrote *The Lunation Cycle*, which examined the meaning of the relationship between the Sun and Moon in the horoscope.[1003] He wrote some twenty astrology books in total including *The Planetarization of Consciousness* in 1969/70, in which he expounded on his philosophy of man as a microcosm of the universe, *The Galatic Dimension of Astrology: The Sun is Also a Star,* in 1974, which discussed how deepening our relationship to the newly discovered planets Uranus, Neptune and Pluto can lead to a broader level of consciousness, and *Rhythm of Wholeness* in 1979, which spelt out Rudhyar's holistic philosophy.[1004] In his fifty year publication record Rudhyar included a

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[998] Ertan, *Dane Rudhyar*, p.xxiii
[999] Ertan, *Dane Rudhyar*, p.80.
[1000] Ertan, *Dane Rudhyar*, p.88.
[1001] Ertan, *Dane Rudhyar*, p.xxiii.
[1002] Dane Rudhyar, *New Mansions for New Men (Stratford Press*, New York, 1938), p.xi;
[1003] Ertan, *Dane Rudhyar*, p.xxiv; Dane Rudhyar, *The Lunation Cycle* (Santa Fe, NM: Aurora, 1967).
[1004] Campion, 'Prophecy', p.118; Ertan, *Dane Rudhyar*, pp. xxvii-xxix; Dane Rudhyar, *The Planetarization of Consciousness* (Santa Fe, NM: Aurora, 1977); Dane Rudhyar, *The Galatic Dimension of Astrology: The*

range of ideas albeit always taking a holistic view. Rudhyar occasionally references earlier astrologers, and mentions Alan Leo in his first work, The *Astrology of Personality,* quoting at length from Leo's *Casting the Horoscope*.[1005]

Ertan sums up Rudhyar's contribution to music, art and astrology as follows:

> Over the years, his ideas did not change direction but continued to grow and deepen, providing a body of work that is essentially consistent throughout. In his creative output one can sense a collision of the evolving dynamics of distinct philosophical and conceptual leanings. In the early twentieth-century Western European model, he sensed decay, sterility, a tendency towards quantity (rather than quality), and a separation of the soul from the intellect.[1006]

Ertan sees Rudhyar has having embraced multiple ideas, with his music aspiring to 'reconcile distinct forces and tensions' and being 'like a cathartic agent for wholeness and/or dynamic equilibrium.'[1007]

7.3 Rudhyar's adaptation of astrology

The process of adaptation lies at the heart of the idea of psychologisation. This is a process which involves something becoming increasingly psychological and in Hanegraaff's thesis, to become more psychological in order to become more scientific and legitimate. Rudhyar, like Leo, adopted the basic technical framework of astrology, i.e. planets, signs and houses. He made further adaptations however and his reform of astrology is discussed further below to support the assessment of Rudhyar's contribution to the psychologisation of natal astrology in the twentieth century.

7.3.1 Psychological features

In this section I discuss the psychological features of Rudhyar's astrology and their relationship to the theory of psychologisation, focusing on his prioritisation of the inner, his view that astrology gave a formula for the form of the soul, his view of the

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Sun is also a Star (Santa Fe, NM: Aurora, 1975); Dane Rudhyar, *Rhythm of Wholeness* (London: Theosophical Publishing House, 1983).

[1005] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, pp.199-200.

[1006] Ertan, *Dane Rudhyar*, p.199.

[1007] Ertan, *Dane Rudhyar*, p.201.

planets as dynamic psychological processes, and the relationship in his astrology of character and destiny.

7.3.1.1 Prioritisation of the inner

Like Leo, Rudhyar advocated a move towards less focus on outer circumstances than he saw as previously being the case in recent astrology. Rudhyar, like Leo, saw astrology as having degenerated over time, becoming, 'increasingly, on the surface, mere fortune-telling.'[1008] Rudhyar maintained that a deeper part of astrology, just had Jung had claimed, had been inherent in the foundation of alchemy. It was this deeper astrology Rudhyar was aiming to promote, a sort that attempted to bring 'some sort of psychological order into the inner natures of men.'[1009]

Leo had favoured the inner (esoteric) over the outer (exoteric) expressions of astrology.[1010] In this, Rudhyar was similar as in his astrology there is a distinct rejection of the idea that the purpose of astrology is prediction of outer life circumstances. This is not the value of astrology. Instead:

> The value of astrology does not depend upon its predictive accuracy, for then it would have relatively little value… It depends rather upon the fact that it provides us with "formulas" of being (birth-chart) and of becoming (time-analysis, progressions, etc.) which enable us to extract the most significance out of what is happening or what has happened. If we assimilate that significance thoroughly, we are then able to "transfigure" the future; not changing the "form" of our being or becoming, but making that form glow with meaning, harmony and light- as Jesus glowed on the Mount of Transfiguration. He shone with Christ-light, with the power of universal energies and contents.[1011]

For Rudhyar the value of astrology is not in prediction, but in providing a means to understand the inner form of human beings so as to transform their futures.

Rudhyar's prioritisation of the inner is seen in his view of the astrological houses. He claimed that the interpretation of the astrological houses in earlier forms of astrology,

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[1008] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.18.
[1009] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.19.
[1010] Leo, *Esoteric Astrology*, p.1.
[1011] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.384.

for example, dealt 'purely with outer circumstances.'[1012] This contrasted what he termed 'psychological-philosophical' meanings; as an example he cited the traditional meaning of the seventh house as marriage and partnership whilst his meaning was, 'the sense of human relationship on a basis of giving and taking' and the 'interchange of vital energies and of ideas.'[1013] For Rudhyar the seventh house is 'that which you must meet as you take a step out of yourself.'[1014] Whilst the core idea, something about partnership and exchange, remained, Rudhyar's emphasis was on an underlying principle or orientation rather than the concrete fact of a particular marriage or partnership. This contrasted Leo's view which, despite his promotion of esoteric astrology over exoteric, had identified the seventh house as 'principally the house of marriage' although also governing 'legal affairs' and 'opponents'.[1015] The difference is that Leo had emphasised the manifestations of the seventh house in outer people or situations whereas Rudhyar emphasised the subjective experience of relationship and the other. This may be seen as a form of psychologisation in which an increasing proportion of the horoscope takes on psychological meaning.

7.3.1.2 Astrology reveals the form of the soul

For Rudhyar, astrology did not deal primarily with life-contents, but with the structure of individual selfhood. It provided a formula of planetary relationships which can be applied to various spheres of life, one of which is the psychological sphere. For this reason, astrology needs psychological analysis, which deals with empirically determined personal contents. This potential may not however ever be realised:

> the birth-chart will not tell whether this potentiality will ever become an actuality, whether or not the process of individuation will be successful… the birthchart will tell what will be the form and quality of the Soul, if it comes to be[1016]

[1012] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p204.
[1013] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, pp.182-183.
[1014] Dane Rudhyar, *The 12 Astrological Houses*, ed. Michael R. Meyer (Berkeley, CA: Khaldea, 2010), p.73.
[1015] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.189.
[1016] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.404.

Rudhyar recognised that much of astrology's appeal lies in its order and ability to predict through the known order of planetary movement but stated often that natal astrology is not concerned with prediction, and deals only with potentialities.[1017] The birth-chart represents the unchanging potential form of the individual. It is the archetypal pattern:

> The birth-chart is the "seed-form" of the individual selfhood. Thus it is considered strictly as an archetypal pattern which is unchanging and entirely self-contained.[1018]

This archetypal pattern is something that an individual lives out in the world. Yet the actual specifics of events are not important:

> events in themselves are not important. What matters is the significance we bestow upon them. It is only by giving to events the meaning centred in our own Soul, that we make them real. There is no reality except that which we create by the very activity of continuous living. Thus events do not happen, we happen to them; we make them constructive or destructive. … [Harmonic Astrology] is the means whereby the Image of the soul can be interpreted.[1019]

This passage goes to the heart of Rudhyar's astrology. What matters is the psychological development of the individual and the meaning that the individual extracts from various events he or she encounters. This is equivalent to the meaning of the soul and as such psychological development is akin to soul development. Specific happenings in the outer world, or a meeting with a specific person, are unimportant, save for the meaning attributed to them. What is of primary importance is the meaning in the individual's private world, rather than anything specific about the world.

The fusion of psychological and spiritual development in Rudhyar's astrology is an example of Hanegraaff's psychologisation of the sacred and sacralisation of the psychological, termed Idealistic psychologisation by Plaisance.[1020] In this form of psychologisation, there is a bidirectional process whereby the psychological informs the sacred and vice versa. Soul growth and psychological growth are synonymous.

[1017] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.36; p.97; p.336; Rudhyar, *Modern Psyche*, p.30.
[1018] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.347.
[1019] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.414.
[1020] Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion*, p.224; Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', pp.19-20.

7.3.1.3 Planets as processes

The idea of planets as either representing static qualities or dynamic processes links to ideas of the mind as static or dynamic. This is the approach underlying psychoanalysis in which the psyche is viewed as being made up of conscious and unconscious elements whose components are capable of change.[1021] Psychoanalysis has been identified as intrinsically psychologising in its operation, with its concern for root psychological causes and motivations.[1022] Intimations of a dynamic approach were seen in Leo's astrology, but when Leo wrote psychoanalytic works were still not widely available in English. Having died in 1917, Leo had not had significant time to fully incorporate psychoanalytic ideas into his astrology.

Rudhyar described the planets according to their function in the natal chart, the processes they represented. For Rudhyar the Sun was the 'Integrator' and the 'life-energy', representative of the power of 'the Self'.[1023] Leo had described the Sun as 'the symbol of vitality and activity, mind and intellect, love and feeling' and also as 'the centre of each separate individual character as the sum total of himself.'[1024]

Rudhyar split the other planets up into those that refer to the conscious part of the psyche and those which refer to the unconscious part. In relation to the conscious group he saw Saturn, Jupiter and Mars as a trio of masculine planets and the Moon, Mercury and Venus as feminine.[1025] What he meant by masculine and feminine was that the masculine planets 'initiate life-processes' whereas the feminine planets 'complete or bring to fruition these same processes.'[1026] Each masculine planet works in tandem with a feminine one. Rudhyar places Saturn and the Moon together with Saturn initiating the process that represents individual separation i.e. having a sense of existence as an individual whilst the Moon is 'the portion of the life energy of the total

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[1021] Homans, *Jung in Context*, p.xxix.
[1022] De Vos, *Psychologization and Late Modernity*, p.4.
[1023] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, pp.219-221.
[1024] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.29.
[1025] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.224.
[1026] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.224.

being which I am aware of as myself, as the conscious ego which I am.'[1027] Alan Leo had not linked the Moon and Saturn in this manner but had described each planet in similar terms with the Moon being 'the representation of the personality' whilst Saturn was that which caused 'each human personality to know itself as a separate, distinct and self-conscious entity.'[1028] Leo had not specifically discussed the planets as dynamic processes however.

Rudhyar described Jupiter as 'the power in us of right action, the voice of our true Destiny.'[1029] Mercury is grouped with Jupiter and for Rudhyar is 'intelligence, the vehicle of the soul.'[1030] Leo had presented Jupiter as expansion, in contrast to Saturn's inhibition, with Jupiter associated with good fortune and success.[1031] Mercury, stated Leo, was 'the planet of the adept' and has a 'close relationship with the mind.'[1032]

Rudhyar's final pair of planets belonging to the conscious are Mars and Venus with Mars being 'the desire to move away from the center' towards experience; he associated Venus with the 'end of the experience and what we have gathered as a result of it' with the results of the combination wisdom, the arts and emotions.[1033] Leo had described Mars as 'the planet of focussed force, and out-going impulse' and Venus with 'human and refining qualities.'[1034]

In psychological terms, Rudhyar identified Uranus, Neptune and Pluto with the unconscious, with Uranus the '*projective* power', Neptune the '*dissolving* power' and Pluto its '*regenerating* power'.[1035] Pluto had not been discovered when Leo was writing

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[1027] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, pp.224-225.
[1028] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.29; p.33.
[1029] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.226.
[1030] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.226.
[1031] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.35.
[1032] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.36.
[1033] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.227.
[1034] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.34.
[1035] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.235.

but he identified Uranus as representing the 'fully individualised Ego' and Neptune with mediumistic tendencies and psychic experience, depravity and immorality.[1036]

Many of Rudhyar's planetary concepts, at least for the more traditional planets (those apart from Uranus, Neptune and Pluto) can be recognised in Leo's descriptions albeit Rudhyar had chosen to demarcate some of the planets as conscious and some as unconscious and pair up the Moon and Saturn, and Mercury and Jupiter. The pairing of Venus and Mars was not new, and Leo had also talked about these two in relation to each other.[1037] Rudhyar had also presented the planets as processes, indicative of the continuing incorporation of a dynamic approach to the psyche into twentieth-century natal astrology. The adoption of the dynamic approach to the psyche by Rudhyar is indicative of some degree of psychologisation, given that the dynamic approach is a psychoanalytic one, and psychoanalysis has been identified as being psychologising in its very nature.[1038]

7.3.1.4 Character and destiny

The question of whether psychological astrology deals primarily with character or destiny has been related to the consideration of psychologisation, with Hammer arguing that a psychologisation means that astrology focuses more on personality and less on destiny.[1039] In this view, an astrology that prioritises character over destiny is psychologised.

The concept of destiny in Rudhyar's astrology, like Leo's, cannot be easily demarcated from a concern with character or personality. Rudhyar's conception of destiny was related to his overall vision of astrology and the purpose he conceived astrology to be for. The aim was to help an individual gain a 'clearer and more objective consciousness of the law of his being – and thus of his own real self'; Rudhyar stated that 'all my writings in books and astrological magazines have been essentially occupied with the

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[1036] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.37.
[1037] See Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.33.
[1038] Rose, *Inventing Our Selves*, p.59.
[1039] Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge*, p.52.

answer to this question', that is, the question of astrology's purpose.[1040] This law of one's own being is connected with the idea of destiny. Rudhyar wrote:

> The great message of Christianity has been: "The Father is within you." Destiny is individuality. If you trust father Saturn implicitly, you become Sun. If you have absolutely no fear of destiny, all that is possible in terms of that destiny can indeed take place.[1041]

As such, destiny is intimately connected with the importance of being an individual. In Rudhyar's conception, it was about being true to the law of one's own being. This is modern in its focus on individual personality. However, more radically, it is very much bound up with the solar system and the individual's relationship to that wider cosmos:

> You may look at your birth-chart and say: This is what I am – my seed possibilities – what I should make actual, concrete fact. But the essential purpose of this study of your chart is to be able to forget the chart while retaining the realization that you are, in fact, a solar system ordered in an individual manner.[1042]

Rudhyar not only emphasised the importance of an individuality based on a wider, cosmic, pattern, but also suggested that transcending an awareness of the birth-chart is desirable. There may come a point in development when the individual no longer relies on his or her astrological chart to remind them of a connection to the solar system. Instead, the individual will live in awareness of this connection and how individual destiny is related to it.

In Rudhyar's view, being successful in life was akin to having lived a life in tune with the destiny as indicated by the birth-chart:

> But failure and success mean only this: Whether or not the actual life-performance has been true to the "score" of the individual selfhood and destiny; whether or not, speaking in terms of the Hindu philosophy, the man has fulfilled his dharma.[1043]

[1040] Rudhyar, *Modern Psyche*, p.29.
[1041] Rudhyar, *Modern Psyche*, p.137.
[1042] Rudhyar, *Modern Psyche*, p.139.
[1043] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.337.

There is also room for destiny to go beyond the individual and include the wider human race which the individual is part of:

> In other words, while Destiny is essentially the individual schedule of growth, it is also subject to modifications which are not determined by the individual (his form or his past), but which are the results of the Destiny of the greater whole (race, planet, cosmos) of which the individual is part.[1044]

Ultimately, the study of astrology for Rudhyar allowed a person to 'make of the individual psyche a cosmos.'[1045]

Like in Leo's astrology, character and destiny were very much intertwined in Rudhyar's system. 'Character' is perhaps the wrong word, for what Rudhyar referred to was the abstract archetypal form of an individual, as revealed by the planetary pattern at birth, rather than static character qualities. As a dynamic astrologer, Rudhyar embraced psychoanalytic principles to understand the development of the individual as dynamic processes. His astrology is not psychologised in Hammer's sense, because he did not prioritise character or archetypal form above destiny; instead he claimed that the two are inextricably linked.

7.3.2 Jung's influence

Psychoanalysis has been identified as a form of psychology particularly prone to psychologisation.[1046] In its very conception, it seeks to find root psychological causes to explain behaviour. The influence of Jung has been identified as one of the major characteristics of psychological astrology. In chapter five I explored Jung's psychologisation of esoteric ideas, including astrological ones, in his form of psychology and concluded that Jung had not significantly adapted astrological ideas but had contributed to astrology's psychologisation through the terminological psychologisation his work exhibits. The extent to which Rudhyar integrated Jung's work

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[1044] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.338.
[1045] Dane Rudhyar, *Astrological Insights into the Spiritual Life* (Sante Fe, NM: Aurora, 1979), p.119.
[1046] Rose, *Inventing Our Selves*, p.59.

into his astrology assists in understanding to what extent Rudhyar's astrology may be regarded as psychologised.

Rudhyar referred to Jung in his work and Rudhyar's astrology was the first major theoretical embrace of the unconscious into astrology in the English-speaking world. Rudhyar made it clear that he embraced the analytical psychology of Jung and his ideas of the unconscious over those put forward by Freud:

> The main point to consider is that, while Freud gives the unconscious a purely secondary and negative character, Jung sees it as a positive and primordial factor, in fact as the very matrix out of which the conscious grows by differentiation.[1047]

The positive nature of Jung's model accorded with Rudhyar's conception of the birth-chart as always containing the potential for good. For Rudhyar there was positive potential in all horoscopes:

> there is no 'good' or 'bad' birth-chart – no chart is 'better' than any other – no aspect between planets, and no planetary position in any zodiacal sign or natal house is in itself 'fortunate' or 'unfortunate' according to a common standard of value applicable to all human beings.[1048]

The idea that there is no inherently good or bad planet or chart is repeated often in his work.[1049] This contrasts with Freud's view of the unconscious as a storehouse of rejected material, a model which Rudhyar asserted Jung rejected.[1050] Adopting Jung's model of the psyche Rudhyar stated:

> We shall distinguish between planets referring to the conscious and planets referring to the unconscious – using the terms "conscious" and "unconscious" as used by C.G. Jung… Outside of these two categories we shall place the Sun as the symbol of the integrating energies of the Self, which is described by Jung as the "center of the totality of the psyche." The psyche includes both unconscious and conscious contents. To integrate these contents – that is, consciously to

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[1047] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.87.
[1048] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.152.
[1049] Dane Rudhyar, *An Astrological Study of Psychological Complexes* (Berkeley, CA: Shambhala, 1976), p.45; Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.viii; Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.321, pp.379-80.
[1050] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.88.

> assimilate the contents of the unconscious – is the essence of the process of individuation, of which the Sun is the active symbol.[1051]

Rudhyar asserted his intention to adopt the key tenets of Jung's psychology, that is, the model of conscious and unconscious whose integration through the Self constitutes the process of individuation. He also related the astrological Sun to this integrating process as the active factor in the process. Rudhyar argued that individuation is analogous to older spiritual systems of development, likening it to:

> the "making whole," or "making perfect" of older systems of spiritual development – yet with a difference due to the new mental level reached by mankind.[1052]

Rudhyar did not specify which older systems he had in mind but this claim was in keeping with Jung's own claims about his theory of individuation containing links to older systems, such as those of Gnosticism and the alchemists. Whilst Rudhyar on the surface embraced Jung's theory therefore, in essence he was reviving older esoteric ideas of spiritual development in a similar manner to Jung.

Individuation was a very important concept for Rudhyar. He continued to promote the virtues of individuation in his 1976 work *Astrology and the Modern Psyche*, stressing that there is difficulty and longevity in the unfoldment of personality:

> The process of maturation and enrichment of the personality is a long one – a difficult one. It is also a dangerous one. "Personality" as an ultimate value and as a quality of radiation, creativity, and independent living is a goal to be reached only when the individual person attains a state of "definitiveness, fullness and maturity" (C.G. Jung).[1053]

A terminological change occurred in some of Rudhyar's work. In *The Astrology of Transformation* Rudhyar used the word individualization rather than individuation, to distinguish his work somewhat from Jung's concept:

[1051] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.219.
[1052] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.89.
[1053] Rudhyar, *Modern Psyche*, p.103.

> Whether or not they clearly realize it to be fact, the majority of human beings, especially in the western world, are struggling through the slow and arduous process of individualization.[1054]

The meaning of his new term however is similar to his adoption of Jung's individuation concept.

Just as Jung made the connection between alchemy and his own concept of individuation, Rudhyar also made the connection between astrology, alchemy and individuation. He equated psychological integration with the god within man, thereby bringing together spiritual and psychological goals:

> This expresses clearly the idea of the exact correspondence between the macrocosm whose principle of order is "god" and the microcosm, man, whose principle of order is "reason" – or the "God within man." The life-substance circulating and differentiated within both macrocosm and microcosm is one and the same. The Light is the same, whether it shines as Sun and stars, or as the radiant centers within man's psycho-mental organism – once the latter is built by a long process of psychological integration. This is the Great Work of the true alchemists, the process of "individuation" which is the goal of C.G. Jung's psychological work…[1055]

Like both Jung and Leo, Rudhyar embraced the microcosm-macrocosm idea which has been so important to natal astrology throughout its history; this idea, as discussed in chapter four, can be traced back to Plato.[1056] Rudhyar's enthusiasm for the individuation concept, and his clear equation of psychological integration with spiritual process, is a further example of the strong current of idealistic psychologisation running through his work. This form of psychologisation concerns the close integration of psychological and spiritual ideas.

[1054] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.85.
[1055] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.26.
[1056] See Lovibond 'Plato's Theory of Mind', p.46.

7.3.2.1 Individuation as the hero's journey

Rudhyar compared individuation, or indivdiualization, to a heroic journey. Prior to Rudhyar, Jung had made a similar connection and had related individuation to the myth of the hero and the descent into the unconscious:

> The purpose of the descent as universally exemplified in the myth of the hero is to show that only in the region of danger (watery abyss, cavern, forest, island, castle, etc.) can one find the "treasure hard to attain" (jewel, virgin, life-potion, victory over death).[1057]

In an early work Jung equated the hero myth with the Sun. Talking of the human being conceived as hero he wrote:

> Just as the sun, by its own motion and in accordance with its own inner law, climbs from morn till noon, crosses the meridian and goes its downward way towards evening, leaving its radiance behind it, and finally plunges into all-enveloping night, so man sets his course by immutable laws and, his journey over, sinks into darkness, to rise again in his children and begin the cycle anew.[1058]

Similarly, Rudhyar described this journey in terms of a solar hero with the individuated personality being someone 'whose deeds and whose personality are universally significant.'[1059] Following Jung, the journey of the solar hero is related, for Rudhyar, to the astrological Sun. Referring to conscious and unconscious Rudhyar wrote:

> Outside of these two categories we shall place the Sun as the symbol of the integrating energies of the Self, which is described by Jung as the "center of the totality of the psyche."[1060]

The Sun is identified as the archetype of the Self and the key active symbol of the individuation process. In his focus on the importance of the Sun, Rudhyar was similar to Alan Leo, who had identified the Sun as the most important astrological factor and

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[1057] Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, p.335.
[1058] Jung, *Symbols of Transformation*, p.171.
[1059] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.193.
[1060] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.219.

as representative of the Self.[1061] Rudhyar explained how the astrological Sun is related to Jung's archetype of the Self:

> The Sun, however, should not be considered as the symbol of the Self. It represents the power of the Self; but the Self itself is not only power. It is power in relation to form. It is power operating through a form and regenerating substance. In other words, the Self, if its nature can at all be ascertained astrologically, is the relation between the Sun and the axes, horizon and meridian. More accurately still, it is the relation between the significance of the zodiacal positions occupied by the Sun and the four angles – significance in terms of zodiacal signs (or sign subdivisions), of degree, and of angular relationship between these positions. The latter refer to the aspects between Sun, Ascendant and MidHeaven; but even more so to the house-position of the Sun.[1062]

Rudhyar's adoption of the Sun as the active symbol of individuation raises the question of whether his astrology is monistic i.e. overemphasised the astrological Sun rather than a plurality of astrological planets and thus disenchanted as claimed by Curry, a question I return to later in this chapter.[1063] However, Rudhyar's conception of the Self was not confined to the astrological Sun, but also involved the angles of the horoscope and how the Sun is placed in the chart in relation to other factors. He underlined this point and stated that the astrological Sun is:

> only the celestial symbol of the source of the energy of Self, which means, of spirit. The Self is the whole birth-sky localized and focused by the place and time of our first breath. This Self is God-in-us- the universal Whole focused into the core of our total being as an individual person.[1064]

The process to finding this Self, to individuating, may be enhanced by Jung's techniques of dream analysis and active imagination, which Rudhyar recognised as important to development.[1065] Rudhyar saw the symbol of individuation as the mandala, which he identified as 'a magic circle containing a cross or some other basically four-fold formation.'[1066] Rudhyar saw the birth-chart as a mandala, describing it as 'the blue-

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[1061] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.28.
[1062] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.222.
[1063] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.75.
[1064] Rudhyar, *Modern Psyche*, p.129.
[1065] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, pp.96-99.
[1066] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.99.

print of the process of individuation for this particular individual' and following it with understanding is to adopt what he referred to as the 'conscious way'.[1067] In *The Astrology of Transformation* Rudhyar discussed when a birth-chart will become a mandala, and suggested that it does not become one until the individual has got to a certain stage in his or her journey through life:

> It is only when the process of individualization has begun, and an individualized consciousness based on a deep, often poignant feeling of separateness and estrangement or even alienation from the level of strictly social activities and relationships has asserted itself (at least partially and sporadically), that one can speak of the existence of a truly individual center… such an individualized birth-chart can then, but only then be interpreted as a mandala.[1068]

This view of the birth-chart is one which holds that its function changes as an individual gets further along with their individuation journey. Rudhyar's adoption of mandalas and meditative techniques mirrored Jung's own. For Rudhyar, meditation on mandalas was a means of stimulating 'personal integration.'[1069] Whilst at the beginning of the process the birth-chart cannot be considered a mandala, meaning a deep symbol of the individual that has a powerful effect when meditated upon, it may become one, should a sufficiently advanced state of development have been achieved. This is a view of astrology far removed from the world of objective chart reading, in which astrologers claim to be making definite and precise, real statements, and more akin to what Brockbank and others have asserted is a divinatory position, that places the individual and their birth-chart in relation to a responsive cosmos that changes what a birth-chart may mean as an individual develops.[1070] Rudhyar's promotion of meditation upon the chart as a mandala as important for psychological development further cements the strong current of idealistic psychologisation running through his work.

