



PRIFYSGOL CYMRU
Y Drindod Dewi Sant
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History of Astrology week 8

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- Purpose of this seminar:
- To consider themes and issues in 20th C western astrology
- Wider issues: Modernity, Postmodernity
- (from Introduction module)
- Tradition, Continuity, Discontinuity

Primary Sources

- **Required Reading:**
- Leo, Alan, *Astrology for All*, London: L.N.Fowler, 1904.
- **Optional Reading:**
- Any astrological material from ‘serious’ or popular astrological books, from the web, from Facebook, including texts and, if you wish, visual material.

Reading: Historiography 2

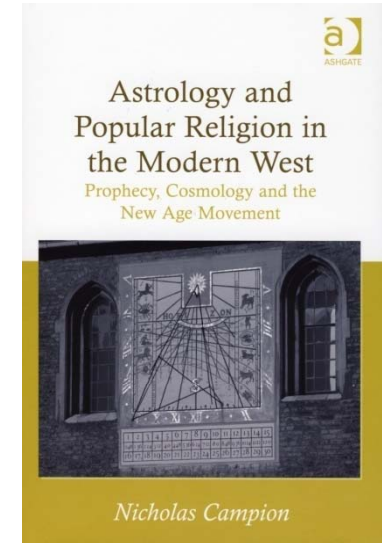
Evans, Richard, *In Defence of History*, London: Granta Books 1997, chapter 8.

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- The great overarching narratives such as Marxism and modernisation theory have collapsed. Innovation has come above all from historians writing about the marginal, the bizarre. The individual, the small-scale. It seems reasonable to call these now-defunct metanarratives 'Modernist', as indeed many postmodernist writers on history do; and equally reasonable to call the new development postmodern', even if those who have pioneered it and participated in it would not regard themselves as postmodernist in any sense at all.
- Evans, Richard, *In Defence of History*, London: Granta Books 1997, p. 191.
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- Note:
- Contextualising of the strand of academic work into which the Sophia centre falls
- Language: 'bizarre'.
- Use of 'modernism' and postmodernism' while acknowledging the uncertainty around their use.

Reading: Historiography 2

- Patrick Curry, 'The Historiography of Astrology: A Diagnosis and a Prescription', in K.von Stuckrad, G. Oestmann and D. Rutkin (eds.), *Horoscopes and Public Spheres* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005), pp. 261-74
- GOOGLE BOOKS
- Curry's own text is downloadable from <http://www.patrickcurry.co.uk/papers.htm#1>
-
- Cornelius, Geoffrey, 'Verity and the Question of Primary and Secondary Scholarship in Astrology', in Nicholas Campion, Patrick Curry and Michael York (ed.) *Astrology and the Academy*, Bristol: Cinnabar Books 2004, pp. 103-113.
- PDF
- QUESTION: To what extent should the historian engage with the practice of astrology?
- YES – the historian should engage, on the model set by. Foreexample, experimental archaeology
- ON THE OTHER HAND – it is often impossible for historians to engage directly with their subjects for obvious reason – history often deals with people and phenomena which no longer exist



REVISION:

DON'T FORGET

FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES

defining astrology and locating its cultural context and
descriptors

Themes in 20th c Western Astrology

Reform and Reaction?

- Early 20th c: Theosophy/esoteric astrology
- 1930: Sun-sign columns
- 1936: Dane Rudhyar *The Astrology of Personality* – psychological astrology
- 1960s – 80s: Scientific research
- 1982: Traditional revival begins in UK with republication of Lilly's *Christian Astrology* (1992 Project Hindsight in USA)

A matter of definition: inclusive?

- ‘Astrology is the practice of relating the heavenly bodies to lives and events on earth, and the tradition that has thus been generated’.
- Patrick Curry, Patrick, ‘Astrology’, in Boyd, Kelly (ed.) *The Encyclopaedia of Historians and Historical Writing*, 2 Vols. London: Fitzroy Dearborn 1999, Vol. 1, pp 55-7 (p. 55)



What is Astrology?

- The belief that the stars or planets hold significance for events on earth, and the resulting practices?
- BUT we should forget this because the whole point is that, in public surveys, it is never defined. We are all supposed to know what it is.

Components of my research:

- Is astrology a New Age discipline?
 - Subsidiary question: is it millenarian?
- Is astrology a religion?
- How many people believe in astrology?

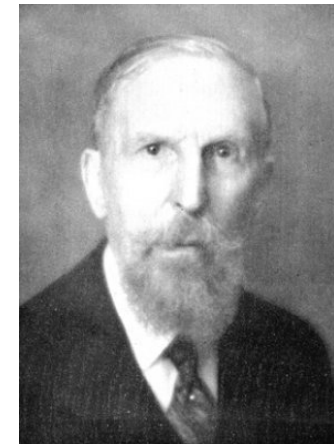
Other important issues:

- The nature of belief: is it a meaningful concept?

