

Hephaestio and the Consecration of Statues

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Abstract

In this article, we comment on Hephaestio III, 7.16-18, a text detailing the astrological instructions for consecrating the statues of the gods. The association of gods and goddesses with different zodiacal signs are shown to be not random, but rather the result of a long tradition based on the relationship between the zodiacal signs and their respective planetary gods. To the associations taken from the astrological doctrine on houses, triplicities and exaltations Hephaestio (or the tradition he summarises) adds those of mythology, religion and astronomy, taking into account planets, aspects and both zodiacal constellations and paranatellonta. The relevant texts of Hephaestio and other authors are presented in an Appendix, together with an English translation by Dorian Gieseler Greenbaum.

Introduction

Among other surprises that Hephaestio's *Apotelesmatica* offers to researchers in ancient religion is the text we are discussing in this article (III, 7.16-18). It deals with astrological recommendations to be borne in mind by temple priests when making and/or consecrating (temples and) statues of gods.

This is one of several instances in which we see astrology encroaching upon the field of religious ritual,¹ giving us a chance to reflect on the link

¹ Different examples concerning the link between astrology and ancient religion have been treated in A. Pérez Jiménez, 'Prescrizioni astrologiche relative alla prassi religiosa', in G. Sfameni Gasparro, *Modi di comunicazione tra il divino e l'umano* (Edizioni Lionello Giordano, Cosenza, 2005), pp. 151-90, an article that ends (pp. 177-82) with a first approach to the theme we will deal with here in more depth. I thank the editors for the improvement of my English text and Dorian Gieseler Greenbaum for help with doctrinal matters and the English translation.

between certain Hellenistic Greek/Egyptian gods and planets and zodiacal signs.

Of course, the ceremony of making or consecrating statues of gods and goddesses is nearly as old as religious worship itself. With regard to Greece Plato, in the *Protagoras*,² attributes the building of altars and statues of gods by men to their *συγγένεια* with them. No doubt ritual customs come from archaic and classical times or even from protohistory. But astrological claims for taking part in this field of religion get underway in the Hellenistic Egyptian world, as our related texts demonstrate. In fact, when Porphyry expounds his opinions about the nature of ancient gods according to their iconographic representations, he does so by referring to Egyptian images. Also Julian of Laodicea, in a text that has much to do with Hephaestio's passage, refers to 'the enigmatic contrivances'³ of the Egyptians, in a context that immediately follows his reference to the statues of 'Zeus with the face of a ram' (Ζεὺς κριοπρόσωπος, i.e. Ammon) 'and Isis with the head of a cow or in the shape of a lion' (Ἴσις βουκέφαλος or λεοντομόρφος). But the text we have at hand is more explicit since it bears on the specific activity of consecrating statues, and begins by referring to ancient instructions given by learned Egyptians, perhaps by astrologers working in Hermes Trismegistus's and Nechepso-Petosiris's times: 'as the wise Egyptians and the rest of the ancients have handed down' according to Dorian Gieseler Greenbaum's translation.⁴

It is clear that astrology had already made inroads as well into temple activity throughout the first years of the Roman Empire, a period when Emperors' astrologers were so influential.⁵ A passage from Dorotheus

² *Prtg.* 322a: Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος θείας μετέσχε μοίρας, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συγγένειαν ζῶν μόνον θεοῦς ἐνόμισεν, καὶ ἐπεχείρει βωμούς τε ἰδρύεσθαι καὶ ἀγάλματα θεῶν. 'And now that man was partaker of a divine portion, he, in the first place, by his nearness of kin to deity, was the only creature that worshipped gods, and set himself to establish altars and holy images.' (Translation W. R. M. Lamb)

³ σοφίσματα αἰνιγματώδη (*CCAG* 8/4, 1922, p. 252.20). For some of the texts (including this one) discussed in this article, see the **Appendix** following.

⁴ καθὼς οἱ σοφοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀρχαῖοι παραδεδώκασιν (*Heph.* III, 7.13 = p. 258.18-19 Pingree).

⁵ Cf. in particular F. H. Cramer, *Astrology in Roman Law and Politics* (Philadelphia, 1954, repr. 1996), pp. 81-283; J.-P. Martin, *Providentia deorum*.

alludes to the astrological conditions under which priests ‘in charge of consecrating statues’ (ἀγαλμάτων καθιδρυσταί) are born, making their nativities the result of Saturn’s and Mercury’s influence, with either planet being in a term or house of the other.⁶ Two centuries later Vettius Valens warns against the activity of consecrating temples or sacred objects (the Greek term ἱερά is ambiguous, but obviously includes statues) if the Moon is in eclipse positions (i.e., in contact with the Ascending or Descending Node).⁷ With this warning in mind, which stresses the importance of the Moon in rituals consecrating cultural objects, let us to go directly to the matter at hand.

Signs suitable for consecrating statues

The passage we propose to analyse here, namely Hephaestio, III, 7.16-18, appears within a list of gods whose statues are recommended to be made or consecrated when the Moon is in specific zodiacal signs (see **Figure 1**). The agreement of some of these divinities with others that are named as decans in Cosmas of Jerusalem’s *Commentary* to Gregorius’ poetry⁸ (see **Figure 2**), led Wilhelm Gundel⁹ to consider Hephaestio’s text to be part of an ancient Decan List whose origin, according to Franz Cumont, could be Teucer of Babylon.¹⁰ Of course, there are obvious coincidences

Recherches sur certains aspects religieux du pouvoir imperial Romain (Rome, 1982); and B. Bakhouché, *L’astrologie à Rome* (Louvain-Paris, 2002), pp. 167-200.

⁶ Ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐν οἴκοις Κρόνου ἢ ὀρίοις... μύστας, ἀγαλμάτων καθιδρυτάς ἢ ἀστρολόγους οἰωνιστάς· τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ Κρόνος ἐν ὀρίοις Ἑρμοῦ (p. 359 Pingree).

⁷ Vett. Val., V, 2.24-25 (= p. 202.25-28 Pingree). οὐδὲ μὴν τῷ θεῷ θύειν καὶ ἱερά καθιδρύειν χρήσιμον· οὔτε γὰρ εὐχαὶ συντελεσθήσονται οὔτε θεὸς θρησκευθήσεται, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἀργὸν καὶ ἄπρακτον διαφημισθήσεται καὶ οἱ ὀμνόντες ἐπιπορήσουσι καὶ αἱ πίστεις οὐ συντελεσθήσονται.

⁸ *Ad carmina S. Gregorii*, Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* XXXVIII, col. 461 (= CCAG 8/3, pp. 120-22). See **Appendix**.

⁹ *Dekane und Dekansterbilder. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Sternbilder der Kulturvölker* (Glückstadt, 1936, repr. Darmstadt, 1969) [hereafter Gundel, *Dekane*], pp. 73-74.

¹⁰ CCAG 8/3, p. 120: Fontem huius loci, ubi astrologia cum paganorum religione arcte coniuncta est, Teucrum Babylonium esse suspicor, quem de decanis et de

between both lists, but Hephaestio's reflects actual religious practice more closely than do the philosophical divinities of Cosmas' account. The nature and possible origin for some of these names in ancient Egyptian decans and their link with the respective zodiacal signs have been well explained by Cumont and Gundel.¹¹ As for Hephaestio's list, which belongs more to the field of astrological practice, there are some interesting features:

- In agreement with other indications expounded in Julian of Laodicea's text, the majority of the statues of goddesses are linked to female signs, and those of gods to male ones.¹² In this way, the Mother of the Gods is placed in Taurus and Capricorn; Demeter and Kore in Taurus and Virgo; The Graces in Taurus and Pisces; Nike in Cancer and Virgo; Tyche in Cancer, Scorpio, Capricorn and Pisces; and Nemesis in Capricorn. On the other hand, the consecration of a statue of Heracles is recommended when the Moon is in Gemini and Leo, Sarapis in Leo and Sagittarius, Asclepius in Sagittarius, Osiris in Aquarius and Eros in Libra. Concerning Dionysus, only female signs (Virgo and Capricorn) are proposed for his statue, but other related texts, for example Porphyry's *De statuis*, stress the feminine features of the god, such as his link with Persephone (an hypostasis of Virgo) by means of their horns (do not forget that Kore is also an hypostasis of the Moon).¹³
- Except for an unnamed ascription of Tyche to Scorpio (since it belongs to the Moon's triplicity) this sign does not appear in Hephaestio's list. This detail partially agrees with Julian's warning

decanorum figuris disseruisse scimus (see also *CCAG* 7, p. 193; cf. infra p. 122, n.2).