[1067] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.100.
[1068] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.77.
[1069] Rudhyar, *Galatic Dimension*, p.61.
[1070] Brockbank, 'Responsive Cosmos'; Cornelius, *Moment of Astrology*.

7.3.2.2 The Collective Unconscious, Synchronicity and Jung's typology

The collective unconscious, synchronicity and Jung's typology are all discussed by Rudhyar but do not become deeply embedded into his astrological writings. Rudhyar described the collective unconscious thus:

> It is the sea from which the conscious ego emerges; a sea which may drown this ego, but which on the other hand, once functioning within the structure of an organic and complete conscious being, a Self, becomes as the blood thereof – the blood which is individualized sea-water.[1071]

Rudhyar recognised the collective unconscious as the source of the individual ego, albeit a source that can sometimes overwhelm and overtake the ego. He also saw it however as the source from which an individual ultimately grows into becoming a Self. Rudhyar associated the outer planets, Uranus, Neptune and Pluto, with the collective unconscious, an adaptation of Jung's own assertion that all the planets are powers of the collective unconscious. Rudhyar asserted:

> If we limit ourselves to the psychological approach and the relationship to the collective unconscious to the particular ego, we say that Uranus is the projective power of the unconscious, Neptune, its dissolving power, and Pluto, its regenerating power.[1072]
>
> Uranus, Neptune, Pluto symbolize processes which bring the unconscious and its subliminal powers to the threshold of the consciousness and the ego. They are thus intermediaries between the Solar system proper and the galaxy.[1073]

The term 'collective unconscious' is also used sometimes in his writings such as when he discussed the sign Pisces and its relationship to the sea; he asserted that all nations must assimilate the sea just 'as the conscious ego must assimilate the contents of the Collective Unconscious.'[1074]

Rudhyar briefly discussed synchronicity in his first astrology book, stating that it was significant that Jung had discovered the '"synchronistic" principle as a result of his

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[1071] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.89.
[1072] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.235.
[1073] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.239.
[1074] Dane Rudhyar, *The Zodiac as the Universal Matrix*, ed. Michael R Meyer (Berkeley, CA, Khaleda, 2010), p.182.

psychological practice.'[1075] He did not however rely on synchronicity as an explanatory principle for astrology, instead preferring his theory of astrology as an 'organizing principle' which could be applied to human psychology but also to other areas of life.[1076]

Jung's typology is referred to in Rudhyar's first work, but there is no significant continuation of this into later books; these give Jung's typology as a separate way of discussing the character type of an individual:

> It is such a predominance [of zodiacal signs] which determines the type to which the individual belongs – his dominant zodiacal type – just as it is the predominance of similar traits of character which makes of him an extravert or introvert, a thinking, feeling, sensation or intuition type, according to the psychological classification presented by Carl Jung.[1077]

In these later works, Rudhyar became more concerned not with the zodiac signs as indicative of a particular Jungian typology but as meaningful paths in themselves:

> following the path the individual person passes through all the stations of the Illumined Road. That they become nearly similar to the last "Stations of the Cross" means simply that at all times the would-be Christ-individual must act in the midst of a humanity still estranged from God and confused by its own intellectual achievements.[1078]

Whilst Rudhyar discussed the collective unconscious, synchronicity and Jung's typology in his astrology books, the concepts did not become deeply embedded or crucial to his own formulation of astrology. A terminological psychologisation of astrology did not therefore occur. Terminological psychologisation is Plaisance's category of psychologisation which sees esoteric language being replaced by psychological terminology.[1079] Rudhyar's astrology however in the main continues to use astrological terminology.

[1075] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.79.
[1076] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.80.
[1077] Dane Rudhyar, *An Astrological Triptych*, 2nd Edition (Santa Fe, NM: Aurora, 1978), p.5.
[1078] Rudhyar, *Astrological Triptych*, p.295.
[1079] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.17.

7.3.2.3 Psychological complexes

An important concept for Rudhyar was that of psychological complexes, something which Jung saw as being at the heart of his own work.[1080] Rudhyar defined complexes as:

> semi-autonomous groups of rigidly set and unyielding psychic contents (ideas, feelings, sensations) existing within the personality in a mostly unconscious condition, and able to influence or completely control the reactions of the personality to some particular type of new experiences. I added that the source of all complexes is fear and a sense of defeat or inferiority…[1081]

Rudhyar did not suggest complexes can be read from the birth-chart thus avoiding any idea that astrology is simply psychology in a different guise:

> NO BIRTH CHART can give the complete assurance that the native displays a mother-complex or any other complex. It can show unbalance in polar functions, tensions developing between normally complementary energies in the body and the psyche, emphasis caused by strain-producing circumstances of one kind or another, especially stressful crises of growth and their at least approximate timing. But the astrologer can only determine tendencies, and at best their relative strength.[1082]

Part of Rudhyar's reluctance to read complexes from the birth-chart stemmed from the view he had of what astrology represents. He explained this in relation to the planet Saturn which he described as a principle of activity or quality of being found in everything. What this means for Rudhyar is that:

> If we speak of a father-complex we cannot say astrologically that it is a Saturn-category, or even that it can be described by the relation of Saturn to the Moon alone… Indeed, there is or should be no such thing for the astrologer as a "father-complex" in general; for, to him, the birth chart as a whole represents the individual person as a whole, and what the psychologist calls father-complex (by isolating a number of characteristic psychological features) has roots and ramifications in every factor of the birth chart. The astrologer sees, or should see, in the chart the symbolic representation of the whole person who is *both* healthy and sick, strong and weak, etc,; whilst the psychiatrist deals

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[1080] Jung, *Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche*, pp.92-104.
[1081] Rudhyar, *Complexes*, p.12.
[1082] Rudhyar, *Complexes*, p.34.

> primarily with a disease which he seeks to cure – a disease which is a category of specific phenomena, and in many respects an entity.[1083]

For Rudhyar a complex cannot be read by isolating astrological factors. Instead it is something that comes through the astrological chart as a whole which itself may manifest in a variety of ways. Yet occasionally Rudhyar did interpret parental issues from particular astrological placements. For example, he asserted that 'Saturn in opposition to the Sun, especially where the parental houses (fourth and tenth) are involved, reveals strain and stress in the Saturn function and thus in relation to the father.[1084] On the whole however Rudhyar agreed with Jung that a particular chart configuration or 'complex' may actually be a positive spur to action in the world:

> As C.G. Jung often points out, a "complex" is indeed not necessarily "bad." It is often the means whereby the individual rises above the average and the norm. It spurs him on to heights of individual accomplishment – provided a psychological adjustment is effected which is individually significant and steady.[1085]

In this view a complex is simply an archetypal pattern which contains the potential for a positive outcome in the world.

Terminological psychologisation occurs where psychological language replaces esoteric language.[1086] There is not significant evidence for terminological psychologisation in Rudhyar's adaptation of astrology. Rudhyar does adopt Jung's basic language in places, such as conscious/unconscious and individuation, as when he wrote of distinguishing between planets 'referring to the conscious and planets referring to the unconscious – using the terms "conscious" and "unconscious" as used by C.G. Jung.'[1087] However, there is still prominent use of the language of planets, aspects and zodiac signs, i.e. the core language of astrology. Jungian language is added to astrological language, rather than being used as a replacement. Much of Jung's system is also only superficially

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[1083] Rudhyar, *Complexes*, p.36.
[1084] Rudhyar, *Complexes*, p.40.
[1085] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.312.
[1086] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.17.
[1087] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.219.

referred to. Rudhyar's interpretations make little reference to Jung's typology, to synchronicity or to the collective unconscious, and even though he asserts that the division of conscious and unconscious is an important concept he rarely refers to these terms in his interpretations.

7.3.3 Underlying rationale for Rudhyar's astrology

In this section I explore Rudhyar's underlying rationale for astrology.

7.3.3.1 The algebra of life

Lying at the heart of Dane Rudhyar's formulation of astrology was the idea that astrology is a system of qualitative mathematics that can be applied to a variety of organic systems. Rudhyar's term for this characterisation of astrology was 'the algebra of life.'[1088] He claimed that the celestial realm of planetary movements is like the realm of propositions, which are 'purely formal, symbolical, and conventional.'[1089] One may view the astrological system as a whole and apply it to any other suitable organic whole, such as the human being, with the planetary meanings deriving from their position in the system as a whole. Thus Jupiter and Mars for example, 'mean no more, no less, than 3 and 4.'[1090] By this Rudhyar did not mean that Jupiter and Mars did not represent certain principles but that the principles could not be interpreted without the context. He stated that 'Jupiter will symbolize the power of expansion' and 'Mars the power of out-going impulses' but stressed the difference this might mean in the context of a human being or atmospheric pressure.[1091] This formulation differed from earlier astrologers who stressed the correspondence theory as a universally true rationale for astrology; Alan Leo for example had referred to there being analogies throughout nature.[1092]

[1088] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.16.
[1089] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.43.
[1090] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.44.
[1091] Rudhyar, *Astrology of* Personality, p.45.
[1092] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.12.

Rudhyar's conception of astrology as a form of algebra and qualitative mathematics was an adaptation albeit the horoscope had always contained mathematical ideas, such as its geometric structure. Yet ultimately Rudhyar's astrology rested on the idea of the psyche being akin to the cosmos i.e. the idea that the microcosm is a smaller version of the macrocosm. This concept is part of the doctrine of correspondences. Rudhyar had clearly expressed his support for this, as when he wrote:

> This expresses clearly the idea of the exact correspondence between the macrocosm whose principle of order is "god" and the microcosm, man, whose principle of order is "reason" – or the "God within man." The life-substance circulating and differentiated within both macrocosm and microcosm is one and the same.[1093]

Whilst Rudhyar's rationale for astrology did contain some innovation, his embrace of the microcosm-macrocosm theory ultimately meant his astrology rested on the same classical foundations that had served astrology well for at least two thousand years.

Hanegraaff's assertion that the modern magician only embraces classical rationales in a technical sense does not do justice to Rudhyar's clear statement of connection between psyche and cosmos. Rudhyar's view was that the individual is a solar system in miniature as shown when he described the individual as 'a solar system ordered in an individual manner.'[1094] The individual is connected to the outer world at the grandest possible level, that of the solar system. For Rudhyar, psyche and cosmos have a real connection. He does not discuss the idea of a magical plane, instead locating his astrology in the real world.

7.3.4 Rudhyar's astrology as psychological technique

In this section I explore the idea that Rudhyar's astrology is a form of psychological technique, firstly through a consideration of his horoscope interpretations and then through his relationship of astrology to spiritual forces and the idea of moral imperative.

[1093] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.26.
[1094] Rudhyar, *Modern Psyche*, p.139.

7.3.4.1 Horoscope interpretations

Rudhyar rarely discussed practical examples of horoscope interpretation. One example is his discussion of the chart of Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) in *The Astrology of Personality*.[1095] His first comment related to the consideration of the shape of the chart as he noted that all planets are above the horizon with a lot of emphasis on the areas of the chart concerned with human relationship:

> The mass-emphasis is in the section of the chart which deals with human relationship and denotes self-realization through human contacts and objective being. He is seen to accept the choices and issues of life as these are placed before him: a man ruled by his objective destiny.[1096]

Rudhyar went on to emphasise that the planet Uranus is placed on its own in an area of the chart which he saw as indicating, 'a powerful and insistent release of unconscious factors operating as subjective volition.'[1097] Rudhyar also considered the distribution of planets in the four elements although does not refer to Jung's typology.[1098] Further remarks are then made on the planets with Rudhyar having interpreted the close grouping of several planets as 'often confusion and personal involvement in the qualities represented by house and sign.'[1099] All of Rudhyar's interpretations are psychological in that they stress various qualities and tendencies rather than specific events or people in the outer world. Most of these focus on the picture of the birth-chart as a whole rather than drilling down into individual placements such as the Sun in Leo, which would have been Alan Leo's approach. Rudhyar returned to Mussolini's chart later in the book to consider forecasting or what Rudhyar called a 'time-analysis' of the birth-chart.[1100] Rudhyar used an approach which involved calculating the angular relationship between two planets, applying the principle that the two planets would combine in the individual's life at the age

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[1095] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, pp.326-329.
[1096] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.326-327.
[1097] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.327.
[1098] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.329.
[1099] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.329.
[1100] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.344.

corresponding to the number of degrees between them; for example, the arc between Saturn and Jupiter for Mussolini was 41 degrees with Rudhyar stating that 'the age 41 was a very critical time for Mussolini.'[1101] There is no expansion on the psychological meaning by Rudhyar; his focus instead is on the timing inherent in the birth-chart, with the point being that the two principles represented by the planets concerned combine at that time i.e. reach their peak of combined expression.

Rudhyar's focus on the inherent timing revealed in a birth-chart and consideration of destiny takes his astrology beyond a consideration of psychological technique. His claim is that the birth-chart reveals some real psychological event occurring at a time in the physical world; as such the use of astrology is not merely for psychological development but has greater import in the world.

Rudhyar also offered some horoscope interpretations in his book *The Lunation Cycle*. This book concerned the relationship between the Sun and Moon in the horoscope. Rudhyar discussed the horoscope of the composer Franz Liszt (1811– 1886), particularly the relationship by degrees between the Sun in Libra and the Moon in Sagittarius which he had calculated as 52 degrees.[1102] Rudhyar claimed that the planets found between the Sun and the Moon at birth, in this case, Venus, Uranus and Neptune, indicate the type of development Liszt would have experienced through life, 'these three planets constitute the *contents inherent at birth* in the soli-lunar relationship.'[1103] In contrast, suggested Rudhyar, the planets outside the soli-lunar angle are 'powers or faculties which need to be acquired.'[1104] He gives the example of Saturn to illustrate this latter point:

> Indeed, Liszt lacked innately a sense of structural (Saturnian) restraint in all "life" activities, and this sense of lack finally led him to embrace the discipline of the Church.[1105]

[1101] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.345.
[1102] Rudhyar, *Lunation Cycle*, p.94.
[1103] Rudhyar, *Lunation Cycle*, p.95.
[1104] Rudhyar, *Lunation Cycle*, p.95.
[1105] Rudhyar, *Lunation Cycle*, p.95.

Rudhyar's theory on why the planets between the Sun and Moon at birth indicate existing talents is based upon the movement of the Moon since the first New Moon prior to birth:

> The space covered by the moon ahead of the sun – or more accurately, since her new moon position – represents what the moon has accomplished to date. The planets located within that space have "influenced," as it were, these lunar accomplishments.[1106]

In this interpretation Rudhyar combined the physical movements of the Sun and Moon with ideas of how an individual needs to develop based on their birth-chart. There is no explicit Jungian psychology here, but a focus on mathematical relationships together with interpretation that has identified the relationship between the Sun and the Moon as vital to understanding innate talents and areas for development.

Rudhyar's focus on archetypal form is a concern in a sense with psychological technique. But his assertion that a person's inner nature is intimately linked with the cosmos has an import that goes beyond Hanegraaff's assertion of psychologised magic as working only from the powers of the psyche. Rudhyar's astrology embeds the psyche in cosmos, which can be viewed as resistant to reductionism, i.e. the reductive psychologisation that Hanegraaff implies in his theory.

7.3.4.2 Emphasis on a spiritual dimension

The assertion that magic has been reduced to psychological techniques is refuted in Rudhyar's astrology by his emphasis on the spiritual dimension. Rudhyar argued that astrology involves the opening of the individual to transpersonal forces:

> In order to meet them [problems] significantly, the astrologer-psychologist has to reinterpret whatever data he or she uses. A transpersonal approach to both astrology and psychology has to be developed. It can only be successfully practiced if based on a genuine and thorough understanding of what is really at stake once the individual opens up to the descent of the spiritual, supermental forces.[1107]

[1106] Rudhyar, *Lunation Cycle*, p.95.
[1107] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.97.

> The basic concept of transpersonal astrology, and also of a kind of psychology using the term transpersonal (in the sense I have used it), is that when a human being has reached a truly individualized and autonomous state of being and consciousness, he or she becomes a 'place' at which two currents of opposite directions will eventually meet: the 'descent' of spirit and the 'ascent' of matter.[1108]

For Rudhyar, the psychological development of an individual is just the first stage before being able to become a vehicle for the reception of transpersonal forces. His view was that 'mind simply represents the possibility for spirit and matter to unite within a definite area of experience.'[1109] This transpersonal dimension was however an evolution of the person-centered astrology Rudhyar previously espoused. He explained the difference as follows:

> While a person-centred type of astrology seeks to discover the character of his identity and to help the fulfilment of the potentialities it reveals, transpersonal astrology deals mainly with the possibility of using whatever the birth-chart indicates to transform the very concept of individual identity by raising the level at which it operates – eventually raising it from the 'I' level to that of a transindividual 'We'.[1110]

Given that Rudhyar's astrology sometimes focused more on the person-centred approach, it is reasonable to assert that some versions of his astrology were concentrated on psychological techniques of development rather than having a wider frame of reference. However, even in dealing with an astrology focused on personality, Rudhyar claimed that there is something quite mysterious about the entities the astrologer is dealing with, and that this contrasts the work of the psychotherapist:

> the psychotherapist, since Freud and Jung, works also with elements which appear quite transcendental and mysterious – with "dreams", with psychic "images" or "complexes". Yet the dreams are, after all, the client's own. But when the astrologer speaks of Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, he deals with entities which are eminently mysterious and whose effective actions are beyond the pale of normal scrutiny.[1111]

[1108] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.99.
[1109] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.100.
[1110] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.134.
[1111] Dane Rudhyar, *The Practice of Astrology* (Baltimore, MD: Penguin, 1968), p.22.

The ultimate mystery which Rudhyar saw in astrological planets indicates his astrology goes beyond a concern with psychological techniques.

7.3.4.3 A moral imperative

A third strand which contradicts the idea that Rudhyar's astrology is only about psychological technique is the emphasis he placed on the moral imperative indicated by the birth-chart. Rudhyar saw the birth-chart as something which an individual should follow; it contained in his view a moral imperative to become what the pattern revealed a person should be. Whilst the individual has a choice, the wrong choice would be to deny one's true nature and ignore the message that the birth-chart can be seen as:

> I have taught for many years that a person's birth-chart thus constitutes a "message" from the universe; it is a set of instructions given to him or her at birth by the Sky. It is the "celestial Name" of the individual – a Name more fundamentally valid and true than the name inherited from the parents and their culture and religion.[1112]

The birth-chart is akin, in Rudhyar's system, to a secret or deeply buried conception of one's archetypal form. This form is the planetary pattern in place at an individual's birth moment.

Rudhyar's astrology goes beyond psychological techniques. It links the psyche to the cosmos, and timing is an important component to his horoscope interpretations. His astrology contains a clear spiritual dimension and a moral imperative for individuals to choose to become like the archetypal form shown by their birth-chart.

7.3.5 Rudhyar's astrology and legitimisation

Hanegraaff asserts that modern magicians have psychologised magic for the purpose of legitimisation.[1113] Their embrace of psychology, in his view, is connected with wanting to appear respectable and closer to ideas of instrumental causality, the mode of

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[1112] Rudhyar, *Astrological Insights*, p.63; see also Dane Rudhyar, *Person Centred Astrology* (New York: Aurora, 1980), p.43.
[1113] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.396.

modern science, which dominates modernity. The idea of astrologers adopting psychology so as to appear scientific has also been asserted by Bird and Phillipson.[1114]

In this section I consider firstly why Rudhyar adopted psychology and whether he views astrology and psychology as synonymous, and then proceed to discuss legitimisation in relation to his astrology.

7.3.5.1 Reasons for embracing psychology

Rudhyar specifically set out to adapt astrology 'in terms of values acceptable to the modern mind.'[1115] In the context of natal astrology, which Rudhyar focused on, these values involve applying astrology in a psychological manner, with a view to increasing *'the significance of an individual destiny and of a unique personality – thus enhancing its individualness and its uniqueness.'*[1116] Rudhyar's focus on destiny being intertwined with the personality was reminiscent of Leo's 'character is destiny' emphasis.[1117] Yet Rudhyar, writing in the mid-1930s, had access to more of the literature of Depth Psychology and could therefore integrate this with astrology to a greater degree. Psychology played an important role in Rudhyar's adaptation of astrology which aimed to:

> pave the way to a new type of astrology which would be philosophically sound and whose application to modern psychology would help men to live more significant, therefore more spiritual, lives.[1118]

Rudhyar was not interested in the sort of psychology that he saw had previously been part of astrology, what he called a '"common-sense" psychology, rather superficial in character.' [1119] He did not provide examples to illustrate what he meant by common-sense psychology. In his astrology, Rudhyar aimed to 'interpret astrological symbols in terms of an "up-to-date" Western psychology, consistently backed up, as it were, by a

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[1114] Bird, 'Astrology in Education', p.107; Phillipson, *Astrology in the Year Zero*, p.94.
[1115] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p159.
[1116] Rudhyar, *Astrology, of Personality*, p.161.
[1117] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.xx.
[1118] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.81.
[1119] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.81.

philosophy which brings into clear relief some of the most recent and the most vital concepts of this century.'[1120] Rudhyar's adaptation was for the purpose of updating astrology to the present day. He recognised that modern men and women require justification for a subject in terms which relate to the modern world. In psychology, he saw the potential for cross-fertilisation, with psychology enabling a reading of the birth-chart that emphasised unique individuality with astrology in turn providing psychology with a greater sense of significance and meaning. Rudhyar did not however see astrology and psychology as synonymous. He asserted:

> Anyone seeking honestly to correlate the findings of astrology and those of modern psychology is obliged to admit that there can hardly be any point by point correspondence between the two. No one astrological factor represents any one complex; no one particular planetary position or aspect can tell us whether a person is an introvert or an extrovert.[1121]

Rudhyar was quite clear that there are major differences between psychology and astrology. Astrology cannot simply be reduced to a system of psychology akin to those in use in twentieth century society – this includes the systems of Jung and other psychoanalytic thinkers who refer to complexes. As such, in contrast to Jung's idea that astrology might be projected psychology, which means astrology can be said to be an example of reductive psychologisation, Rudhyar rejects this possibility. Rudhyar claimed that the psychologist cannot understand a human being as an organic whole and has no picture to do this. This is where the astrologer can come in for 'he can study the blueprint of the total personality, as well as the general schedule of its unfoldment from birth.'[1122] The astrologer therefore has an advantage over the psychologist, in having a map of personality to follow in the astrological birth-chart. Yet this does not render psychology functionless. Indeed, in his 1976 *An Astrological Study of Psychological Complexes* Rudhyar argued that whilst astrology provides the structure,

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[1120] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.81.
[1121] Rudhyar, *Complexes*, p.34-35.
[1122] Rudhyar, *Modern Psyche*, p.3.

psychology provides the contents.[1123] In this sense they may be seen as complementary subjects.

