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Astrology as an influence on Roman life

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ASTROLOGY
AS AN INFLUENCE ON
ROMAN LIFE

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Cumont, Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain
Cumont, Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans
Fowler, The Religious Experience of the Roman People
Carter, The Religious Life of Ancient Rome
Friedländer, Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire
Dill, Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius
Roman Historians, Livy, Suetonius, Tacitus, Plutarch, Dio Cassius.
Roman Poets, Ennius, Horace, Juvenal.
Roman Philosophers, Cicero, Seneca.
Paelly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie

94482
In the introduction to one of the very latest books on the subject of astrology, the author has this to say: 'After a long period of discredit and neglect, astrology is beginning to force itself once more on the attention of the learned world. In the course of the last few years scholars have devoted to it profound researches and elaborate publications. Greek manuscripts, which had remained a sealed book at a time when the quest for unpublished documents was all the rage, have now been laboriously examined, and the wealth of this literature has exceeded all expectation. On the other hand, the deciphering of the cuneiform tablets has given access to the well-springs of a learned superstition, which up to modern times has exercised over Asia and Europe a wider dominion than any religion has ever achieved. I trust, therefore, that I am not guilty of undue presumption in venturing to claim your interest for this erroneous belief, so long universally accepted, which exercised an endless influence on the creeds and the ideas of the most diverse peoples, and which for that very reason necessarily demands the attention of historians, ....... a doctrine which has often guided the will of kings and decided their enterprises.'

In the usual study of Roman history and Roman private life a paragraph or so containing an account of astrology, as merely an incident which required but little discussion, is all that is to be discovered. Indeed, I doubt if anyone quite understands the influence of astrology upon the ancient world unless he has made a careful examination of the ancient writers. There are books that contain the story of astrology at Rome,

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1 Cumont, Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans, Putnam, 1912.
but these accounts deal more with the purely historical side of the subject, i.e., its rise and development. There is no book, as far as I know, which treats of astrology in all its aspects; nor is it my endeavor, in this brief sketch, to cover the whole field. In fact, I doubt if I throw any new light on the subject, my main hope being, to emphasize more strongly the existence of astrology and to assign to it a greater influence upon the minds and actions of the Roman people than is usually accredited to it.

This interesting pseudo-science was only one of the many methods of divination by which the ancients sought to inquire into the fatorum arcana, but in the Roman Empire it came to supersede all other forms. The ancients seemed obsessed with this desire to know beforehand what success or failure would attend them in their pursuit of health, wealth and happiness, in order that they might guide themselves accordingly. They resorted to the animate and inanimate forces of nature, to physiological and psychic phenomena (such as the examination of entrails and the interpretation of dreams), and to the priesthood or the oracles, thru whose medium was received the direct and divine guidance of the Gods. Cicero tells us: 'Gentem quidem nullam video neque tam humanam atque doctam, neque tam immanem tarnque barbaram, quae non significare futura et a quibusdam intelligi praedicique posse censeat.'

In other words, there was a unanimous belief that the future could be foretold. Of all the methods used, astrology seemed to approach

nearest to an exact science. It was about the sixth century B.C. that the Chaldaeans were able to give a religious significance to astronomy, for hitherto they had been unable to formulate a sufficiently accurate sidereal chronology by which to calculate eclipses and the conjunctions of the various planets. This science was first opened up to the Western world thru the conquests of Alexander the Great; and the first regular professed astrologer, of whom we have knowledge, to come to Greece was Berosus; and, as he was a Chaldaean, his nationality caused all astrologers to be called Chaldaeans.

But it was at Rome that astrology became especially prominent. Here its devotees were so centrally situated and became so numerous that they formed a cult of their own. Indeed, astrology became so firmly established in the minds and convictions of both high and low as to affect materially their daily actions. This statement is made in the belief that it is true, if we are to give any credence to the writers and historians from whom we must draw our information. The biographer of the Caesars may contends with Dio Cassius for the honor of being probably the most superstitious chronicler who ever dealt with great events. Suetonius is shocked by the arrogance of Julius Caesar when he treated with disdain the warning of a diviner from the inspection of a victim's entrails.

He glorifies the pious Augustus by a long catalog of signs and celestial omens which foretold the events of his career. Suetonius must have been

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1 Vitruv. IX. 2. cf. Pliny N.H. VII. 37. (123)

2 Suet. J. Caesar 77

3 * Aug. 90 soo.
as keen in collecting these old wife's tales as the more sober facts of history, and, if we may believe him, the palace of the Caesars for a hundred years was as full of supernatural wonders and the terrors of magic and dark prophecy as the Thessalian villages of Apuleius.

'Immensely superior in genius as Tacitus is to Suetonius, even he is not emancipated from the superstition of the age. But he wavers in his superstition, just as he wavers in his conception of the Divine government of the world. Amic obscure and guarded utterances, we can divine that, to Tacitus, the ruling force in human fortunes is a destiny which is blind to the deserts of those who are its sport. He probably held the widespread belief that the fate of each man was fixed for him at his birth, and, although he has a profound scorn for the venality and falsehood of the Chaldaean trite, he probably had a wavering faith in the efficacy of their lore.

In the tale of many an omen, dream, and oracle the historian gives an awe and grandeur to a superstition which he does not explicitly reject.

In this question, I think that we can place our confidence in the majority of instances narrated by the different chroniclers, for astrology was such a recognized science that it must have had the facts to bear out the statements of the various authors.

1. Cf. Mace; Suetone, p. 59 sq.
3. Tac. H. V. 5; II. 38; Ann. III. 18; VI. 22; XIV. 12.
5. Tac. Hist. I. 22; cf. V. 4; Ann. IV. 58, 2
6. Tac. Hist. II. 50; IV. 81; I. 6; I. 18; V. 18; Ann. I. 85; II. 14; Hist. III. 56; IV. 88.
7. Dill, Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius, p. 452 sq.
Astrology owed its introduction into Italy and Rome chiefly to the instrumentality of the conquered Orientals who were brought as slaves to the city as a result of the wars that followed upon the decisive defeat of Hannibal. Up to this time Rome had, to a large extent, remained rather free from oriental influences and had preserved her customs and traditions in the sturdy fashion so often alluded to by later poets and historians.

Among these we find reference after reference to the simple life, the frugal manner of living, the independence of manhood, the virtues of honesty, uprightness, and especially of pietas as exemplified in all its forms—patriotism to the State, due regard to the family ties, and morality, and the proper reverence for the gods who rule the Roman State and the individual household.

The Hanniballic period may well be regarded as a boundary line that separates this phase of Roman life and activity from the more individualistic one that followed. In this first phase we have a nation and its people who are bound together by the common tie of living and fighting to preserve the integrity of the Republic, that they and their descendants might be sovereigns of themselves. Is it any wonder that the people were a sturdy and upright race! If we look into the history of any race or nation we shall find that the days of hardship and the struggle for existence are those which draw out the best qualities of the people taken collectively. Their common safety and welfare demand it. This tie unites them into love for Country and true reverence and respect for their gods, whoever these may be.

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1 Hor. Sat. I. 4. 116 sec; II. 2. 89 sec; Juv. XI. 77 sec.
This was especially true of Rome during the first five centuries of the Republic. But, even so, we must remember that the Roman character, especially as regarded its religious life, had developed in its own peculiar fashion. The Roman, as a man, was not an individualist. Every relation, no matter how conceived, was bound up in the supreme welfare of the State. Even his religion was not his own, but came to be managed and controlled by the State and men appointed by the State. The Roman did not feel much personal relationship between himself and his gods. He had his Lares and his Penates, and devoted certain days to sacrifice to his agricultural and weather numina, and those that had to do with his common daily acts. The Roman felt no desire for a doctrine of personal sin. As Fowler tells us, the Roman's RELIGIO was rather an awe of the Power which he saw manifesting itself in the universe about him, upon which he felt no personal dependence.