¹¹ F. Cumont, *CCAG* 8/3, pp. 121-122; Gundel, *Dekane*, pp. 71-81.

¹² *CCAG* 8/4, p. 252: ἰδρύσεις δὲ θεῶν γινέσθωσαν, θηλειῶν μὲν Σελήνης ἐν τῇ θεᾷ οὐσης καὶ ἐν θηλυκῷ καὶ στερεῷ ζῳδίῳ... ('Let the setting up [erecting divine images] of female gods be done when the Moon is in the Goddess, in a feminine and solid [fixed] sign...').

¹³ Cf. Porph. *Περὶ ἀγαλμάτων* 7: ὁ δὲ Διόνυσος κοινὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν Κόρην ἔχει τὰ κέρατα, ἔστι δὲ θηλύμορφος, μηνύων τὴν περὶ τὴν γένεσιν τῶν ἀκροδρύων ἀρρενόθηλον δύναμιν. 'And Dionysus has horns in common with Kore, and is of female form, indicating the union of male and female forces in the generation of the hard shelled fruits.' (Translation Edwin Hamilton Gifford)

about statues of goddesses: ‘But do not let them be set up when in Scorpio alone’.¹⁴ This proscription could have to do with the negative influences of Mars. In Julian’s text the prohibition concerns Scorpio only on the basis of context, since the astrologer is dealing here with statues of goddesses and female signs. In Hephaestio’s text we can see also that Aries, the night house of Mars according to Ptolemy, is excluded from consecrating statues when the Moon is placed in this sign.

Other reasons justifying the consecration of one or another statue when the Moon is in certain signs could be classified respectively as explicit, implicit and aleatory.

Explicit reasons

Hephaestio’s text tells us the suitable moments for the consecration of the statues of planetary gods:

- When the planets are in their astrological houses and exaltations: ‘Indeed to prepare in an auspicious manner when they are in both exaltations and houses...’.¹⁵
- When they are in their own triplicity: ‘[One must] make ready and dedicate each of the sacred objects and statues appropriately when the Moon is in the trigon [triplicity] of Jupiter and Jupiter is also harmonious in relation to her, that is in the same trigon, and the Sun is figured likewise, and Saturn is likewise in his own trigon.’¹⁶

Both conditions have a direct applicability to planetary gods whose names are not included in our diagram (**Figure 1**) nor, indeed, are they in Hephaestio’s catalogue of gods and signs. Of course, any competent astrologer knows what planetary houses, exaltations and triplicities are. But these will become implicit reasons applicable to other gods, e.g. (and

¹⁴ CCAG 8/4, p. 252.8: ἐν μόνῳ δὲ Σκορπίῳ μὴ ἕστωσαν.

¹⁵ III, 7.15 (= p. 259.3-4 Pingree): ἔτι μὴν καὶ ὄντων αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ὑψώμασί τε καὶ οἴκοις κατασκευάζειν αἴσιον....

¹⁶ III, 7.14 (= p. 258.22-259.1 Pingree): ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἀγαλμάτων κατασκευάζειν καὶ ἱεροῦν σύμφορον ἐν τῷ τριγῶνῳ τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τῆς Σελήνης οὔσης καὶ τοῦ Διὸς συμφώνου πρὸς αὐτὴν ὄντος, τουτέστιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τριγῶνῳ, καὶ Ἡλίου ὁμοίως ἐσηματισμένου, τοῦ δὲ Κρόνου ὁμοίως τυγχάνοντος ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τριγῶνῳ.

as we will see later) Sarapis or Osiris, which oriental religions have assimilated to Zeus and the Sun. In any case, neither triplicity nor house is a feature exclusive to the planetary gods but can also be applied to the others. In this way, i.e. by means of the trine (trigonal) aspect, could be explained, for example, the association of *Demeter – Kore – Plutos* to Taurus (in trine with Virgo);¹⁷ and by house, the association of *Asclepius – Hygieia* to Pisces and Sagittarius (both Pisces and Sagittarius are houses of Jupiter).

Implicit reasons

It is reasonable to suppose that the attribution of these gods to different zodiacal signs relies on the following grounds:

I. Religious or astrological associations of the god or goddess with the planetary god to whom the relative sign belongs, whether by house, exaltation or triplicity:

- Eros and the *Charites* (Graces) are related to Taurus, Libra and Pisces, the domiciles and exaltation of Venus, because they are closely bound to the goddess of love and beauty.¹⁸ Indeed, in regard to Eros (according to the *Liber Hermetis*), the 1st to the 8th degrees of Taurus (exactly Venus's terms) are called *Cupido*.¹⁹ As for the

¹⁷ The importance of the doctrine of aspects and in particular of the trinal rapport between zodiacal signs has been stressed and well employed by J. Abry in her reconstruction of the divine tutelages of the Zodiac (see her 'Astrologie et mythologie: les tutelées zodiacales', in *Homo Mathematicus*, eds A. Pérez Jiménez and R. Caballero [Málaga, 2002] [hereafter Abry, 'Tutelées'], pp. 73-92, here pp. 77-79).

¹⁸ Astrologers calculate the Lot of Eros by computing the degrees from the (Lot of) Daimon to Venus for day natiivities and *vice versa* for night natiivities (cf. Paulus Alex., p. 47 Boer).

¹⁹ *LH XXV 2.9* (= *XXV 2.27-29 Feraboli*): A primo enim usque ad octauum sunt termini Veneris et vocatur Cupido, quia in huiusmodi ascendente fiunt amatores puritatis, musici alacres. De trig. sex decan. Cf. Critod., *CCAG 8/1*, p. 258: ἀπὸ μοίρας α' ἕως η' ὄρια Ἀφροδίτης· ἔρωσ, φιλοκαθάριοι, εὔμουσοι, ἐπιχαρεῖς. (these are also Venus's terms, which justifies the same name for Aries 7°-12° in *XXV 1.54-56 Feraboli* and perhaps – although displaced – for the inclusion of Eros as the third decan in Cosmas' list (see **Figure 1**): A septimo gradu usque ad duodecimum sunt termini Veneris; uocatur Cupido. Facit amicitias et amplexus erga egregias mulieres. Cf. Critod., *CCAG 8/1*, p. 258: ἀπὸ μοίρας ζ' ἕως ιβ' ὄρια

Graces, Hephaestio's text agrees with Cosmas' decans, where Χάρις appears as the first decan in Taurus.

- The same reasoning applies for Nemesis being related to Capricorn, Aquarius and Libra, which are the domiciles and exaltation of Saturn. In this case, the link between Nemesis and Saturn is well documented in astrological texts;²⁰ this is the reason why the Lot of Nemesis is computed from Saturn to the Lot of Fortune by day or *vice versa* by night.²¹ Concerning Libra (the exaltation of Saturn), the balance is associated with Nemesis as representative of Justice,²² and the goddess appears in Cosmas' list as the third decan in that sign.
- As Nemesis is associated with Kronos, so Nike (Victory) is associated with Zeus; this explains her place in Cancer, whose 15th degree is the exaltation of Jupiter.²³ Astrological treatises are rich in examples giving evidence of this association but, as in the above cases, proof of it is provided by the Lot of Nike, measured from the Lot of Daemon to Jupiter or *vice versa*.²⁴ Another proof is the fact

Ἀφροδίτης· ἔρωσ, φιλία καὶ συμπλοκαὶ πρὸς ὑπερεχούσας γυναῖκας. Kamat., 275-276: ἔρωσ τε καὶ ὑψώματα καὶ ἄνεσις καλοῦνται. ἔχει φιλίας, συμπλοκάς πρὸς ἐνδόξους γυναῖκας).