Rudhyar explained the difference between astrology and psychology thus:

> It should be clear, however, that astrology and psychology can be of mutual benefit to each other only if it is well understood that astrological thinking is radically different from the rigorous intellectual thinking and empirical methods featured in modern science. Science proceeds by way of exclusion, dealing only with characteristics common to large groups; astrology proceeds by way of inclusion, relating every phenomenon of life to a few fundamental principles considered to be universally valid.[1124]

For Rudhyar astrology worked in a very different way to sciences such as psychology. If astrology cannot be equated with psychology however, the role of the astrologer could sometimes replace the role of the psychologist. In *The Astrology of Transformation*, Rudhyar stated that 'the word 'astrologer' could in most instances by replaced by 'psychologist', 'for my approach to the immensely complex problems engendered by the mere fact of living in our city-dominated society transcends strictly defined categories of thought.'[1125]

Rudhyar was familiar with Jung's assertion that 'astrology represents the summation of all the psychological knowledge of antiquity.'[1126] He did not however agree and wrote:

> Astrology, even as traditionally handed down by Ptolemy, is not the summation of ancient psychology. First, because it refers to many things besides psychology – from governmental matters to weather and the condition of crops. Secondly… astrology is not to be identified, in its essence, with any experimental or empirical science, but rather is the organizing principle of such sciences as deal with life and significance in relation to "organic wholes," much as mathematics is the organizing principle of sciences dealing with inanimate matter and the realm of "parts."[1127]

[1123] Rudhyar, *Complexes*, p.ix.
[1124] Rudhyar, *Complexes*, p.xi.
[1125] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.xiv
[1126] Jung, 'In Memory of Richard Wilhelm' in Wilhelm, *The Secret of the Golden Flower*, p.154.
[1127] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.80.

Rudhyar accepted that astrology may refer to many areas of life, not just psychology. He also separated astrology from psychology in terms of classifying types of knowledge. Astrology is not a type of science but more akin to a form of mathematics. His 'algebra of life' formulation asserts that the astrological system can be lifted and placed on other wholes in order to read meaning and significance from one to the other. If psychology is not the only application for astrology why specifically is psychology chosen? Rudhyar answered this point as follows:

> considering the practical difficulty there is in applying astrology to physiology and medicine, it seems much wiser to focalize astrological interpretation at the psychological level, merely indicating the possibility of physical-organic correlations when such seem particularly obvious and of paramount influence upon psychological development.[1128]

Astrology may be applied to matters other than psychology; it is simply more difficult to do so and of less interest to the modern person interested in their psychological development. Psychology was selected by Rudhyar because of its relevance to modern persons, and because it is an easier and less fallible way in which to apply the astrological system.

Plaisance's first category of psychologisation is complementary psychologisation; this refers to psychological and spiritual systems acting in complement to each other, and this type is at work in Rudhyar's astrological system. He explicitly discussed the irreducibility of astrology to psychology and the fact that whilst astrology provides the form, psychology provides empirical content, 'astrology and psychology can be of mutual benefit to each other only if is well understood that astrological thinking is radically different from the rigorous intellectual thinking and empirical methods featured in modern science.'[1129] Rudhyar saw astrology as an inclusive system whereas psychology, as a science, focused on exclusion and classification of parts as opposed to a holistic view. He rejected Jung's claim that astrology was the sum of ancient psychological knowledge and pointed out that astrology can apply to many areas

[1128] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.170.
[1129] Rudhyar, *Complexes*, p.xi.

besides psychology, 'astrology, even as traditionally handed down by Ptolemy, is not the summation of ancient psychology.'[1130] As such his work does not contain reductive psychologisation, the form Plaisance has identified for esoteric concepts which have been reduced to the psychological. Instead, Rudhyar viewed astrology and psychology as complementary systems and as such complementary psychologisation is present in his adaptation.

Rudhyar's adoption of psychology was also connected to his view of history, which he saw through an astrological lens, regarding the discovery of planets such as Neptune and Pluto as significant, as was the idea of the astrological ages. Whilst Jung had been fascinated with the Age of Pisces, Rudhyar looked forward to the Age of Aquarius and saw his astrology as being a means of modern men and women preparing for this new astrological age to come. The Aquarian age had something to say for modern people seeking mystical experience:

> In the astrological symbol of Aquarius, Man carries on his shoulders an urn from which "living waters" flow… what the modern seeker after mystical awareness often forgets is that power which is not contained within a form… is ineffectual.[1131]

For Rudhyar, his astrological reform was necessary to support those who wished to be ready for the coming age of Aquarius, which would demand the ability to deal with conscious and unconscious processes:

> When we speak of the new Aquarian type of person, we are actually referring to human beings through whom will be released in some more or less focused and characteristic manner the energies, the faith… of the new Age. These are dynamic features, and they refer to a large extent to unconscious or semi-conscious processes which occur through the individual persons rather than from them.[1132]

[1130] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.80.
[1131] Rudhyar, *Astrological Timing*, pp.165-166.
[1132] Rudhyar, *Astrological Timing*, p.167.

Psychological astrology was thus necessary not to appear legitimate to those who thought astrology could only have value if it appeared scientific but because it was the means by which individuals would be ready for the coming Aquarian Age.

7.3.5.2 Legitimisation through credibility from Jung

His keenness to associate his work with prominent psychologists suggests Rudhyar was mindful of the need to be legitimate. Having cited Jung's passage which stated astrology would be an example of synchronistic thinking on a grand scale if there were sufficient data and resources to test it, he clearly looked to the link with Jung as a form of legitimisation:

> If Dr. Jung, first scientist and practicing psychiatrist, then pupil of Freud, finally exponent of his own findings and interpretations as founder of the Zurich school of analytical psychology, discovered this "synchronistic" principle as a result of his own psychological practice, the fact is indeed significant.[1133]

Jung was cited as someone who has independently given credence to astrology, and was embraced by Rudhyar partly on this basis. Rudhyar would likely have been unaware that Jung viewed synchronicity as a restatement of the theory of correspondences, the long-held rationale for the validity of astrological interpretation. Rudhyar's own rationale for astrology was not directly connected with synchronicity however, instead relying on a conception of astrology as the 'algebra of life' and a system that could be applied to different parts of life.[1134] Nor did Rudhyar fully embrace all of Jung's concepts or agree with Jung that astrology was the sum of ancient psychological knowledge. As such, his appeal to Jung, whilst having some connection to the idea of legitimisation, was not one that fully underpinned his own astrology. Rudhyar had his own views on what astrology was and how it should be described and was confident in asserting these reasons regardless of corroboration from other thinkers.

[1133] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.79.
[1134] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.16.

On balance, Rudhyar, whilst mindful of the need to be legitimate in the modern world, did not adopt psychology primarily for this purpose, but because it was the level which was philosophically sound, allowing modern men and women the opportunity to work with their birth-charts from a place that recognised the importance of free-will and consciously choosing to align with the cosmic pattern indicated by the individual birth-chart.

7.3.6 Rudhyar's astrology and disenchantment

Curry has argued that psychological astrology is disenchanted because it neglects the world and overemphasises the astrological Sun.[1135] Disenchantment as defined by Weber was that which is repeatable and predictable and which contains no mysterious forces.[1136] I consider these ideas of disenchantment in relation to Rudhyar's astrology.

7.3.6.1 Repeatability and predictability

Rudhyar, breaking with past astrologers, claimed that astrology is culturally relative. He asserted that 'each cultural or religious tradition to which these astrologers belong interprets the order and meaning of the universe in a different manner.'[1137] His own view was that astrology should be categorised as a 'symbolical language':

> Indeed, as I see it, there is no such thing as astrology per se, as an independent entity having strictly defined methods of operation absolutely valid under any circumstances. As I stated already I consider astrology as a symbolical language.[1138]

Rudhyar recognised that not only was astrology culturally relative, but that it was also relative to individual astrologers within the same culture. He stated that 'every consistent astrological system seems to work for the astrologers who are thoroughly familiar with it and fully believe in its value.'[1139] However, Rudhyar's embrace of a broad relativist view of astrology was mixed with his preference for accuracy in certain

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[1135] Hanegraaff, How magic survived, p.360; Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, pp.74-75.
[1136] Weber, *Essays in sociology*, p.139.
[1137] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.192.
[1138] Dane Rudhyar, *Astrological Timing* (London: Harper Colophon, 1969), p.236.
[1139] Rudhyar, *Astrological Timing*, p.194.

areas. In his discussion of natal astrology, Rudhyar claimed it 'demands as a prerequisite absolute accuracy in the knowledge of the moment of the "first breath"', with such an accuracy being necessary 'to establish beyond doubt the framework of the houses', which is, 'the very frame-work of the native's individual selfhood and unique destiny.'[1140] Whilst there is some latitude in the astrological system used, the moment of birth was thus critical in Rudhyar's view in assessing the astrological essence of an individual.

Rudhyar's astrology was not repeatable or predictable, for each individual is a small slice of the cosmic pattern, and prediction from the birth-chart and forecasting techniques is only possible on the level of meaning, 'the birth-chart will not tell whether this potentiality will ever become an actuality.'[1141] In that sense there is no easy way to take two people and two birth-charts and suggest the same thing will happen under a given astrological movement. Equally, because the chart represents possibilities, and a blueprint that may never be realised, it is crucially dependent on the attitude and will of the individual person as to whether they will ever become like their birth-chart at all; the birth-chart will not tell 'whether or not the process of individuation will be successful.'[1142]

Being predictable and repeatable are qualities often associated with modern science. For Rudhyar astrology was concerned with the quality of wholes, something he considered irrelevant to modern science. Writing in 1980 he asserted that:

> only very recently has a new approach to astrology and chart interpretation begun to emphasise the element of Gestalt – the overall pattern of the horoscope… This trend towards Gestalt in astrology has developed during the last fifty years, paralleling a similar approach in philosophy and psychology. The astrologer following it looks at the birth-chart as a whole and tries to grasp the meaning of the total pattern which planets, house cusps, aspects etc. make.[1143]

[1140] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.161.
[1141] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.404.
[1142] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.404.
[1143] Dane Rudhyar and Leyla Rael, *Astrological Aspects* (Santa Fe, NM: Aurora, 1980), p.196.

Rudhyar argued that this concern with holism had no relation to modern science:

> modern science has nothing whatsoever to say as to the quality of wholeness of any whole; nor has it anything vital and real to say concerning the essence of time.[1144]

7.3.6.2 Mysterious forces

In arguing that each system of astrology worked equally well for the astrologer who believed in it, Rudhyar made the astrologer a vital part of any astrology. This means that on Phillipson's definition of astrology-as-divination Rudhyar's astrology qualifies. Far from presenting astrology as science therefore, Rudhyar's astrology may be located on the divination side of the debate. Astrology-as-divination, as discussed in chapter four, is situated within a responsive cosmos in which mysterious forces are quite possible.

Rudhyar had explicitly discussed spiritual forces as being part of astrology, as when he wrote that at a certain level of consciousness, a person becomes the meeting place for 'the 'descent' of spirit and the 'ascent' of matter.'[1145] Rudhyar had also written that the planets were 'eminently mysterious' whose actions are 'beyond the pale of normal scrutiny.'[1146]

A further element of the mysterious is present in Rudhyar's astrology in the change he identified in the birth-chart once a certain level of psychological and spiritual awareness had been reached. He had spoken of the birth-chart becoming like a mandala, a magic circle which inspired meditation, 'it is only when the process of individualization has begun' that the birth-chart can 'be interpreted as a mandala.'[1147]

7.3.6.3 Neglect of the outer world

Rudhyar's astrology, like Leo's, does neglect the external world. It encourages a focus on individual development rather than specific events or people with meaning being what

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[1144] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.53.
[1145] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.99.
[1146] Dane Rudhyar, *The Practice of Astrology* (Baltimore, MD: Penguin, 1968), p.22.
[1147] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.77.

matters rather than actual happenings in the world, 'events in themselves are not important. What matters is the significance we bestow upon them.'[1148] In a philosophical sense however, Rudhyar's astrology is related to the outer world. It is not all about the inside of a person's head for Rudhyar's view was that the individual is a solar system in miniature as shown when he described the individual as 'a solar system ordered in an individual manner.'[1149] The individual is connected to the outer world at the highest possible level, that of the solar system, and on this cosmic level the individual is at home in the universe, a counterpoint to the idea of the separated modern individual alone and disconnected from the material world.

Rudhyar's astrology is not disenchanted. It is not repeatable or predictable, contains mysterious elements and does not unduly prioritise the astrological Sun. Whilst he did give the Sun an important role in individuation, he also emphasised the importance of other planets, particularly the Moon and the relationship of Sun and Moon in the birth-chart. He wrote that 'the Sun, Moon and planets essentially mobilize and actualize the fundamental potentialities of organic existence symbolized by the zodiac.'[1150]

Rudhyar's astrology does neglect the outer world in the sense that specific events and people are not regarded as important. However, it explicitly links the individual psyche to the cosmos and views the individual as a miniature solar system. In this sense Rudhyar's astrology is very much connected to the universe.

7.3.7 Rudhyar's astrology and modernity

Like Leo, Rudhyar recognised that astrology was in need of adaptation because it was not in an acceptable form for modern men and women; Rudhyar had stated his purpose was to reformulate astrology 'in terms of values acceptable to the modern mind.'[1151] In this sense he recognised the problem Hanegraaff addresses in his psychologisation thesis, that magic needed to adapt to survive and find a place in the

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[1148] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.414.
[1149] Rudhyar, *Modern Psyche*, p.139.
[1150] Rudhyar, *Astrological Insights*, p.17.
[1151] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.159.

modern world. Like Alan Leo, Rudhyar regarded some of the earlier astrologers as writing in a way which was psychologically harmful. Referring to a 1925 astrology book concerning the Fixed Stars, he wrote that it:

> provides us with a collection of data from Hellenistic, medieval, or classical sources upon which it would be not only unwise, but psychologically dangerous, to rely.[1152]

For Rudhyar it was necessary to establish astrology on firm philosophical foundations, separating it from tradition for the sake of tradition. In this way Rudhyar may be said to exemplify the modern idea of progress, whereby a rupture or revolution from an archaic past is necessary.[1153] This desire to 'start afresh' and revise with the idea of improving a subject, is in accord with the characteristics of modernity/modernism identified in chapter three. The other characteristics identified were disenchantment, homogeneity of time, space and place, lack of certainty, differentiation, self-realisation and freedom and responsibility.

The relationship of Rudhyar's astrology to disenchantment was discussed in section 7.3.6 and concluded that it was not disenchanting despite some neglect of the external world. Rudhyar's astrology does not recognise the homogeneity of time, space and place. As with Leo, Rudhyar's astrology works with horoscopes set for particular times and locations. They are situated by their very nature and recognise an idea of time that is qualitative. In positing an explicit link between psyche and cosmos, Rudhyar posited a solution to the alienation and homelessness experienced by the individual in modernity. This is the 'homelessness' explored by Peter Berger, the metaphysical loss of home which comes in living in a universe to which one has no connection.[1154] In Rudhyar's astrology the individual is connected with a wider purpose and pattern, countering the modern idea of individuals struggling with a lack of meaning or purpose.

[1152] Rudhyar, *Galatic Dimension of Astrology*, p.189.
[1153] Latour, *We have never been modern*, p.149.
[1154] Berger et al., *The Homeless Mind*, p.175.

There is no lack of certainty in Rudhyar's astrology, although his concern to revise ideas to source does exhibit some of the doubt characteristic of modernity i.e. a mistrust of what has gone before so that ideas must be revised and improved.

Differentiation, self-realisation and freedom and responsibility are all present in Rudhyar's astrology. Like Leo, Rudhyar deliberately focused on the psychological dimension of astrology, thereby showing some evidence of differentiating between spheres of life. His work is heavily bound-up with the idea of realising the Self, with individuation lying at the very core of his astrology. For Rudhyar the birth-chart symbolised what a person might and should be; it is a set of coded instructions so that one might live 'in tune with the universe.'[1155]

Freedom is strongly present in Rudhyar's astrology, as is the responsibility of choosing what to do with that freedom. Rudhyar argued that human beings had a choice whether or not to follow their birth-chart. He had stated that the birth-chart was a 'message' from the universe, the 'celestial Name' of the individual.'[1156] But the individual had freedom to choose whether to align with this or not. In his concern with freedom, Rudhyar was in tune with ideas of modernity/modernism for to be modern is to value freedom and view it as a good.[1157]

In chapter six I identified Alan Leo as a good example of Bell's modern capitalist entrepreneur. In contrast, Rudhyar, although a prolific writer, was not commercial in the same way. His astrology was highly philosophical and abstract, with few examples of interpretation. If Alan Leo was the entrepreneur of Bell's disjunction of realms, then Dane Rudhyar may be called the artist.[1158] Both entrepreneur and artist are driven by what Bell asserts is the fundamental unit of society in modern Western civilization, the person. But whilst the entrepreneur explores his freedom from tradition in the economic sphere, the artist focuses on freedom of expression.[1159] The artist is more commonly

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[1155] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.viii.
[1156] Rudhyar, *Astrological Insights*, p.63.
[1157] Anderson, 'Victorian Studies', p.197.
[1158] Bell, *Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, pp.16-17.
[1159] Bell, *Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, p.16.

associated with modernism and this is an appropriate description for Rudhyar, who in addition to being an astrologer was both composer and artist with his biographer, Deniz Ertan, describing him as having been 'on the map of modernist America.'[1160]

Postmodernity is associated with pluralism, the recognition that science is but one means of finding truth, and the possibility of re-enchantment. All these are relevant to Rudhyar's astrology particularly his assertion that astrology is culturally relative. Like Jung, his work is best classified as being close to ideas within both modernism and postmodernity.

7.4 Chapter conclusion

Rudhyar's astrology partially conforms to ideas on psychologisation. Like Leo, Rudhyar adapted astrology to be more psychological. He turned to the inner realm, believing this was the realm of vital importance to modern men and women who wished to evolve and prepare themselves for the new era, the age of Aquarius. Rudhyar advanced a process that Leo had started, the psychologisation of the horoscope, a process which saw increased areas of the horoscope interpreted in a psychological light. Leo had expanded the characterological qualities of the astrological planets and zodiac signs whilst Rudhyar saw previously non-psychological areas of the horoscope as psychological. For example, the seventh house in the horoscope became the subjective perception of the partner rather than describing the actual partner.

Jung was an inspirational influence on Rudhyar, inspiring him to take up astrology in depth, and in Jung's psychology Rudhyar recognised synergies with astrology. Rudhyar embraced the idea of the psyche as dynamic and as consisting of conscious and unconscious components. He adopted Jung's idea of individuation as a key principle in his astrology, albeit that Alan Leo had already proposed a similar process as part of his own adaptation of astrology. Other elements of Jung's psychological language did not penetrate Rudhyar's astrology deeply with Rudhyar continuing to use astrological

[1160] Ertan, *Dane Rudhyar*, p.xii.

language of planets, signs and houses in the main in his writing about astrology. The embrace of the dynamic psyche is connected with psychologisation, given this is the core of psychoanalysis which has been identified as intrinsically bound up with the process of psychologisation.

Idealistic psychologisation is strongly present in Rudhyar's astrology. The fusing of the psychological and the spiritual, as with Leo and Jung, lies at the heart of Rudhyar's adaptation. Individuation is the core process, and the psychological development of the individual is akin to spiritual development. Terminological psychologisation is less present, with little of Jung's psychologised astrology finding a permanent place in Rudhyar's astrology. Reductive psychologisation is also lacking, with Rudhyar's astrology irreducible to psychological technique and Rudhyar rejecting Jung's assertion that astrology represented the psychological knowledge of antiquity. Rudhyar saw astrology and psychology as complementary systems, and in doing so, evidenced strong complementary psychologisation. For Rudhyar, astrology provided the form whilst psychology provided the contents.

Rudhyar framed astrology as the algebra of life, a qualitative mathematics that could be applied to different holistic systems. Fundamentally however, Rudhyar's astrology rested on the classical principle of the microcosm being analogous to the macrocosm, and in this his rationale echoed that of Leo and Jung. Rudhyar's astrology was located in the cosmos rather than on a separate magical plane, as Hanegraaff asserts is the case for psychologised magic.

Rudhyar's astrology cannot be reduced to psychological techniques; his astrology is explicitly bound up with the cosmos, with the individual's archetypal form shown by the pattern of the heavens, and his interpretations show a concern with both timing of events in life and with destiny. Psychology was adopted by Rudhyar because it made philosophical sense to focus on this level of astrological interpretation, with an emphasis on the individual's ability to choose to become like the celestial instructions contained within their birth-chart.

Rudhyar's astrology is not disenchanting. It is not repeatable or predictable, for the celestial instruction indicated by the heavens may or may not be followed, depending on the free choice of the individual. Rudhyar regarded astrology as relative both to culture and the individual astrologer and his astrology is closer to an astrology-as-divination position rather than an astrology-as-science position as defined by Phillipson. This makes Rudhyar's astrology at home in a responsive cosmos of mysterious forces, and this point is underlined by Rudhyar's own discussion of the spiritual forces that may be present when a person reaches a certain level of awareness, and in his view that the birth-chart functions as a mandala for those who have progressed sufficiently along the journey of individuation.

Like Leo, Rudhyar was concerned to revise astrology for modern people. Yet his astrology did not conform to the central characteristic of modernity, disenchantment, even if it did represent an ambition to start again on fresh foundations, which is in line with the characteristics of modernity and modernism. Rudhyar also placed a very high value on freedom of the individual, and radically asserted that the individual could choose whether they wished to be like their birth-chart or not. This removed any possibility of prediction from his astrology and cohered with the idea that in modernity/modernism there is a strong tendency to value freedom and to put destiny in the hands of the individual. In postulating a connection to the cosmos, Rudhyar provided a solution to the modern dilemma of feeling homeless in the cosmos and in his poetic and artistic framing of astrology he may be juxtaposed against Alan Leo. Rudhyar is the artist to Leo's entrepreneur. This relates to Bell's discussion of the disjunction of realms in modernity where the two modernities, modernity and modernism, compete for primacy. Rudhyar is the modernist half of this duality and his astrology, based on a dynamic conception of the psyche, fits modernism better than modernity. His work also exhibits characteristics associated with postmodernity, such as a lack of a privileged place for modern science, his embrace of cultural relativism and the scope for enchantment.

Chapter 8: Liz Greene and psychologisation

8.1 Introduction

Like Alan Leo and Dane Rudhyar, Liz Greene has been recognised as a significant influence on twentieth century astrological theory and practice. Hyde argues that Greene, relative to Rudhyar, 'represents a newer generation and an altogether different and more ambitious attempt to draw Jungian ideas into astrology.'[1161] She claims that Greene is more faithful to Jung, and is less sentimental than Rudhyar, with the emphasis being 'on the dynamics of Jung's analytic psychology and its application to the understanding of unconscious processes.'[1162] For Curry, Greene is one of the astrologers who has 'most influentially developed' psychological astrology.[1163]

Greene is recognised by fellow astrologers as a leading contributor to psychological astrology. Dennis Elwell describes her as 'the most notable' of the 'modern astrologers influenced by the depth psychology of Jung.'[1164] Her astrology books have been very popular, with fellow astrologer John Frawley describing her as the 'Queen of the Bookshelves.'[1165] On the publication of her second book, *Relating*, in 1978, *Horoscope Magazine* commented:

> If you only read one astrology book this year, make it Liz Greene's *Relating*… Even if you plan to read only one book of *any* kind this year, *Relating* would still be an excellent choice.[1166]

This chapter will examine Liz Greene's astrology, firstly outlining her life and astrological works and then examining her adaptation of astrology in relation to psychologisation. This will include discussion of her psychological adaptations and the nature of the psychoanalytic influence on her astrology. I will then consider the rationale underlying her astrology and whether her astrology can be regarded as psychological technique.

[1161] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.85.
[1162] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.85.
[1163] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.72.
[1164] Elwell, *Cosmic Loom*, 1999, p.90.
[1165] Frawley, *The Real Astrology*, p.21.
[1166] Quoted on the back of Liz Greene, *Relating* (York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1978).

Next, I will consider the question of legitimisation in relation to Greene's astrology and then consider whether it may be described as disenchanted. Finally I will consider the relationship of Greene's astrology to modernity before the chapter conclusion which summarises Greene's contribution to the psychologisation of natal astrology in the twentieth century.