It was the State, however, that had charge of the ceremonial of the religion of each man. Until the time of the Hanniballic war the State had exercised a strong control over the religious life of its people. But during this period a great change took place, a change that was destined to have far-reaching consequences. For now the State religion began to lose the power that it had hitherto exercised so successfully over the individual man. In this period there arose great political and spiritual unrest, and, do what they could, the Senate and the religious officers were unable to calm the minds of the people. A final resort was made in 250 B.C. to the Sibylline books, according to whose instruction a great entering wedge

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2 Livy XXIX. 19 sq.
was made into Roman life and morals. This was the introduction of the *Magna Mater*; for this goddess brought in her train her Corybantian priests and cymbals, and a ritual and ceremonial absolutely at variance with the usual staid formalism of the State priesthood. It gave to those initiated into its secrets a psychological exaltation such as the State religion had never fostered or encouraged. When its real nature became known the Senate put restrictions on the exercise of this cult, although this did not hinder its worship in secret.

The Roman at this time was beginning to come into his own. His most dreaded enemy had been signalily conquered, so that the State and its people had no one whom they feared in the whole western Mediterranean. The wars with Carthage had, in a measure, been waged for self-preservation, as it had been evident to both contestants that the rule of the west was to fall into the hands of one or the other of them. But now that the fear of subjection to a foreign power had been removed, Rome, even as a nation, began to feel its importance and power. It is, then, no cause for wonder that the men who composed this Republic, who had fought and bled for it in times of darkness and distress, and who had finally seen the crown of victory placed on their brows, should begin to feel their importance and power, and that the spirit of individualism should begin to exert itself and bring each man to think for himself. This is what happened. Less and less confidence was felt in the efficacy of the State religion to satisfy men's minds, for this religion had been so secularized and formularized that it gave to men dry husks instead of bread.

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1 Dion. Hal. II. 19.
Sceptics arose who doubted the real value of the State religion, and who even ridiculed the anthropomorphic character that Greek influence had given to the Roman numina. Epicureanism, of course, contributed a great deal to this growing sentiment, as we find it expressed in Ennius:

\[ \text{ego deum genus esse semper dixi et dicam caelitum}, \]
\[ \text{sed eos non curare opinor quid agat humanum genus,} \]
\[ \text{nam si curent, bene bonis sit, male malis; quod nunc abest.} \]

And the ordinary Roman, if he went to the theater at all, could not fail to be influenced by the ridiculous treatment of the names and relationships of the gods, as heard in the plays of Plautus.

So, naturally, men turned to these new cults that were being introduced into Rome, in the hope of finding something which would give them a subjective participation, and into which a real religious feeling might enter.

Together with this growing disbelief in the efficacy of the State religion went a corresponding distrust of the old methods of divination, an early instance of which is given us in the story of Publius Claudius and the sacred chickens. At any rate, this disbelief, tho at first frowned upon and regarded as impious and sacrilegious, kept on growing more and more, so that by the time of Ennius and Cato we must understand that foreign forms of divination and fortune-telling were quite generally

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1 Enn. Fabulae (Müller) Telamo III
3 Livy (epitome) XIX; Polyb. I. 49-52.
patronised by the lower orders throughout Italy. Of these methods of forecasting the future astrology was the favorite.

In the year 214 B.C. Livy tells us: 'Quo diutius trahebatur bellum et variabant secundae adversaeque res non fortunam magis quam animos hominum, tanta religio et ea magna ex parte externa civitatem incessit, ut aut homines aut dei repente alii viderentur facti. Nec iam in secreto modo atque intra parietes abolentur Romani ritus, sed in publico etiam ac foro Capitolioque mulierum turba erat nec sacrificantium nec precantium deos patrio more. Sacrificali ac vates ceperant hominum mentes; quorum numerum auxit rustica plebs, ex inculitis diutino belli infestisque agris egestate et metu in urbem compusa, et qusestum ex alieno errore facilis, quem velut concessae artis usu exercebant. Primo secretae honorum indignationes exaudiebantur; deinde ad patres etiam ac publicam querimoniam excessit res. Incusati graviter ab senatu aediles triumviri capitales, quod non prohiberent, cum emovere eam multitudinem e foro ac disicere appara tus sacrorum conati essent, haud procul aet, quin violaretur. Ubi potentius iam esse id malum apparuit, quem ut minores per magistratus sedaretur, M. Aemilio praetori urbano negotium ab senatu datum est, ut eis religionibus populum liberaret. Is et in contione senatus consultum recitavit et edixit, ut, quicumque libros vaticinios precationesve aut artem sacrificandi conscriptum haberet, eos libros omnis litterasque ad se ante kal. Apriles deferret, ne quis in publico sacrove loco novo aut externo ritu sacrificaret.'

The earliest contemporary records referring directly to astrology

1 Livy XXV.1.
are found in Cato and Ennius. In the De Agricultura of the former occurs the well known advice to his steward: 'harespicem, augurem, hariolum, Chaldaeum nequeum consuluisse velit,' which proves that fortune-telling that was not under State control was already a common, tho despised, trade. Ennius characterizes them well:

Sed superstitiosi vates inpudentesque arioli,
aut inerteres aut insani aut quibus egestas imperat,
quibus divitiis pollicentyr, ab eis drachumam ipsi petunt.
De his divitiis sibi deducant drachumam, reddant cetera.

The astrologers, too, come in for their share of criticism, because astrologers and astronomers were the same in character:

Astrologorum signa in caelo quaesit; observat Iovis
cum capra aut nepa aut excurat lumen aliquod beluae.
Quod pro pedibus, nemo spectat: caeli scrutantur plagas.

Literature, however, furnishes us with but scant evidence of the missionary zeal of the Chaldeans; but it is to be understood, from the fact that in the year 139 B.C. they were banished by an edict of the praetor from the City and from Italy: levibus et ineptis ingeniis, fallaci siderum
interpretatione, quaestuoso mendaciis suis caliginem iniicientes, that they soon came to exert a baneful influence on the people from the stand-

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1. Cato de Agri 4. V. V. 4.
2. Enn. trag. fr. X. Telamo III (Müller).
point of those who were in charge of the State religion. In order to have an edict of this nature issued against them the astrologers must have caused some trouble even at this time as a result of their casting of horoscopes. Down to the time of Cicero the position of the astrologer was the same as that of any mountebank who laid traps for the pennies of the credulous plebs. Cicero says, in a quotation: 'Non habeo denique nauci Macrum augurum, non haruspices vicanos, non de circo astrologos, non Isiacos coniectores, non interpretes somniorum.' Still, notwithstanding the fact that Cicero himself does not have much use for the Chaldeans, his own words testify as to the prevalence of this belief among the Stoic philosophers: Nominat etiam Panaetius, qui unus e Stoicis astrologorum praedicta reiescit. In other words, even these philosophers of Cicero's day seem to have believed that the principles upon which astrology was based were an accepted truth.

This is not to be wondered at. Indeed, it was a most natural result that the Stoics should accept the tenets of the astrologers, since both sides believed in an inevitable Fate or Destiny, that controlled the actions of every man from the moment of his birth to the hour of his death. This is what had already taken place in Greece, altho the Romans were undoubtedly unaware of this fact. As a consequence, they made a second application of its theories to their own. 'Stoicism conceived the world as a great organism, the "sympathetic" forces of which acted and reacted necessi-

1 Cic.de Div.I.58,132.
2 " " II.42 ssq; cf.I.1;I.38,85.
3 " " II.42,83; cf.Sen.Dial.VI.18,3.
sarily upon one another, and was bound, in consequence, to attribute a pre-
dominating influence to the celestial bodies, the greatest and most power-
ful of all in nature, and its ἔμαρμένη or Destiny, connected with the in-
finite succession of causes, readily agreed with the determinism of the Chal-
caeans, founded, as it was, upon the regularity of the sidereal movements. 1

And here, in astrology, these philosophers had a real science, as they sin-
cerely believed it to be, which proved absolutely the existence of Fate.

As a science, it did exist for a thousand years, after which, the power of
astrology broke down when, with Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo, the progress
of astronomy overthrew the false hypothesis upon which its entire structure
rested, namely, the geocentric system of the universe. The fact that the
earth revolves in space intervened to unset the complicated play of planet-
ary influences, and the silent stars, relegated to the unfathomable depths
of the sky, no longer made their prophetic voices audible to mankind. Celestial
mechanics and spectral analysis finally robbed them of their myster-
rious prestige. Thenceforth, in that learned system of divination, which
professed to discover from the stars the secret of our destiny, men saw
nothing but the most monstrous of all the chimeras begotten of superstition.