²⁰ Vett. Val., I, 1.16: ἔστι δὲ (sc. ὁ τοῦ Κρόνου) Νεμέσεως ἀστήρ... Cf. Achill., *isag.* 17, p. 43 Maas, Abum., *De rev. nat.*, App. II, p. 245.10, Hephaest., III, 7.16 (see W. Hübner, *Grade und Bezirke der Tierkreiszeichen. De anonyme Traktat De stellis fixis, in quibus gradibus oriuntur signorum. Quellenkritische Edition mit Kommentar* [2 vols, Stuttgart/ Leipzig, 1995] [hereafter Hübner, *Grade*], vol. II, pp. 174, 192).

²¹ Cf. Paulus Alexandrinus (p. 49 Boer): Ἐβδομος κλῆρος τῆς Νεμέσεως, δὲν ἀριθμήσεις ἐπὶ ἡμερινῶν γενέσεων ἀπὸ Κρόνου ἐπὶ κλῆρον Τύχης, καὶ τὰ ἴσα ἀπὸ ὠροσκόπου· ἐπὶ δὲ νυκτὸς τὸ ἀνάπαλι.

²² For the association between Nemesis as Dike and Libra, cf. R. Merkelbach, *Isis regina – Zeus Sarapis* (Stuttgart/Leipzig, 1995) [hereafter Merkelbach, *Isis-Sarapis*], p. 229-230.

²³ Furthermore, Jupiter is one of the tutelary gods of Cancer, as Vettius Valens says: Ἄρεως, Ἑρμοῦ, Διός, Πανός, Ἀφροδίτης (I, 2.34 = p. 8.20 Pingree) and as such appears in rustic menologies: *Iulius... Cancro tutela Iovis* (CIL I¹, p. 280; cf. Abry, 'Tutelles', p. 82, n. 26).

²⁴ Cf. Paulus Alexandrinus (p. 49 Boer): Ἐκτος κλῆρος τῆς Νίκης, δὲν ἀριθμήσεις τοῖς μὲν ἡμέρας γενομένοις ἀπὸ κλήρου Δαίμονος ἐπὶ μοῖραν Διός, καὶ τὰ ἴσα ἀπὸ ὠροσκόπου, τοῖς δὲ νυκτὸς τὸ ἀνάπαλι.

that Jupiter's terms in Aquarius are called Νίκη by Critodemus.²⁵ The link appears also in the list of Cosmas, where Nike is the first decan of Cancer. Something similar can be said for the position of Sarapis (and indirectly also of Asclepius-Hygieia) in Sagittarius and that of Osiris (identified by the Egyptians with the planet Jupiter, as Achilles Tatius points out)²⁶ in Pisces, both the houses of Jupiter. Concerning these cases, however, there are other stronger and more acceptable reasons, as we shall explain below.

- As regards the statues of Tyche, Hephaestio specifies that 'one must consecrate Fortune when the Moon is in her own trigon, and also Aphrodite; and if [they are or she (the Moon) is] in Capricorn and Cancer, it is suitable'. Since the Greek text – ἀφιερῶν δὲ Τύχην χρῆ τῆς Σελήνης οὐσης ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τριγῶνῳ καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, καὶ ἐν Αἰγοκέρῳτι δὲ καὶ Καρκίνῳ εὐθετον – is ambiguous (as the English translation also reveals), I propose the following interpretation:
 - a) The consecration of a statue of Fortune may be done, as one would expect, when the Moon is in Cancer, Pisces or Scorpio, i.e. in the signs of her triplicity.
 - b) Venus must also be in her own triplicity, i.e. in Taurus, Virgo or Capricorn.
 - c) If we combine the last phrase like this: ...Ἀφροδίτης, καὶ ἐν Αἰγοκέρῳτι δὲ καὶ Καρκίνῳ εὐθετον, we have to interpret that the consecration is more suitable when the Moon is in Cancer and Venus in Capricorn.
 - d) But it would also be possible to interpret this last phrase as saying it is a good time for consecration when the Moon is in Cancer (her own domicile) or in Capricorn, a sign belonging to Venus's triplicity. In this case, the link between Tyche and Capricorn would have nothing to do with Venus and they must have another connection, as we will see below.

Of course, Tyche in ancient astrology mimics the features of the Moon; in this way, she is considered by the astrologer Antiochus to be

²⁵ ἀπὸ μοίρας ἰδ' ἕως κ' ὄρια Διός. νίκη, ἐπίσημοι, λαμπροὶ ταῖς τύχαις· ἐκ κακοπαθειῶν, τινὲς καὶ ἱερονίκα. (Critod., 11.3 Hübner); *CCAG* 8/1, p. 260.23-24.

²⁶ *Isag.* 17, p. 43 Maas: δεύτερος ὁ τοῦ Διὸς καθ' Ἑλληνας Φαέθων, κατὰ δὲ Αἰγυπτίους Ὀσίριδος ἀστήρ.

the luck of the universe,²⁷ and her lot is calculated using the Sun and Moon, as is well known.²⁸ The reference to Venus – and not to Jupiter, the other benefic – is due to the fact that

a) Venus is, as the Moon (Selene) and Tyche are in Greek culture, a female planet which represents women; additionally, the Moon is the symbol of motherhood;

b) but it is also important that Venus is linked to the Moon's triplicity, inasmuch as it has its astrological exaltation in Pisces;

c) indeed Manilius, when ascribing the Medium Caelum to Venus, gives – as did Thrasyllus – the name *Fortuna* to this place,²⁹ which no doubt has to do with the name Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη / *Bona Fortuna* (Good Fortune) being reserved for Venus's place, the fifth, in the writings of other astrologers.

Nevertheless, there remains a problem, which we have indicated in **Figure 1** with a question mark. This concerns the ascription of Tyche to Scorpio, a sign that also belongs to the Moon's triplicity. However, as we have seen, there was a prohibition against consecrating statues of female gods when Moon is in Scorpio (no doubt because of the malignity of Mars, and also perhaps because the Moon is in fall in Scorpio). In this case, we must understand that the general rule does not include Scorpio, or that there are other reasons making an exception for Tyche possible. Among them we could list the effects of Fortune attributed by the *Liber Hermetis* to Mars's terms in Scorpio,³⁰

²⁷ CCAG 1, p. 148.13-14: λέγομεν εἶναι τὴν Σελήνην τύχην τοῦ παντός.

²⁸ Cf. Paulus Alex., p. 47 Boer. Furthermore, on p. 49 Boer, Paulus says that τῆ φύσει ἡ μὲν Σελήνη Τύχη καθέστηκε.

²⁹ Man., 2.926-927: *haec tutela decet Venerem, sua tela mouere. / Nomen erit Fortuna loco...* Thrasyllus in CCAG 8/3, p. 101.26-27: τὸ ἴ δὲ, ὃ καὶ μεσουράνημά ἐστιν, τύχην ἔλεγεν (sc. Hermes Trismegistus). See W. Hübner, *Die Dodekatropos des Manilius (Manil. 2, 856-970)* (Stuttgart, 1995) [hereafter Hübner, *Die Dodekatropos*], pp. 64-65; and Hübner, *Grade*, II, p. 173.