Academics: the Origins of Astrology:

astrology might have been a religion but isn't now

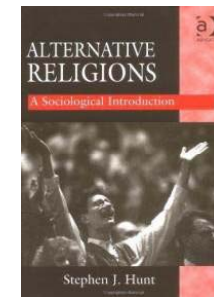
- Max Weber: astrology a 'consequence' of astral religion.
- Franz Cumont: astral religion a consequence of astrology.
- Lester Ness: astrology an 'adjunct' to Mesopotamian religion.
- Lester Ness, *Written in the Stars: Ancient Zodiac Mosaics* (Warren Center PA, 1998), p. 81. See also
- Franz Cumont, *Astrology among the Greeks and Romans* (New York, 1960), pp. 12–21.
- Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, trans. Ephraim Fischhoff, 4th edn (Boston, 1963), p. 22; Cumont, *Astrology*, p. 16.



Current academic views

(see Campion, Astrology and Popular Religion...):

- a New Age belief or practice (York 1995),
- paranormal (Rice 2003: 100)
- an 'alternative religion' (Hunt 2003: 171-3),
- a potential contributor to the decline of the mainstream churches in Britain (Gill 1999) (and therefore implicitly religious)



Cultural comment - Astrology as a 'substitute' religion

- Derek Draper in *The Times*: 'As religious belief dies in Britain, is it being replaced with a tendency towards superstition, magic or obscure cults?'
- Nigella Lawson, citing the 1996 Church of England report, *The Search for Faith*: 'star-signs' and 'the cult of the clairvoyant' are replacing the Church as 'the new religion'.
- Derek Draper, 'I used to live a shallow life', *Times*, 21 February 2001, p. 3.
- Nigella Lawson, 'Astrology and the need to believe: Why are we going to New Age cranks for old-style cures?', *Times*, 13 November 1996, p. 17.



Insiders: Astrology is Religion?

- Alan Leo (1860-1917):
- 'Astrology [will] once again [be] established as a bright facet in the diamond of the coming World Religion.'



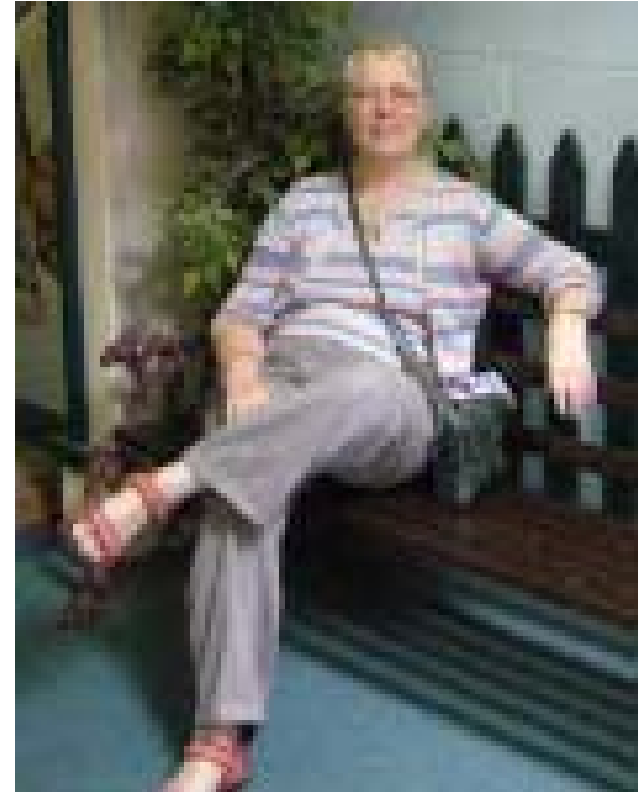
Insiders: Dane Rudhyar (1895-1985): Proclaiming the New Age

- **Today is a new birthday for the ancient gods. New men call for new symbols.** Their cry rises, beyond their logical intellects ashamed of mystical longings, for new gods to worship and to use in order to integrate their harrowing mental confusion and to stabilize their uprooted souls. Young gods, fresh and radiant with the sunshine of a new dawn, glorified with the "golden light" of a new Sun of Power, ecstatic with virgin potentialities after the banishment of ancient nightmares (Rudhyar, Dane, *New Mansions for New Men*, New York: Lucis Publishing Company.1938: xiii).



Insiders: Astrology as a demonstration of the truth of Religion?

- Pamela Crane
- Astrologer and Liberal Catholic minister
- *With the discovery of the Outer Planets, we men and women have taken a lot of spiritual power for ourselves. Nowadays it is unfashionable - even in some quarters unacceptable - to conceive of ourselves as truly children of an almighty being we call God, that this being is a person, and that He sent his Son into incarnation to teach us how to love, and to die for love of us. At this time in our history when hubris has rendered us desperately vulnerable to self-created disaster, is it not time we reconsidered? **Look at all I have shown you here. Is not Christ coming to us over and over again, in every conceivable way, as he always promised?***
- Pamela Crane, *The Birth of Christ*, (Faversham: Shoestring Publications, 1994), p. 24.
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The Function of astrology:

- ***The astrological consultant has, willingly or not, been usurping what was once the role of the priest, the physician, and the psychiatrist...***

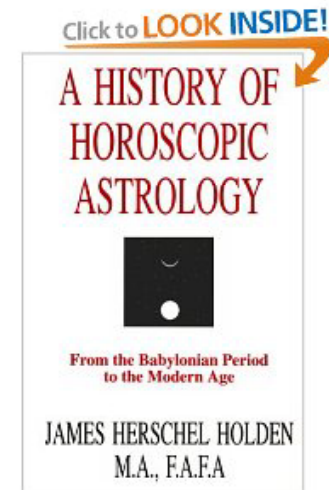
- Liz Greene and Howard Sasportas, *The Development of the Personality: Seminars in Psychological Astrology*, (London: Arkana, 1987), p. xii.