'Under the sway of reason, the eighteenth and nineteenth cen-
turies condemned this heresy in the name of scientific orthodoxy,' 2

As concerns Stoicism itself, Lorimer tells us: 'With the single
exception of Christianity, no other form of belief ever took possession
of so great a number of Europeans, and held it so long; and it molded human

1 Cumont, Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans, p. 69.
2 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " 
institutions and affected human destiny to a greater extent than all other philosophical systems, either of the ancient or the modern world.\footnote{Institutes of Law, p.161.}

We generally hear the Romans spoken of as a Stoic race. As such, we conceive them to be men who stood firm and unshaken against disaster and misfortune; and in their history are to be found innumerable examples that attest the truth of this statement. The philosophers who exhibit best these traits are, naturally, the Stoics. To be sure, all the Romans did not turn philosophers either among the lower or the aristocratic circles any more than this is true of conditions today. In fact, it was some time before philosophy itself was held in any esteem among the Romans. It is my contention that the Roman attitude of mind, philosophical or not, was favorable to the reception of the divining and fatalistic notions of the Chaldaeans. Many of the Roman thinkers give us to understand that, altho they did not reject the principles upon which astrology was founded, they did not have implicit faith in the practical applications to which these principles were put, alleging the mechanical impossibility of obtaining a true nativity and all the quackery that existed in such a trade as their main objections.

The Roman vulgaris, just as is the case today, was exceptionally superstitious. All we need to do in order to substantiate this statement is to read any one of the Roman historians. Their accounts abound in cases of superstitious observances, too numerous to mention. To a people of this

\footnote{Friedländer, Roman Life and Manners, III, p.231. Cf. Hor. Sat. I, 3, 183.}
\footnote{Cic., de Div. II, 44; Aul. Gell. XIV; St. Aug., Conf. VII, 6; Hippolytus, IV, 4.}
nature the exotic cults of the East with their strange and secret practices made an especial appeal. And, at a time when their own established system of augury was falling into such a state of decay, is it any wonder that a new form of divination, such as astrology presented, should fill the minds of the people with a new interest!

From what we have already learned, the common people, the plebs, were the first to be attracted to the interesting science that could tell one's past and also his future. We can readily understand, how, if this consultation of astrologers became a general practice, it would also become a dangerous one, for it would not be long until a person's curiosity reached out from the question of the fortune of himself and his family to that of his neighbor and thus begot a suspicion that boded ill for the continuance of satisfactory and hospitable relationships. This is the very thing that did occur in the Roman Empire, in which astrology made and unmade kings and nobles, and in which king and prince, because the one was acquainted with the nativity of the other, stood in mutual antagonism. It is this influence and effect of astrology upon the Roman people that I desire strongly to emphasize, giving the story of its gradual growth until it culminated in the worship of the SOL INVICTUS of Elagabalus.

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1 Cic. de Nat. Deorum. II. 3.
It is not until the last half of the first century B.C. that our information as to the progress of astrology becomes more definite and detailed, and we begin to see to what extent the art became more generally patronised. From our previous observations we have learned that this means of foretelling the future was at first confined to the lower classes. In fact, the material growth of this belief, if such it can be called, was similar to that of Christianity, in that both had an humble beginning, whence they gradually widened and extended their spheres until they reached Court circles. About the first recorded instance of astrology in relation to men of influence is to be found in Plutarch. When the troops of Marius and Cinna were marching against Rome, ὁκτάβιον δὲ χαλδαῖοι καὶ θύται τινες καὶ σιβυλλισταὶ, πείσαντες εν ρωμη κατέσγον, ὃς εὖ γεννησομένων, and after his murder, λέγεται διάγομαι χαλδαῖκον ἐν τοῖς κόλποις. Then in one of Cicero's orations against Catiline we are told: 'Lentulum autem sibi confirmassē, ex fatis Sibyllinis haruspicumque responses, se esse tertium Cornelium, ad quem regnum huius urbis atque imperium pervenire esset necessē; and it is reasonable to suppose that astrologers were among the soothsayers consulted. Again, in the same author's lengthy diatribe against the Chaldaeans, he says: 'Quam multa ego Pompeio, quam multa Crasso, quam multa huic ipsi Caesaris, a Chaldaeis dicta memini, neminem eorum nisi in senectute, nisi cum claritate esse moriturum! ut mibi permirum videatur, quemquam extare, qui etiam nunc credat iis, quorum praedicta quotidie videat re et

1 Plut. Marius 42.
2 Cic. ad Cat. III. 4. 9.
eventis refelli."  

Even Caesar himself must have been influenced to some extent by astrology; for he adopted as the standard of his legion, the zodiacal sign of his nativity, Venus; a custom subsequently followed by other legions. But in 32 B.C. we learn from Dio Cassius: 

"Αγοίππας μεν οὖν ταύτα τε ἐποίει, καὶ τοὺς ἀστρολόγους καὶ τοὺς γοήτας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔξηλασεν," which indicates that the casting of horoscopes was regarded with real disfavor by the State. Still, neither this nor subsequent banishments seem to have had any effect in checking the spread of this art, for its growth was rapid from now on. Varro, the most learned of the Romans, induced his friend, Lucius Firmarius Tarutius, to draw up the horoscope of Romulus, and, from the circumstances of his life and death, to determine the future of the city which he had founded. On the other hand, we find Varro making sport of the astrologers, when the opportunity offers itself. But I think that such an attitude is rather superficial, or an attempt to laugh off something in which he really believed but for which he felt it necessary to apologize.

To this time, in all probability, belongs, approximately, the introduction of the week of seven days, with its astronomical nomenclature.

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1 Cic.de Div.II.47.99.
2 Paully-Wissowa, Real-encyclopädie, II.1817.
3 Dio Cas, XLIX.43.5.
4 Cic.de Div.II.47.98; Plut. Romulus, 12.
5 Merry, Fragments of Roman Poetry, Varro, Marcior, III p.211.
tablet has been found at Pompeii inscribed in Greek giving the names and order of the days: θεών ημέρας· Κοόνου,Ηλίου, Σελήνης, Αφοδίτης, Διός, 'Αφοδίτης. The absolute influence which the stars were reputed to exercise on the daily lot of each individual modified even the ole-beian language, and has left traces in all those derived from Latin. Thus, when we mention the days of the week, Lunedi, Marci, Mercredi, we are following astrology without being conscious of the fact, since it was astrology that determined that the first day was under the influence of the moon, the second of that of Mars, the third of that of Mercury and the last four of the other planets: or, again, without thinking of it, we recognize the ancient qualities of these planets, whenever we speak of characters that are martial, jovial, or lunatic.

Coming to the time of Augustus, we begin to find the chroniclers taking a seeming delight in enumerating as many superstitious practices and occurrences as have come to their ears. We are told that the Emperor himself was a constant observer of signs and omens, and, that, during his retirement to Aculonia, he even went in the company of Agrippa to the school of Theogenes, the mathematicus, with whose skill he was so impressed, ut thema suum vulgaverit nummumque argenteum nota sideris Capricorni, quo natus, perousserit.

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1 Bursian, Jahresb. 1883. II p. 184.
2 Cumont, Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain. Ch. VII
3 Suet. Aug. 92.
4 " 94.12. cf. Dio Cas. LVI. 25. 5.
Nigidius Figulus, a mystic of the Neo-pythagorean school, was a man devoted to astrology to such an extent that he wrote a book in Latin explaining the foreign description of the stars. At the birth of Octavianus in 63 B.C., this same Nigidius predicted that the babe was destined to become the ruler of the world.

Horace, who came to be numbered as one of the intimate friends of the Emperor, shows himself fairly well acquainted with the astrological mode of divination, for, in the ode which probably gives us his Epicurean doctrine most concisely, we find him saying:

Tu ne quaesieris, scire nefas, quem mihi, quem tibi
Finem di dederint, Leuconoe, nec Babylonios
Temptaris numeros. Ut melius quicquid erit, patri!
Seu pluris hiemes seu tribuit Juppiter ultimam,
Quae nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare
Tyrrhenum: sapias, vina cliques, et spatio brevi
Spem longam reseces. Dum loquimur, fugerit invida
Astas: carpe diem quam minimum credule postero.

i.e. stay away from the astrologers; it is much better to bear life as it comes, to enjoy the present, and to think as little as possible about the future.