³⁰ XXV 8.8 (XXV 8.15 Feraboli): *Septimus gradus facit claros fortuna...* and XXV 8.9 (XXV 8.18-20 Feraboli): *A primo enim usque ad septimum sunt termini Martis; ... facit autem acutos natura et fortuna.*

and the name Τύχη applied by Critodemus to Venus's terms (8th-11th degrees) in this sign.³¹

Concerning the connection with Capricorn, this could be due to the linking of Selene (and other divinities) to this sign, as we read, for example, in Vettius Valens,³² or perhaps to the *paranatellonta*, as will be pointed out later.

- The next planetary association we have to deal with refers to Heracles, Sarapis and Leo. The reasons, though different, are clear. Heracles is an analogue for the Sun (whose domicile is Leo) who must perform twelve works yearly (as the Greek hero did) through the zodiacal circle (so the allegorists say).³³ And Sarapis is not only a syncretic form of Zeus (to whose triplicity Leo belongs, and under whose guardianship, together with that of the Mother of the Gods, Manilius puts the sign),³⁴ but also of Helios/Osiris; as such he is also seen as the god that brings about the flooding of the Nile, according to Merkelbach's astral interpretation of the *Tazza Farnese*.³⁵ For this

³¹ Critod., 8.2 Hübner: ἀπὸ μοίρας ἡ' ἕως ια' ὄρια Ἀφροδίτης· Τύχη. Relying on this text, Hübner, *Grade*, I p.198, proposes to supply the lack of Venus's terms in the *Liber Hermetis* as follows: <*ab octavo gradu usque ad undecium sunt termini Veneris, vocatur Fortuna...*> (cf. Hübner, *Grade*, II, p. 173). On the other hand, we must not forget that, according to Teucer, Scorpio was the Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη at the κόσμου γένησις (*CCAG* 7, p. 205). Cf. Kamat., *Introd. in astr.* 1045.

³² I, 2.63 (= p. 11.9-10 Pingree): εἰσὶ δὲ θεοὶ Ἀφροδίτη, Σελήνη, Δημήτηρ, Ἑρμῆς.

³³ Cf., for example, Porph., *De statuis* 8.

³⁴ 2.441: *Iuppiter, et cum matre deum regis ipse Leonem*. For the association between Leo and Jupiter, the king of gods, see also Feraboli, I, 1996, pp. 326-327.

³⁵ See R. Merkelbach, 'Die Tazza Farnese, die Gestirne der Nilflut und Eratosthenes', *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* (1973), vol. 99, pp. 116-27. The cult of Sarapis was established at Alexandria as the official state cult of the Ptolemies. Through its auspices Osiris, the Egyptian god of the underworld, assimilated aspects of many of the great Greek gods, including Hades, Zeus, Asclepius, Dionysus and Helios. Thus in Roman times he was the chief god of the Egyptian pantheon. The bust of Sarapis has been found on Domitian's tetradrachms for year 8 and on his bronze coinage for years 2 through 8. For the identification Zeus-Sarapis and Helios-Sarapis, see R. Merkelbach, *Isis-Sarapis*, pp. 78-79.

reason it is noteworthy that among Cosmas's decans, Sarapis figures beside Isis as, respectively, the third and second decan of Leo.

- And finally, Plutos and Virgo: We can understand the position of Wealth in Mercurius' house, considering that this god is the patron of merchants and bankers; but, as we will see below, there are other reasons to explain the link with Virgo as well as with Taurus.

2. *Association of the god or goddess to mythological, religious and astrological history; or to the features of the zodiacal sign.*

- The place of Demeter in Virgo is due to the astral representations of this sign which relate *Spica*³⁶ to Demeter. Of course, the other divinities – Kore and Plutos – form a group with her, as her children. The trine aspect could explain the ascription of the group to Taurus also, though no doubt there are other complementary reasons, one of which being that Demeter is associated with this sign by Manilius and (among other divinities) by Vettius Valens;³⁷ and another, that she can be linked to the spring fixed sign (Taurus) because of her features as a goddess of earth and abundance, assisted in this function by Plutos.
- The relationship between Nike and Virgo has to do with her link to Dike (a personification of the sign) or with her association with the victorious Athena who also appears as a representative of Virgo.³⁸ In fact, the *Liber Hermetis* and Teucer associate some degrees of this sign to victory.³⁹
- Concerning Heracles and Gemini, the connection is supported by the name of one of the stars in the constellation, called 'Heracles'

³⁶ Cf. Arat., *Phaen.* 97: Παρθένον, ἥ ῥ' ἐν χειρὶ φέρει Στάχυν αἰγλήεντα; Maximus, 219, 291, 553; Manetho, II [I] 134; and Hyginus, III 24.

³⁷ Man., 1.442: *spicifera est Virgo Cereris...*; Vet. Val., I, 2.12 (= p. 6.28 Pingree) Ἀφροδίτης, Σελήνης, Δήμητρος ἐστίν, Ἄρεως, Ἑρμοῦ.

³⁸ For Nike-Virgo, see H.-G. Gundel and R. Böker, 'Zodiakos', in *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, X, 1 (Munich, 1972), col. 545.

³⁹ *LH XXV 6.29 (XXV 6.69-71 Feraboli):* Vicesimus octauus gradus, qui est in stella splendida, est inaquosus et caliginosus et grandinosus et uentosus; locus iste significat uictorem in rebus agendis. Teuc. II, 6.9 Hübner: ὁ βουκέφαλος [ὁ ἔχων τὸ ἄροτρον] σημαίνει τὸν νικητὴν.

according to many astrological texts, including the *Tetrabiblos*.⁴⁰ In fact, the constellation has been represented as Apollo and Heracles, as we read in Hyginus and other astrological texts.⁴¹ Vettius Valens perhaps is also thinking of this association when he relates the hero and Apollo (among other gods) to the sign.⁴²

- As for the attribution of the Mother of the Gods to the animal signs Leo, Taurus and Capricorn, this is due, of course, to the Phrygian Cybele and her traditional entourage of animals.⁴³
- Finally, there are other explanations for the association of Osiris-Pisces, as we have said before. Indeed, there are many features in the history of Osiris, Isis and Seth that correspond to the tale of Aphrodite fleeing from Typhon and being saved by the fishes, a zodiacal sign that is worthy of being the exaltation of Venus. Of course, Osiris's link to Pisces is justifiable by the mythical history of

⁴⁰ Ptol., *Tetrab.* I, 9.4 (= p. 48 Robbins): τῶν δὲ ἐν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς (τῶν Διδύμων) δύο λαμπρῶν ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ προηγουμένῃ τῷ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ, καλεῖται δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὁ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπομένῃ τῷ τοῦ Ἄρεως, καλεῖται δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλέους. ('Of the two bright stars in the heads (of Gemini), the one in the head in advance the same as Mercury; it is also called the star of Apollo; the one in the head that follows, the same as Mars; it is also called the star of Hercules', translation of F. E. Robbins = Hephaest., I 40). Cf. the Calendar (I A.D.) in *CCAG* 9/1, p. 133 for the 22nd May: ὁ τῶν Διδύμων νότιος Ἡρακλῆς ἐπιτέλλει.

⁴¹ Hyg., *Astron.* 2.22; cf. *CCAG* 5, p. 188 and F. Boll, *Sphaera. Neue Griechische Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Sternbilder* (Leipzig, 1903) [hereafter Boll, *Sphaera*], p. 480.

⁴² Vet. Val., I, 2.29 (= p. 8.9-10 Pingree): σύνεισι δὲ αὐτοῖς θεοὶ Ἀπόλλων, Ἡρακλῆς, Ἡφαιστος, Ἡρα, Κρόνος.