8.2 Life and works

Liz Greene was born in 1946, and is a Jungian analyst, professional astrologer and scholar.[1167] In 1980 she obtained a Diploma in Analytical Psychology from the Association of Jungian Analysts in London; she also holds doctorates in psychology and history.[1168] Greene established the Centre for Transpersonal Astrology in 1982, with fellow astrologer Howard Sasportas.[1169] The name was changed to the Centre for Psychological Astrology (CPA) in 1983 in recognition of the wide variety of psychological approaches incorporated and a Diploma Course eventually created, with a London seminar programme forming the mainstay of the course.[1170] In 2011 the CPA stopped offering its Diploma and moved to a less formal structure, offering periodic lectures and seminars.[1171] Greene went into the academic world in 2003, the year in which her last astrology book to date came out, becoming part of the teaching staff at the Sophia Centre (firstly at Bath Spa University as a guest lecturer and then at the University of Wales Trinity Saint David in 2008). She gained the MA in Cultural Astronomy and Astrology in 2007 from Bath Spa University and a PhD in History from the University of Bristol in 2010.[1172]

Greene has written nineteen astrology books, beginning with *Saturn* in 1976.[1173] This book aimed to present Saturn in a more positive light than had been the case in

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[1167] See back cover, Liz Greene, *The Astrological World of Jung's Liber Novus* (London: Routledge, 2018).
[1168] See back cover, Greene, *Astrological World of Jung's Liber Novus*.
[1169] Darby Costello, *Water and Fire* (London: CPA, 1998), p.203.
[1170] Costello, *Water and Fire*, pp.203-4.
[1171] The Centre for Psychological Astrology website www.cpalondon.com, (accessed: 19 June 2021).
[1172] Campion and Greene (eds*), Sky and Symbol*, p.300.
[1173] Liz Greene, *Saturn: A New Look at an Old Devil* (York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1976).

traditional astrology, and explore interpretations of Saturn as more developed than what Greene described as being 'flat and two-dimensional' with limited value for the individual.[1174] Her second book, the 1978 *Relating,* used:

> basic astrological concepts symbolically and practically, in a framework of Jungian psychology, to show the ways in which people relate to one another on both conscious and unconscious levels.[1175]

After *Astrology for Lovers'* in 1980, which elaborated on meanings of the zodiac signs for men and women in relationships, Greene's next major work as a sole author was *The Astrology of Fate* in 1984, which explored the relationship between astrology and fate and argued that,

> we have lost touch with Nature and natural law, and that understanding our fate is understanding our relationship to the natural laws of the universe.[1176]

She had begun collaborating with fellow psychological astrologer Stephen Arroyo by this point, and they jointly authored *New Insights in Modern Astrology* in 1984 (originally under the title *The Jupiter/Saturn Lectures*).[1177] A further four jointly authored books followed with astrologer Howard Sasportas, notably *Dynamics of the Unconscious* in 1988 and *The Luminaries* in 1992.[1178] The former of these aimed to show how the dynamics of depth psychology worked in the birth-chart whilst the latter dealt with the psychological processes symbolised by the Sun and Moon.

A significant number of Greene's later astrology books were published by the Centre for Psychological Astrology's (CPA) press, and consisted of a transcript format of actual seminars which had taken place for students at the Centre. This followed the format of the successful collaborative works with Howard Sasportas. Greene's CPA books include: *Barriers and Boundaries* in 1996, which explores astrological signatures of psychological

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[1174] Greene, *Saturn*, p.10.
[1175] Greene, *Relating,* back cover.
[1176] Liz Greene, *Astrology for Lovers* (London: Thorsons, 1980); Liz Greene, *The Astrology of Fate* (York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1984), back cover.
[1177] Stephen Arroyo and Liz Greene, *New Insights in Modern Astrology* (Sebastopol, CA: CRCS, 1991).
[1178] Liz Greene and Howard Sasportas, *Dynamics of the Unconscious* (York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1988); Liz Greene and Howard Sasportas, *The Luminaries* (York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1992).

defences; *The Horoscope in Manifestation* in 1997, which considers the nature of astrological forecasting; *Apollo's Chariot* in 2001, which examines the astrological Sun, and several jointly authored works including *The Mars Quartet* which looks at different aspects of the astrological Mars, with Lynn Bell, Darby Costello and Melanie Reinhart, also published in 2001.[1179] Her last astrology book to date, a CPA Press title, was *The Dark of the Soul*; this was published in 2003 and explored psychopathology in the horoscope.[1180]

8.2.1 Encountering astrology

Greene described an encounter during her university years with astrology that was formative in her astrological development.[1181] She was persuaded to visit for a reading with the famous astrologer Isabel Hickey by someone she had recently met in Boston, Massachusetts, and had a half hour reading she described as insightful and accurate.[1182] She goes on to say that although impressed with the reading that alone would not have led her on to study astrology:

> Mrs Hickey, however, seemed to take a pointed interest in me, suggested that I might do well as an astrological student, and offered to include me in her classes and provide some private tuition. This idea was met with enthusiasm on my part, but before I was able to take advantage of her offer, she, for reasons which still remain obscure to me, reversed her initial interest and took a passionate dislike to me, insulted me, and barred me from her classes.[1183]

This experience made Greene wonder if there was something horrible in her horoscope that Hickey had seen and as a consequence, Greene resolved to learn how to cast her own chart and teach herself; in doing so she became 'addicted'.[1184] She reflected on this as follows:

[1179] Liz Greene, *Barriers and Boundaries* (London: CPA, 1996); Liz Greene, *The Horoscope in Manifestation* (London: CPA, 1997); Liz Greene, *Apollo's Chariot* (London: CPA, 2001); Lynn Bell, Darby Costello, Liz Greene and Melanie Reinhart, *The Mars Quartet* (London: CPA, 2001).
[1180] Liz Greene, *The Dark of the Soul* (London: CPA Press, 2003).
[1181] Greene, *Astrology of Fate*, p.272.
[1182] Greene, *Astrology of Fate*, p.272.
[1183] Greene, *Astrology of Fate*, p.272.
[1184] Greene, *Astrology of Fate*, p.273.

> As I look back on this experience, it is apparent now, with hindsight, that my own confusion about direction and my inner receptivity to something new entering my life coincided with the external events just described, in a synchronous way. I stood at a crossroads, and my fate came to meet me.[1185]

As an astrologer, Greene is keen to stress that she has forged her own path:

> whatever relevance my exploration of psychological astrology might have for the broader field of the study, it is unquestionably forged from my own direct experience and observation, and is not the product of a teacher or a school.[1186]

Greene had already become interested in psychology before encountering astrology, and her first psychological inspiration was from the writings of Freud. In her 2001 interview with Nick Campion, she explains that finding the works of Freud was very important to her interest in psychology:

> It was a major revelation. Suddenly the penny dropped. It wasn't that everything Freud said immediately made sense to me, but the presentation of the fact that human beings have another side that they don't know about - that there are unconscious processes always at work in them - made perfect sense. I knew that anyway, but nobody would believe me. So, here was a piece of writing that confirmed what was clearly visible to me at a very young age. I started investigating. I started reading anything I could on psychology, as well as any literature that dealt with psychological issues. My inspiration was mainly psychology and psychologically inspired literature rather than astrology.[1187]

Having discovered astrology after psychology, Greene describes how this was a second revelation:

> Astrology made sense of psychology. Exactly as when I discovered Freud, something suddenly went "click". Astrology showed me aspects of ourselves that we don't normally notice, facets of life which we don't usually understand.[1188]

It was then in her twenties that Greene made the connection between astrology and the writings of Jung:

[1185] Greene, *Astrology of Fate*, p.273.
[1186] Greene, *Astrology of Fate*, p.274.
[1187] Campion, Nicholas, 'Interview with Liz Greene', (2001), www.astro.com/astrology/in_plutint3_e.htm, (accessed: 23 April 2022).
[1188] Campion, 'Interview with Liz Greene'.

> I read Jung at some point in my teens, but it didn't quite make sense in the same way as Freud. But I went back to his writing in my twenties, and then it clicked.[1189]

Like Rudhyar, Greene was inspired by psychoanalysis, firstly through Freud, then Jung, who went on to be her principal influence.

8.3 Greene's adaptation of astrology

To consider whether natal astrology was psychologised in the twentieth century it is necessary to understand whether, and if so, each astrologer adapted and reformed existing approaches and how these relate to the key tenets of psychologisation. Greene's astrology, like that of Leo and Rudhyar, was rooted in the technical structure of astrology, using horoscopes that consisted of planets, zodiac signs and houses. Beyond this technical structure what were the features of her adaptation and how do these relate to the theory of psychologisation?

8.3.1 Psychological features

I discuss the psychological features of Greene's adaptation first, considering her dynamic model of the psyche, the inseparability of inner and outer realms, the interlinked nature of character and destiny, viewing the horoscope entirely as psychological and the interchangeability of esoteric and psychological terminology.

8.3.1.1 A dynamic model of the psyche

Psychoanalysis has been identified as a system of psychology that is particularly associated with psychologisation, meaning it involves a constant process of psychologisation by its very nature.[1190] At the heart of psychoanalysis lies the idea of a dynamic model of the psyche, which consists of conscious and unconscious elements.[1191]

Leo's reform of astrology had emphasised the inner or psychological dimension, and had simplified prior astrological interpretation. Rudhyar's reform had aimed to present

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[1189] Campion, 'Interview with Liz Greene'.
[1190] De Vos, *Psychologization and Late Modernity*, p.4.
[1191] Lears, 'From Salvation to Self-Realization', p.19.

astrology in modern philosophical terms and had begun an integration of some of Jung's approach, particularly the idea of a dynamic psyche which meant the planets in astrology represented processes as opposed to just static qualities; he had provided little in the way of practical examples, however. A static approach to the psyche can be seen in the work of Ptolemy, as when he wrote that someone with Venus and Jupiter allied in the horoscope in good positions 'makes his subjects pure, pleasure-loving' and of 'good character.'[1192] This approach does not approach the planets as processes but sees them as bestowing particular, fixed qualities.

The dynamic approach is fully developed in Greene's work and is one of the hallmarks of her own adaptation:

> Among all the proliferating maps and models of the human psyche which are now available to us, there is one which dominates the rest in depth, subtlety and importance: the duality of conscious and unconscious. This view of the psyche is called "dynamic" because of the tension, movement and exchange implicit in such duality[1193]

The adoption of this perspective, for Greene, means that the astrological chart cannot be viewed in a static manner and cannot be interpreted by listing fixed character traits; instead, it is a 'rich portrait of a complete individual personality' and:

> Like the characters in a play, the planets do not all come out at once; the parts may be played differently according to the interpretation and skill of the actors; the timing may be mucked up by a stage manager too preoccupied with what the audience will think. And some characters are unable to come out at all, locked backstage by the imperious will of the ego or the dictates of parental voices…[1194]

For Greene, the birth-chart is a way of understanding both the conscious and unconscious elements of the psyche and the role of the astrologer is to help the navigation of 'this mysterious terrain.'[1195]

[1192] Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, p.349.
[1193] Greene and Sasportas, *Dynamics of the Unconscious*, p.vii.
[1194] Greene and Sasportas, *Dynamics of the Unconscious*, p.vii.
[1195] Greene and Sasportas, *Dynamics of the Unconscious*, p.ix.

Greene asserts that 'a properly erected astrological birth chart is a symbolic map of the individual human psyche.'[1196] Greene views the planets thus:

> A planet represents a dynamic energy. It's an alive, active thing, which has motives of its own and is trying to get somewhere. A house on the other hand is a realm of experience, a theatre. A planet is an actor, and the house is the backdrop against which the actor plays.[1197]

Greene's view of the astrological chart in terms of theatre, with actors and a stage, is reminiscent of William Shakespeare's (1654-1616) well-known words, included in one of his plays, that:

> All the world's a stage, And all the men and women merely players. They have their exits and their entrances, And one man in his time plays many parts[1198]

If planets are dynamic actors, and the houses simply the backdrop to the play, the Zodiac, for Greene, is 'a mythos, a scheme or plan which is imaged in a story – a pattern of development, an archetypal theme.'[1199]

As an astrologer with a view of the psyche as dynamic, Greene sees the planets as representative of processes rather than symbolising a list of character traits. This is particularly so in the case of the Sun, the development of which she suggests is akin to living a particular mythology. Indeed this journey may never be completed:

> There doesn't seem to be such a thing as a complete, finished Sun, or a person in whom the Sun is fully realised. Its very nature implies that the psychological principle portrayed by the Sun involves a constant cyclical process of struggle and re-emergence.[1200]

This approach to interpretation of the Sun as a dynamic process is similar to Rudhyar's assertion that the Sun represents integration and the power of the Self.[1201] Yet Rudhyar

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[1196] Greene, *Relating*, p.6.
[1197] Greene, *Outer Planets*, p.8.
[1198] William Shakespeare, 'As You Like It, Scene II, Act VII' in *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works* (eds. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p.638.
[1199] Greene, *Astrology of Fate*, p.169.
[1200] Greene, *Apollo's Chariot*, p.4.
[1201] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.247.

gave little in the way of practical examples. Greene, in contrast, gives many examples of her interpretative approach. Alan Leo had described the Sun in Capricorn thus:

> the native is ambitious and aspiring, desirous of power and fame, and is well fitted for leading, commanding and directing others, whether for good or evil.[1202]

Greene, in contrast, describes the Sun in Capricorn as someone who wants, 'the kind of authority which reflects the respect in which they are held by others.'[1203] Rather than describing the Sun in Capricorn as an individual who is ambitious, Greene emphasises a desire for authority and respect. For Greene, the defining characteristic is not something that is already present in a fully formed state but only as a potential. This is a change from a static to a more dynamic mode of interpretation which puts the astrology of Greene and Rudhyar in a different category to that of Alan Leo. This was however only partially developed in Rudhyar's work. As such, Greene's innovation is to fully explain what a dynamic approach to astrological interpretation looks like.

To take an example of horoscope interpretation, in her seminar on the astrological Sun, Greene interprets the chart of someone called Carl who has the Sun in Taurus placed in the fourth house of the chart.[1204] Carl admits to struggling with a damaged sense of self and having an issue with self-confidence.[1205] Greene states:

> When the Sun is in the 4th, its light is projected on the father, but this often remains quite unconscious. One isn't necessarily aware of it. Whoever father is, he will not appear as an ordinary mortal to his child… Identification with the purpose or destiny the father wants one to have becomes an important issue at a very early age, and it is hard to break that cord and find one's own light.[1206]

For this individual, Greene's interpretation of the Sun is far from a list of character traits but instead identifies the placement as possibly unconscious and therefore in need of conscious development and integration. Psychologically, her interpretation is that Carl

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[1202] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.77.
[1203] Greene, *Apollo's Chariot*, p.248.
[1204] Greene, *Apollo's Chariot*, p.179.
[1205] Greene, *Apollo's Chariot*, p.180.
[1206] Greene, *Apollo's Chariot*, p.181.

must break the unhealthy cord tying him to his father and develop his own ability to shine.

Greene's assertion that planets represent dynamic energies and zodiac signs as patterns of development, provided a clearer idea of what it meant for astrology to be interpreted in the light of a dynamic psychology.

8.3.1.2 Inner and outer inseparable

The relative importance of inner and outer is important to the question of psychologisation. Greene does not consider her astrology psychologised, for she views inner and outer realms as intertwined. In discussing astrological transits, an astrological forecasting technique, Greene states:

> They don't just go by and, through some clever sleight of hand or psyche, make no impact on our material reality simply because one has "psychologised" or "spiritualised" them.[1207]

The use of the word 'psychologised' is illuminating. Greene goes on to say that transits (current movements of the planets that form relationships to the birth-chart) always manifest and it is hubristic to claim that the ego can 'control the cosmos' and that somehow one's outer life will not be affected if a sufficient level of psychological awareness has been achieved.[1208] She clarifies:

> We may be able to make more intelligent choices, and avoid silly decisions which get us in trouble. But that is not the same as psychologising a transit into ineffectuality.[1209]

The inner and outer are clearly intimately intertwined for Greene so that an attempt to 'psychologise' by attempting to separate an inner change from the inevitable outer change that will follow is fruitless. Whilst the stated emphasis for Greene is the psychological, or of the psyche, the outworking of this may not always be on the inner level only. Greene writes:

[1207] Greene, *Art of Stealing Fire*, p.154.
[1208] Greene, *Art of Stealing Fire*, pp. 154-155.
[1209] Greene, *Art of Stealing Fire*, p.155.

> ”psychological” does not only mean “inner”. Too many of us have had experience of accurate prognostications of a specific and concrete kind to pretend that the planets are not related to the outer as well as the inner world.[1210]

This perspective, whereby planets signify both inner and outer movements, indicates a lack of division between inner and outer in Greene’s psychological astrology. Greene asserts such a division may be arbitrary:

> I do not see physical reality as less important than the psyche of the individual. But I often think that our arbitrary division of psyche and matter is just that – arbitrary, and not an accurate reflection of the true nature of reality.[1211]

She goes on to say she is fascinated by the ‘psychoid’ nature of projection.[1212] This is a word which Jung used, and which means a dual expression of psyche and matter, neither of which is entirely separate from the other.[1213] Greene also takes the view that some planets require outworking in the physical or worldly environment. In response to a suggestion from a seminar attendee that an individual could work with their Sun-Mars configuration by undertaking an inner journey, Greene responded:

> I am sure an inner journey would be very helpful. But action is needed too. All the reflection in the world won’t ultimately do the trick for Sun-Mars.[1214]

Greene goes on to say potency will only be found by doing something ‘active and dynamic’ and that having a goal or objective supports the inner development. She demonstrates awareness of the limitations of a psychological approach and that this may not meet the expectations of the client:

> We can say, “Well, yes, I realise you want to know when to sell your house, but what is really important is *why* you want to sell it. Let’s look at the inner meaning.” And the client looks back at us blankly and says, “Yes, fine, but when is a good time to sell my house?”[1215]

[1210] Greene, *Horoscope in Manifestation*, p.136.
[1211] Greene, *Art of Stealing Fire*, p.155.
[1212] Greene, *Horoscope in Manifestation*, p.69.
[1213] See Jung, *Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche*, p.176.
[1214] Greene et al., *Mars Quartet*, p.199.
[1215] Juliet Sharman-Burke and Liz Greene, *The Astrologer, the Counsellor and the Priest* (London: CPA, 1997), p.182.

Greene recognises that focusing only on a psychological approach may sometimes prove frustrating for someone with an immediate, practical problem such as selling their house. Yet her focus on the psychological is not purely a focus on the inner realm, given her perspective that the nature of reality is psychoid, i.e. inner and outer worlds are inseparable.

8.3.1.3 Character and destiny

Hammer has characterised psychologised astrology as a form in which personality rather than destiny is the primary concern.[1216] He argues that psychologised magic is 'less about influencing the external world and more with exploring the "archetypal" elements in one's own psyche.'[1217] Greene's astrology, like Leo and Rudhyar's, does not clearly separate character and destiny. It is not a case of character belonging to the inner world and destiny to the outer world of events; instead the two are intertwined:

> The birth map does not plot the fate of the individual in a predestined way. Rather, it symbolises the basic lines of his character's potential development. It takes a minimum of thought to realise that a man will act and shape his life according to his needs, fears and abilities, and that these needs, fears and abilities stem from his inherent disposition. In this sense character is fate.[1218]

She further argues that 'an individual's unconscious projections will lead him into confrontations, relationships and situations which assume the guise of fate, yet which reflect his own struggle for self-awareness.'[1219] This view makes maximal consciousness critical for maximum freedom. Only with a high degree of self-awareness will relationships be selected that are not simply based on the projection of unowned qualities within the individual. Like Rudhyar, Greene's view of fate is bound up with the archetypal form of the individual. There is less emphasis however on choosing to become like the archetypal form represented by the planetary pattern. Instead, the

[1216] Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge*, p.52.
[1217] Hammer, *Claiming Knowledge*, p.52.
[1218] Greene, *Relating*, p.23.
[1219] Greene, *Relating*, p.228.

individual is subject to an element of fate given they cannot change the pattern they have been born into.

Greene suggests that Jung's work has helped us formulate a new understanding of astrological fate.

> This is where Jung's concept of the Self, and the kinds of inner experiences that individuals have when encountering their own psychic substance, differ from the old heimarmene, the universal 'planetary compulsion' which vented itself upon the sinful body but could not touch the soul. Put the Self at the centre and we are suddenly involved with something deeply individual. This is no planetary compulsion; the planets merely reflect, or are symbols of, a pattern which exists in the inner man or woman, and which is orchestrated through life experience by that archetype which stands as the essence of his individuality. The planets do not 'compel' contrary to the soul, but rather are the vessels for it.[1220]

For Greene the planets do not force an individual to act in a certain way but reflect a pattern within the individual. Movements in the birth-chart can also, according to Greene, help to read when breakthroughs may be made in therapy. Greene states that transits and progressions, 'describe the release of energy of the complex, and the therapeutic work provides a constructive outlet for the energy.'[1221]

Astrological fate is a complex matter in Greene's astrology, and is something which accrues during the course of a lifetime:

> Every day of one's life, some transit or progressed aspect is triggering one or other placement in the chart, so flesh gradually accumulates on those bones, both physically and psychologically. By the time we reach mid-life, a whole memory system has formed, the core of which is the basic pattern. But the nature and quality of the flesh depend on the kind of circumstances that have happened to anchor the archetypal pattern in life, and the degree of consciousness we bring to each successive layering.[1222]

This layering and archetypal memory mean that consciousness and freedom are difficult to obtain within Greene's astrology, albeit these are the goals. The individual does not only need to be aware of the current psychological dynamics being triggered by an

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[1220] Greene, *Astrology of Fate*, p.320.
[1221] Greene, *Horoscope in Manifestation*, p.54.
[1222] Greene, *Horoscope in Manifestation*, p.177.

astrological movement, but also of the fact that many layers of memory will also be activated. This may make it difficult for the individual to act in a way that is truly an act of free choice. Taking a psychological approach to forecasting calls for a great deal of responsibility and effort. Greene asserts:

> a psychological approach to transits and progressions is more challenging than a literal one, because it involves taking responsibility for what is symbolised by the configurations in one's birth chart.[1223]

Greene's psychological astrology does not rule out destiny, but it does focus on those elements of life which lie in human hands, such as the capacity to increase awareness. Indeed the need to take responsibility for who one is, as symbolised in the birth-chart, and to strive for maximum consciousness, is the key purpose of Greene's astrology. Character cannot be separated from destiny. Like in Rudhyar's astrology, 'character' however is better described as archetypal pattern or psychological pattern for it is this pattern within the individual, a mirror of the planetary pattern, which the individual has to work with in order to influence destiny.

8.3.1.4 Increasing areas of the horoscope psychological

Greene's work, like Rudhyar's, shows a reduced role for the external world when it comes to considering the astrological houses. As an example, Greene suggests that the seventh house, traditionally the house of the partner, is internal, 'we all know that the seventh house is the house of the other, and the other, ultimately, is internal and not external.'[1224] Rather than saying anything about the actual partner or marriage therefore, for Greene, like Rudhyar, the seventh house describes something about the hidden side of the individual. This contrasts with the nineteenth century astrologer Raphael, for whom the seventh house related to the actual marriage or 'domestic happiness'.[1225] Alan Leo had also associated the seventh house with marriage, partnership and enemies rather than the individual's psychological perception of

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[1223] Greene, *Horoscope in Manifestation*, p.139.
[1224] Arroyo and Greene, *New Insights*, p.22.
[1225] Raphael, *A Manual of Astrology*, p.102.

relationships.[1226] Greene's work, building on Rudhyar's, is therefore a clear shift to psychological interpretation from nineteenth century interpretation and Leo's approach to the astrological houses. This, as with Rudhyar, represents a psychologisation as psychology overflows into more areas of the horoscope which previously had meanings that could be considered non-psychological.

Greene views the entire astrological chart as a map of the psyche.[1227] In this sense her astrology is fully psychological. All areas of the horoscope may be considered from the subjective perspective of the individual. Rudhyar had taken a similar view but had not illustrated this with many clear examples, but in Greene's astrology there are many. The Sun placed in the eight house of the horoscope, for example, indicates someone who will have experiences that make them feel they are not in control of life:

> In our defeat we make a connection with something. In our death we come alive. In our crisis we discover an unexpected serenity. In our loss we find something. Struggle is not inappropriate with the Sun in the 8th, but arrogance is, and so is superficiality.[1228]

This psychological understanding of the death traditionally represented by the eight house of the horoscope illustrates the extent to which Greene offers a fully psychological portrait of the horoscope.

8.3.1.5 Esoteric and psychological terminology interchangeable

Greene suggests that esoteric and psychological concepts are often interchangeable and that this is not the important thing; what is important is that 'human beings do not earn free will except through self-discovery.'[1229] That is, what matters is psychological self-understanding rather than the language used to promote such an enterprise.