And again, in his ode to Maecenas:

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1 Nig. Fig. Frag. ed. Swoboda, p. 106 sqq. cf. Mommsen Röm. Gesch. III. p. 572.
3 Hor. Carm. I. XI.
we have evidence to show that Horace, as well as Maecenas, had had his horoscope cast, and that he was acquainted with the science to the extent that he knew the varying influences that the different planets were supposed to exert over the destinies of men.

In another place he speaks of the attendant Genius, who governs the planet of a person's nativity, and which exerts itself to avert the evil and to promote the good indicated by the natal star of the individual with whom it is associated. And then in one of his satires the genial poet gives us an interesting description of his habit of taking an evening stroll around the circus and thru the forum, halting now and then to listen to the fortune-tellers endeavoring to impose upon the ignorant and unwary spectators.

But even tho we are to understand from these passages of Horace and of others referred to above that astrology was now gaining a real foothold in high society, it was tolerated merely because man's natural

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1 Hor. Carm. II. XVII. 17-25.
2 " Frist. II. II. 187.
3 " Sat. I. VI. 113-114.
curiosity to learn the secrets of the unknown urged him to consult such men as the astrologers. And yet, they still had serious objections to the science, some seeing its limitations and mistakes, and others already foreseeing the dangers to which it would bring the State. Columella tells us that one of his pamphlets was written to disprove the theory of the astrologers that the weather could be forecasted on the ground that changes in the wind occurred on certain days. In the year 28 B.C., Octavianus held a council of deliberation together with Agripoa and Maecenas. The latter saw it fit, in the course of his advice and suggestions, to set forth his thoughts on the status of religion in Rome at that time. Dio Cassius gives his speech:

"Ωστε εἰπεν άθανάτος δώτως ἐπιθυμεῖς γενέσθαι, ταύτα τε οὕτω ποιήτε, καὶ ποιεῖτε τὸ μὲν θείον πάντη πάντως, αὐτός τε τὸ σέβομαι, καὶ τοὺς ἀλλούς τιμῶν, ἀνάγκαξε τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἐνεικόντας τι πεοί ἀδόκη καὶ μίσης καὶ κόλαξ, μὴ ύπνων τῶν θεῶν ἐνεκα ἣν καταφοινήσας οὐδ' ἄλλου ἀν τινος προτιμήσειν, ἄλλ' ὅτι καὶ τῖνα δαιμόνια οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀντεσφέοντες, πολλοὺς ἀναπείθοντι ἀλλοτριομομένην. κἂν τοῦτο καὶ συνώμοσιαι καὶ συστάσεις ἐταιρειαὶ τε γίγνονται, ἀπεὶ ἡκιστὰ υποαπτία συμφέοειν, ἥπτ' οὖν ἄθεώ τινι, ὥσπερ γόπτι συγγωσῆται εἰναι, ἀναπόκτητον καὶ τοὺς εἰς κοινωνοὐν τοὺς δὲ δὴ σωτητᾶς πάνυ οὐκ εἰναι ποιήσει. πολλοὺς γὰρ πολλὰς οἱ τοιοῦτοι τὰ μὲν τινά ἀλήθη, τὰ δὲ δὴ πλεῖον πεισθείς λέγοντες, νεομοθῶν ἐπαίρουσι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν φιλοσοφεῖν ποιοποιημένων οὐκ ὁλίγοι ποιοῦσιν. διὸ καὶ ἐκείνους φυλάσσεθαί σε παοινῶ. ὡς γὰρ δ' τοι καὶ Ἰσαιά καὶ Ἀθηνοτόμον καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἄνδοθον πεπείσασθαι, πίστευε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας, τοὺς φιλοσοφεῖν λέγοντας, οὐσίων οὐτοῖς εἰναι. ὑποία γὰρ κακὰ καὶ δῆμος καὶ

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1 Col. XI. 1.31.
Maecenas objects seriously, as we see, to the worship of foreign rites of any sort, and is especially opposed to the fortune-tellers and the magi on the ground that these imposters impel many to desire improper innovations and thus bring countless troubles upon the people, individually and collectively. That his fears were not ungrounded is evidenced from the edict issued against the whole body of soothsayers by Augustus in A.D. 10, whereby they were forbidden to foretell the death of anyone, either to persons in private or before an assembled gathering.

But astrology, at this period, was not without its own literature and defenders. The book of Nechepso and Petosiris, introduced a century before into Rome, was now the textbook consulted by those of the aristocratic circles who wished to learn all that was to be known about this science. It dealt with the most universal and fundamental principles of astrology, meteorological as well as geneathiological, and, besides, in a special appendix, gave instructions about the connection of the heavenly bodies with therapeutics.

Towards the end of Augustus' reign and the beginning of that of Tiberius there appeared a real poet who endeavored to do for the science of astrology what Lucretius had done for his Epicurean atomism. He is a fatalist from beginning to end, and his purpose is to describe the constellations and the zodiac, and to tell how the com-

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1 Dio Cass. LII. 36.
2 " " LVI. 25. 5.
4 Pauly-Wissowa II. o. 1316.
5 Cumont, Les religions Orientales, etc. ch. VII.
panion stars of Fate cast their mark on the varied lots of man:

Carmine divinas artes et conscia fati

Sidera diversos hominum variantia casus,

Caelestis rationis opus, deducere mundo

Aggredior.  1

Fata regunt orbem, certa stant omnia lege.  2

Hoc nisi fata darent, numquam Fortuna tulisset.  3

This gifted poet has been called Manilius, altho nothing at all is known of the personality or name of the writer. His fame rests on the fact that he is the first to handle this difficult subject in Latin verse, and it can be said that he has done remarkably well with it.

"Art also drew inspiration from astrology and took pleasure in representing the stellar deities: architects at Rome and in the provinces raised splendid septizonia to represent the seven spheres, in which moved the seven planets, the arbiters of Destiny."  4

By the time that Tiberius became Emperor in A.D. 14, astrology was "the aristocratic form of prophesying, just as psychical research in the present age in comparison with fortune-telling from cards."  5 Other

1 Manili Astron. I.1.
2 " " IV.14.
3 " " IV.49.
4 Oumont, Les Religions Orientales etc. ch. VII. cf. Waas, Tagesgötter.
5 Friedländer, Roman Life and Manners I. p. 185.
forms of divination were by no means neglected, but it seems that astrology was winning more favor among all classes; especially as an impetus was given to a prosecution of its study by the interest which the new Emperor displayed for it throughout the whole period of his reign. The story of his connections with astrology is interesting. When he was a mere child, the astrologer, Scribonius, predicted great things of him, 'etiam regnaturum quandoque, sed sine regio insigni; ignota solicio tunco adhuc Caesarem potestatem.' During his so-called exile at Rhodes Tiberius, remote from the center of politics and intrigue, adopted the study of astrology as an avocation. Together with the other Roman nobles of his day he had, to begin with, a real interest in it. Accordingly, he made tests of every astrologer who was willing to give proof of his skill: if the test proved unsatisfactory the astrologer was killed. Among the number who thus divined the future for him was one Thrasyllus, who astonished Tiberius by his replies and when asked if he had calculated his own nativity, so as to know what would befall him that very day, the shrewd fellow, after some hesitation and trepidation, answered that over him hung a danger imminent and all but fatal. This answer pleased Tiberius to such an extent that he regarded the predictions of Thrasyllus as oracular and 'inter intimos amicos tenet.' Sue- tonius tells us, in reference to Tiberius' return to Rome in 1 B.C.: 'Redit octavo post recessum anno, magna nec incerta spe futurorum, quam et ostentis

***********1 Suet.Tib.XIV.2. ***********


et praedictionibus ab initio aetatis conceperat.\textsuperscript{1} among which were numbered those of Thrasyllus. This astrologer returned with him and continued, until his death, to be the most intimate of those who had access to the prince's presence. The two men were constantly together, engaged in divination, so that the Emperor himself became such an adept in the art that his skill came to be recognized by his court. It is interesting to note, in this connection that this art, as well as other methods of fortune-telling, was coming to be regarded as a privilege to be exercised by the Emperor alone. For now, the dangers that resulted from the casting of horoscopes were becoming more apparent to those higher in the social scale. Ambition was at the root of it all. Astrologers were being consulted, not so much for the nativities of the individual interrogator, as for those of the men of higher up.