- In this sense, if the astrologer is performing as priest, a physician or a psychiatrist then the similarity is functional – to do with social activity rather than essential content

Insiders: Astrology definitely *not* a Religion

- **Horoscopic astrology itself has little or nothing to do with religion.** It was not 'revealed' in remote antiquity to priests of a particular religion or to leaders of mystical societies by divinities or 'transcendental masters.' It is not 'occult' in the usual sense of the word. It is a clear-cut empirical science that was invented by human beings and that operates on the basis of definite rules that have been established by experience ... It is independent of religion and independent of philosophy.
- James Herschel Holden, *A History of Horoscopic Astrology* (Tempe AZ, 1996), p. 261.



Outsiders: Astrology as demonic

- ‘If God condemns astrology then we are left with no alternative but to conclude that this power is from the demonic realm’.
Astrology (Richmond, n.d.), p. 5.



Outsiders: Astrology as forbidden

- The Roman Catholic catechism of 1994:
- Astrology contradicts ‘the honor, respect, and loving fear that we owe to God alone’.
- *Catechism of the Catholic Church* 1994, para. 2116.



What about India?

- Astrology is considered a purely western phenomenon.
- In India it is a vedanga and it is impossible to understand Hindu practice without it.



INSIDERS' THEMES IN THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ASTROLOGY

Themes of Decline

- Schmidt
- Zoller
- Curry

An Insider's view of Astrology's history: Alan Leo

- British astrologer, died 1917.
- Founded modern esoteric astrology
- Thought astrology as we know it now originated 100,000 years ago.
- Exoteric astrology = a pale shadow of its original self



Patrick Curry: academic and insider

- Believes in an ancient period when people lived in an 'enchanted' environment.
- Decline set in when the balance in astrological practice shifted from inspiration to technique



Geoffrey Cornelius



- Believes astrology declined in the move from Babylon to Greece when 'divination' was replaced by Greek naturalism.
- He (*Moment of Astrology*, 2003, p.xxii) devoted considerable attention to the attacks on astrology that had, in his view, resulted in its "fall from grace"
- The question of divination the true nature of judicial astrology) is hardly ever addressed by modern astrologers.

Robert Schmidt

(Project Hindsight – The Phase project)

- There was a pure Hellenistic astrology in the 2nd c BCE. The variety of technical approaches apparent by the 2nd c CE is evidence of decline.
- Position moderated later



Robert Zoller

- Back in the 1980s Bob was the sole (almost) practicing medieval astrologer. Medieval astrology is the true practice
- (Although developed high regard for the classical tradition after Project Hindsight was formed, and has always had a higher regard for many modern astrologers.)



Golden Ages

- These could all be classed as ‘golden age narratives’, a product of nostalgia

... the other hand: 'It's Never Been Better'

- Themes of advance/evolution
- Dane Rudhyar
- Glenn Perry

Medieval classical astrology
was fated, hence oppressive
Modern (psychological) astrology
Emphasises free will,
hence liberating



Dane Rudhyar

- Pre 20th century astrology was 'fated', dealt only with external conditions and was unable to serve the essential modern purpose of spiritual growth



Manilius

- Manilius, *Astronomica*, l. 66-69:
human beings lived in barbaric
ignorance, not enchanted bliss, and
reason liberated them.
- Before their times man lived in
ignorance: he looked without
comprehension at the outward
appearance and saw not the design
of nature's works: he gazed in
bewilderment at the strange new
light of heaven, now sorrowing at its
loss, now joyful at its birth.
- 105-8 It (reason) freed men's minds
from wondering at portents by
wresting from Jupiter his bolts and
power of thunder and ascribing to
the winds the noise and to the clouds
the flame.