In the 1976 book *Saturn*, Greene wrote, 'there is an old esoteric teaching that the sign in which the Moon is placed in the present life corresponds to the sign in which the Sun

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[1226] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.184.
[1227] Greene, *Relating*, p.6.
[1228] Greene, *Apollo's Chariot*, pp.83-84.
[1229] Greene, *Saturn*, p.11.

was placed in the last life.'[1230] Later in the same work she discussed Saturn as 'Lord of Karma', stating that one could see karma as the 'substance within the personality which attracts circumstances in the outer world according to its inner quality'; consequently she suggests that 'the psychological and esoteric approaches to Saturn are in reality describing the same phenomena in different terminology.'[1231] Greene stresses that esoteric and psychological terminology really refer to the same thing. She cites Jung as having been 'responsible for building a bridge over the chasm between these two worlds.'[1232] It is however the psychological version of the terminology that Greene chooses most often, showing her preference for a psychological presentation.

The equation of psychological and esoteric ideas is also found in Greene's second book, *Relating,* in which she writes on the reason for astrological synchronicity, by which she means the fact that astrological movements seem to correspond with psychological movements in a meaningful manner, 'we are left, on the one hand, with Jung's archetypes of the collective unconscious, and, on the other, the teachings of esoteric doctrine. These two viewpoints seem to disclose the same truth.'[1233] This work also shows evidence of Greene's equation of the Self with the Soul, 'we know the ego is the surrogate or reflection of that mysterious centre which Jung calls the Self, and which esoteric teaching calls the Soul.'[1234]

A further example of the interchangeability of esoteric and psychological terminology may be found when Greene asserts that the unconscious is a name for God; 'it is possible that what modern psychology calls the unconscious was once known to the ancients as the gods, or God.'[1235] This accords with scholars who have asserted that the unconscious was a means by which the soul/God re-entered psychology.[1236]

[1230] Greene, *Saturn*, p.99.
[1231] Greene, *Saturn*, p.149.
[1232] Greene, *Saturn*, p.193.
[1233] Greene, *Relating*, p.24.
[1234] Greene, *Relating*, p.25.
[1235] Greene, *Relating*, p.22.
[1236] See Fuller, *Americans and the Unconscious*, p.3.; Whyte, *The Unconscious Before Freud*, p.60.

Greene's equation of esoteric and psychological terminology raises the question of two of Plaisance's categories of psychologisation, terminological psychologisation and reductive psychologisation. Her view that esoteric and psychological terminology is interchangeable but that psychological language is generally better received suggests that some terminological psychologisation is present in her astrology for a reason that accords with Hanegraaff's psychologisation thesis i.e. that individuals in the modern world may respond better to psychological language given the cultural context. Greene's comments on esoteric language support the idea that she views esoteric and religious terms such as God and the soul as reducible to psychological ideas like the unconscious. This implies Plaisance's reductive psychologisation.

Another of Plaisance's categories of psychologisation, complementary psychologisation, involves esoteric and psychological systems working together in a complementary manner.[1237] Greene's view is that esoteric and psychological systems are interchangeable, as opposed to complementary; as such Plaisance's complementary psychologisation does not describe this well.

8.3.2 The influence of psychoanalysis

De Vos has argued that psychoanalysis is intimately connected with the process of psychologisation.[1238] The extent to which Greene's work is bound up with psychoanalytic ideas is therefore indicative of the extent to which her astrology may be said to be psychologised.

On the first page of her first work, *Saturn*, Greene writes of the 'collective unconscious psyche of man', clearly referring to Jung's idea of the collective unconscious.[1239] Her embrace of Jung's central idea of individuation is clear:

[1237] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.17.
[1238] De Vos, *Psychologization and Late Modernity*, p.9.
[1239] Greene, *Saturn*, p.9.

> Psychology has demonstrated that there is within the individual psyche a motive or impulsion towards wholeness or completeness. The state of wholeness is symbolised by what is called the archetype of the Self.[1240]

The idea of a positive teleology present within the unconscious belongs to Jung.[1241] Likewise, the archetype of the Self is one of Jung's key concepts, symbolising the fulfilment of the individual as they achieve individuation. The importance of the individuation concept is made clear in her first work when she talks of integrating Saturn as a means to assist 'the rounding out and expansion of the conscious personality', a step which she sees necessary as 'part of the individuation process of analytical psychology.'[1242]

As discussed in chapter five, Jung's psychology may be seen to an extent as a psychologisation of esoteric concepts, including many which are astrological in nature. This implies that incorporating Jung's concepts into astrology may do little to alter astrology's fundamental nature, since it comprises the integration of astrological ideas in the guise of psychology back to their original state i.e. their astrological origin. The question is to what extent the concepts pervade Greene's astrology and represent an adaptation from earlier astrologies. The elements of Jung's psychology will be considered in turn, namely: individuation, archetypes, psychological types, collective unconscious, synchronicity, and alchemy and mythology. The influence of Freud will then be considered.

8.3.2.1 Individuation

As discussed above, Greene embraces Jung's dynamic model of the psyche, with the integration of conscious and unconscious dimensions of the psyche, that is, individuation, at the very heart of the purpose of her astrological work. Astrology is in service to this idea of individual psychological growth. She argues that Jung found that:

> The unconscious contains an equally potent urge [equal to more primitive urges] to transform itself, to become integrated into life, to be transmuted from

[1240] Greene, *Saturn*, p.10.
[1241] Jung, *Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, pp.279-280.
[1242] Greene, *Saturn*, p.178.

> alchemical dross to alchemical gold. In other words, in each individual lies a motivation toward individuality.[1243]

Following Jung, Greene likens individuation to the alchemical process:

> the imagery of alchemy is a map of psychological development, and in particular a map of the dynamics of the unconscious unfolding its process of what Jung called individuation.[1244]

For Greene the rationale for alchemy is the idea that 'God depends on human consciousness for His redemption.'[1245] Such a view, similar to that held by Jung, makes individual conscious awareness a spiritual task upon which the survival of God Himself depends. Greene sees in alchemy an analogous process to that of working psychologically with the horoscope. The problems in nature which the alchemist tried to transmute:

> are the natural conflicts which we see astrologically represented as the squares and oppositions of the birth chart, the element imbalances, and all the other lopsided features which are a characteristic of every individual horoscope.[1246]

As discussed in chapter five, Jung's concept of individuation is very similar to earlier ideas of spiritual and religious development, and also to the idea of the celestial ascent of the soul which is an astrological concept.[1247] Alan Leo had additionally already discussed the growth of the soul as a process of consciousness becoming 'a more and more complete image of the outer world of things.'[1248] Whilst Greene's astrology more clearly presents interpretations that rest on a dynamic model of the psyche, the individuation concept does not originate in the twentieth century but from earlier ideas; as such it cannot be considered to be key evidence of a general process of psychologisation. However, due to its intimate association with ideas of soul growth and spiritual development, its central position in Greene's astrology suggests that idealistic psychologisation, as defined by Plaisance (the intertwining of psychological and spiritual concepts) is strongly

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[1243] Greene, *Dynamics of the Unconscious*, p.x.
[1244] Greene, *Dynamics of the Unconscious*, p.258.
[1245] Greene, *Dynamics of the Unconscious*, p.259.
[1246] Greene, *Dynamics of the Unconscious*, p.261.
[1247] See e.g. Pennachio, 'Gnostic Inner Illumination', pp.237-245; Greene, 'Myth of the soul's ascent'.
[1248] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.4.

present. Idealistic psychologisation is equivalent to Hanegraaff's concept of the psychologisation of the sacred and the sacralization of the psychological.

8.3.2.2 Archetypes

Greene recognises Jung's concept of archetypes as a means of validating the idea that human beings are subject to pre-existing psychological patterns:

> as a result of Jung's life work, we have reason to believe that the archetype, the basic energy itself, exists before there is a form through which it can manifest.[1249]

The pre-existing nature of archetypes is exactly the situation in astrology where a birth-chart is seen as a map of the psyche i.e. the planetary pattern exists prior to the individual being born and as such is innate. Jung had stated that astrological planets were good examples of archetypes, having written that the planets are 'the gods' and that 'the interpretation of the archetypes (the gods)' are 'the common concern' of both astrology and psychology.[1250]

Specific Jungian archetypes are mentioned by Greene periodically, but are not always part of her discussions on the natal chart. For example, Jung's idea of the shadow, that which is unconscious in a person, is equated in *Relating* to the planet Saturn.[1251] It is not always present in her delineations of Saturn however; for example in *Barriers and Boundaries*, which contains two seminars dedicated to the planets Saturn and Chiron, there is no explicit mention of Saturn as the shadow.[1252]

A similar pattern is seen with Jung's concepts of anima and animus, Jung's ideas of the inner female and male archetypes. Her book *Relating* contains a lengthy discussion on how to identify these within a natal chart.[1253] This includes considering various components of the horoscope, for example for the anima, the Sun and Mars in addition to the Descendant sign (the zodiac sign opposite to the Ascendant sign) and ruler are

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[1249] Greene, *Relating*, p.20.
[1250] Jung, *Letters 2*, p.175; p.177.
[1251] Greene, *Relating*, p.91.
[1252] Greene, *Barriers and Boundaries,* pp.134-175.
[1253] Greene, *Relating*, p.129.

considered. Such equations are not always present in other works. From this it may be inferred that whilst the concept of archetypes provides some validity to the idea of pre-existing astrological patterns, the specific archetypes discussed by Jung are not deeply embedded into her astrology. As such, they do not provide further evidence of psychologisation being present in Greene's astrology.

8.3.2.3 Psychological Types

The theory of psychological types is discussed at length in *Relating*, which contains a discussion on fitting Jung's four functions with the four elements used in astrology: fire, earth, air and water. Greene asserts 'it is not a case of one being explained away by, or derived from, the other; rather, each is a distinct way of describing the empiric observation of the same phenomenon.'[1254] Greene associates positive zodiac signs, which are Aries, Gemini, Leo, Libra, Sagittarius and Aquarius, with Jung's concept of extraversion and negative zodiac signs with Jung's concept of introversion.[1255] Elsewhere, zodiac signs within horoscopes are often discussed without reference to Jung's typology. For example, in her discussion of psychological defences Greene discusses a preponderance of a particular astrological element as follows:

> Fiery people may not understand earth's resistance, and may accuse earth of being obtuse and unimaginative… water, as we know, does not cope well with separateness. It cannot bear being alone and apart. Airy people may not understand how unbearable loneliness can be to the water signs, and may accuse water of being manipulative and on a power trip.[1256]

The language of 'fiery' and 'airy' is sufficient in this example for Greene to express what she wants to say; there is no additional referencing of Jung's typology. If the traditional language of the elements in astrology had been replaced by the language of Jung's typology, then this would have been both evidence of a deep psychoanalytic influence and also of Plaisance's terminological psychologisation, whereby esoteric terminology is replaced by psychological terminology. However this is not the case in Greene's

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[1254] Greene, *Relating*, p.53.
[1255] Greene, *Relating*, p.55.
[1256] Greene, *Barriers and Boundaries*, p.73.

astrology and as such her incorporation of Jung's typology alone does not suggest significant psychologisation.

8.3.2.4 Collective Unconscious

The idea of a shared layer of psychic meaning is important to Greene's astrology. Part of the planets represent 'the collective psyche, in which we all share.'[1257] She embraces the idea that in changing as an individual one is able to influence the collective:

> This ties up with something that Jung was preoccupied with. He makes the statement that if there is something wrong with society, then there is something wrong with the individual, and if there is something wrong with the individual then there is something wrong with me.[1258]

In discussing how we can understand deep psychic change at a collective level, Greene states:

> Even though we can try to understand these undercurrents from a psychological point of view, its equally useless to pretend that we are so sane and rational and perceptive that we won't react in the same way everyone else does. The collective unconscious, which is Jung's term for the deep strata of the human psyche which are common to us all, is something we don't know very much about.[1259]

In *Relating* Greene asserts that past the boundaries of Saturn we enter the realm of the collective unconscious.[1260] In doing this she implies, similarly to Rudhyar, that the outer planets, Uranus, Neptune and Pluto are in the realm of the collective unconscious. She offers a different interpretation in *The Horoscope in Manifestation,* closer to Jung's own identification of all of the planets belonging to the collective unconscious. In this work she says that 'for "gods", read "planets". That is after all, what we are dealing with in astrological symbolism… in this sense all planets are collective, because they reflect universal human qualities.'[1261]

[1257] Greene, *Art of Stealing Fire*, p.1.
[1258] Greene, *Outer Planets*, p.11.
[1259] Greene, *Outer Planets*, p.5.
[1260] Greene, *Relating*, p.41.
[1261] Greene, *Horoscope in Manifestation*, p.11.

Central to Greene's astrology is the idea that the planets represent the archetypal form of both the collective and the individual nature. Greene relates the planetary pattern to Jung's concept of the objective psyche:

> If we contemplate the endless interwoven movements of the planets, we might begin to glimpse a wonderful dance, constantly in motion, constantly changing and constantly cyclical. It is a vision of the ongoing dance of what Jung called the "objective" psyche.[1262]

The idea of the planets having both individual and collective meaning pre-dates Jung's idea of the collective unconscious, which, as discussed in chapter five, was closely related to the microcosm-macrocosm theory, long-held as a rationale for natal astrology. Ptolemy, for example, wrote of Jupiter as having general meaning such as 'heating power' whilst also being a potential symbol in the birth-chart of 'fame and prosperity' and 'bodily and spiritual health.'[1263] As such, Jung's collective unconscious, as present in Greene's astrology, does not fundamentally alter the way in which the planets are conceived as regards them having both a personal and collective element i.e. astrology has not adapted in this way to a different form from that which was found prior to the twentieth century.

8.3.2.5 Synchronicity

Greene makes use of Jung's concept of synchronicity, demonstrating a multi-faceted understanding of this idea. Greene associates the discovery of the outer planets with synchronicity:

> There seems to be much truth in the idea that the conscious discovery of each outer planet has corresponded to the emergence into racial or group consciousness of the meaning of the planet.[1264]

[1262] Greene, *Horoscope in Manifestation*, p.57.
[1263] Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, p.37; p.183.
[1264] Greene, *Saturn*, p.128.

This is an understanding of synchronicity as 'the simultaneous occurrence of an inner unfoldment and an outer circumstance which have no causal connexion to each other but are connected by meaning.'[1265] Similarly, in *The Astrology of Fate*, Greene writes:

> The mythic patterns of the zodiacal signs are a particularly clear illustration of how an inner mode of perception and experience coincides with an outer life pattern. But something 'other' is at work to provoke the 'meaningful coincidences' which remind us of the unity of ourselves with our world. Jung thought that synchronous experiences which united inner and outer seemed to rest on an archetypal foundation. In other words, something is at work that transcends the artificial division between psyche and 'outer' physical environment – an inherent ordering pattern which unites the individual with his concrete life experiences in a common meaning.[1266]

Synchronicity is identified as the acausal link between the planetary pattern and human psychology. An additional layer of synchronicity is identified elsewhere in her work:

> As I understand it, the constellation of archetypal contents and synchronous events occur in coordination with planetary transits and progressions, and the meaning of the experience, and its essential qualities, are reflected by the planets involved. The importance of the experience for the individual, however, is not necessarily in proportion to the 'power' of the transit or progression according to the conventional astrological rules.[1267]

This dual view of synchronicity suggests that Greene identifies another factor involved in the meaning to the individual that goes beyond the basic acausal synchronicity of planets and personality. As such she recognises both versions of Synchronicity identified by Maggie Hyde, with Synchronicity I being 'the relationship between an objectively observed psyche and objectively observed events' and Synchronicity II being the recognition that the subjective participation of the 'observing psyche' also plays a role.[1268] Hyde claims that astrologers have ignored this second form, which stems from Jung's marriage experiment, because it is not as objective and thus lends less legitimacy.

[1265] Greene, *Saturn*, p.128.
[1266] Greene, *Astrology of Fate*, p.271.
[1267] Greene, *Astrology of Fate*, p.275.
[1268] Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.128.

However, Greene discusses the marriage experiment and is clearly aware of more than one type of synchronicity.[1269]

Synchronicity supports the all-important process of individuation for Greene in two senses. Firstly, in the sense that there is a layer of meaning constantly present in astrological interpretation and secondly there is a heightened layer whereby certain events are picked up and are doubly meaningful for the individual in question.

As discussed in chapter five, Jung claimed that synchronicity was a re-statement of the theory of correspondences, a point recognised by Greene in her own scholarly work.[1270] As such, Greene's astrology, whilst showing a multi-faceted understanding of synchronicity, cannot be said to be an astrology that has clearly adapted or changed from earlier astrologies as a result of encountering Jung's work. This counters Hanegraaff's assertion that magic in the modern world is a different form of magic to that previously found prior to the period of disenchantment.

8.3.2.6 Myths and fairy tales

Like Jung, throughout Greene's work there is importance placed on myths and fairy tales. In *Saturn* she suggests that 'as the outer planets appear to have some link with the world of the collective archetypes, it is of some value to explore their mythological antecedents'; for Greene, mythology is:

> purified of personal components because it is distilled over a long period of time through many generations of men, and only those symbols which have value to the group remain while all colouration by the individual is lost through the process of time.[1271]

For Greene myths are a valid way of finding truth about the astrological nature of a planet, given that the myths retain the collective essence of each planet. She asserts that it is Jung who is responsible for her interest in fairy tales, 'Jung's work has shown us that

[1269] Greene, *Astrology of Fate*, pp.275-283.
[1270] Greene, *Jung's Studies in Astrology*, p.84.
[1271] Greene, *Saturn*, p.180.

fairy tales, like dreams, are not what they seem to be.'[1272] She suggests that Jung was at 'great pains' to point out that myths 'are the eternal patterns of man's soul.'[1273] Her exploration of the planet Neptune is a good example of the extent to which she draws on mythology; she asserts that 'the mythology of Neptune begins with the mythology of water' and proceeds to explore numerous examples of water mythology in creation myths.[1274]

Greene's embrace of mythology is a way in which Jung has clearly influenced her astrology. However this aspect of her work does not necessarily contribute to a strong degree of psychologisation. The use of mythology in Greene's astrology is to enhance an individual's perspective on their life and development through the exploration of classical mythology. For example, she relates the myth of Prometheus to the zodiac sign Aquarius, suggesting that those with the sign strong in their birth-chart may identify with the theme of 'the redeemer of mankind from darkness.'[1275]

8.3.2.7 Freud's influence

In addition to stressing the innate individual pattern already present at birth, Greene demonstrates her debt to Freud by also emphasising the importance and impact of early childhood and the parents in psychological development. She states that although:

> …psychology has grown more sophisticated since Freud's great pioneering work… the undeniable power that the parent exercises on the child's psyche remains an obvious reality to anyone working in the field of human growth.[1276]

In *Dynamics of the Unconscious*, when talking about Depression, Greene says 'Venus in difficult aspect to Saturn is one of the astrological symbols of a lonely and emotionally deprived childhood, and of feelings of being unloved, unlovable and isolated.'[1277] Of the same aspect the twentieth century astrologer Charles Carter had claimed that 'the life is

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[1272] Greene, *Relating*, p.7.
[1273] Greene, *Astrology of Fate*, p.13.
[1274] Liz Greene, *The Astrological Neptune and the Quest for Redemption* (York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1996), p.3.
[1275] Greene, *Astrology of Fate*, p.254.
[1276] Greene, *Relating*, p.189.
[1277] Greene and Sasportas, *Dynamics of the Unconscious*, p.107.

generally a hard one, either through poverty or worldly failure' and 'Childhood does not seem to suffer particularly… but one of the parents – as a rule the father – is apt to be a burden.[1278] Margaret Hone's view was that:

> affection most difficult to express. Life tends to be solitary. Any partnership brings responsibility. Sorrow or loss through affections.[1279]

Alan Leo had claimed that:

> Money is lost through the parents (father) and occupation; little or none is inherited; severe loss in business, or even bankruptcy, is threatened. If the moral sense is deficient, which must be judged from the horoscope as a whole, there will be dishonesty: or if otherwise, the native will suffer through the dishonesty of others.[1280]

Whilst the earlier astrologers focused on negative implications for partnership and finances, Greene concerns herself with childhood trauma. By stressing the childhood pain that she sees indicated in a particular configuration, she reduces the potential meaning of Venus-Saturn to a pathological one, representing a change from earlier psychological astrologers. Her concern with identifying problems with parents from the horoscope is also evident in other parts of her work. For example, in referring to an aspect between the Sun and Saturn, she claims:

> The relationship with the father is immediately implicated, and there is the suggestion that some disappointment is experienced through him. There is often outright coldness or rejection from the father or the emphasis on duty, form, and material values.[1281]

Parental reference is sometimes evident in the writings of earlier astrologers however; in writing on a Sun-Saturn conjunction Hone stated that this means 'limitation to the self and its expression. Sometimes through the father.'[1282] Hone's emphasis was however on the actual practical limitations caused by the father rather than on the individual's psychological state of disappointment in the relationship with the father. William Lilly,

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[1278] Charles Carter, *Astrological Aspects*, (London: Ascella, 1930), p.99.
[1279] Hone, *Modern Text Book*, p.191.
[1280] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.250.
[1281] Greene, *Saturn*, p.96.
[1282] Hone, *Modern Text Book*, p.136.

writing in the seventeenth century, also wrote about the parents, citing the fourth house of the horoscope was 'the House of the Parents' and that the chart could indicate 'where either his Father or some ancient man lodged.'[1283] Like the much later writing of Hone, Lilly refers to the actual father rather than a subjective perspective on the father. The emphasis on the subjective perception of the individual found in Greene's astrology, and the tendency in places to pathologise, are both indicative of some degree of psychologisation in the sense of psychologising through seeking underlying psychological causes and motivations where previously none were thought necessary.

8.3.3 Underlying rationale for Greene's astrology

Rudhyar had emphasised that astrology could be applied in many contexts, such as to physiology or buildings. He had chosen the psychological area to focus on for philosophical reasons and had attempted to construct a new rationale for astrology based on his idea of it being 'the algebra of life.'[1284] Greene's work is focused on the psychological and concerned less with philosophical justifications and more with the practical task of supporting individual development through psychological counselling:

> The consultant astrologer has arrived as a counsellor. And those astrologers who heatedly deny this psychological aspect of their work are at best naïve and at worst destructive through their ignorance of what they are really dealing with.[1285]

Unlike Rudhyar, Greene does not attempt to explain astrology from first principles, instead arguing that interpretation must be psychological. Her academic work indicates a reluctance to classify astrology too tightly, as divination, science or another label; she argues that astrology, including ideas of astrology as divination through participatory experience 'can be understood as a psychological experience' but that astrology has operated in many cultural contexts containing different religious and cultural beliefs.[1286]

[1283] Lilly, *Christian Astrology*, pp.202-203.
[1284] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.16.
[1285] Liz Greene and Howard Sasportas, *The Development of the Personality* (York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1987), p.xii.
[1286] Liz Greene, 'Is Astrology a Divinatory System?' *Culture and Cosmos*, Vol. 12 no 1 Spring/Summer, pp.3-29, p.29.

Greene's work does however show awareness of the main classical rationales for astrology, particularly the theory of correspondences as represented by the link between the microcosm and the macrocosm, and it is clear this concept underpins her work. She discusses the historical role of the astrologer, stating that the astrologer was 'a maker of bridges between the cosmic and human realms, or between the macrocosm and the microcosm.'[1287] She goes on to assert that even as a counsellor the astrologer is still performing a similar role:

> We are expected to stand as a bridge between the individual and God, and communicate the will of God to the client – even if the client doesn't believe in God on a conscious level, and even if the astrologer is not concerned with religious or spiritual matters.[1288]

As the bridge between psyche and cosmos, Greene's astrologer is someone clearly working with the idea of the microcosm-macrocosm link. This is not just a technical background but is fundamental to her astrology. In this sense Greene's astrology does not meet Hanegraaff's criteria for psychologised magic in which modern magicians refer to a technical background of ideas such as correspondences without fully recognising their validity.

8.3.4 Greene's astrology as psychological technique

Hanegraaff argues that psychologised magic has been reduced to psychological technique directed to the aim of raising individual consciousness.[1289] This is equivalent to Plaisance's reductive psychologisation, the form that describes esoteric systems that have been reduced to their underlying psychological core.[1290]

Rudhyar's astrology aimed to link human beings with their archetypal cosmic pattern. Greene's emphasis was different, being on supporting individuals in the task of accepting themselves as they truly are. Astrology is seen as being in service to this goal:

[1287] Sharman-Burke and Greene, *Astrologer, Counsellor, Priest*, p.105.
[1288] Sharman-Burke and Greene, *Astrologer, Counsellor, Priest*, p.106.
[1289] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.368.
[1290] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.18.