The poor man would wish to know when some rich relative would die, and whether the will would contain any provisions in his favor. If so, he might be instigated to hasten the death of his benefactor-to-be. An office-seeker, the discouraged at his prospects, would be spurred on with real hope and persistence, if his horoscope indicated success. A spendthrift son would mortgage his patrimony, if the early death of his father were predicted. Politicians and ministers would be ever jealous of each other's advancement and anxious to learn from the horoscopes their rivals' fortunes or failures. Princes endeavored to learn of the hour of the Emperor's death and to whom the succession should come; while the Emperor, in turn, examined the horoscopes of all who were in any degree likely to aspire to the throne.

\textsuperscript{1} Suet. Tib. XIV. 1.

\textsuperscript{2} Dio Caš. LVII. 15. 7. cf. LV. 11.
It is this mental unrest, this unjust state of mutual suspicion, accompanied by a blind confidence in Destiny, which the practice of astrology caused in the Roman mind.

The Emperor, as we have learned, practiced astrology unceasingly. He investigated the day and hour of his nobles' births, drew up their horoscopes and had their possessors straightway arrested and put to death, if he found any evidence of royal aspirations or coming honors. He was so well acquainted with the fate of all the prominent men, that, upon meeting Galba, soon after the latter's marriage, he told him: 'καὶ σὺ ποτε τὴν ἡγεσίαν γεύσῃ.'

Josephus further tells us that Tiberius was addicted to all such sorts of divination more than any other Roman emperor, because he had learned of so much that came true in his own life. But his foreknowledge of his grandson's death at the hands of Caligula caused him such distress that he lamented the fact that he had ever devoted himself to astrology, which now caused him to die with the tormenting knowledge of the coming misfortunes of those dearest to him. Although it was, so to speak, the Emperor's prerogative to conduct an inquisition that extended to his subjects' future actions, for the subject to retaliate and inquire into His Majesty's future came to be considered high treason. This, I think, is the cause of

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2 Dio Cas. LVII. 19. 3-4. cf. Tac. Ann. VI. 20; VI. 46, 5; Jos. 1. c.; Suet. Galba IV, where the saying is erroneously attributed to Augustus.
3 Joseph. 1. c.
4 Dio. Cas. LVIII. 23.
5 Cf. Suet. Tib. 67.
that infamous system of delation introduced by Tiberius. His own casting of horoscopes rendered him so fearful and suspicious of everybody that he imagined all the nobles were plotting treason and intriguing against the safety of his own person. This feeling may also have had much to do with his withdrawal to Capri, where he could be surrounded by his own intimate circle of friends and constantly attended by Thrasyllus, who should warn him against outsiders; while the delators kept him informed of such as were making too curious an inquiry into the state of the Emperor's health. By this method, Firmius Catus caused the downfall of an ambitious youth, Libo Drusus, a member of the Scribonian family. He had noticed that the young man was impetuous and easily led to empty projects; accordingly, he made him interested in astrology, magical rites and dream-interpretations, inflamed his pride by allusions to the dignity of his ancestors and urged the youth on to such extravagances, that he finally had gathered enough data to lay before the Emperor and to convict Drusus of conspiring against the State.

In connection with this trial Tacitus tells us that decrees of the Senate were issued: 'de mathematicis Italia pendendis,' and that two of the astrologers were killed, one hurled down from the Tarpeian Rock and the other executed outside the Esquiline gate. But Dio Cassius gives us still further information with regard to the enactments of this same year (A.D. 16 or 17).

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1 Tac. Ann. II. 27. soc.
2 " " II. 32. 5.
3 Fragment of Ulpian, 'Pomponio et Rufo cess...ut mathematicis Chaldaeis ariolis et ceteris...qua et igni interdicatur' (Furneaux, Ann. of Tacitus, I. p. 320 n.)
According to his account, all foreign astrologers, magi, etc., were put to death, whereas Roman citizens, who had disregarded a former edict of the praetor, forbidding them to practise any of these arts, were exiled; those who had desisted were granted impunity. Suetonius that Tiberius suppressed all foreign religions, especially the Egyptian and the Jewish, and 'expulit et mathematicos, sed deprecantibus ac se artem desituros promittantibus veniam dedit.'

Another instance of high treason, in which the consulting of astrologers was one of the chief charges, was the prosecution of Lepida, granddaughter of Sulla and Pompey. 'Defertur simulavisse partum ex P. Quirinio divite atque orbo. Adicioebantur adulteria, venena, quaestumque per Chaldaeos in domum Caesaris.' Tiberius expressed an apparent desire to have the maiestatis criminis thrown out of the case, but at the same time he ordered Marcus Servilius to find witnesses to prove these very charges. The result, 'quaerat seque igni arcebatur' was to be expected.

As a proof of the fear in which Tiberius constantly lived, Suetonius cites the fact that the Emperor 'haruspices secreto ac sine testibus consulvi vetuit,' and even attempted to suppress the oracles near the city. Nor were his fears ungrounded, as is shown by the attitude of the citizens of Rome in reference to his departure from the city. 'Ferebant periti caelestium iis motibus siderum excessisse Roma Tiberium, ut reditus illi negaretur. unde exitii causa multis fuit properum finem vitae coniunctibus vulgantibusque.' Tacitus then gives us his own conclusions: 'neque enim tam incred-
bilem casum providebant, ut undecim per annos libens patria careret. Mox
patuit breve confinium artis et falsi, veraque quam obscuris tegerentur.
nam in urbem non regressurum haud forte dictum: ceterorum noscii egere, cum
propinguo rure, aut litora et saepe moenia urbis adsidens extremae senectae
compleverit. 1

I regard this incident as one of the strong proofs of the
fatalistic influence that astrology exercised on the ordinary Roman, whether
or not he was philosophically inclined: otherwise it would be difficult to
understand how he could be so reckless to believe, as he did, in the approaching
death of the Emperor, based, as it was, on the mere prediction that the
Emperor would never return to Rome. In this connection, it is interesting
to observe that Tacitus acknowledges his own belief in the prediction, by
the use of the words, haud forte dictum.

Towards the end of his reign Tiberius would have cut to death
many more suspected persons, if Thrasyllus had not mercifully intervened
and saved them. The Emperor had such implicit faith in him that, when the
astrologer falsely informed him that he was destined to live ten years
longer, he was persuaded to defer many of his intended cruelties to a later
date. 2 But a more remarkable thing, and one more difficult to understand,
is that Tiberius had such a confident belief in living to the time predicted
by Thrasyllus, notwithstanding his own skill in the art, that in
his last illness, he refused to consult a physician or to change his manner
of living. 3

1 Tac. Ann. IV. 58.
3 Dio Cas. LVIII. 28. 1.
In this period of Tiberius' reign, from A.D. 14 to 37, astrology attained as high a position as at any time; almost, in the first two centuries after Christ, and its influence on the lives and actions of the Roman people remained practically the same throughout. As is natural, however, there are more recorded instances of its effects on the last century and a half. Accordingly, I shall make use of all the available incidents; in order to emphasize as clearly as possible, their bearing upon the fortunes of the Roman Empire.

In explaining the reason for Caligula's building a bridge of boats across the bay from Baiae to Puteoli, Suetonius writes that, when himself a boy, he had heard his grandfather say that it was done in order to nullify the response of Thrasyllus to Tiberius (when the latter was puzzling over a successor), 'Non magis imperaturum quam per Baianum sinum equis discursurum.' Near the end of his reign, when portents and prodigies gave proof futurae caedis, upon consulting the astrologer, Sulla, with reference to his nativity, he was informed 'certissimam necem approquinquare.'

In the reign of Claudius, Agrippina, jealous of Lollia, trumped up against her the charge of consulting magicians and Chaldaeans in reference to the Emperor's marriage. She was condemned unheard, exiled from Italy, and her estates confiscated. In A.D. 52 Furius Scribonianus suffered exile, 'quasi finem principis per Chaldaeos scrutaretur.' A decree of the Senate.

1 Suet. Calig. 19.
2 Ib. 57.
3 Tac. Ann. XII. 22.
4 " " . 52.
was passed for the expelling of astrologers from Italy, 'atrox et inritum.'

But persecution, as has always been the case, only served to stimulate a greater interest in astrology; while those astrologers who had suffered banishment or imprisonment the largest number of times were held in proportionate esteem.