⁴³ Manilius links the Mother of the Gods to Leo (*Astron.* 2.441 and 4.759-761, *Mater Idaea*; see S. Feraboli, *Manilio. Il poema degli astri (Astronomica)* vol. II, eds R. Scarcia, E. Flores and S. Feraboli (Milan, 2001) [hereafter Feraboli, *Manilio*], II, p. 414; Abry, 'Tutelles', p. 79) and, according to Firmicus, the position of the Moon in *cauda Leonis* makes *matris deorum tympanis servientes* (7, 25.14); also the *Phrygii Tibicines* that the *Liber Hermetis* and Teucer link to Leo (*ab undecimo gradu usque ad duodecesimum sunt Phrygii Tibicines*, *LH XXV* 5.12 (XXV 5.34-35 Feraboli) & Teucer II, 5.5 Hübner: οἱ Φρύγιοι ἀλλοὶ μεγάλων ἐλπίδων ἀστοχίας could have to do with this association (cf. Hübner, *Grade*, II, p. 209 & Abry, 'Tutelles', pp. 77, 79). Ptol., *Tetr.* 2, 3.38 links the Mother of Gods with Venus (which can be an additional reason for the relationship of the Goddess and Taurus) and Adonis with Mars.

the god and the sign. Furthermore, his association to Pisces could be related to his Egyptian identification with the planet Jupiter (whose astrological house is this sign), as Achilles Tatius points out,⁴⁴ but also because of the influence of the Typhon-Aphrodite tale, in which the sign had a significant role, and that of Seth-Isis/Osiris. In any case, the aquatic nature of Pisces (as that of Aquarius) and of Osiris, who represents the Nile, well explains the relationship of this god to both signs.⁴⁵ On the other hand, this association may be due to the role of Osiris as god of the dead and to the νεκρῶδες (deadly) nature of both signs, which are called νεκρομάνταις (creating necromancers) by Ptolemy.⁴⁶

3. Association of the god or goddess to the mythological or religious personality of other fixed stars related as paranatellonta to the zodiacal sign:

⁴⁴ Cf. *supra*, n. 26.

⁴⁵ Cf. Porph., *Περὶ ἀγαμάτων* 10: Ὅσιρις ἐστὶν ὁ Νεῖλος, ὃν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταφέρεσθαι οἴονται. On the other hand, Aquarius appears in Denderah and other Egyptian pictures as a god of the Nile (cf. F. Boll and W. Gundel, ‘Sternbilder’, in *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, ed. W. H. Roscher [vol. 6, Leipzig, 1924-1937], cols. 975-976 [Nachträge]). Furthermore the link of Osiris-Pisces is documented in zodiacal representations of Greco-Roman Egypt, e.g. on the porch of the temple of Esneh, where a figure like Osiris appears beside the two fishes.

⁴⁶ Tetrab. 4, 4.10. Along these lines, see W. Hübner, *Die Eigenschaften der Tierkreiszeichen in der Antike. Ihre Darstellung und Verwendung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Manilius* (Wiesbaden, 1982) [hereafter Hübner, *Die Eigenschaften*], pp. 201, 205 & 285; and *idem*, ‘Ἰχθῶς-PISCIS. Der singularische Gebrauch des Namens der zodiacalen Fische im Griechischen und Lateinischen’, in *SIC ITUR AD ASTRA. Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik und Naturwissenschaften*, Menso Folkerts und Richard Lorch, eds (Wiesbaden, 2000) [hereafter Hübner, ‘Piscis’], pp. 266-284, here p. 275. We must remember, on the other hand, the rapport between the Crocodile of the Egyptian ‘dodekaoros’ and the second or third decan of Pisces in Teucer II, 12.9 (cf. Hübner, ‘Piscis’, p. 274); furthermore, Osiris was worshipped as a crocodile (Boll, *Sphaera*, p. 322).

- This is also the case with Heracles-Gemini, as is well known and can be found in Teucer and the *Liber Hermetis*.⁴⁷
- Concerning Dionysus-Virgo, the link can be justified by the appearance in Virgo of the *Vindemiator*⁴⁸ and, according to a version that Manilius follows, of Ariadne's Crown (*Corona Ariadnae*),⁴⁹ a fact that has contributed to the association of Crater to Bacchus.⁵⁰ As for the link of Dionysus-Capricorn, it is applied also, according to Teucer and the *Liber Hermetis*, to the rising of Ariadne's Crown in Capricorn and to *Ager*, a constellation related to vineyards and grape-growers.⁵¹ Furthermore, Teucer quotes the vineyard as a *paranatellon* of the second decan of Capricorn.⁵²

⁴⁷ LH XXV 3.3 (XXV 3.8-9 Feraboli): *A primo gradu usque ad secundum oritur cauda Ceti et Hercules*. Teuc. II, 3.1 Hübner: ἕως μοίρας β' ἢ οὐρὰ τοῦ κήτους καὶ Ἡρακλῆς.

⁴⁸ LH III 4 (III 20 Feraboli): *Alia, quae est in dextra parte eius et notatur ab aliquibus Vindemiator, est in quarto decimo gradu*. According to a Greek Calendar, on the 28th of August (Virgo): CCAG 9/1, p. 134 (= Aetius med., *iatr.* 3.164): Προτρυγητῆρ ἕως ἐπιτέλλει καὶ Ὀιστὸς δύνει. Cf. Arat., 29. 94 and Gem., *astron.* 3.6: Ὁ δὲ ἐν ἄκρα τῆ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τῆς Παρθένου κείμενος λαμπρὸς ἀστὴρ Στάχως προσαγορεύεται ὁ δὲ παρὰ τὴν δεξιάν τῆς Παρθένου πτέρυγα κείμενος ἀστερίσκος Προτρυγητῆρ ὀνομάζεται. Cf. Eudoxus, frg. 27 from Vitruv., *Arch.* 9.41: *Ab eo non longe conformata est Virgo, cuius supra umerum dextrum lucidissima stella nititur, quam nostri Provindemiatores, Graeci Προτρυγητῆρ vocant*. Ptol., *Tetr.* I, 9.7: ὁ δὲ ἐν τῆ βορείῳ πτέρυγι λαμπρὸς καλούμενος δὲ Προτρυγητῆρ τῷ τοῦ Κρόνου καὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ.

⁴⁹ V 253: *clara Ariadnae quondam monumenta Coronae*. Indeed, *Corona* rising is placed in Libra by most astrological texts and its effects mainly concern Venus.

⁵⁰ Since Eratosth., *Catast.* 41, p. 190, 27/25 Robert. See W. Hübner, *Crater Liberi. Himmelsporten und Tierkreis* (Munich, 2006) [hereafter Hübner, *Crater*], p. 50.

⁵¹ See, for *Corona Ariadnae*, LH XXV 10.18 (XXV 10.43-44 Feraboli): *Ab undecimo gradu usque ad quartum decimum gradum oritur Corona Ariadnae & Teuc. II, 10.4* Hübner, which includes Dionysiac qualities as astrological properties of the *paranatellon*: ὁ στέφανος τῆς Ἀριάδνης: κόμους, μέθας, τέρψεις, ἄνεσιν,... Boll, *Sphaera*, p. 99, interprets Teucer's reference not as the rising of the northern crown, but as its culmination; more in Feraboli, *Manilio*, II, p. 480-481; as for *Ager*, see the explicit description of LH XXV 10.25 (XXV

- Regarding the link of Tyche-Capricorn, in addition to the above reasons, Hübner points out the association between this sign and Eileithyia, according to Teucer.⁵³ Indeed, Ps.-Erathostenes calls this constellation ‘Tyche’ and Hephaestio, following Nechepso-Petosiris, links it to the influences of Capricorn under the name of Εἰληθυίας ζῶον ἀκέφαλον.⁵⁴
- As for the association of Osiris-Taurus, this must be due to the identification of the Egyptian god with Orion, an Ὀσιρις ὕπτιος (prone Osiris), as Teucer and Antiochus call him,⁵⁵ and a

10.61-63 Feraboli): *A quinto decimo usque ad septimum decimum oritur Ager; facit uinitores, hortulanos, acquisitionem, societatem ebriorum & of Teuc. II, 10.5* Hübner, speaking of τὸ χωρίον τῶν ἀμπέλων ἀμπελουργούς, περικτησιν, συστρεφομένους, μεθυστάς. On these topics, see Hübner, *Grade*, II, pp. 79-80; idem, *Crater*, p. 49-50.