So has astrology

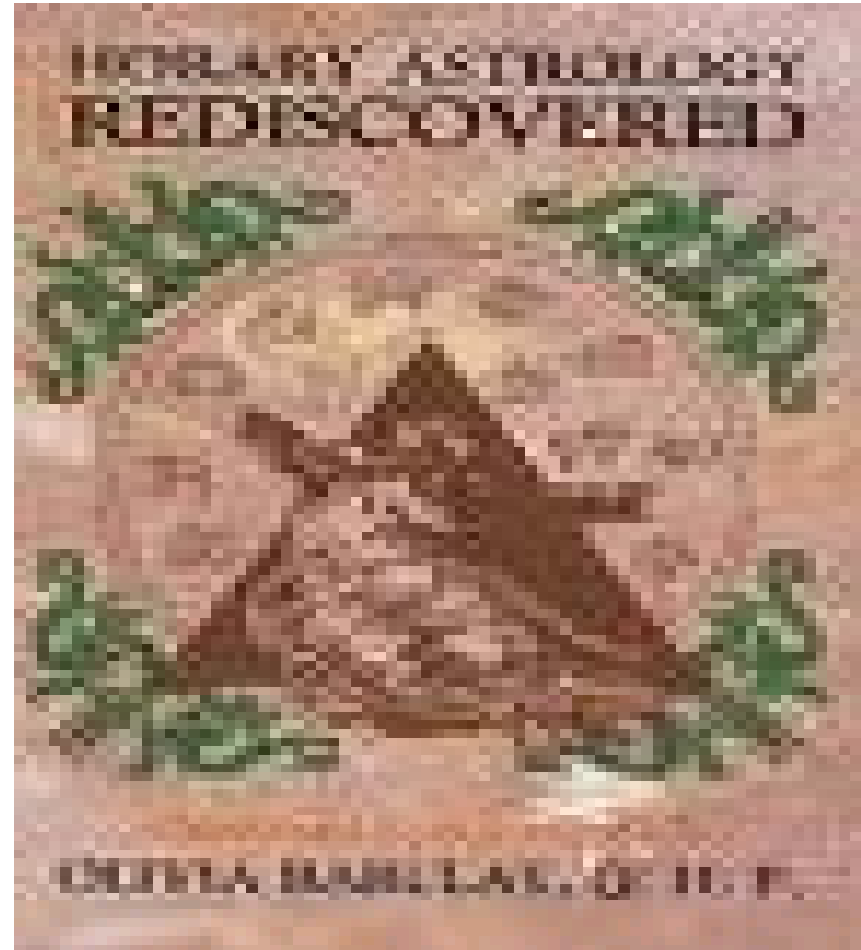
- Declined from a high, 'enchanted' point
- OR
- Risen from a old primitive state???

Manichean Astrology

- Manicheans believed in the struggle of light and dark.
- So.
- Rudhyar = the new spiritual astrology = good. Old fated ('exoteric') astrology = bad (and useful only for people who are unevolved)
- Cornelius = divinatory astrology good. All other astrology bad
- Alan Leo = esoteric astrology good. Indian astrology bad

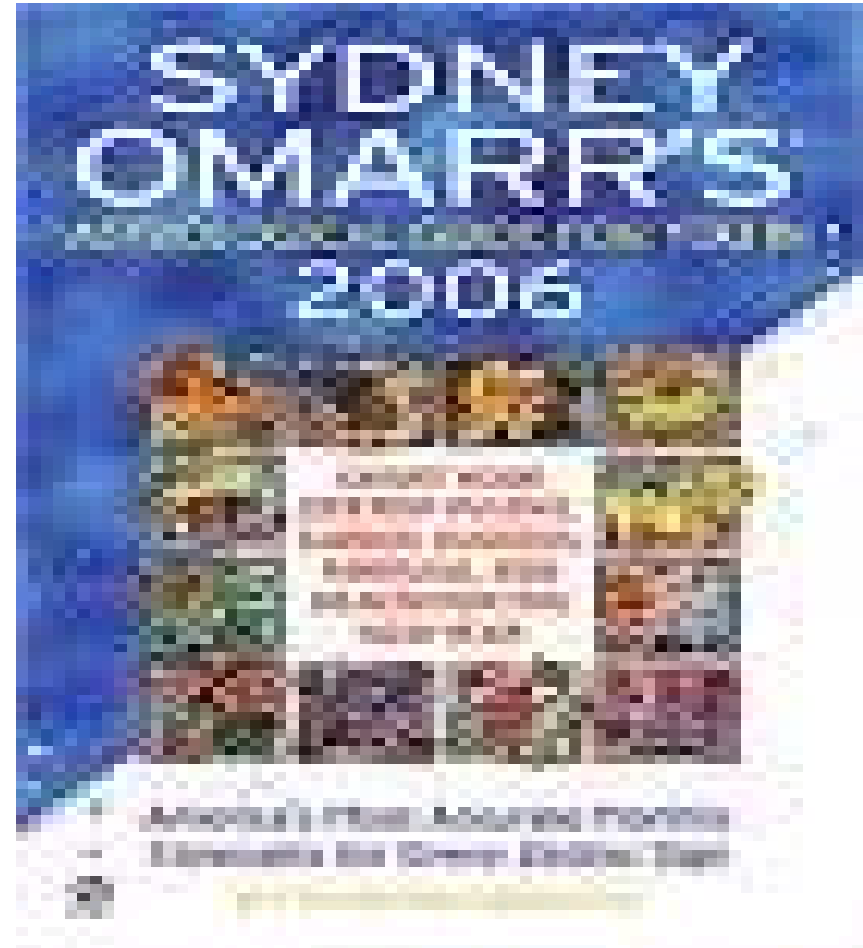
At the extreme

- Olivia Barclay (1919-2001), one of the founders of the recent 'traditional revival' said that psychological astrologers were not even astrologers at all.
- 'traditional astrology' good. Psychological (and Indian) astrology bad.