From the conjunction of planets at Nero's birth, a certain astrologer predicted that the boy would be Emperor, but would slay his mother; whereupon Agrippina cried out, 'occidat, dum imperet.' If this story be true, such a prediction may have had much to do with the persistent and finally successful efforts of this intriguing woman in placing her son in the seat of the Roman Emperors. The Emperor Nero, likewise, had as his court astrologer one Balbillus, probably the same person as the Barbillus who reached such eminence under Vespasian. When Nero became alarmed over the many prodigies and portents of the latter part of his reign and asked the advice of Balbillus, the latter told him that it was the usual custom for kings to lay the blame for such disturbances on their nobles, and then to sacrifice these in order to appease the wrath of the gods. The Emperor was not loathe to use this advice as a pretext to secure the death of several nobles whom he suspected of conspiring against him. Following the example set by Tiberius,

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1 Tac. Ann. XII. 52. 3.
2 Juv. V. 580.
4 Dio Cas. LXVI. 9. 2.
5 Suet. Nero. 36.
Nero had his delators ever on the alert to discover those who were inquiring into the Emperor's fate. Antistius Sosianus, during his exile from Rome, became acquainted with Pammenes, a celebrated astrologer of the day. By means of this intimacy he learned that Publius Anteus and Ostorius Scapulla, very prominent Romans and attached to the cause of Agrippina, were corresponding with Pammenes. He managed to procure documents containing the horoscopes of the two men, and wrote to Nero: 'magna se at quae incolumitate eius conducere adlaturum, si brevem exilii veniam impetravisset, quippe Antesium et Ostorium inminere rebus et sua Caesarisque fata scrutari.' The request was granted; Sosianus laid his information before the Emperor, who was only too glad to get strong enough evidence to rid himself of two such ambitious nobles. Both committed suicide to avoid execution. Nero also entertained a suspicion of philosophers, considering the τοίβων as merely masking some sort of fortune-teller. Musonius, 'the Babylonian', had to leave Rome for this reason, as also his master, the mystic Apollonius.

Nero's fate had also been publicly predicted, astrologers proclaiming, 'for ut quandocque destitueretur.' But, towards the close of his reign, when his prospects appeared to be very inauspicious, his drooping spirits were bolstered up by some astrologers, who promised him 'Orientis dominationem, nonnulli nominatim regnum Hierosolymorum, plures omnis pristinae fortunae restitutionem.' Naturally, he was inclined to put most faith

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2 Philostratus, Vita Apollon. Tyian. IV. 25.
3 Suet. Ner. 40.
4 Id.
in the latter prediction, and accordingly, when he had suffered his reverses in Britain and Armenia, he thought that he had passed thru the worst of his misfortunes—an instance where the astrologers employed servient flattery to gain the good-will of the Emperor as long as he should live.

But even more interesting for our present purpose is the story of the three Emperors, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, who succeeded Nero all in the space of a year. According to our historians' accounts, and regarding man as a being with a responsible will, astrology was the cause of the rise or downfall of each one of these three men. Tiberius' prediction concerning Galba, and his failure to kill this young man on the ground that what was fated to be must be, have already been mentioned. When Galba did become Emperor, and the question arose as to whom he should appoint as his successor, Otho, who had been entertaining great hopes, was exceedingly dissatisfied with Galba's inauspicious choice of Piso. His own ambitions had been roused to such an extent that he coveted and expected the honor for himself, especially since Ptolemaeus, another famous astrologer of Nero's day, had predicted that Otho would outlive Nero and would in turn become Emperor. Now that the first part of his prediction had come true, the astrologer urged the necessary fulfillment of the second part. In addition, the swarm of Chaldaeans who surrounded Otho kept predicting such success that he refused to give up his hopes, and was driven to conspire against Galba, placing a blind confidence in his destiny. Tacitus calls these astrologers, 'genius

hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur.' In this connection the writer mentions the fact that Poppaea held private consultations with her kitchen-cabinet of astrologers. 'resemin pricipalis matrimonii.' Tacitus lays the full blame for Otho's conspiracy on the instigations of Ptolemaeus. But Otho's success was destined to be short-lived. Vitellius, at the head of the legions who had proclaimed him Emperor, soon wrested the throne from Otho. He had always evinced a contempt for astrological predictions, offering as a proof of their falsity the fact that his own horoscope predicted his elevation to the throne. Nero, who had heartily despised Vitellius, laughed the prediction to scorn and let the fellow live. Nero's personal feelings in this case were too strong to yield to any belief in fatalism. Vitellius, even as Emperor, was opposed to none so much as to jugglers and astrologers. He ordered them to quit Italy and Rome before the first of October, whereupon they issued a counter-edict and posted it throughout the city: 'et Chaldaeos edicere, bonum factum, ne Vitellius Germanicus intra eundem Kalendarrum diem usquam esset.' This so enraged him that he put to death without the formality of a trial all astrologers, as soon as any one was informed against. Dio Cassius, in commenting this incident, says: 'καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ήχόντες τὸ γενησόμενον πολέμωσαν.' i.e. this is an evidence that they had exact knowledge of the future.

1 Tac.Hist.I.22.
3 Dio Cas. LXIV.4.3.
At this point I wish to digress for a short space from the historical references to astrology and consider what other writers have to say about this science. Seneca, tho a Stoic and a fatalist, did not have much confidence in the predictions of astrologers. 'Futura nuntiant,' he says, 'plerisque dixere victuros: at nihil metuentes oppressit dies; aliis dedere finem propinquum: at illi superfuere agentes; inutilis animas; felices nascendibus annos spoponderunt: at fortuna in omnem properavit. Incertae enim sortis vivimus: unicumque ista pro ingenio finguntur, non ex fide scientiae eruuntur.' 1 In discussing the efficacy of natural methods of divination from the flight of birds and from the entrails of animals, he also brings in the vanity of the Chaldaeans, who consider that five planets exert such great influence on human conduct, whereupon he asks the question: 'Quid milia siderum iudicas otiosa lucere?' In his keen satire on the deification of Claudius, he takes opportunity to give a sharp thrust at the mathematici: 'Patere mathematicos aliquando verum dicere, qui illum, ex quo princeps factus est, omnibus annis, omnibus mensibus efferunt.' 2

Persius, on the other hand, expresses his belief in the influence of the planets, when he says:

non equidem hoc dubites, amborum foedere certo
consentire dies et ab uno sidere duo....
nescio quod. certe est, quod me tibi temperat astrum.

1 Sen.de Ben. IV.7.
2 * Suasor. IV.3.
3 * N.G. II.32. cf. Dial. VI. 12. 3.
4 * Apocol. 3.
5 Pers.V. 45 sqq.
One of the best pictures comes from the pen of Petronius. This writer, it seems to me, has portrayed in the most natural colors, the credulity of the ordinary mind. Trimalchio is represented as saying: "Et sane nolentem me negotium meum agere, exhortavit mathematicus, qui venerat forte in coloniam nostram, Graeculio, Serapa nomine, consiliator deorum, hic mihi dixit etiam ea, quae oblitus eram; ab acia et acu mi omnia exposuit; intestinas meas noverat, tantumquod mihi non dixerat, quid pridie cenaveram. putasses illum semper meum habitasse. rogo, Habinna, -puto, interfuisti--: "tu dominam tuam de rebus illis fecisti. tu parum felix in amicis es. nemo unquam tibiarem gratiam refert. tu latifundia possides. tu viperam sub ala nutricas" et, quid vobis non dixerim? et nunc mi restare vitae annos triginta et menses quattuor et dies duos. praeterea cito accipiam hereditatem. hoc mihi dicit Fatus meus. quod si contigerit fundos Apuliae iungere, saties vivus pervenero. interim dum Mercurius vigilat, aedificavi hanc domum. ut scitis, casula erat; nunc templum est."

1 Trimalchio, evidently, believed implicitly in Sereoa's skill and conducted his life accordingly, just as hundreds and thousands of his fellow-citizens must have done.

Altho Martial and Juvenal properly come later, I shall treat of them at this time, for the reason that their references to astrology are just as applicable to this period as to the following one. Martial has given us an epigram in which he cleverly shows how an astrologer's prediction might be fulfilled:

Petron. Cena Trim. 76 sq.
Dixerat astrologus periturum te cito, Wunna,
Nec, oto, mentitis dixerat ille tibi.
Nam tu dum metuis, ne quid post data reliquas,
Hausisti patrias luxuriosus opes,
Bisque tuum decies non toto tabuit anno;
Dic mihi, non hoc est, Wunna, perire cito?