⁵² Teuc. I, 10 Boll, *Sphaera*, p. 20: Τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ δεκανῶ παρανατέλλουσιν... τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ τροχοῦ καὶ ἀμπέλου... (the German scholar suggests, as a source for this image, the Egyptian decans (indeed the 18th, i.e. the last in Sagittarius, seems to be ‘The Vineyard’; cf. Boll, *Sphaera*, pp. 269-270).

⁵³ Teuc. II, 10.13 Hübner: ἡ Εἰλείθυια τοκετὸν ἐκ πορνείας.

⁵⁴ I, 21.29 (‘Eileithyia, a headless sign’). Cf. Hübner, *Grade*, II, p. 84. The name Εἰλήθυια which, according to Hephaest., I, 24.10, is given to a comet, could be related to the link between this constellation and Tyche, since it implies a positive change in human affairs (σημαίνει δὲ ἀνθρώπων κατακοπὰς καὶ μεταβολὴν πραγμάτων ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον καὶ τοῖς συγκατακεκλιμένοις ἄφρσιν).

⁵⁵ See Boll, *Sphaera*, pp. 164-168. According to Kamat., *Introd. in astron.* 394, the ὕπτιος Ὀσιρις is a *paranatellon* of Taurus at the same level as Orion and Auriga (in the Esneh Zodiac they are represented together in Taurus). In fact, the constellation of Orion as a Greek representative of Osiris has, according to Egyptian astral religion, a great importance; and the degree of Orion’s rising has been called *mors* in astrological texts (see W. Gundel, *Neue astrologische Texte des Hermes Trismegistos* (Munich, 1936, repr. Hildesheim, 1978) [hereafter Gundel, *Hermes*], p. 198; the funeral function of this Orion-Osiris is well documented in the ancient Egyptian sarcophagus, where we find invocations to Sah/Orion-Osiris and Sepdet/Sirius-Isis which have been well studied by E. Ciampini, ‘Invocazioni astrali su coperchi di sarcofagi del Medio Regno’, *MHNH* (2007), vol. 7, in press). In any case, the association of Taurus-Osiris is made on other grounds in the *LH I 7* (I 7.41-42 Feraboli), where Osiris’s grave is linked to the first decan of Taurus: *Totum corpus habet sepulturam Osireos, ornatus aureis corrigiis et fuscis* (cf. Herm., *Sac. lib.* 9 Ruelle, 1908, p. 254 [here

paranatellon of the Bull. From this association comes also that of Sarapis-Taurus. For Plutarch identifies Sarapis with Osiris⁵⁶ and with Pluto,⁵⁷ and in the Serapeum of Sakkara this god was represented in the form of a man with the head of a bull.

Other aleatory reasons

- Synonymous motivation could be another reason for the integration of Plutos (by synonymy with Πλούτων [Pluto]) in the Taurus and Virgo Demeter-Kore group. In fact, the god of the dead is included as a *paranatellon* of Virgo in the *Liber Hermetis* and other Greek related texts⁵⁸ and the Taurus, Sarapis and Orion-Osiris association also favours the conflation of Plutos with the god of the dead.⁵⁹
- Displacement of gods from Mars' houses to the following signs: This could be a further reason why Sarapis, which on explicit grounds (the triplicity connection) would have to be in Aries, has been displaced to Taurus. But clearer is the displacement of Asclepius and Health from their natural place in Scorpio to Sagittarius. In any case, the identification of the Greek Asclepius and the Egyptian Sarapis makes possible his position in Sagittarius. This is a topic which we have

relating to the second decan]: μορφήν γυναικός... κεχειρωμένης όσπριακός μέχρι των ποδών).

⁵⁶ Plu., *Is. et Os.*, 28. 362B: βέλτιον δὲ τὸν Ὅσιριν εἰς ταὐτὸ συνάγειν τῷ Διονύσῳ τῷ τ' Ὅσιριδι τὸν Σάραπιν,...

⁵⁷ Ibid., Plu., *Idem* 27. 361E: οὐ γὰρ ἄλλον εἶναι Σάραπιν ἢ τὸν Πλούτωνά φασι...; cf. 28. 361F-362B.

⁵⁸ LH XXV 6.25 (XXV 6.59-60 Feraboli): *A uicesimo quarto usque ad uicesimum sextum oritur Pluto corporum et animarum diuidens discretionem.* Teucer-Rhetorius, *CCAG* 7, p. 204.5-6: καὶ τῷ μὲν α' δεκανῶ παρανατέλλουσιν ὁ Ἄιδης καὶ Μοῦσα λυρίζουσα καὶ ὁ Πορθμεὺς καὶ μέρος τῆς Ἀχερουσίας λίμνης...; Kamat., *Introd. in astron.* 937-939: καὶ τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ δεκανῶ παρανατέλλει τάδε: ἡ Μοῦσα συραλίζουσα καὶ Πυραμῖς καὶ Ἄιδης καὶ μέρος τῆς Ἀχερουσίας... On Pluto and his rising in Virgo, cf. Gundel, *Hermes*, p. 259.

⁵⁹ Cf. supra, n. 54.

discussed in other research⁶⁰ and does not require more attention here.

Conclusion

To sum up, the apparently chaotic list of gods and zodiacal signs in Hephaestio's text is, on closer examination, not chaotic at all. Its coherence relies on astrological, astronomical and mythical/religious grounds and especially on the application of the customary practices of ancient astrology, such as the aspectual association of the signs with their related planets and extra-zodiacal constellations. Above all, the passage brings to the fore associations concerning the doctrinal baggage accumulated by astrologers since Hellenistic times, as well as the history of those gods and goddesses whose traditional rituals of consecration the new astral religion aims to appropriate.

Concerning the statues that Hephaestio's text deals with, it is a question of concrete, and not of intellectual or speculative, divinities such as those that appear in the decan list of Cosmas (**Figure 2**). On the other hand, the names of Osiris and Sarapis, whose zodiacal associations are well documented also in Egyptian iconography of the Hellenistic period,⁶¹ and partially that of the Mother of the Gods, lead us to speculate an Alexandrian origin for this text.⁶² However, at this point we have to formulate one last question about an amazing silence on the part of Hephaestio: Why in this passage, where the author deals with Greek and Egyptian gods, does the name of Isis not appear? This fact is, of course,

⁶⁰ 'Medicina, astrología y culto de Asclepio', *Convegno Internazionale su il Culto di Asclepio nell'Area Mediterranea*, Agrigento, 20-22 novembre 2005, in press.

⁶¹ E.g. in the Denderah Zodiac, where the Bull appears looking at an Egyptianised Orion, and Aquarius is represented as the Nile; also in Denderah the planets are placed in their exaltations, a position that in our text is of the most importance for their divine associations (Nike-Jupiter, Nemesis-Saturn and Tyche-Venus). In the Esneh Zodiac, Osiris is represented near Pisces and Orion is also in Taurus.

⁶² The names of Osiris and Sarapis do not need to be explained in the context of Greco-Egyptian Alexandria; as for that of Cybele (it is significant that Hephaestio does not mention the Greco-Roman name, but the most ancient 'Mother of Gods'), one must remember the introduction of her cult in Egypt by the Lagides (see F. Cumont, *L'Égypte des astrologues*, Bruxelles, 1937 (repr. 1999), pp. 131-133).

surprising, but actually it is only an apparent silence, in that we must not forget the syncretic identification of the Egyptian great goddess with other Greek divinities. Bearing that in mind, we may assume that in Hephaestio's text Isis also has her zodiacal places. She has been set in all the signs – except Aries and Gemini, two male signs – but under the name of her Greek representatives,⁶³ i.e. the Mother of the Gods, Aphrodite, Demeter,⁶⁴ Persephone,⁶⁵ Nike,⁶⁶ Tyche, Nemesis and Hygieia.⁶⁷

⁶³ For most of these Greek identifications, see Merkelbach, *Isis-Sarapis*, pp. 95-98 and M. Malaise, 'Iside ellenistica', in *Iside. Il mito, il mistero, la magia*, ed. E. A. Arslan (Milan, 1997), pp. 86-117, including the iconography.