And many astrologers

- Used to think that Sun-sign astrology was not proper astrology at all



My argument in *A History of Western Astrology*

- All modern view points on astrology, traditional, neo-traditional, psychological, humanistic, esoteric, revolutionary, scientific, evolutionary, elite, popular, philosophical or practical, have been around for two millennia. The arguments about astrology, its, use, nature and operation have been around for at least two thousand years.

My scheme of the history of astrology

- Three main perspectives:
- Babylonian
- Platonic
- Aristotelian

For example, is it true that psychological astrology is modern?

- The argument against:
- All astrology influenced by the Greek philosopher Plato (c 400 BCE) HAD to deal with the psyche.

Ptolemy and the Psyche, 2nd c CE

- When Mars dominated the soul, Ptolemy argued, the individual would display the planet's qualities, whether negative or positive, either blind aggression or great courage. When Venus was dominant, the soul had the characteristic of that planet, whether pleasant affectionate and charming or 'careless, erotic, effeminate, womanish, timid...depraved and meriting reproach'.[\[1\]](#)

[\[1\]](#) Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, III.13.

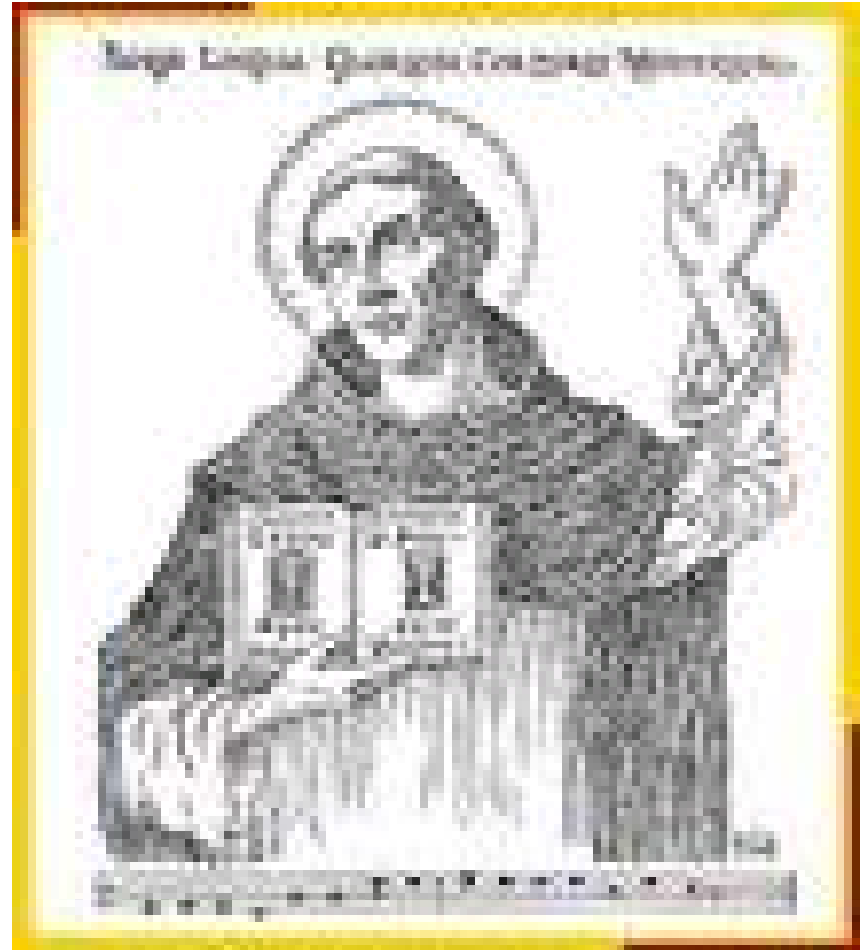


Is it true that Medieval Astrology was Fated?

- The argument against
- In a world in which failure to make the correct moral choice resulted in eternal damnation, nothing can be totally fated, whatever the language of astrological texts
- Determinism existed within a Christian context. Cf Augustine, Calvin

Thomas Aquinas, 13th C

- The stars influence the body.
- The body influences the mind
- But the soul is responsible only to God



... and are psychological astrologers, astrologers?

- Can people self-define?
- If someone says they are a Christian, or communist, or Buddhist are they a Christian, or communist, or Buddhist?
- If someone says they are an astrologer, are they an astrologer?

Can you be a good astrologer without doing divination?

- How can this be judged?
- There is no way of judging it and no evidence either way.



And 'tradition'?

- In the 1980s British astrologers became fixated on William Lilly.
- The term 'traditional astrology', previously applied to character description, became attached to Lilly's astrology.