> It would be very difficult to summarise what I feel my astrological work to be about, but I suppose I see it as a tool, rather than an end in itself; and I have found that most people suffer because they do not have any perspective on, or faith in, who they innately are.[1291]

Greene sees astrology as secondary to the more important goal of psychological health, of people coming to have faith in who they really are. This emphasis is repeated elsewhere in her work.[1292] The subordination of astrology to the aim of psychological health raises the question of whether Greene's astrology may be seen as a psychological technique. In Greene's work astrology is subservient to the overarching goal of psychological development. However, arguably this is no different to earlier pre-modern incarnations of astrology, such as those of Ficino, who had used astrology as part of an approach concerned with nurturing the soul.[1293]

Of the psychological astrologers discussed in this thesis, Greene's astrology comes closest to being about psychological techniques. Her chart interpretations are focused on maximising psychological awareness. To take an example, she considers the chart of a female attendee in a seminar she is running on the planets Saturn and Uranus.[1294] Examining the birth-chart, Greene asks what happened when Saturn 'went over the Mercury-Mars conjunction and squared natal Uranus.'[1295] The woman replies that she has been thinking about changing her work from her current role as a programmer for the BBC world service.[1296] Greene outlines her view of the woman's core psychological characteristics:

> You are very Saturnian, despite the emphasis in Aries. You have Saturn in trine to the Sun-Moon conjunction, and it is also your chart ruler, so tough challenges probably appeal to you. Even if you get knocked down, you will keep going. The conjunction of Saturn and Pluto trine Sun and Moon in fire reflects enormous

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[1291] Liz Greene and Howard Sasportas, *The Inner Planets* (York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1993), p.312.
[1292] See for example, Greene, *Relating*, p.3.
[1293] See Ficino, 'On obtaining life', p.133.
[1294] Greene, *Art of Stealing Fire*, p.254-55.
[1295] Greene, *Art of Stealing Fire*, p.256.
[1296] Greene, *Art of Stealing Fire*, pp.256-257.

> determination and tenacity, and the ability to channel new creative ideas into practical, workable forms.[1297]

The discussion continues in relation to whether the woman should change her work and the woman says she may have run out of challenges.[1298] In response to this Greene states that the material manifestation may be a shift in career direction but what is important is the meaning and psychological repercussions:

> You might begin to ask yourself some rather heavy, serious questions. Who are you, and what do you really want? Now that you have proven yourself in the outer world, what is your worth as a person, and as a woman? You are successful, but are you emotionally contented? What do you really value, and what do you have to give?... I think this transit may reflect a long period of soul-searching.[1299]

The astrological analysis is focused on the psychological meaning and questions that arise, as opposed to any other emphasis such as what practical action the woman should take or the wider spiritual meaning and link to the cosmos. This may be considered astrology that is strongly connected with psychological technique. In this sense Greene's astrology can be labelled as psychologised.

8.3.5 Greene's astrology and legitimisation

In this section I explore the reasons for Greene's adoption of a psychological approach and consider whether she can be said to have made astrology more psychological in order to gain greater legitimacy.

8.3.5.1 Reason for a psychological approach

Greene recognises the need for magic to adapt in the modern world. In her first astrology book, *Saturn*, which was published in 1976, Greene laments the state of astrology and suggests that 'there remains a certain flat, two-dimensional quality to many of our traditional interpretations of the birth horoscope.'[1300] Greene's critique of astrology

[1297] Greene, *Art of Stealing Fire*, p.256.
[1298] Greene, *Art of Stealing Fire*, p.257.
[1299] Greene, *Art of Stealing Fire*, pp.257-258.
[1300] Greene, *Saturn*, p.9.

underlies her adoption of psychology as the means to improve the quality and depth of astrological interpretation.

Greene puts psychological development at the heart of her astrology and like Leo and Rudhyar, asserts that astrological interpretation needs to change. She argues that the role of astrology in exploring the human psyche is more important than 'the popular and misguided conception of magical prognostications of the future.'[1301] Astrology, for Greene, is not about forecasting future events but is concerned with the psychological growth of the individual. In contrast to a concern with worldly events, her approach is to focus on inner meaning, 'it is the inner meaning which here concerns us.'[1302] Two of her immediate reasons for turning to psychology are thus that she sees traditional interpretations as being inadequate and the intrinsic importance of psychological exploration for human beings, this being the key to enhancing their freedom of choice. Greene views astrology as not having kept up with ideas on motivation:

> we are still trapped under the dead weight of malefic planets, afflictions, good and bad characters, and superficial behavioural diagnoses which show no understanding of motive.[1303]

For Greene it is the underlying psychological motive that it is important as opposed to a superficial assessment of behaviour that does not consider the underlying psychological causes.

Greene asserts that astrology and psychology have the same 'subject of investigation' but 'the fruit of their coupling has yet to be fully explored.'[1304] By this same subject matter, she refers to the psyche, which she views as being at the heart not only of psychology but also of astrology. Greene, like Jung, asserts that 'psychology in its deepest sense, has existed for a long time under other names, the earliest of which, perhaps was astrology.'[1305] This contrasts Rudhyar, who had taken a much wider view of

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[1301] Greene, *Relating*, p.58.
[1302] Greene, *Saturn*, p.15.
[1303] Greene, *Saturn*, p.194.
[1304] Greene, *Relating*, p.6.
[1305] Greene, *Relating*, p.5.

astrology and disagreed with Jung's pronouncement that astrology and psychology have the same subject of investigation. Instead, Rudhyar noted that astrology has a very wide sphere of application but simply chose to focus on the psychological as the most inimical to error and as relevant to modern persons. The contrast is that for Greene psychology is fundamental to astrology and essential to being able to understand the birth-chart fully:

> I do not feel that it is possible to comprehend a birth chart in a deeper sense without having some grounding in the fundamental principles of psychology. The very basic and apparently simple division of man's psyche into conscious and unconscious puts the interpretation of the birth chart into a completely new perspective, offering nuances, subtleties, and lines of definite orientation which are otherwise completely missed.[1306]

Psychology is adopted not for the purposes of legitimisation, but because it is concerned with the psyche, which for Greene is exactly what astrology is also concerned with.

Reductive psychologisation, which is Plaisance's term for a psychological system masked in esoteric language, is present in the background of Greene's astrology. The evidence for this is contained in her assertion, following Jung, that astrology is one of the oldest forms of psychology, 'psychology in its deepest sense, has existed for a long time under other names, the earliest of which, perhaps was astrology.'[1307] As such astrology intrinsically has a psychological nature i.e. it could potentially be expressed in psychological terms only i.e. reduced to psychology, albeit a psychology that was broadly defined and related to the cosmos.

8.3.5.2 Legitimacy not through science

Bird has argued that psychological astrologers have adopted psychology in order to appear scientific and respectable.[1308] Greene sees science as expanding to understand wider conceptions of the universe:

[1306] Greene, *Saturn*, p.194.
[1307] Greene, *Relating*, p.5.
[1308] Bird, 'Astrology in Education', p.95.

> Science, which has had the last word about reality for a long time now, is surprising herself in approaching the domain of what used to be called arcane studies.[1309]

Greene recognises that psychology 'is a very new science' but argues that psychology concerns itself with psyche, which is akin to the human soul and that 'the study of the human soul was the province of astrology long before it became the province of anything else.'[1310] In Greene's view a modern presentation of astrology recognises its psychological nature.

Greene does not present astrology as science. She admits that 'we cannot claim that anything astrological is "real" in the objective sense, because the zodiac is an image of the ecliptic, the apparent path of the Sun around the Earth.'[1311] When talking about house systems Greene states:

> I think there are a lot of conundrums like this in astrology, where you must in the end accept the fact that if it works for you, use it. But if you are looking for an absolute truth about house systems, neither of us is inclined to give it to you.[1312]

There is recognition that there is a mystery around how astrology works, and that things may not be as clear cut and objective as they are sometimes presented to be. Greene asserts that 'what works for one astrologer might not for another.'[1313] The recognition of the importance of the astrologer, just as with Rudhyar, places Greene's astrology closer to Phillipson's astrology-as-divination category than to the astrology-as-science category. Astrology-as-divination is a classification which Phillipson defines as 'an astrology in which the astrologer is necessarily involved in the interpretation of horoscopic factors.'[1314]

Greene turns to psychology because she believes that astrology is fundamentally psychological, and not to give astrology legitimacy. She does not present astrology as

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[1309] Greene, *Relating*, p.4.
[1310] Greene, *Relating*, p.5.
[1311] Greene, *Horoscope in Manifestation*, p.178.
[1312] Greene, *Inner Planets*, p.300.
[1313] Greene, *Relating*, p.201.
[1314] Phillipson, 'Astrology and Truth', p.312.

science, but focuses on the psychological level. She has asserted in her academic work that astrology 'can be understood as a psychological experience' and recognises that astrology has operated in many cultural contexts containing different religious and cultural beliefs.[1315]

8.3.6 Greene's astrology and disenchantment

Patrick Curry has argued that psychological astrology emphasises the archetype of the Self through its focus on the astrological Sun and individuation and this represents a valuing of monotheism over polytheism which is disenchanting.[1316] Curry argues that psychological astrology's focus is on the inner but that 'half of enchantment, so to speak, is the world!'[1317] Neglect of the external world is seen as indicative of disenchantment.

The question therefore arises of whether Greene's astrology is disenchanted and whether this is related to its psychological content. Disenchantment, as defined by Weber, is broadly defined as that which is repeatable and predictable; all things can be mastered by calculation and mysterious forces do not come into play.[1318] The differing facets of disenchantment are examined below in relation to Greene's astrology.

8.3.6.1 Repeatability and predictability

Greene's interpretations are not repeatable, principally due to the underlying dynamic model of the psyche. Consider the following:

> I have met Capricorns who behave like fake Geminis, and Geminis who behave like fake Capricorns. Sometimes it flips, at different ages and according to different circumstances.[1319]

Similarly, discussing the Sun-sign Capricorn, Greene claims:

> We can interview a hundred Capricorns, and discover that they all express their Capricorn Sun differently; so we see a hundred different sorts of Capricorn,

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[1315] Liz Greene, 'Is Astrology a Divinatory System?' *Culture and Cosmos*, Vol. 12 no 1 Spring/Summer, pp.3-29, p.29.
[1316] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.75.
[1317] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.74.
[1318] Weber, *Essays in Sociology*, p.139.
[1319] Greene, *Development of the Personality*, p.242.

> including the materially ambitious Capricorn, the spiritually aspiring Capricorn who abjures material success, and the Capricorn who doesn't want to be a Capricorn at all and pretends to be a Gemini. Everything depends on how the person feels about being that sign.[1320]

That one cannot tell if a person is one sign or placement than another, because the individual could be exhibiting behaviour due to being in denial of who they really are, and due to pushing some aspects of their nature into the unconscious, means that it is very difficult to interpret astrological placements in a formulaic manner. The vast array of different behaviours that might result from the same placement, due to psychological complexity, points to a similar conclusion.

Archetypal memory plays a role in Greene's view of fate and freewill as when she writes that 'by the time we reach mid-life, a whole memory system has formed, the core of which is the basic pattern.'[1321] This means that it is a complex process to work out what might happen when a certain person experiences a certain transit, for what has to be taken into account is all the previous transits relevant to that placement, the person's overall level of awareness and all the basic psychological information from their horoscope. This makes any sort of prediction or uniform assessment of a planetary transit extremely difficult.

Like Rudhyar, Greene's work demonstrates an awareness of some of the ambiguities inherent in astrology. Rudhyar had stated that 'every consistent astrological system seems to work for the astrologers who are thoroughly familiar with it and fully believe in its value.'[1322] Greene appreciates the ambiguity of astrology and its relative nature. For example, in her discussion of house systems she states that questions of house system and co-rulership of zodiac signs cannot be settled through statistical research because 'psychic experience does not lend itself to black-and-white analysis'; furthermore she suggests that one must work with what works and that 'what works for

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[1320] Greene, *Relationships and How to Survive Them*, p.23.
[1321] Greene, *Horoscope in Manifestation*, p.177.
[1322] Rudhyar, *Astrological Timing*, p.194.

one astrologer might not for another.'[1323] This relativism indicates an approach which does not accord with an astrology that is repeatable or predictable.

8.3.6.2 Mysterious forces

Greene's appreciation of the two levels of astrological synchronicity points to a form of astrology closer to enchantment than to disenchantment. Whilst the first level of synchronicity is a general layer of astrological meaning always present, the second suggests heightened periods of astrological meaning at times which cannot be predicted in advance. This is shown when she writes that 'the importance of the experience for the individual, however, is not necessarily in proportion to the 'power' of the transit or progression according to conventional astrological rules.'[1324] This is Hyde's synchronicity II and is connected with a level of personal destiny that cannot be seen in a birth-chart alone. The possibility of this synchronicity II within Greene's astrology suggests it is not disenchanted, for it gives an unpredictable element to the development of the individual and to the significance of any particular astrological movement.

This level of unknowable, and mysterious, manifestation is also enhanced by Greene's view that the Self is not contained in the birth-chart as when she writes that the 'mysterious, elusive entity which psychology calls the self… has not yet been found among the glyphs and symbols of the horoscope.'[1325] The development of the individual retains an element of mystery as the elusive entity at the centre of the process is not captured by the birth-chart or astrological analysis.

8.3.6.3 Neglect of the external world

Greene's astrology locates the individual in a meaningful universe in which psyche and cosmos are intertwined; she asserts that 'psychological' 'does not only mean

[1323] Greene, *Relating*, p.201.
[1324] Greene, *Astrology of Fate*, p.275.
[1325] Greene, *Saturn*, p.194.

"inner".'[1326] This view of the cosmos is not the disenchanted cosmos of modernity, which separates the inner world from the outer world.

However, viewing the chart as a map of the psyche with the wider purpose in life being to develop as an individual means that in Greene's world, like Jung and Rudhyar, the specific people and events of the outer world may be unimportant. She writes:

> If any person comes into my life and plays an important part, he is there because in some way he is connected with my myth. Otherwise he would not be in my life. And he will be carrying the part, the projection, of one of my inner characters.[1327]

The individual in question has no intrinsic importance in this view; he or she simply plays a role and is a reflection of an inner projection. Similarly, an event is important to the extent that it triggers a particular psychological change. A similar idea is present when Greene examines astrological aspects, the relationships between planets:

> If there is an aspect in the birth chart where one end or the other has not been integrated or accepted, which seems to be the case particularly with the square and opposition, then one of the planets cuts loose and goes off and appears as your lover, husband, wife, child, or parent.[1328]

The radical focus on the individual with the idea that the happenings in the outer world all revolve around the psychological complexes of the individual could be construed as neglecting the outer world. This may also lead to a lack of emphasis on political or social events and action, which is one of the main negative consequences of 'psychologisation' identified by social theorists and discussed in chapter two. Greene typifies this when politics arises during one of her lectures. She suggested that those with strong opinions should look within:

> you might discover some remarkable things about yourself and why, ultimately, you need to have opinions about political issues and strong convictions and powerful urges to change the world.[1329]

[1326] Greene, *Horoscope in Manifestation*, p.136.
[1327] Arroyo and Greene, *New Insights*, p.17.
[1328] Arroyo and Greene, *New Insights*, p.20; see also Greene, *Relating*, p.11.
[1329] Arroyo and Greene, *New Insights*, p.148.

At the end of the seminar she says when asked about Israel, 'I don't really want to talk about politics. I prefer to stay on the subject of psychology.'[1330] Similarly, in another seminar, Greene asserts that the world 'is a very abstract idea for me… I haven't a clue what's going to happen to the world. I only know that it's very productive to go home and look in the mirror.'[1331] The focus on psychology and the inner realm leads to a devaluation of political action, which is reduced to an expression of individual psychological dynamics.

On balance, Greene's astrology shows more evidence of enchantment than disenchantment, despite containing disenchanting elements. Her astrology is not repeatable, nor predictable, and there are mysterious elements present. She also views inner and outer as inseparable and in this sense does not subscribe to a disenchanted cosmology. There is some neglect of specific external people and events however, and a turning away from political and social action; these are associated with both disenchantment and psychologisation.

8.3.7 Greene's astrology and modernity

The question arises as to the relationship between Greene's astrology and ideas of modernity. Greene recognises a need for adaptation in astrology, which she sees as not possessing the subtlety in interpretation required to understand the conscious and unconscious aspects of the psyche, 'this quality of duality does not seem to have permeated our modern astrological viewpoint to any degree.'[1332] She regards her form of astrology as progressing the field, leaving behind two-dimensional interpretation in favour of a three-dimensional dynamic view of the psyche that recognises the latest in psychological thinking.[1333] In one sense this is a presentation of astrology in tune with ideas on the characteristics of modernity/modernism, which include concern with progress and fresh perspective.

[1330] Arroyo and Greene, *New Insights*, p.208.
[1331] Arroyo and Greene, *New Insights*, p.80.
[1332] Greene, *Saturn*, p.9.
[1333] Greene, *Saturn*, pp.9-13.

The characteristics of modernity, modernism and postmodernity were discussed in chapter three. The first two of these ideas have the same set of base characteristics: disenchantment, starting afresh, homogeneity of time, space and place, lack of certainty, differentiation, self-realisation and freedom and responsibility. Disenchantment was discussed above and it was concluded that Greene's astrology is more enchanting than disenchanting. Starting afresh, as above, is present in her astrology. The other characteristics are explored below.

The homogeneity of time, space and place is not part of Greene's astrology. Her interpretations are based on horoscopes that require a specific time and place and situate the individual in a meaningful cosmos in which there is a correspondence between the individual and cosmos which unfolds over time i.e. time has a qualitative, meaningful dimension.

Greene's astrology contains elements of uncertainty. She suggests that what works for one astrologer may not work for another, and the psychological nature of her interpretations means that there is inherent uncertainty given so much depends on the psychological state of the individual, and what is currently conscious and unconscious. Differentiation is present in the sense that Greene is concerned with the psychological realm rather than the political or public. She clearly does not wish to focus on what is political as when she stated that 'I don't really want to talk about politics. I prefer to stay on the subject of psychology' whilst teaching an astrological seminar.[1334]

Greene's psychological astrology is centrally concerned with self-realisation and she embraces the therapeutic ethos, as described by Lears.[1335] She situates the astrologer as a counsellor and as someone who must be familiar with the latest theories surrounding the importance of the counselling relationship. The turn of the century Self has been seen by sociologists as 'lonely, undervalued, unreal, fragmented and desperate for personal recognition.'[1336] Salvation, given the loss of outer religious certainties, was seen

[1334] Arroyo and Greene, *New Insights*, p.208.
[1335] Lears, From Salvation to Self-Realization, p.4.
[1336] Cushman, *Constructing the Self*, p.67.

to lie within the subjective domain of the individual, and was bound up with the individual's own depths. Greene's psychological astrology may be situated within this context, given its central concern with individual meaning based on a dynamic model of the psyche. There is an underlying assumption that the individual has hidden depths, which will be revealed by a detailed study of their birth-chart.

In her stress on maximising freedom through the development of consciousness on the path to individuation, Greene embraces the values of freewill and autonomy, important to both modernity and modernism. The whole purpose of her astrology is to increase freedom, to assist an individual in breaking free of projections so that choices can be made from a place of maximum clarity. Such a focus on what human beings can do accords with modernity and modernism. As Bauman argues, for modernity, '*the sole things that matter to the humans are the things humans may take care of*.'[1337] In this sense Greene's astrology provides evidence for affinity with ideas on modernity and modernism for it prioritises what the individual can do to influence their destiny.

On the other hand, Greene's astrology contains elements that are more in accord with the characteristics of postmodernity. She does not recognise the separation of human being and nature which forms part of the concept of modernity.[1338] Instead she sees the division of psyche and matter as 'arbitrary' and adopts Jung's word 'psychoid' which concerns the intertwined nature of matter and psyche.[1339] Her astrology locates the individual in a meaningful universe in which psyche and cosmos are intertwined. Her appreciation of the relativity present in astrology, such as when she writes that 'what works for one astrologer might not for another', places her psychological astrology close to Phillipson's astrology-as-divination category.[1340] These features might be considered closer to ideas of postmodernity, which some scholars have suggested offers the possibility of re-enchantment.

[1337] Bauman, 'Postmodern religion?', p.60-61.
[1338] See Weber, *Essays in sociology*, p.9; Pippin, *Modernism*, p.20.
[1339] Greene, *Art of Stealing Fire*, p.155; Greene, *Horoscope in Manifestation*, p.69; Jung, *Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche*, p.176.
[1340] Greene, *Relating*, p.201; Phillipson, 'Astrology and Truth', p.312.

As noted above the focus on the individual is a characteristic of modernity but this is heightened in ideas of modernism in which modernity's focus on the individual was taken to new levels.[1341] The dynamic approach to the mind was at the centre of the rise of psychoanalysis and the start of the therapeutic ethos that became so prevalent in the twentieth century.[1342] As discussed in chapter three, psychoanalysis has been viewed as having a destabilising impact, undermining ideas of modernity, and thus contributing to modernism and the idea of postmodernity.[1343] In making it clearer what a dynamic approach meant for astrological interpretation, Greene enhances the contribution of psychological astrology to currents identified as belonging to modernism and postmodernity.

8.4 Chapter conclusion

The astrology of Liz Greene exhibits some features of psychologisation, containing some adaptations, particularly a fully psychological approach to the horoscope which recognises a dynamic model of the psyche; it comes close on occasion to being about psychological techniques. Her astrology exhibits some features of disenchantment albeit overall is better considered enchanted and reliant on classical rationales. Psychology is adopted not for legitimisation but because she views astrology as fundamentally psychological in nature with psychological astrology a means to enhance the freedom of the individual through enhanced awareness of psychological dynamics.

Greene's astrology is an adaptation, albeit building on other innovations of twentieth century astrologers. Her main contribution to the development of psychological astrology was a full presentation of an astrology which recognised the psyche as dynamic. Intimations of this dynamic conception of the mind, which underpinned the rise of psychoanalysis, were present in Leo's astrology. The approach was then adopted by Dane Rudhyar, who had the benefit of full access to Jung's work. Rudhyar did not

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[1341] Bell, *Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, pp.16-17.
[1342] Lears, 'From Salvation to Self-Realization', p.19.
[1343] See e.g. Barratt, *Psychoanalysis and the Postmodern Impulse*, p.5.

provide many practical examples however, and it is this that can be found in Greene's work. Greene's contribution to the adaptation of astrology is the full exploration of a dynamic conception of the psyche, and the embrace of the view that the horoscope can be interpreted in an entirely psychological manner. In Greene's work, all components of the horoscope can be interpreted from the subjective perspective of the individual. The seventh house is no longer the partner, but the subjective perception of the partner. The eight house is no longer about literal death, but about the psychological experience of dying that occurs within life. Greene's astrology sees the horoscope as a map of the psyche, with elements forming a dynamic interplay that recognises the conscious and unconscious elements of the mind. In Greene's astrology there is a strong psychoanalytic influence with Jung's work being the strongest influence albeit Freud's influence also evident.

Greene explicitly rejects the idea that psychological only means inner, and that astrological movements can be psychologised away. For her, psyche and matter are interconnected and the nature of reality is psychoid. This is a view which Jung had espoused and which Greene recognises in her cosmology. Like the other psychological astrologers, Greene's astrology recognises that character is destiny albeit her psychological astrology contains a greater level of fate than Rudhyar's. Her astrology contains a complex approach to astrological fate, with archetypal memory meaning it is a difficult task to exercise free-will when an astrological movement comes along and triggers pre-existing psychological patterns and memories. Freedom is a struggle and becoming self-aware is a responsibility.

Hanegraaff has argued that psychologised magic does not recognise the classical rationales for magic save in a technical sense. This is not the case with Greene's astrology which relies on an understanding of the astrologer as a bridge between the microcosm and the macrocosm and on a multi-layered view of synchronicity, which, as discussed in chapter five, was a restatement of the theory of correspondences.

Of all the key twentieth century psychological astrologers, Greene's astrology is closest to what Hanegraaff has argued is the result of psychologised magic: an astrology focused on psychological technique. Greene views astrology as a tool to use in astrological counselling with the aim being maximum psychological awareness.

Greene does not adopt a psychological approach because she aims to legitimise astrology. Rather, she views is as the most appropriate way of approaching astrology given her view that astrology and psychology are fundamentally the same sort of subject. She does not present astrology as a science, instead demonstrating appreciation of the ambiguities inherent in astrology and the importance of the individual astrologer.

Greene's work is closer to enchantment than disenchantment albeit contains some elements that could be classified as disenchanted. It is not predictable or repeatable, relying as it does on a dynamic view of the psyche which is constantly changing between conscious and unconscious factors and a complex view of astrological fate in which layers of psychological memory mean that is becomes extremely difficult to make any sort of prediction. It contains mysterious elements in that, for Greene, an individual may experience two layers of synchronicity and the mysterious self is not contained in the birth-chart bringing a further degree of mystery and unpredictability. Whilst Greene views inner and outer realms as inseparable, she regards specific events and people, and social and political concerns, as less important than focusing on underlying psychological motivations. In this sense there is a current of disenchantment and psychologisation.