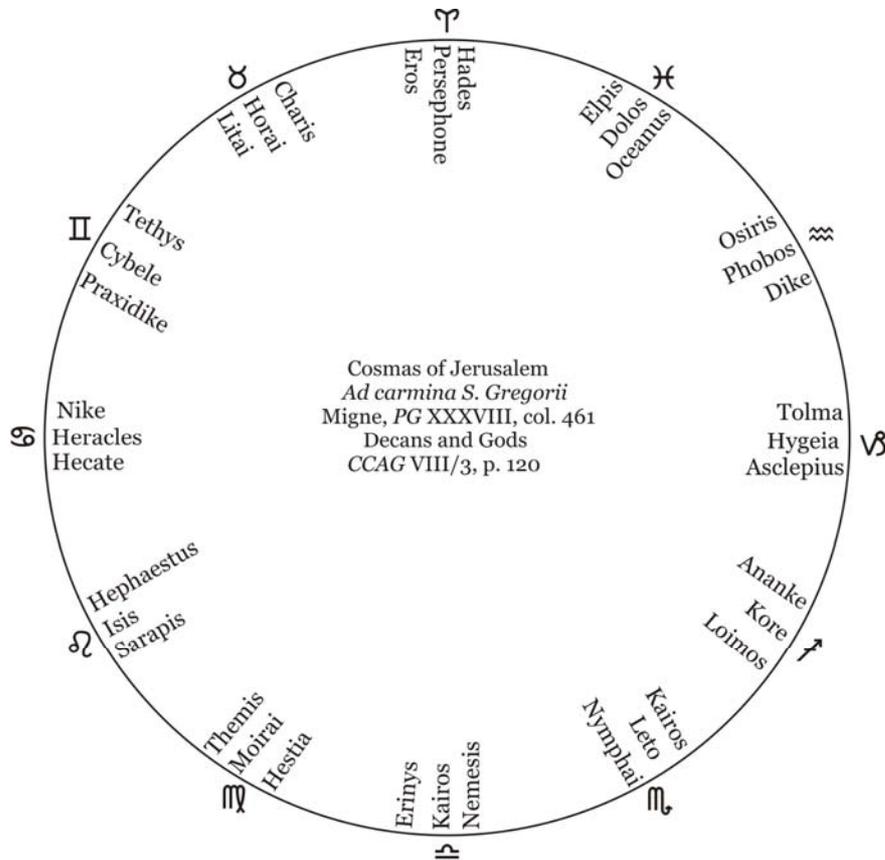
⁶⁴ Both Isis and Demeter are goddesses who search for their loved ones (respectively Osiris and Persephone); cf. Merkelbach, *Isis-Sarapis*, pp. 37-55. The identification of Isis with Demeter is also documented in Greek literature from Herodotus (II, 59.2: Ἴσις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Δημήτηρ. 'Isis is Demeter in the language of the Greeks.')

⁶⁵ Plu., *Is. et Os.* 27. 361E: ...καὶ Ἴσιν τὴν Περσέφασσαν....

⁶⁶ Cf. F. Dunand, "Le syncrétisme isiaque à la fin de l'époque hellénistique", in *Les syncrétismes dans les religions Grecque et Romaine* (Paris, 1973), pp. 79-93, p. 82.

⁶⁷ Cf. Merkelbach, *Isis-Sarapis*, pp. 66 (Tyche), 96-97 (Nemesis, Hygieia), 98-99, 130 and 135 (Tyche), 137 (Nemesis), 229-230 (Nemesis-Tyche), 245 (Tyche), 354 and 362 (Nemesis) and 381 (Tyche).

Figure 2. Decans and Gods from Cosmas of Jerusalem



- Aries: Hades, Persephone, Eros
- Taurus: Charis, the Horai (Hours), the Litai (Goddesses of Prayers)
- Gemini: Tethys, Cybele, Praxidike (goddess who exacts justice)
- Cancer: Nike, Heracles, Hecate
- Leo: Hephaestus, Isis, Sarapis
- Virgo: Themis, the Moirai, Hestia
- Libra: Erinyes, Kairos, Nemesis
- Scorpio: Kairos, Leto, Nymphai
- Sagittarius: Ananke, Kore, Loimos (Plague)
- Capricorn: Tolma (Daring), Hygeia, Asclepius
- Aquarius: Osiris, Phobos, Dike
- Pisces: Elpis (Hope), Dolos (Treachery), Oceanus

Appendix

(English translations by Dorian Gieseler Greenbaum)

Hephaestio III, 7.13-18

Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ναοῖς καθιδρυτέον τὰ ἀγάλματα σκευασθέντα τῷ προσφύρῳ εἶδει, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὕλῃ, καθὼς οἱ σοφοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀρχαῖοι παραδεδώκασιν, Σελήνης πληθούσης ἐπὶ φάσεως· θεωδέστεραι γὰρ καὶ ἐμψυχοπεποιημένοι αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν οὕτω τελεσθέντων ἐκ τῆς κοσμικῆς κινήσεως ἀποτελοῦνται. ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἀγαλμάτων κατασκευάζειν καὶ ἱεροῦν σύμφορον ἐν τῷ τριγῶνῳ τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τῆς Σελήνης οὔσης καὶ τοῦ Διὸς συμφώνου πρὸς αὐτὴν ὄντος, τουτέστιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τριγῶνῳ, καὶ Ἡλίου ὁμοίως ἐσχηματισμένου, τοῦ δὲ Κρόνου ὁμοίως τυγχάνοντος ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τριγῶνῳ. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀστέρων οὕτω κατασκευαστέον τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα· ἔτι μὴν καὶ ὄντων αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ὑψώμασί τε καὶ οἴκοις κατασκευάζειν αἴσιον μηδενὸς τῶν κακούντων ἀστέρων ἐναντιούμενου. ἀφιεροῦν δὲ Τύχην χρῆ τῆς Σελήνης οὔσης ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τριγῶνῳ καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, καὶ ἐν Αἰγοκέρῳτι δὲ καὶ Καρκίνῳ εὐθετον, Μητέρα δὲ θεῶν ἐν Λέοντι καὶ Ταύρῳ καὶ Αἰγοκέρῳτι, ἐν δὲ Παρθένῳ καὶ Ταύρῳ Διμήτρα καὶ Κόρην καὶ

In the inmost shrines one must consecrate the statues prepared in the proper form, and likewise in matter, as the wise Egyptians and the rest of the ancients have handed down, when the Moon is in her waxing phase; for the powers of those thus being endowed are brought about from the cosmic movement as more godlike and ensouled. [One must] make ready and dedicate each of the sacred objects and statues appropriately when the Moon is in the trigon of Zeus and Zeus is also harmonious in relation to her, that is in the same trigon, and the Sun is figured likewise, and Kronos likewise is in his own trigon. And thus for the rest of the stars one must make the sacred objects and statues ready; indeed to prepare in an auspicious manner when they are in both exaltations and houses when none of of the malefic stars are opposed. One must consecrate Fortune when the Moon is in her own trigon, and also Aphrodite; and if [they are or she (the Moon) is] in Capricorn and Cancer, it is suitable; but the Mother of the gods in Leo, Taurus and Capricorn; Demeter,

Πλοῦτον, Ὅσιριν δὲ Ἰχθύσιν, Ὑδροχόω, Ταύρω, Νίκην δὲ ἐν Παρθένω, Καρκίνω, τὸν δὲ Σάραπιν Ταύρω, Λέοντι, Τοξότη, ἐν Τοξότη δὲ καὶ Ἰχθύσιν Ἀσκληπιὸν καὶ Ὑγίειαν, ἐν δὲ Παρθένω καὶ Αἰγοκέρωτι Διόνυσον, ἐν Διδύμοις καὶ Λέοντι Ἡρακλέα, Ἔρωτα δὲ καὶ Χάριτας ἐν τοῖς τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ζῳδίοις καὶ ὑψώματι, Νέμεσιν δὲ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Κρόνου. καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν θεῶν ὁμοίως δεῖ ποιεῖν τὰ ἀγάλματα ἢ τὰς εἰκόνας ἢ ἐκτυπώματα ἐπὶ σφραγίδων καὶ τελεῖν ἕκαστον καὶ ἀνανεοῦν προσφόρως ἐν τοῖς προλελεγμένοις ζῳδίοις τῆς Σελήνης οὐσης.