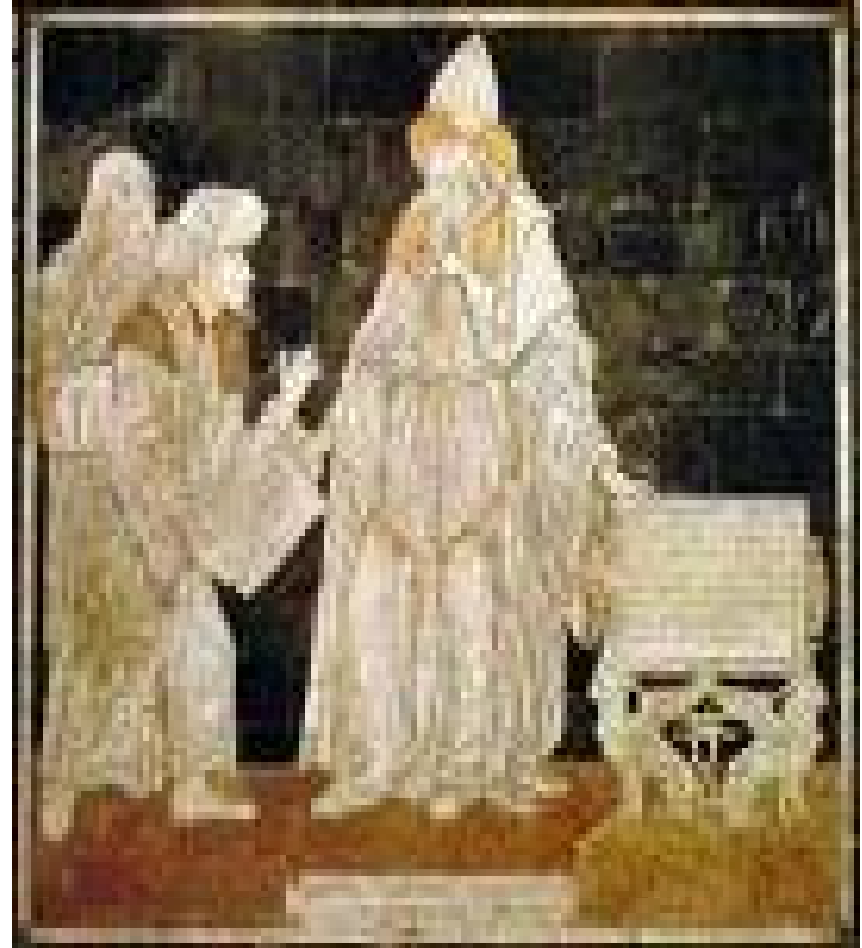


But what is a 'tradition'?

- How long does something have to be practiced to be a tradition?
- One year, 6 months? Twice?
- The claim to be part of a 'tradition', like the counter-claim to be 'modern' allows one to feel superior: everyone else has got it wrong.
- Invented traditions.

And what about Sun-sign astrologers?

- Right Sydney Omarr
- Well, the belief that the Sun is the spiritual heart of the astrological cosmos dates back to the Corpus Hermeticum, c 200 – 1 BCE



Astrology as ‘ideal types’

- Astrology is:
- ‘a psychological developmental model’
- ‘a means of preparing for the New Age’
- ‘science’
- ‘divination’
- ‘traditional’
- ‘....and nothing else’
- All these positions represent a belief in a single truth.

Astrology as....

- Language
- Symbolic language
- Means of self-understanding.....
- Such views tend to be less exclusive

Is the astrologer a

- Scientist
- Shaman
- Psychologist
- Diviner
- Counsellor
- Priest?
- ????????

- But, considering Curry further:
- Can one be a historian of music without playing an instrument?
- Can one be a historian of ancient Rome without being an ancient Rome.
- Does Curry's view represent an aspiration rather than a requirement?

PREVALENCE OF ASTROLOGY IN THE MODERN WEST

The Figures: Gallup Polls

- 'Do you **believe in Horoscopes?**' British adults of 14% in 1975 (Gallup 1976a: 2.1417) and 20% in 1978 (Gallup 1980: 329).
- 1975 'Do you believe in astrology **or not?**' 22% of American adults (Gallup 1978: 573).
- 'do you believe in astrology, or that the positions of the stars and planets **can affect** people's lives?' 23% 1995, 25% 1996 USA.
- (Note the conceptual problems with all these questions)

The Belief-Gap

- In 1977 Dean and Mather summarised previous surveys in the UK, Germany, France and the USA.
- They estimated that 70% of the adult population read horoscopes, while only 20% 'believe that there is something in it' (Dean and Mather 1977: 79, 83).

Belief as Shame

- Gustav Jahoda. When he considered the problems arising from direct questions concerning belief he observed that adherents of 'superstitious beliefs' in England 'are apt to be somewhat shamefaced about superstition and liable to deny holding any such beliefs when faced with a strange interviewer' (Jahoda 1969: 25-6).

Belief as Embarrassment

- Gillian Bennett on yes/no answers to questions of belief:
- respondents very often like to phrase their answers with a little face-saving ambiguity. In these circumstances, if they are pushed to say whether "I think there may be something in it" means "definitely yes" or "definitely no", they will probably say "no", even though that is far from their real opinion' (Bennett 1987: 27).