However, it is from Juvenal that we obtain the best conception of
astrology in reference to daily life. He shows us how universal must have been
the practice of consulting the Caldaeans, and, at the same time he signifies
his own belief in the connection between Fate and the planets. The satirist
represents Umbricius as saying:

motus astro rum ignoro, funus promittere patria
nec vol o nec poss um-

I am no astrologer that I should promise an expectant heir the speedy death of his father. This inquiry must
have been a common one, for Epictetus tells us that this was one of the
most frequent questions asked of the soothsayers. Reference is again
made to the same vice in

1 Var. Epig. IX. 82.
2 Juv. VII. 134-200; IX. 82-84; XVI. 1-4-
3 "III. 42 soc.
4 Wayor.
5 Epict. Disc. II. 7.
Nota mathematicis genesis tua, sed grave tardas
expectare colus; morieris stamine nondum
abrupto,
it is well enough for you to say that the astrolo-
gers have cast your horoscope and promised you a long life; but your son
will find it tedious to wait; unless the Fates spin quicker, you will die
before they have broken the thread. When the opportunity offers itself
Juvenal casts a slur at Tiberius

angusta Capreararum in rupe sedentis
cum grege Chaldaeo,

when the Emperor should have been attend-
ing to the more serious affairs of State. The most interesting passage
of all is found in that bitter invective against women, the sixth satire.4
We are told that, tho other soothsayers are frequently consulted, still it
is the Chaldaean in whom women have the greatest confidence, and that he is
held in the highest esteem, qui saepius exsul. Such a man was directly re-
ponsible for the death of Gaiha; and, as his prophecies had come true,

inde fides artis, sonuit si dextera ferro
laeave, e si longo castrorum in carcere mansit.
Nemo mathematicus genium indemnum habebit,
sem qui paene perit cui vix in Cyclada mitti
contigit et parva tandem caruisse Seripho.

1 Juv. XIV. 248 sqq.
2 Mayor.
3 " X. 94 sqq.
4 Juv. VI. 558-591.
5 V. Friedländer's note on 559.
6 560-564.
The wife consulted this worthy fellow about her jaundiced mother; how soon she would bury her sister and uncles, whether her lover would survive her. Many of the rich women were such experts in the art that they, themselves were able to foretell the future. They could undertake to do nothing unless they had consulted their well-thumbed calendars.

ad primum lapidem vectari cum placet, hora
sumitur ex libro; si pruriet frictus ocelli
angulus, inspecta genesi collyria poscit;
segra licet iacet, capiendo nulla videtur
aptior hora cibo nisi quam dederit Petosiris.

The rich had their own private astrologers, whereas the people of more moderate means had to consult the Chaldaeans of the circus.

Pliny tells us that Crinas of Marseilles was able to leave a large fortune when he died, because he had combined the sciences of astrology and medicine: 'ad siderum motus ex ephemeride mathematica cibos dando horae-que observando.'  

Ammianus Marcellinus, altho he wrote at the end of the fourth century, describes practices common at Rome from the time of Tiberius. 'Multi... nec in publicum prodeunt nec prandent nec lavari arbitrantur se cautius posse, antequam ephemeride scrupulose sciscitata didicerint, ubi sit verbi gratia signum Mercurii, vel quotam canori sideris partem polum discurrens obtineat luna.' In this same connection I wish to quote from

1 Juv. VI. 577-581.
3 Amm. Marc. XXVIII. 4. 24.
1 Cumont. 'The most trivial acts of daily life were seriously submitted to the judgment of the astrologer. Some people would not take a bath or go to the hair-dresser, would not change their garments or file their nails until they had awaited the propitious moment. The collections of καταγωγαί which have come down to us contain questions which make us smile; if a son who is about to be born will have a large nose? If a daughter who comes into the world will have gallantes aventures? And certain instructions seem almost a parody: he who has his hair cut during the crescent moon will become bald-headed.' Astrology, then, must have constituted a vital part of many a Roman's everyday life. With such mention of it as has been made, the result could not have been otherwise.

2 Cumont, Les Religions Orientales, l.c.

Cf. Ausonius, p.108 Peiper; 'Ungues Mercurio, barbam Iove, Cypride crines,' and his ridiculing of this idea:

Mercurius furtis probat ungues semper acutos
Articulisque aciem non sinit imminui.
Barba Iovi, crines Veneri decor: ergo necesse est,
Ut nolint demi, quo sibi uterque placent.
Mavors imberbos et calvos Luna adamasti:
Non prohibent comi tum caput atque genas,
Sol et Saturnus nil obstant unguibus: ergo
Non placitum divis tolle monostichium.

cf. Friedländer, l.c., I.186.
Cumont attributes the deification of Roman Emperors to the influence of astral religion as it affected the Oriental religions. Augustus and especially Tiberius allowed themselves to be converted to the ideas of the disciples of Posidonius... In proportion as Caesarism became more and more transformed into absolute monarchy, it tended more and more to lean for support on the Oriental clergy. These priests preached doctrines which tended to elevate sovereigns above mankind, and they supplied the Emperors with a dogmatic justification of their despotism. For the old principle of the sovereignty of the people, the original form of Caesarism, was substituted a reasoned belief in supernatural influences. The Emperor is the image of the Sun on earth, like him invincible and eternal (invictus, aeternus) as his official title declares. Already in the eyes of the Babylonians the Sun was the royal planet, and it is he that in Rome continues to give to his chosen ones the virtues of sovereignty, and destinies them for the throne from the time of their appearance on earth. He remains in close communion with them, he is their companion (coniunctus) and their congener, for they are consubstantial; and, in the third century the monarch was worshipped as 'deus et master by right of birth (deus et dominus natus), who has descended from heaven by grace of the Sun, and by his grace, will reascend thither again after death. The idea that the monarch's soul, at the moment when destiny caused it to descend to this world, received from the Star of the day its sovereign power, led to the inference that he participated in the night of this divinity, and was its representative on earth.\(^1\)

\(^1\) Cumont, Astrology and Religion, passim. \(^2\) Id. 94–96.
Let us now return to our historical account. Vespasian was the general who disposed of Vitellius. He, too, was addicted to astrology and retained as his special adviser, Seleucus. He had entertained ambitious hopes of becoming Emperor because of astrological predictions of this nature. When the year 68-69 witnessed such great confusion at Rome, Vespasian’s astrologers reminded him of former prophecies that had been revealed from his horoscope and urged him to oppose Vitellius. Since auspicious portents appeared at this time and made a favorable impression on his soldiers, he yielded to the importunities of his advisers and became Emperor. In the year 70 he, also, banished astrologers from Rome, but his edict was as powerless as those of his predecessors. He still patronized his own astrologers, however, and even went so far as to grant to a certain Barbillus the privilege to hold sacred games at Ephesus and have them named Barbillea in his own honor. In view of his edict of banishment, his action in sparing the life of Metius Pomponianus, althro vulgo crederetur genesim habere imperatoriam, and even giving him the consulship, is somewhat unaccountable. But Pomponianus was spared this time only to meet death at the hands of Domitian for the same reason.

Domitian’s imperial life was one filled with fear, because of the predictions of the astrologers. When but a young man the Chaldaeans had foretold to him the hour and manner of his death, as the time approached he contrived all the precautions he could invent to avoid private au-

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1 Tac.Hist.II.72.
4 Suet.Dom.1C.
diences and unexpected meetings. But what affected him most was the fate of the astrologer Ascletario. 'Hunc delatum nec infitientem, iactasse se quae providisset ex arte scistitatus est, quis ipsum maneret exitus; et affirmamtem fore ut brevi laceretur a canibus, interfici quidem sine mora, sed ad coarguendam teneoritate artis sepiliro quoque accuratissime imperavit. Quod cum fieret, evenit ut repentina tempestate delecto funere, semiusum. cadaver discernerat canes, idque ei caenanti a mimo Latino, qui prae-teriensi forte animadvertersit, inter oeteras diei fabulas referretur.' But, in spite of all his precautions the conspiracy against him was successful. Nerva, one of the chief conspirators, had already been suspected by Domitian, because of astrological reports in his favor. Domitian had had the horoscopes cast of all persons of quality under him and had put to death all whose nativities were imperial, including such as did not entertain the least idea of striving for the throne. But Nerva owed his escape to an astrologer who told the Emperor: 'εν τοις ὀλίγων ἡμερον τελευτᾶσει.'