Cosmas of Jerusalem (CCAG 8/3, p. 122.5-15)

Τῶν δὲ διηρημένων εἰς ἀέρας λς' θεῶν τὰ ὀνόματά φασιν ὧδε Ἀιδωνεύς, Περσεφόνη, Ἔρως, Χάρις, Ὄραι, Λιταί, Τηθύς, Κυβέλη, Πραξιδική, Νίκη, Ἡρακλῆς, Ἐκάτη, Ἡφαιστος, Ἰσις, Σάραπιν, Θέμις, Μοῖραι, Ἔστια, Ἐρινύς, Καιρός, Νέμεσις, Νύμφαι, Λητώ, Καιρός, Λοιμός, Κόρη, Ἀνάγκη, Ἀσκληπιός, Ὑγίεια, Τόλμα, Δίκη, Φόβος, Ὅσιρις, Ὠκεανός, Δόλος, Ἐλπίς· ἀφ' ὧν ἐξήκοντα ἄλλους εἶναι φασιν, ἐκ δὲ τούτων τὴν ἄπειρον κίνησιν τοῦ ζῳοφόρου κύκλου καὶ τῶν

Kore and Plutos in Virgo and Taurus; Osiris in Pisces, Aquarius, Taurus; Nike in Virgo and Cancer; but Sarapis in Taurus, Leo and Sagittarius; Asklepius and Hygeia in Sagittarius and Pisces; Dionysus in Virgo and Capricorn; Heracles in Gemini and Leo; Eros and the Charites in the signs and exaltation of Aphrodite; but Nemesis in those of Kronos. And likewise for the rest of the gods, one must make the statues, the icons or signet reliefs, and endow each and erect them suitably when the Moon is in the aforesaid signs.

Of the divisions into 36 airs they say the names of the gods are thus: Aidoneus, Persephone, Eros, Charis, Horai, Litai, Tethys, Cybele, Praxidike, Nike, Herakles, Hecate, Hephaestus, Isis, Sarapis, Themis, the Moirai, Hestia, Erinys, Kairos, Nemesis, Nymphai, Leto, Kairos/Koros,⁶⁸ Loimos, Korē, Ananke, Asclepius, Hygeia, Tolma, Dikē, Phobos, Osiris, Oceanos, Dolos, Elpis – apart from whom they say there are sixty others, and from these

⁶⁸ Boll suggests 'Koros'.

πλανήτων. τὰς μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων δόξας ὁ θεῖος Γρηγόριος συντόμως ἀνατρέπων (καὶ γὰρ ἐντεῦθεν τὰ ἀποτελεσματικὰ συμβαίνειν ἐφαντάσθησαν, ἀδιέκβατον ὁδὸν πλανηθέντες) ᾧδὲ φησιν ὅτι: «Τοῖς ἀστράσιν ἀστέρες εἰσὶν ἐναντίοι κ. τ. λ.»

Julian of Laodicea

(CCAG 8/4, p. 252.6-22)

ἰδρύσεις δὲ θεῶν γινέσθωσαν, θηλειῶν μὲν Σελήνης ἐν τῇ θεῶ οὔσης καὶ ἐν θηλυκῷ καὶ στερεῷ <ζῳδίῳ> καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἀγαθοτυχούσης. ἐν μόνῳ δὲ Σκορπίῳ μὴ ἕστωσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ καθιδρύσεις ἕσσονται, εἰ δὲ καταχθόνιοι εἶεν οἱ θεοί, μαρτυρεῖσθων ὑπ' ἀλλήλων Σελήνη, Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Ζεὺς, μαρτυρεῖτω δὲ αὐτοῖς συμφώνως καὶ ὁ Κρόνος. ἀρρένων δὲ ὄντων τῶν θεῶν, καθιδρύσωμεν τὸν Ἥλιον ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἔχοντες· καὶ εἰ μὲν Ἄρεως εἴη τὸ ἄγαλμα, τὸν Ἄρη σκεψώμεθα, εἰ δὲ Κρόνου, τὸν Κρόνον καὶ περὶ πάντων ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος.

Πάλιν ἀερίων μὲν ὄντων τῶν θεῶν τὸ ἔαρινόν τεταρτημόριον σκεπτέον, οὐρανίων δὲ τὸ θερινόν, περιγείων δὲ τὸ φθινοπωρινόν, λιμναίων δὲ ἢ θαλασσίων τὸ χειμερινόν. καὶ αἱ ἀναδείξεις δὲ τῶν τελομένων τοιούτως

come the unlimited motion of the life-bearing circle and the planets. And so the divine Gregory, concisely refuting the opinions about these things (for from that source they imagined the astrological outcomes come to pass, since they wander an inescapable path), thus says that 'stars are opposed to stars etc.'

Let the setting up [erecting divine images] of female gods be done when the Moon is in [the place of] the Goddess, in a feminine and solid [i.e. fixed] sign, and Aphrodite in [the place of] Good Fortune. But do not let them be set up when in Scorpio alone. When there are consecrations, if the gods should be subterranean ones, let the Moon, Aphrodite and Zeus be witnessed by one another, but let Kronos also witness them harmoniously. When the gods are male, we are to consecrate [them] when they have the Sun in the [place of the] God; and if the statue is of Ares, we are to look at Ares, but if Kronos, Kronos; and the same reasoning for all of them.

Again, when the gods are airy, look at the spring quadrant, but when they are heavenly the summer one; near the earth the autumnal, but when marshy or

πρὸς τὰς ὁμοίας ἀνατολὰς
γινέσθωσαν.

Τοῦ ἀγάλματος αἰνιγματώ-
δους ὄντος οἷον Διὸς κριο-
προσώπου ἢ Ἴσιδος βουκε-
φάλου ἢ λεοντομόρφου ἢ ἀπλῶς
κυκλικοῦ ἢ ἀπλάστου, ὅποια
τῶν Αἰγυπτίων σοφίσματα
αἰνιγματώδη, ὁρᾶτε τοὺς κρυπ-
τομένους τῶν ἀστέρων ἢ ἐπι-
σκιαζομένους, ὅταν ὁμολογῶσι
πρὸς τὸ ζητούμενον, ἢ τὸν Ἑρ-
μῆν ἀπόστροφον καὶ αὐτὸν
τοῦτο σημαίνοντα.

marine, the winter one. And let
the dedications of those so en-
dowed be done in accordance
with similar phases of visibility.

When the statue is of an en-
igmatic nature, such as Zeus
with the face of a ram or Isis
with the head of a cow or in the
shape of a lion, or simply circu-
lar or unformed, such as the en-
igmatic contrivances of the
Egyptians, look to the conceal-
ments of the stars, or those that
are overshadowed, since they
will correspond to what is being
sought; Hermes when averse
also signifies this.