Serious and Non Serious Belief

- John Bauer and Martin Durant (1997) inferred levels of belief from the frequency with which their subjects read newspaper and magazine horoscopes:
- 'Serious believers' (read horoscopes often or fairly often and take them seriously or fairly seriously) 5%.
- 'Non serious believers' (read horoscopes often but take them not very seriously) 18%.
- 'Non serious believers' (read horoscopes fairly often but take them not very seriously) 21%.
- 'Non serious believers' (read horoscopes not very often and take them not very seriously) 29%

Readership of Horoscope columns

- Daily, weekly or monthly

- | FT | SR1 | SR2 | GC | AD | MJ |
|------|------|------|----|------|----|
| 70.6 | 77.1 | 87.7 | 62 | 86.9 | 62 |

- = around average

Do you believe in astrology?

•	FT	SR2	GC	MJ	AD
• Strong Belief	2	5.1	3.4	10.9	5.3
• Mod. Belief	21.6	37.3	27.6	58.7	57.9
• No Opinion	25.5	18.6	17.2	4.3	5.3
• Mod. Disbelief	27.5	27.1	31	13	15.8
• Strong Disbelief	23.5	10.2	17.2	0	10.5

Religious Affiliation

Table 3

•	FT	SR	GC	MJ	AD
• Christian[i]	41.1	40.7	96.5	34.8	36.9
• Atheist	23.5	8.5	3.4	8.7	0
• Pagan	0	8.5	0	15.2	10.5
• Spiritual	15.7	25.4	0	37	5.3
• Attend service	15.7	18.6	27.5	15.2	5.3
•					

[i]. Combining Protestant, Roman Catholic and Non-denominational Christian.

Behaviour

	FT	SR1	SR2	GC	MJ	AD
Find out sun-signs	45.1	62.5	52.5	17.2	67.4	57.9
Book: love/year ahead	31.4	64.6	49.2	17.2	59.4	63.2

Bath Spa Food Tehnology (FT) students: belief and behaviour

- 23.6% of FT students believe in astrology
- 32.4% of FT students will read a book about the sun-sign of a new boy/girlfriend
- 45% of FT students will find out the sun sign of a new boy/girlfriend

Bath Spa SR2 students: belief and behaviour

- 42.4% believe in astrology
- 49.2% will read a book about the sun-sign of a new boy/girlfriend
- 52.5% will find out the sun sign of a new boy/girlfriend
- = a good fit!

ASTROLOGERS ATTITUDES – DELEGATES AT ASTROLOGY CONFERENCES

Astrologers' Religious affiliation

Privatisation and Spirituality

Table 12.1 Astrologers' religious affiliation (1): author's data compared with Moore (1960) (M)

Religion	M 1960	N 1999	AA 1999		UAC 2002		AA 2011	
			Upb.	Cur.	Upb.	Cur.	Upb.	Cur.
a. Prot	74 30%	20 24%	75 47%	6 3.8%	67 44%	3 2%	32 42.1%	4 5.3%
b. RC	18 7%	See a	20 12.6%	8 5%	45 29.6%	9 5.9%	16 21%	4 5.3%
c. O	n/a	See a	0	0	0	0	0	0
d. NDC	11 4%	See a	23 14.5%	28 17.6%	12 7.9%	6 3.9%	9 10.5%	2 2.6%
e. Jew	3 1%	n/a	3 1.9%	3 1.9%	12 7.9%	7 4.6%	2 2.6%	0
f. M	n/a	n/a	0	0	1 0.6%	1 0.6%	0	0
g. B	7 3%	15 18%	0	5 3.1%	1 0.6%	5 3.2%	3 3.9%	6 7.9%
h. H	3 1%	9 11%	0	1 0.6%	0	2 1.3%	0	1 1.3%
i. P	n/a	18 22%	10 6%	12 7.5%	1 0.6%	11 7.2%	0	4 5.3%
j. Ag	n/a	3 3.6%	10 6.3%	12 7.5%	3 2%	11 7.2%	7 9.2%	4 5.3%
k. Ath	n/a	5 6%	3 1.9%	9 5.6%	3 2%	2 1.3%	1 1.3%	1 1.3%
l. Other	n/a	46 56%	3 1.9%	9 5.6%	7 4.6%	25 16.4%	6 7.9%	n/a
m. SNA	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	91 60%	n/a	45 60.5%

Table 12.2 Astrologers' religious affiliation (2): author's data from Serbia, Norway, Argentina and Brazil