Three of Plaisance's typology of psychologisation are present in Greene's astrology. The strongest of these are idealistic and reductive psychologisation. Idealistic psychologisation stands at the heart of her astrology in its central principle, individuation. Like Leo and Rudhyar, this psycho-spiritual process is the purpose of psychological astrology with psychological and spiritual components mutually reinforcing each other. Reductive psychologisation is also strong, given that Greene

views astrology and psychology as similar subjects; astrology is psychology. This type of psychologisation is also present in Greene's astrology when she considers parental causation. Following Freud, she adopts the perspective that the parental influence significantly influences an individual's psychology.

Terminological psychologisation is only partly present in Greene's work. She regards esoteric and psychological terminology as interchangeable, but does not replace astrological terminology with significant amounts of psychological terminology. For example, Jung's archetypes and his typology, are not deeply incorporated into her astrology books.

Greene's astrology may be classified as having characteristics associated with both modernity/modernism and postmodernity. Her concern with progress and in keeping astrology up to date are evidence of modernity and modernism, as is her focus on maximising freedom and individual responsibility. Her embrace of the therapeutic ethos is reflective of the wider therapy culture important in the twentieth century. Her astrology is dependent on a dynamic conception of the psyche, which suggests modernism rather than modernity, and her view of psyche and matter as interlinked may be regarded as subversive and critical towards modernity, and so closer to modernism and postmodernity. On balance, the strong psychoanalytic thread and intense focus on the individual places her astrology most strongly within modernism and postmodernity.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

9.1 Introduction and original contribution to knowledge

The overarching objective of this thesis was to explore an influential strand of psychological astrology in the English-speaking world, considering whether this could be considered a psychologisation of astrology. This was to be achieved by exploring:

1. Whether psychological astrology is characterised by the ideas included in Hanegraaff's psychologisation thesis on the disenchantment of magic;

2. Whether wider theories of psychologisation might apply including Plaisance's four-fold typology of the psychologisation of the esoteric;

3. Whether twentieth-century psychological astrology fits into conceptions of modernity;

4. Whether psychologisation is an adequate concept to capture any adaptation of natal astrology in the twentieth century.

These questions were addressed through textual analysis of the works of the astrologers who most significantly contributed to the development of this particular psychological astrology, namely Alan Leo, Dane Rudhyar and Liz Greene. My research builds on previous scholarship in the history of astrology by Nicholas Campion and Patrick Curry.[1344] It is the first in-depth consideration of this particular subculture of psychological astrology that has explicitly examined the question of psychologisation in detail through a close analysis of the astrological texts. As such, it represents an original contribution to knowledge.

Addressing my research question entailed considering the concept of psychologisation in detail; this was undertaken in chapter two. It was also necessary to explore modernity, this being integral to the notion of psychologisation and important to the twentieth-century psychological astrologers; this was explored in chapter three. In chapter four I

[1344] See especially Campion, *History II*; Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*.

considered the relevant literature to date on astrology whilst in chapter five I examined the work of Carl Gustav Jung in relation to the psychologisation of astrology, given that Jung has been identified as the most influential psychologist on psychological astrology.[1345] Chapters six to eight explored the astrology books of the three most influential astrologers of the period: Alan Leo, Dane Rudhyar and Liz Greene, examining the themes arising from psychologisation theory and conceptions of modernity.

My research has resulted in the clear identification of what adaptations were actually made within the psychological astrology of the twentieth century in the English-speaking world and a reassessment of Jung's role and influence. It has included the first in-depth exploration of the work of Liz Greene in particular, whose astrology has only been briefly discussed in prior literature. My research has contributed to the examination of the psychological century, and to whether psychology is necessarily bound up with the inside of individuals' minds or has a wider relationship to the cosmos and cosmology. The nature of astrology is also explored to a degree through my research, which has examined the features of psychological astrology and whether it may be regarded as enchanted or disenchanted, as conforming to ideas of modernity, and the rationale underpinning its practice. In relation to ideas on modernity in particular, my research contributes to discussions on the adequacy of conceptions of modernity given the difficultly of neatly classifying psychological astrology into any one category.

The use of existing scholarship on psychologisation and modernity has provided a basis from which to explore major themes within psychological astrology: philosophical underpinning, nature and purpose, the reason psychology has been adopted and the major psychological adaptations seen in the twentieth century, the extent and nature of the influence of Jungian psychology and astrology's relationship to ideas of modernity. My research concludes that psychological astrology is an enchanted, divinatory form of astrology, which has the primary purpose of maximising the free-will of individuals within an appreciation of their place within the cosmos. Psychological astrology does not

[1345] Campion, *History II*, p.251; Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.73.

fit neatly into any one version of modernity; it eludes tight classification. Whilst in some senses it may be labelled as 'psychologised', this does not detract from the positive findings on its nature and purpose and does not reflect one of its central tenets: the mirroring of psyche and cosmos.

In exploring the question of psychologisation within astrology, I have drawn on my own position on the border of being an insider/outsider within the UK astrological community. This position has allowed me to examine astrological texts from a place of understanding of technical detail and jargon, and to explore astrological material with an appreciation of the astrologers' passion and enthusiasm for their subject. I have not come to the texts with any prior assumption of astrology being an anomaly in the contemporary world, nor that its psychological form has been adopted as a disguise in an attempt to gain legitimacy in the modern world. Instead, I have been motivated with a genuine interest in exploring the form of astrology I learnt and taught in my own career as an astrologer and teacher of astrology. In recent years I have spent less time within the astrological community, and more time in scholarly study of the culture and history of astrology combined with work entirely unrelated to astrology. As such, I do not have a vested interest in the research outcome, although it is fair to acknowledge that given the important role psychological astrology has played in my own life, I may be more likely to perceive its positive and enriching qualities than those that may be less helpful.

Textual analysis, as a qualitative research method, will inevitably be influenced by the researcher selecting the material and compiling it into a narrative summary. In my own case, the way in which I have presented my research will betray my own orientation to psychological astrology. This may likely mean my focus and ultimate conclusions do highlight the positive potential. Indeed, having undertaken my research project, the key feature of psychological astrology standing out to me is its commitment to freedom. It seeks to maximise individual autonomy through promoting awareness and reflection on individual psychology whilst also reconnecting an individual with the cosmos. The potential for enhanced maturity and free action, and the potential for feeling that one

has a place in the grander scheme of things, in the cosmic pattern itself, are for me testimony to the value of psychological astrology in the contemporary world.

In the rest of this concluding chapter, I will revisit the questions underlying the aims of the thesis, and will summarise how these answers bring out my key findings about psychological astrology. A section on further studies is included in section 9.7, to support other scholars wishing to build on my research.

9.2 Is the psychological astrology of the twentieth century characterised by the ideas contained within Hanegraaff's psychologisation thesis?

As discussed in chapters one and two, Hanegraaff's theory on the survival of magic rests on the idea that magic survived through adaptation to a psychological form, this being the definition of psychologisation.[1346] Hanegraaff asserts that psychologised magic is different to that which existed prior to the process of disenchantment, which he sees as the major characteristic of modern societies. The reason for psychologisation as a survival strategy is due to the potential for legitimisation through association with a subject deemed to be scientific i.e. psychology. Hanegraaff's thesis raised a number of themes in relation to psychologisation which I have examined in relation to psychological astrology: adaptation, underlying rationale, whether psychological astrology is just about psychological techniques, legitimisation and disenchantment. Each of these areas is considered below.

9.2.1 Did natal astrology adapt in the twentieth century?

As discussed in chapter four, psychology, in the sense of a concern with the psyche, personality and character traits, has always been a component of natal astrology. Around the first century A.D. Ptolemy had written about the planets in relation to the quality of the soul, stating for example that Venus could bring qualities of being eloquent, neat and eager for beauty.[1347] Such interpretations were found alongside

[1346] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', pp.357-280.
[1347] Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, p.357.

others that referenced material events, disease and the length of life. This raises the question of what was new about the psychological astrology of the twentieth century. As discussed in chapter four, previously identified qualities of psychological astrology were that it was influenced by Jung, that it embraced a dynamic model of the psyche, that it had a secular nature and that it focused on character and meaning rather than fate.

This thesis has examined the development of psychological astrology through the work of its three main astrologers: Alan Leo, Dane Rudhyar and Liz Greene. It has also considered the major psychological influence, the work of Carl Gustav Jung. From the discussions undertaken in chapters five to eight, I conclude that psychological astrology does represent some adaptation of previously existing natal astrology but is not a completely new form. This accords with broader ideas of astrology and its propensity to adapt; both Curry and Campion have argued that astrology has often adapted to continue its survival over the last two thousand years.[1348] My finding however counters that of scholars and astrologers who consider psychological astrology to be a new form of astrology. Curry, for example, has written that psychological astrology has 'extreme youth' and Glenn Perry, a prominent contemporary psychological astrologer, has argued 'there was very little in astrology prior to the 1960s that bore much relationship to what we generally consider "psychological" today.'[1349] I would question to what extent psychological astrology can be considered new, given its changed features are mainly to do with a new emphasis on the inner as opposed to outer expression.

The main adaptations I have identified from the psychological astrologers examined in this thesis are summarised below:

1. As discussed in chapter six, Alan Leo adapted astrology by consciously promoting esoteric astrology, or astrology of the inner, above exoteric astrology, or astrology of the outer. The astrology of the inner was viewed as superior and the

[1348] Campion, *History II*, p.52; Curry, *Prophecy and Power*, p.1.
[1349] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.73; Perry, 'The Birth of Psychological Astrology'.

right subject of focus for the astrologer. Later twentieth century psychological astrologers followed Leo in this turn to the inner. This finding accords with the thrust of existing scholarship, which recognises that Leo made a substantial contribution to natal astrology becoming more psychological and focused on the inner realm.

2. Over the twentieth century, horoscope interpretation expanded to increase the psychological component. Leo made some progress with this, asserting that much of the horoscope could be interpreted in a psychological manner. Dane Rudhyar progressed this, changing the meaning of the astrological houses so that they represented psychological perceptions rather than actual people or events. Liz Greene's astrology fully embraced the horoscope as a map of the psyche, with many example interpretations. To date, there has not been a systematic treatment of how psychological astrology changed within the twentieth century albeit Liz Greene's work has been associated with the idea that the natal horoscope is a complete map of the psyche.[1350] The idea of an increased pace of psychologisation i.e. that this process intensified from the 1970s onwards could form the basis of further work that explores the idea of psychologisation in natal astrology.
3. Leo adapted through his promotion of the importance of the astrological Sun as the self, paving the way for psychological astrology to embrace Jung's theory of individuation which lies at the heart of both Rudhyar's and Greene's work. Whilst individuation is based on older spiritual concepts, it was not previously the primary focus of astrology which had also considered material circumstances. This change reflects the overall finding of my research into how psychological astrology adapted from earlier forms of astrology, namely the self-conscious focus on the inner dimension and individual psychological development.
4. Leo asserted that character is destiny in the sense that one's life patterns are influenced or determined by one's psyche, psychological qualities or personality.

[1350] See for example Hyde, *Jung and Astrology*, p.85.

Rudhyar and Greene, following Jung, advocated similar ideas. The prominence of the idea that character is the means by which destiny is primarily influenced was a new emphasis in natal astrology. This reflected the philosophical concern of the psychological astrologers which was to promote the freedom of the individual to the maximum extent possible. I discuss the importance of freedom further below under the question of legitimisation.

5. Both Rudhyar and Greene were principally inspired by Jung. As discussed in chapter five, Jung, whilst not fundamentally altering the content of astrology, provided new psychological terminology for existing esoteric and astrological ideas. Existing scholarship cites Jung's vital importance without having presented a detailed assessment of what that means within the work of Rudhyar and Greene, the two key astrologers developing astrology in the English-speaking world after Jung. Munk, for example, argues that Jung's ideas of synchronicity and individuation have been particularly important.[1351] Other scholars have pointed to Jung's seminal influence.[1352] My research thus adds to the existing scholarship by having demonstrated that Jung's key function in the development of psychological astrology was an inspirational one rather than his ideas being absorbed in a detailed way. Jung acted as inspiration for Rudhyar and Greene to examine astrology from the perspective of Depth Psychology and develop their own styles of interpretation. The detail of his ideas, with the exception perhaps of individuation, has been less important. Neither Rudhyar or Greene adopts synchronicity as the main rationale for their astrology and this is unsurprising, given Jung's own declarations that synchronicity was a restatement of the theory of correspondences.[1353] Whilst individuation, the idea of personal growth in line with the cosmos, is important to both Rudhyar and Greene's astrology, the idea of individual growth had been formulated by Alan Leo, writing before Jung's

[1351] Munk, 'Signs of the Times', p.116-117.
[1352] Campion, *History II*; Kozlova, 'Finding Meaning'; p.9; Radermacher, 'Dialogue in Astrological Divination', p.14.
[1353] See for example Jung, *On Synchronicity and the Paranormal*, p.101.

works were available in English.[1354] Jung's other ideas, such as his psychological typology and collective unconscious, are not deeply embedded in the corpus of either Rudhyar or Greene's work; both of whom quickly revert back to using astrological language and concepts which already covered these areas of psychology and cosmology.

6. Rudhyar adapted astrology by explicitly recognising it was relative to both culture and the individual astrologer whilst asserting it was a qualitative form of mathematics, an algebra of life. Greene also recognised the relative nature of astrology. Existing scholarship has not recognised this relative dimension of psychological astrology. Most scholars, as discussed in chapter four, have argued astrology is essentially divinatory in nature i.e. relative to the astrologer.[1355] Psychological astrology has either not been explicitly discussed in this debate or characterised as an anomaly, a form of astrology pretending to be modern and scientific.[1356] My research demonstrates that the two key post-Jung psychological astrologers, Rudhyar and Greene, were both clearly aware of the relative nature of certain elements of astrological practice, and neither were concerned with promoting astrology as a science. Their adaptions of astrology along psychological lines are compatible with ideas of astrology-as-divination i.e. to follow Phillipson, with astrology in which the astrologer is perceived as a critical component to efficacy of astrological interpretation.[1357]
7. Greene's innovations were to fully explain how to apply and interpret the dynamic model of the psyche, to strongly promote the idea of the astrologer as a counsellor, and to embed some of Freud's ideas in addition to Jung's; in particular Greene discusses the horoscope as indicating psychological issues arising from childhood. My research demonstrates that of the key protagonists of twentieth-century psychological astrology, Greene is the astrologer most

[1354] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.4.
[1355] See Cornelius, *Moment of Astrology*; Phillipson, 'Astrology and Truth'.
[1356] See Bird, 'Astrology in Education', p.80, p.189.
[1357] Phillipson, 'Astrology and Truth', p.312.

> influenced by psychoanalysis and the one whose astrology is closest to what has been termed the 'therapeutic ethos'.[1358] To date, there has been little in-depth scholarship on Greene's work as a psychological astrologer. My detailed examination in this thesis is thus an original contribution to the history of astrology, and demonstrates how Greene links to wider cultural movements of the twentieth century, particularly the saturation of culture with psychological ideas and the importance of therapy.[1359] These cultural changes were discussed in chapters two and three.

In summary, natal astrology did adapt to become more psychological in the twentieth century, and on this broad meaning of psychologisation as the increase or overflow of psychology, was psychologised to a degree. Its adaptation however was subtle, and did not represent an entirely new form of astrology.

9.2.2 Underlying rationale for psychological astrology

As discussed in chapter four, the central tenet of natal astrology, related to the theory of correspondences, has been the same since at least the first century AD: Marcus Manilius wrote:

> Why wonder that men can comprehend heaven, when heaven exists in their very beings and each one is in a smaller likeness the image of God himself?[1360]

This likeness between human beings and the heavens was an expression of the microcosm-macrocosm theory. This theory, along with the theory of correspondences, is clearly present within the psychological astrology of the twentieth century. The presence of these ideas is not mere technical background, but is fundamental to the cosmology of the individual astrologers.

[1358] Lears, 'From Salvation to Self-Realization', p.11.
[1359] Gross, *Psychological Society*, p.3; Ellenberger, *Discovery of the Unconscious*, p.843.
[1360] Manilius, *Astronomica*, pp.293-295.

As discussed in chapter six, Alan Leo referred to analogies being present throughout nature.[1361] He believed in God with souls being fragments of the divine.[1362] Leo explicitly referred to the microcosm-macrocosm theory, regarding it as central to his astrology of psycho-spiritual development:

> The belief that man, the microcosm or little universe, is an image of the macrocosm or great universe… is extremely ancient… from the psychological point of view the whole growth and evolution of the soul may be represented as a process by which man becomes a more and more complete image of the outer world of things. Consciousness mirrors the universe; the world is reflected in man.[1363]

Rudhyar, discussed in chapter seven, proposed astrology was a form of qualitative mathematics, an algebra of life.[1364] Inherent in this view was the old microcosm-macrocosm theory, as Rudhyar stated:

> This expresses clearly the idea of the exact correspondence between the macrocosm whose principle of order is "god" and the microcosm, man, whose principle of order is "reason" – or the "God within man".[1365]

The final psychological astrologer discussed in this thesis in chapter eight, Liz Greene, also relied on the microcosm-macrocosm theory as an underpinning to her astrology, and stated that the older conception of the astrologer as bridging these realms was still relevant to the counselling astrologer of the twentieth century. For Greene, the astrologer is 'a maker of bridges between the cosmic and human realms, or between the macrocosm and the microcosm.'[1366]

The core underpinning for psychological astrology in the twentieth century did not change following the entry into modernity. The psychological astrologers believed in the validity of the analogy between the microcosm and the macrocosm and this is the fundamental rationale behind their natal astrology as opposed to a separate magical

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[1361] Leo, *How to Judge a Nativity*, p.12.
[1362] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.1.
[1363] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.4.
[1364] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.16.
[1365] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.26.
[1366] Sharman-Burke and Greene, *Astrologer, Counsellor, Priest*, p.105.

plane divorced from the outer world. The lack of adaptation in core underlying rationale suggests the psychologisation of astrology contains significant differences to magicians who assert the existence of a separate magical plane to justify their magic in the modern world. Psychological astrologers assert a cosmology in which psyche and cosmos are linked and continue to work with the microcosm-macrocosm rationale for astrology that has existed since at least the first century. Psychological astrologers, whilst recognising that modern people require a particular form of astrology, do not, in my view, find a need to justify their astrology by accepting a cosmology which does not recognise any link between psyche and wider cosmos. This is clear both in their work, and, for Rudhyar and Greene, from the inspiration they took from Jung's cosmology. Jung's later work, particularly synchronicity, make it clear that his cosmology contained explicit links between psyche and cosmos.

9.2.3 Was psychological astrology equivalent to psychological techniques?

Psychologisation theory asserts that psychologised magic is reduced to being a form of psychological technique. As discussed in 9.2.1 above, the psychological astrologers of the twentieth century did adapt astrology with the result that more of the horoscope was viewed in psychological terms. However, of the three psychological astrologers considered in this thesis, only Greene's astrology comes close to being adequately described as psychological technique. This comes from her emphasis on astrology as a tool in psychological counselling.[1367]

Leo's astrological consultations had the purpose of increasing consciousness of innate patterns. Yet lying behind this purpose was a wider cosmology in which the soul was related to the stars and in which psychological development was seen as critical to the development of the soul.[1368] In this sense Leo's astrology was not only about psychological technique, because astrology was the crucial means by which the reality of the state of the soul could be influenced.

[1367] Liz Greene and Howard Sasportas, *The Inner Planets* (York Beach, ME: Weiser, 1993), p.312.
[1368] Leo, *Astrology for All*, p.iv.

As discussed in chapter seven, Rudhyar referred to a spiritual dimension of astrology, stating that at a certain level of psychological development, spiritual forces would descend.[1369] These forces were transpersonal, beyond the psyche of the individual. He also discussed astrology as dealing with entities which are 'eminently mysterious.'[1370] Rudhyar's conception of the birth-chart was as a message from the universe, celestial instructions that should be followed as a moral imperative.[1371] This conception of astrology is beyond something that deals only with psychological techniques.

Rudhyar and Greene both embraced Jung's concept of individuation as a core feature of their astrology. Jung viewed individuation as situated in a wider cosmos in which synchronicity occurred; this referring to meaningful coincidences which were related to the older idea of correspondences and qualitative links throughout nature.[1372] Individuation did not take place only on an intrapsychic level; it involved the world beyond the psyche. Jung's work cannot be considered to be only about psychological technique given this wider cosmology. As such, the astrologers inspired and influenced by him, Rudhyar and Greene, also have this wider cosmology implicit in their astrology focused on psychological development.

Overall, on the basis of the writings of the astrologers I have studied, the psychological astrology of the twentieth century cannot be considered to have been reduced to psychological techniques. On the contrary, it is situated within a meaningful cosmos in which psyche is intimately linked with celestial patterns and movements. This finding challenges ideas that psychology is necessarily associated with reductionism and an adoption of a materialist or scientific framework. Psychological astrologers combine psychological analysis with a cosmology of meaning and interconnection.

[1369] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, p.97.
[1370] Rudhyar, *The Practice of Astrology*, p.22.
[1371] Rudhyar, *Astrological Insights*, p.63.
[1372] See Aziz, *Jung's Psychology of Religion*, pp.217-219.

9.2.4 Did psychological astrology adopt psychology to become legitimate?

Hanegraaff asserts that the principle reason for psychologised magic is legitimisation in a disenchanted world.[1373] Bird has argued that psychological astrology is presented as scientific knowledge rather than divinatory knowledge (its true nature) for reasons of legitimisation.[1374] The problem of legitimacy was also noted by Costello and Phillipson who discussed the adoption of psychology by astrology as being related to establishing respectability through association with science.[1375]

The psychological astrologers discussed in this thesis did not adopt psychology in order to find legitimacy in a disenchanted world. The main theme of their reasons for adapting astrology further in a psychological manner was for philosophical reasons, and to maximise the potential freedom of human beings.

As discussed in chapter six, Leo's astrology was part of his theosophical cosmology. He believed that the purpose of life was for souls to develop so that they could eventually be free of the cycle of karma and reincarnation.[1376] He also believed that this need to develop was becoming more urgent, given the imminent new era that theosophists believed humanity was on the verge of. The way in which souls could develop was through psychological self-awareness and through understanding their characters. This maximised their freedom in responding to astrological influences and supported soul growth.

Jung was the major psychological inspiration for both Dane Rudhyar and Liz Greene. Jung's work does have a relationship to legitimisation, for he recognised the problems of dealing with participatory experience in a culture which placed significant value on modern science.[1377] It is likely this awareness informed his re-shaping of esoteric concepts into some of the ideas in his system of psychology. He too, however, was

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[1373] Hanegraaff, 'How magic survived', p.396.
[1374] Bird, 'Astrology in Education', p.95; p.107.
[1375] Costello, 'Unsettled Lives', p.147; Phillipson, *Astrology in the Year Zero*, p.94.
[1376] Leo, *Esoteric Astrology*, p.vii.
[1377] Jung, *Letters 2*, p.602.

concerned with maximising human freedom in a world which he viewed as shaped by the archetypal dynamics of psyche.[1378]

As discussed in chapter seven, Rudhyar's principle reason for adapting astrology on psychological lines was to create a philosophically sound astrology whose psychological nature could contribute to people living more spiritual and meaningful lives.[1379] Like Leo, Rudhyar believed in a new astrological age that required greater spiritual development.[1380] His astrology would help to create more such people thereby assisting preparation for a new historical epoch. Rudhyar did appeal to Jung as a source of credibility. However, he did not simply accept all that Jung asserted. For example, Rudhyar disagreed with Jung that astrology was the sum of the psychological knowledge of antiquity and openly stated this.[1381]

In chapter eight, Greene's reasons for creating a psychological astrology were discussed. Her main reason was due to her view that astrology and psychology have the same subject matter, the psyche, and without psychology, proper interpretation isn't possible:

> I do not feel that it is possible to comprehend a birth chart in a deeper sense without having some grounding in the fundamental principles of psychology. The very basic and apparently simple division of man's psyche into conscious and unconscious puts the interpretation of the birth chart into a completely new perspective, offering nuances, subtleties, and lines of definite orientation which are otherwise completely missed.[1382]

Overall, the psychological astrologers adopt psychology not because they want astrology to appear legitimate but because they believe that psychology is philosophically appropriate for astrology as applied to modern persons; their principal rationale is not legitimisation but the maximisation of freedom to support psychological and spiritual development.

[1378] Jung, *Mysterium Coniunctionis*, p.231.
[1379] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.81.
[1380] Rudhyar, *Astrological Timing*, pp.165-166.
[1381] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.80.
[1382] Greene, *Saturn*, p.194.