Religion	Serbia 2001		Norway 2001		Argentina 2011		Brazil 2011	
	Upb.	Now	Upb.	Now	Upb.	Now	Upb.	Now
a. Prot	1 1%	0	21 70%	7 23.3%	1 1%	2 1.9%	4 4.8%	0
b. RC	16 16.7%	10 10.4%	2 6.7%	1 3.3%	69 65.7%	18 17.1%	54 65%	7 8.4%
c. NDC	21 21.9%	21 21.9%	5 16.7%	1 3.3%	12 11.4%	14 13.3%	9 10.8%	6 7.2%
d. O	31 32.3%	34 35.4%	0	0	0	0	0	0
e. Jew	3 3.1%	1 1%	0	0	6 5.7%	2 1.9%	4 4.8%	1 1.2%
f. M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
g. B	1 1%	2 2.1%	0	4 13.3%	1 1%	2 1.9%	2 2.4%	1 1.2%
h. H	0	1 1%	0	1 3.3%	0	0	1 1.2%	2 2.4%
i. P	0	1 1%	0	2 6.7%	0	0	1 1.2%	1 1.2%
j. Ag	2 2.1%	0	6 20%	3 10%	0	1 1%	0	2 2.4%
k. Ath	7 7.3%	4 4.2%	2 6.7%	0	8 8.4%	1 1%	1 1.2%	1 1.2%
l. Other	19 19.8%	21 21.9%	5 16.7%	14 46.7%	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
m. SNA	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	15 14.3%	63 60%	8 9.6%	56 67.5%

God, Prayer and the Goddess

Table 12.3 Astrologers' religious behaviour and attitudes (1): author's data compared with Moore (1960) (M)

	M 1960	N 1999	AA 1999	UAC 2002	ISAR 2003	AA 2011
Attends service regularly	n/a	n/a	15 9.4%	26 17.1%	n/a	8 10.5%
Believes in God	n/a	40 48.8%	42 26.4%	74 48.6%	n/a	16 21%
Believes in Goddess	n/a	29 35.4%	19 11.9%	36 23.6%	n/a	8 10.5%
Believes in Supreme Consciousness	n/a	46 56.1%	83 52.2%	74 48.6%	n/a	52 68.4%
Personal God who answers prayer	n/a	36 43.9%	35 22%	58 38.2%	23 51.1%	17 22.4%
Astrology influenced by religion	27 10%	20 24.3%	52 32.7%	58 38.2%	n/a	17 22.4%
Believes in reincarnation	186 74%*	62 75.6%	164 78%	125 82.2%	n/a	53 69.7%
Believes in law of karma	n/a	64 78%	101 63.5%	119 78.2%	n/a	44 57.9%

Note: *Moore, *Astrology Today*, p. 123.

Table 12.4 Astrologers' religious behaviour and attitudes (2): author's data from Serbia, Norway, Argentina and Brazil

	Serbia 2001	Norway 2001	Argentina 2011	Brazil 2011
Attends service regularly	8 8.3%	6 20%	18 17.1%	30 36.1%
Believes in God	35 36.5%	17 56.7%	49 46.7%	39 47%
Believes in Goddess	4 4.2%	6 20%	2 1.9%	3 3.6%
Believes in Supreme Consciousness	53 55.2%	19 63.3%	58 55.2%	46 55.4%
Personal God who answers prayer	18 18.7%	15 50%	37 35.2%	45 54.2%
Astrology influenced by religion	11 11.5%	12 40%	6 5.7%	22 26.5%
Believes in reincarnation	43 44.8%	29 96.7%	66 62.8%	63 75.9%
Believes in law of karma	61 63.5%	19 63.3%	73 68.5%	40 48.2%

Religion

v

Spirituality

Table 12.5 Astrologers' definitions of astrology (1)

Definition	N 1999	AA 1999	UAC 2001	AA 2011
A science	36 43.9%	39 24.5%	55 36.1%	35 46%
A divine science*	44 53.6%	67 42%	79 52%	33 43.4%
A psychological tool*	64 78%	103 64.8%	92 60.5%	67 88.2%
A form of divination	32 39%	53 33.3%	61 40.1%	55 72.4%
A religion	10 12.2%	11 6.9%	12 7.9%	6 7.9%
A path to spiritual growth*	64 78%	105 66%	85 55.9%	61 80.3%
A form of counselling*	68 82.9%	92 57.8%	99 65.1%	64 84.2%
A healing art*	58 70.9%	85 53.4%	88 57.9%	59 77.6%
A means of predicting the future	36 43.9%	67 42%	66 43.4%	48 63.2%

Note: Asterisks indicate questions which reflect Rudhyar's influence.

Table 12.6 Astrologers' definitions of astrology (2)

Definition	Serbia 2001	Norway 2001	Argentina 2011	Brazil 2011
A science	84 87.5%	17 56.7%	83 79%	46 55.4%
A divine science*	62 64.6%	21 70%	44 41.9%	42 50.6%
A psychological tool*	77 80.2%	25 83.3%	91 86.7%	70 84.3%
A form of divination	70 72.9%	20 66.7%	16 15.2%	20 24.1%
A religion	14 14.6%	3 10%	2 1.9%	1 1.2%
A path to spiritual growth*	91 94.8%	25 83.3%	93 88.6%	73 87.9%
A form of counselling*	89 92.7%	23 76.6%	93 88.6%	71 85.5%
A healing art*	56 58.3%	23 76.6%	82 78.1%	54 65.1%
A means of predicting the future	85 88.5%	17 56.6%	68 65%	53 63.8%