Scholarly literature to date has not significantly emphasised freedom as the central objective of psychological astrology. My research demonstrates that for astrology, the primary reason for psychologisation is a concern with freedom. This finding may be surprising for those who understand astrology as primarily concerned with fate or stereotyping individuals with particular character traits. The most significant psychological astrologers of the twentieth century are not concerned with prediction nor with labelling people with particular psychological qualities. Their motivation, instead, is to highlight the psychological dynamics of each individual as revealed by the construction of a natal horoscope. In revealing these dynamics, and understanding their unfoldment through time, the individual is empowered to work with the essence of their nature with a view to attaining greater consciousness and thus greater freedom. Psychological astrology's embrace of the unconscious and a dynamic model of the psyche is not to help it appear legitimate; it is to aid it in becoming a more effective means of supporting individual human beings through greater free choice.

9.2.5 Is psychological astrology disenchanted?

As discussed in chapter three, the core of the idea of disenchantment is that all things can be mastered by calculation, that is, they are repeatable and predictable, and that there are no mysterious forces in the cosmos.[1383] Disenchantment is associated with science and a secular view of the world.[1384] The idea of a disenchanted world led to a rejection of the supernatural with practices that claimed to know the future labelled as superstitious.[1385]

Curry has asserted, as discussed in chapter four, that psychological astrology is disenchanted because there is too much focus on individuation and the archetype of the Self, seen to be represented in astrology by the astrological Sun; this is monistic and for

[1383] Weber, *Essays in sociology*, p.139.
[1384] Habermas, 'Modernity', pp.162-163; Butterfield, *Origins of Modern Science*, p.viii.
[1385] Perkins, *The Reform of Time*, p.6.

Curry disenchanting.[1386] He associates disenchantment with that which is repeatable and testable, with what seems to be scientific.[1387]

Psychological astrology contains elements of disenchantment but overall is closer to enchantment than disenchantment, for the following reasons:

1. It is not repeatable or predictable. Leo regarded astrological effects to be dependent on the state of the soul of the individual, which was not something readable from the birth-chart.[1388] This made it impossible to predict based on the birth-chart alone. Jung regarded individuation as an irrational life process that revealed itself in symbols; it could not be forced or predicted as the individual's psychological awareness was crucial to progress.[1389] As the core process of psychological astrology these properties of individuation inform Rudhyar's and Greene's astrology. In addition, the dynamic nature of the psyche, which underlies their astrologies, means that some elements of the psyche lie in the unconscious. The relationship of conscious to unconscious is not static however so at any one moment in time it is not possible to know exactly how an astrological factor will manifest. More explicitly, Rudhyar ruled out prediction based on his assertion that humans could choose whether or not to follow the celestial instructions which the birth-chart contained.[1390] Greene added complexity to astrological fate through her theory of archetypal memory, which meant that predicting outcomes depended on a wealth of individual psychological memories and experience in addition to the present level of awareness of the person.[1391]
2. Psychological astrology does contain mysterious elements. Leo's astrology was framed in a wider, spiritual cosmology. Jung's astrological psychology was

[1386] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.75.
[1387] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, p.74.
[1388] Leo, *Progressed Horoscope*, p.11.
[1389] Jung, *Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, p.289.
[1390] Rudhyar, *Astrological Insights*, p.63.
[1391] Greene, *Horoscope in Manifestation*, p.177.

located in a meaningful cosmos in which psyche and matter were intertwined, as was Greene's. Rudhyar spoke of spiritual forces and the mysterious nature of the planets in his conception of astrology and Greene specified that there was more than one layer of synchronicity or meaningful coincidence at work in astrology, with the second layer particularly dependent on the elusive and mysterious self that was not contained within the birth-chart.[1392]

3. Psychological astrology does not unduly prioritise the astrological Sun. Curry regards the prioritisation of the Sun as monistic and hence disenchanted. Whilst Leo significantly emphasised the Sun's role, like Rudhyar and Greene, he gave credence to all the planets. Together their astrology does not show significant monism in this regard.
4. Disenchantment is strongly associated with modern science but none of the astrologers try to present their astrology as science. Jung's psychology, which influenced Rudhyar and Greene, belongs to the participatory realm rather than the causal, and Rudhyar made a point of stating that astrology was not science and was a different type of subject connected with appreciating wholeness.[1393] On Philipson's definitions, psychological astrology is closer to astrology-as-divination than to astrology-as-science, because the astrologer plays a crucial role in the efficacy of interpretation.

The only clear element of psychological astrology which may be labelled as disenchanting is its neglect of the outer world in terms of specific events and people. Although its cosmology views inner and outer as interlinked, the intense focus on the individual and the idea that other people and events are reflections of their own psychology, is disenchanting. This also leads to potential social and political apathy, which has been identified as a potential consequence of psychologisation, as was discussed in chapter two.

[1392] Greene, *Astrology of Fate*, p.275; Rudhyar, *Astrology of Transformation*, pp.97-99.
[1393] Rudhyar, *Astrology of Personality*, p.53.

My finding that psychological astrology is broadly enchanting differs to Curry's assertion that the majority of psychological astrology is disenchanted. As discussed in chapter four, Curry argued that James Hillman's psychological astrology offered a chance for psychological astrology to be enchanting, in contrast to those who followed Jung to a greater degree.[1394] My research challenges this view. The astrology of all three major psychological astrologers has enchanting features. Psychological astrology makes no claims to be able to predict for an individual. It is sophisticated in its conception of the psyche, with the dynamic nature of the psyche taken into account by Rudhyar and Greene, and the state of the soul considered by Leo. Mysterious elements are part of the astrology of each astrologer and the relative nature of astrology is recognised explicitly by both Rudhyar and Greene. These findings challenge the idea that psychological astrology has adapted to be acceptable to ideas of modernity, given that disenchantment is often seen as an important feature. My findings in relation to the wider concept of modernity are explored below, in section 9.4.

9.2.6 Overall view of psychological astrology in relation to Hanegraaff's thesis

Overall, this thesis has concluded that psychological astrology partially conforms to ideas raised in Hanegraaff's thesis on the psychologisation of magic. The psychological astrology of the twentieth century:

1. Is an adapted form of astrology with the adaption containing more psychology than earlier forms of astrology. It is not an entirely new form of astrology albeit it does focus primarily on the inner realm, in tune with wider cultural movements in the twentieth century that valued psychology.
2. Has some concern with psychological techniques and tends to neglect the specifics of the external world in favour of intense focus on the individual and their psychological dynamics and experience. Psychological astrology however is not limited to psychological techniques. It carries a wider philosophy and a cosmology that links cosmos and psyche in a universe of meaning.

[1394] Curry, *Astrology, Science and Culture*, pp.74-75.

3. Adopts psychology to maximise freedom rather than to be legitimate. Freedom is the core reason for psychologisation in relation to twentieth century astrology. This has been little explored to date and is a key finding of my research.
4. Is underpinned by classical rationales for astrology rather than appealing to a separate magical plane. The core underlying rationale for natal astrology was unchanged through the psychological adaptations of the twentieth century.
5. Is not disenchanted but better conceived as enchanted. Psychological astrology recognises that astrology cannot predict exactly. It contains mysterious elements and is recognised as culturally relative by both Rudhyar and Greene. It is closer to ideas of astrology-as-divination than astrology-as-science. Its enchanted nature has not been substantially recognised in scholarship to date. This is another key finding of my research into the psychologisation of astrology.

9.3 Does psychological astrology contain Plaisance's four-fold typology of the psychologisation of the esoteric?

Psychological astrology contains all four of Plaisance's categories of psychologisation, albeit to differing degrees. The strongest is idealistic psychologisation; as discussed in chapter two; this is a bidirectional process between the spiritual and the psychological which is close to Hanegraaff's idea of the psychologisation of the sacred and the sacralisation of the psychological.[1395]

At the heart of psychological astrology lies the concept of individuation. This is found in early form in the work of Alan Leo in his assertion that 'the whole growth and evolution of the soul may be represented as a process by which man becomes a more and more complete image of the outer world of things.'[1396] It was discussed in psychological language by Jung and forms the central concept in the astrology of Rudhyar and Greene. As discussed in chapter five, scholars have noted the similarity of individuation to pre-

[1395] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', pp.19-20; Hanegraaff, *New Age Religion*, p.224.
[1396] Leo, *Art of Synthesis*, p.4.

existing religious and spiritual processes.[1397] It is clearly a process that brings together psychological and sacred ideas. Given this is the central component of psychological astrology I conclude that the psychological astrology of the twentieth century exhibits a very high degree of idealistic psychologisation.

Complementary psychologisation refers to psychological and esoteric discourses being separate but related categories whereby the relationship is complementary.[1398] This form of psychologisation is found to differing degrees within the work of the astrologers and in Jung's work. Alan Leo placed psychological growth as facilitated by the horoscope firmly within the parameters of karma and reincarnation.[1399] This is a clear example of complementary psychologisation. Jung's work exhibits some complementary psychologisation, as when he stated that a horoscope could provide an alternative point of view from a psychological analysis.[1400] This form of psychologisation is also found in Rudhyar's work, as when he discussed psychology and astrology as complementary systems, with astrology providing the form and psychology providing the contents.[1401]

Terminological psychologisation is where metaphysical terminology is replaced by psychological terminology with the underlying meaning of the concepts being unchanged.[1402] This form of psychologisation is found intermittently within the work of the three astrologers but much more strongly in Carl Jung's work. Leo sometimes uses terms such as ego to replace his more usual language of the soul within his astrology.[1403] This contrasts Jung's extensive psychological system which gives his psychological terminology for esoteric concepts. Synchronicity is his replacement name for the theory of correspondences for example, whilst individuation replaces earlier spiritual ideas of the soul's celestial ascent and archetypes is a term that could encompass astrological planets. However, his terminology did not go on to have deep impact in Rudhyar's and

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[1397] See e.g. Pennachio, 'Gnostic Inner Illumination', p.238.
[1398] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.17.
[1399] Leo, *Esoteric Astrology*, p.vii.
[1400] Jung, *Letters 1*, pp.475-6.
[1401] Rudhyar, *Complexes*, p.ix.
[1402] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.17.
[1403] Leo, *Progressed Horoscope*, p.24.

Greene's and as such his terminological psychologisation was not substantially incorporated into psychological astrology. Greene's work however also exhibits some terminological psychologisation, as when she writes that esoteric and psychological terminology are interchangeable.[1404]

Reductive psychologisation applies to a psychological system which has been masked in esoteric language; as such, psychologising such systems is reducing them back to their real, psychological nature.[1405] Jung's theory that astrology is projected psychology can be used to form an argument that astrology should be reduced to psychology i.e. it requires a process of reductive psychologisation. If this argument is accepted then it could be said that Jung's astrological psychology is a case of reducing what is really psychological to a more appropriate form i.e. presenting what are actually psychological ideas in psychological language. This form of psychologisation is also relevant to Greene's work, for she asserts that astrology and psychology have the same subject of investigation.[1406] Her focus on psychological dynamics could be seen as correctly focusing on the psychological essence of astrology, which itself is really a psychological system.

Whilst all four forms of Plaisance's typology are found in psychological astrology, and in the work of Jung who inspired two of the significant astrologers, the most important and consistent across the psychological astrology of the twentieth century, is idealistic psychologisation.

9.4 Is psychological astrology modern?

Modernity was discussed in chapter three, this being central to theories which question how it is that subjects like astrology have survived into the modern world. It is also an issue that is raised by the twentieth-century astrologers who are conscious of the need to adapt astrology for modern people. To what extent can psychological astrology be

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[1404] Greene, *Saturn*, p.99, p.149, p.193; Greene, *Relating*, p.24, p.25.
[1405] Plaisance, 'Israel Regardie', p.18.
[1406] Greene, *Relating*, p.6.

classified as part of modernity, modernism or postmodernity? This thesis concludes that psychological astrology is difficult to neatly categorise into one of these three categories but that the work of Rudhyar and Greene (and also Jung, who inspired them) are closer to a mix of modernism and postmodernity. All of the astrologies considered in this thesis however exhibit a variety of characteristics, some that fit better with modernity, some with modernism and some with postmodernity; none are wholly one or another of these categories. There is significant overlap between modernity and modernism, and modernism and postmodernity, by definition, which complicates any attempt to identify one category for psychological astrology. However, a significant number of the characteristics of psychological astrology can be related either to modernism or postmodernity.

The reasons for this conclusion are set out below:

1. All of the three astrologers wished to break with the past, to adapt and improve astrology so that it is fit for the modern world. There is however a technical continuity with previous natal astrology in terms of the fundamental structure of horoscopes which comprise of planets, zodiac signs and aspects. Their reforms, at least in the minds of the three astrologers, represent a break with intellectual tradition, thereby conforming to one of the central characteristics of modernity and modernism which is to designate 'a new regime, an acceleration, a rupture, a revolution in time.'[1407] The reforms are however for the three a conscious effort to revive ancient wisdom, and in that sense do not fit entirely into ideas about modernity/modernism but have some affinity with postmodernity.
2. Psychological astrology may be said to have affinity with ideas of modernity/modernism in its privatisation of the symbolic sphere, what Eagleton has described as 'a divorce between the symbolic and the politico-economic, one which frees symbolic activities for new possibilities while relegating them to the sidelines.'[1408] This is a form of differentiation, which refers to the separation in

[1407] Latour, *We have never been modern*, p.10.
[1408] Eagleton, *Culture and the Death of God*, p.3.

modernity/modernism of different spheres of life such as private and public realms. In its devaluation of social and political action and focus on spiritual and psychological growth, psychological astrology becomes confined to the private sphere. In its radical focus on the individual, and focus on self-fulfilment, psychological astrology is in some ways perfect for the modern individual for whom 'fulfilment of the self and the whole individual is key.'[1409] The 'unbounded relativism', identified as characteristic of both modernity and modernism, but particularly associated with modernism, is present within the psychological astrology of the twentieth century.[1410]

3. Psychological astrology is an emphatic rejection of the characteristic of modernity which is the homogeneity of time, space and place; the qualitative notion of time, asserted to be redundant in the modern world by some theorists of modernity, is alive and well in twentieth century psychological astrology.[1411] This can be seen in the underpinning rationales to psychological astrology, which embrace the theory of correspondences. This characteristic of psychological astrology fits better with modernism or postmodernity, given the deviation from modernity. In particular, postmodernity has been associated with a recognition that modern science is only one approach to truth, and that other approaches, such as those involving participation, are also valid.
4. Psychological astrology reconnects the modern individual to the cosmos overcoming the problem of what Berger et al. referred to as the homelessness of the modern individual in the universe.[1412] Similarly, the inability of psychological astrology to provide exact predictions due to the complexity provided by the unconscious elements of the psyche, the missing information on the state of the soul/level of psychological awareness and the reliance on what Greene called 'archetypal memory' mean that it is not disenchanted. The interpretations of the

[1409] Bell, *Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, p.14.
[1410] See Calinescu, *Five Faces of Modernity*, p.5.
[1411] See Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*, p.73.
[1412] See Berger et al., *The Homeless Mind*.

twentieth century psychological astrologers are tailored to each individual and their circumstances, and as such are not repeatable or capable of replica without the presence of the astrologer. Rudhyar and Greene recognise that astrology may depend on the presence of an astrologer as much as any independent means by which astrology may work. As such, psychological astrology is closer to Phillipson's category of astrology-as-divination rather than astrology-as-science. These characteristics fit better with postmodernity rather than modernity.

5. Modernity is associated with modern science but none of the psychological astrologers associate their astrology with science. Rudhyar and Greene explicitly discuss astrology as relative and Rudhyar regards science as having nothing to say on the quality of wholes, a trait he regards as a crucial component of astrology.
6. Psychological astrology is centrally concerned with freedom; this is the primary reason for the psychological adaptation of astrology in the twentieth century. The psychological level allows individuals to influence their destiny to the maximum degree. Freedom has been associated with both modernity and modernism.[1413]
7. At the heart of psychological astrology lies a concern with self-realisation; this intense focus on the inner, subjective, sphere is strongly associated with modernism.
8. Finally, psychological astrology after Jung is influenced by his work and the psychoanalytic idea of the dynamic nature of the psyche; since psychoanalysis has been identified as a factor in the breakdown of modernity, and as something that belongs to modernism, whilst having some affinity with postmodernity, it is appropriate to identify the majority of psychological astrology with modernism and postmodernity.

[1413] Anderson, 'Victorian Studies', p.197.

On the basis of the three astrologers I studied, psychological astrology has most affinity with the ideas associated with modernism and postmodernity. Whilst evidencing characteristics associated with each of modernity, modernism and postmodernity, its association with what was thought of as the irrational, and a dynamic model of the psyche, plus its lack of disenchanting features, mean that, in relation to the three astrologers I studied, a classification within modernity is inappropriate. Its strong current of starting afresh and revisiting assumptions place it close to modernism. However, the recognition of cultural relativity in Rudhyar and Greene, and the enchanted nature of psychological astrology, give affinity with ideas about postmodernity. As such, psychological astrology is best classified as belonging in part to modernism and in part to postmodernity.

The challenge of fitting psychological astrology into any one notion of the modern, i.e. modernity, modernism or postmodernity as I have described them in this thesis, raises the question of how adequate these designations are for describing twentieth-century culture. As it is, their supposed characteristics overlap and morph into each other, sometimes in a contradictory way within each category, and none of the designations is wholly appropriate to capture psychological astrology. As discussed in chapter one, astrology is a widespread cultural phenomenon within 'modern' life. That none of the categories that supposedly describe the culture of the twentieth century are adequate, raises questions about those categories and their usefulness. This is an issue that is increasingly being explored by scholars such as Josephson-Storm.[1414] As I conclude this thesis, I am in agreement with such scholars that the place of magic and related subjects in the twentieth century and how they relate to such categories, is ripe for re-examination.

[1414] See Josephson-Storm, *Metamodernism* and Josephson-Storm, *The Myth of Disenchantment*.

9.5 Is psychologisation an adequate concept for describing the adaptation of natal astrology in the twentieth century?

Wider definitions of psychologisation, in addition to Hanegraaff and Plaisance, were discussed in chapter two. Gross used the term the psychologisation of culture to refer to the invasion of psychology into all areas of modern, Western lives.[1415] De Vos and Gordo define psychologisation as 'the modern, and ever expanding, tendency to manage non-psychological issues in psychological terms.'[1416] Psychologisation has also been seen as fundamental to the discipline of psychology, with psychoanalysis a particularly powerful example.[1417] This leads to a focus on interior causation, with everything reduced to psychological causes.

In one sense psychologisation is an adequate concept for psychological astrology, which is an adapted psychological form of natal astrology prevalent in the twentieth century. This adapted astrology is more psychological than previous astrologies albeit is built on the foundations of a subject that has always had a psychological component.

Psychology astrology does deal with the inner beings of people but does not only focus on an idea of interior causation. The central tenet of psychological astrology is that the archetypal form of a human being is the same as the pattern shown in the heavens at the time of their birth, that is, the idea that there is an analogy between the microcosm and the macrocosm. Whether the ultimate cause is psychological or cosmic is therefore unclear. Psyche and cosmos are linked, and reflect each other. This central tenet of psychological astrology is not well captured by the term psychologisation which carries the notion of reduction rather than expansion. Psychological astrology radically links the psyche of an individual to the cosmos; this is anything but reductionist in nature. On the contrary, it elevates the human being to having a participatory role within the cosmos, sharing its very pattern and unfolding.

[1415] Gross, *Psychological Society*, p.9.
[1416] De Vos and Gordo, 'Psychologism', p.3.
[1417] Rose, *Inventing Our Selves*, p.59; De Vos, *Psychologization and Late Modernity*, p.4.

Psychologisation tends to have negative connotations; if something becomes more psychological, it is somehow overstepping its remit. It is being swamped by psychology that is overflowing into areas of life it should not. Psychologisation has also been seen as a masking strategy for magic and related subjects; to be psychologised is for something to disguise itself as scientific and modern as opposed to its other, 'real', nature. These negative ideas do not fit well with psychological astrology; as such my research represents a critique of the narrow scope of current psychologisation theory, particularly as it applies to magical subjects. Psychologisation in relation to the natal astrology of the twentieth century is a positive phenomenon. The principal astrologers adopt psychology because it is philosophically appropriate and the way in which an astrologer can be most helpful to their clients. Psychologisation within astrology promotes the ideas of human freedom and empowerment within a cosmology that views the cosmos as meaningful and intrinsically related to psyche. The psychologisation present within astrology questions the notion that psychologisation is necessarily a negative process, and one which is only connected with conforming to ideas of modernity. Furthermore, it calls into question the usefulness of psychologisation as an idea for the term does not describe well the cosmic psychology contained with twentieth-century natal astrology.

9.6 Was natal astrology psychologised during the twentieth century?

In final conclusion, the natal astrology of the twentieth century conforms to the existing definitions of psychologisation in certain ways. It adapted in response to the modern world along psychological lines and prioritised the inner over outer events in line with the wider embrace in Western cultures of psychology and individual fulfilment. Its adaptation was not however driven principally by the quest for legitimisation through science, but because the psychological domain was held to be the most philosophically sound and the most important area upon which to focus, this giving the maximum potential for free-will. For these reasons the psychological astrology of the twentieth century is only a partial fit to Hanegraaff's psychologisation thesis and ideas on psychologisation as the overflow of psychology.

Psychological astrology is an excellent example of idealistic psychologisation as defined by Plaisance and strongly exhibits one of the key consequences of psychologisation; the prioritisation of the inner over the outer world.

According to the evidence within the works of the three astrologers I studied, the psychological astrology of the twentieth century is psychologised in some respects. It became more psychological in the twentieth century and prioritised inner interpretations over those pertaining to the outer world. It contains strong currents of idealistic psychologisation, with its central principle, individuation, being both a psychological and spiritual concept. It is not, however, disenchanted. It is best situated within modernism and postmodernity as opposed to modernity, noting that there is significant overlap between modernity and modernism which makes classification difficult and calls into question the validity of such categories.

My research has demonstrated that astrology does not conform in full to the ideas of psychologisation that apply to other, related subjects. It refutes the ideas of the scholars of astrology who argue that psychological astrology was trying to legitimise itself by hiding its true, divinatory (magical) nature. The simple assumption that 'psychological astrology' is a psychologised form can be rejected. Whilst some aspects of psychological astrology do conform, there are many which do not. For psychological astrology, psychologisation is the means by which twentieth century astrologers promoted ideas of self-realisation for the purpose of maximising human freedom. This accorded with wider cultural movements: the 'Psychological Society' of the twentieth century.

9.7 Further studies

My thesis paves the way for further studies related to the psychologisation of astrology and explorations of psychological astrology as a distinct strand of astrology albeit one that contains significant links to earlier astrologies. Scholars could pursue the idea of different concentrations of psychologisation, particularly for example, as shown in some of the intensely psychoanalytic interpretations of Greene.

My research is limited to the subculture of psychological astrology as it developed in the English-speaking world, particularly the UK and the US. Further work is needed to relate my research to the developments in astrology in other parts of the world, for example, continental Europe, which developed its own forms of psychological astrology. It is also limited, as all forms of textual analysis, by my own perspective. Inevitably I have had to select material and come to a form of assessment of that material in order to draw conclusions. As someone with deep experience as an insider of the subculture I have chosen to examine, my research will exhibit features that might differ should an outsider have undertaken the same study, for example, or an insider with a different perspective.

My research contributes to the debate on the nature of astrology, demonstrating that psychological astrology fits more closely with astrology-as-divination than astrology-as-science. The 'divination debate' in relation to natal astrology is however relatively immature, and there is further research to be done on the links between psychology and divination. In particular, psychological astrology, I assert, is enchanted. Further exploration could be undertaken to understand how psychology and enchantment interact. Such studies may relate to the definition of psychology, which remains a problematic discipline in terms of unifying theories and principles.

The thesis also contributes to debates on the adequacy of concepts such as modernity, modernism and post-modernity; however, there is significant further research required. The difficulty of finding a set of characteristics for these concepts, and of fitting twentieth-century psychological astrology into any of them in particular, calls into question their usefulness as analytic categories for astrology and related fields. Scholars such as Josephson-Storm have proposed new ideas such as metamodernism and it would be fruitful to take this forward to examine whether this concept is a suitable category for contemporary psychological astrology, and superior to the categories of modernity, modernism and postmodernity.

In examining psychologisation in relation to natal astrology, I have found that twentieth-century adaptations of astrology along psychological lines retain much of the core

rationale that has underpinned astrology for the last two thousand years. This may be different from related practices, such as the specific magical rituals considered by Hanegraaff in his psychologisation thesis. The astrologers I considered do not rely on the idea of a magical plane, for example. Further work to explore the splintering of related fields such as astrology and ritual magic might consider these core differences. Why should one need to adopt the magical plane if another, related subject, is able to continue without it? The answers to these questions may lie in the shape-shifting ability of astrology to occasionally appear in what seems to be a scientific guise as well as in magical form. However, a detailed consideration of the comparative differences in development into the twentieth century of such related fields remains for further research.

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