Of the five so-called 'Goco Emperors', who ruled from 96 to 188, Hadrian is the only one reported as taking a personal interest in astrology. When he was general in lower Moesia, an astrologer confirmed a prediction made by his uncle, that he would receive the imperial dignity. He himself became so skilled in mathesis, that, on every New Year's day he would

1 Suet. Dom. 15.
2 " " 16.
3 Dio Cas. LXVII. 15. 6.
foretell the events of the year, those even to the day of his death. Among others, he also numbered in summa familiaritatis astrologers. Still we are told that Marcus Aurelius consulted the Chaldeans when he intended to make war upon the Marcomanni, and when his wife Faustina intrigued with a gladiator. In all likelihood, then, he employed it on other occasions.

When the family of the Severi ruled the Empire from A.D. 193-235, astrology and the Oriental cults of an astral nature reached their highest point of importance. Septimius Severus came from the Syrian Emessa, the center of the worship of Elagabalus. Chaldeans had predicted his imperial future, and he himself, believing in his lucky star, when his first wife died, married Julia, a woman of Syria, quod eam in genitura habere conceptum ut regis uxor esset. He, too, put to death many who consulted Chaldeans about his welfare. When Bassianus, a mere youth and priest of the Syrian Sun-god, Elagabalus, came to the throne in A.D. 218, he established as the State religion the abominable cult of this god and took its name for his own. Alexander Severus had his horoscope drawn upon the ceiling.

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2 " " .Commodus,II.2.8.
3 " " .Hadrian,XVI.10.
4 " " .Lamp.Helioq.IX.
5 Iul.Capit.W.Ant.Phil.XIX.
8 " " " .XV.5.
9 Dio Cas.LXXIX.11. Herodian.V.3.3.
of the hall where he sat to hear cases, on which everything was to be seen except the hour of his birth. Indeed, at the court of the Severi, those who denied the influence of the planets on the events of this world were considered more irrational than they who admit it today. Alexander was also a devout worshipper of the Sol Invictus Elegabalus, but did not go to the extremes of his predecessor.

And so astrology continued on its way, bringing death to some and honor to others—the pivot on which turned the result of many a man's decisions and actions. Sufficient evidence has already been adduced to show its strange and marvelous influence on the Roman people. From this time on, astrology continued to influence the people in the same way, but it also became 'a sacred doctrine revealed to the sects of exotic cults, which have all assumed the form of mysteries.'

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2 Cumont, Les Religions Orientales, l.c. cf. Ael. Lamp. Alex. Sev. XIV. 4. 'Rhetoribus, grammaticis, medicis, herespiciis, mathematicis, mechanicis, architectis salaria instituit et auditoriorie decrevit et discipulos cum annonis cauterum filios mooc ingenuos dari iussit.'

1 Dio Cas. LXXVI.11.1.

3 Cumont, Astrology and Religion, p.81. cf. Friedlander, l.p, 188, etc.
P.2.n.1. Cic., de Div. I.1. Now, as far as I know, there is no nation whatever, however polished and learned, or however barbarous and uncivilized, which does not believe it possible that future events may be indicated, understood and predicted by certain persons.

P.8.n.1. Ennius, Fabulae (Müller) Telamo III. I have always said and I shall always say that there is a race of gods in heaven, but I don't think that they trouble themselves as to what humanity does, for, if they did, the good and the wicked would receive their just deserts, which is not at all true of present conditions.

P.9.n.1. Livy XXV.1. In proportion as the war was protracted and the sentiments no less than the circumstances of men fluctuated accordingly as events flowed prosperously or otherwise, the citizens were seized with such a passion for superstitious observances, and those for the most part introduced from foreign countries, that either the people or the gods appear to have undergone a sudden change. And now the Roman rites were growing into disuse, not only in private and within doors, but in public also; in the forum and Capitol there were crowds of women sacrificing and offering up prayers to the gods in modes unusual in that country. A low order of sacrificers and soothsayers had enslaved men's understandings, and the numbers of these were increased by the country people, whom want and terror had driven into the city from the fields which had lain uncultivated during a protracted war, and which suffer from the incursions of the enemy, and by the profitable trading in the ignorance of others which they carried like an
allowed and customary trade. At first, good men gave utterance in private to the indignation they felt at these proceedings, but afterwards the thing came before the fathers and formed a matter of complaint. The seculae and the triumviri appointed for the execution of criminals were severely reprimanded by the Senate for not preventing these irregularities; but when they attempted to remove the crowd of persons thus employed from the forum and to overthrow their preparations for their sacred rites, they themselves narrowly escaped personal injury. It being now evident that the evil was too powerful to be checked by inferior magistrates, the Senate commissioned Marcus Atilius, the city praetor, to rid the people of these superstitions.

He called an assembly, in which he read the decree of the Senate, and gave notice that all persons who had any books of divination or forms of prayer or any system of sacrificing, should lay all the aecresaii books and writings before him before the calends of April, and that no person should sacrifice in any public or consecrated place according to new or foreign rites.

P.10.n.1.Cato de Agric. V. P. He should not consult any haruspex, augur or Chaldaeans.

P.10.n.2.Ennius, trag. fr. X. Telamo III (Wissler).

All these are but false conjurors,
Who have no skill to read futurity,
They are but hypocrites, urged on by hunger;
Ignorant of themselves, they would teach others,
To whom they promise boundless wealth, and beg
A penny in return, paid in advance.
P.10.n.3. Enn. trag. fr. X. Achilles II. 74-76 (Müller). He looks for the signs of the astrologers in the heavens; he observes the time of rising of Jove's goat or scorpion or some other monster of light. No one sees what is in front of his feet; he is busy scrutinizing the different quarters of the sky.

P.10.n.4. Val. Max. I. 3.3.: causing a profitable dullness of perception thru their untrustworthy and senseless talents, false interpretation of the constellations and their many fictions.

P.11.n.1. Cic. de Div. I. 58. 132. Of little service are the Persian prophet, the haruspices of the village, the astrologer of the thronged circus, the priest of Isis, or the interpreters of dreams.

P.11.n.3. Cic. de Div. II. 42. 58. Panaetius, who alone of the Stoics has rejected the predictions of the astrologers.

P.15.n.1. Plut. Marius. 42. Chaldaeans, soothsayers and diviners persuaded him to stay in Rome, promising him success... it is said that in the garments of the murdered man were found Chaldaean calculations.

P.15.n.2. Cic. ad Cat. III. 4. 2. Lentulus had assured him, basing his reasons on the Sibyline oracles and the responses of the soothsayers, that he was the third Cornelius, to whom was destined to come the government and control of this city.

P.16.n.3. Cic. de Div. II. 47. 99. How many of these Chaldaean prophecies do I remember being repeated to Pompey, Crassus and to Caesar himself! according to which, not one of these heroes was to die except in old age, in domestic felicity, and perfect renown; so that I wonder that any living man can yet believe in these imposters, whose predictions he sees falsified daily by facts and results.
Agrippa performed these acts and banished from the city both astrologers and jugglers.

The days of the gods: Cronus, Helius, Selene, Ares, Hermes, Zeus, Aphrodite.

Suet. Aug.: that he had his own nativity declared and struck a silver coin bearing upon it the sign of Capricorn, the constellation, under which he was born.

Don't try to find out what 'tis wrong to know, the length of life the gods have decreed you and me, Leuconoe, and don't consult the calculations of the astrologers. How much better it is to endure whatever comes, whether Jupiter has granted us the privilege to live thru several more winters or whether this one, which sends the waves of the Tyrrhene sea dashing against the opposing rocks, is our last. Be wise, rack off your wine, proportion your hopes to the shortness of life. While we gossip, time goes flying past. Make good use of today and give no thought to tomorrow.

Whether Libra or malignant Saturn presides over my existence as the one having the greater influence over the hour of my birth, or Capricorn, the monarch of the western wave, our respective horoscopes agree in a wonderful manner; the protection of Jupiter, shining in direct opposition, rescued thee from wicked Saturn and stayed the wings of swift destiny.

And so, if you really desire to be immortal, do you yourself especially worship the gods at all times and in all places according to tradition and compel others to do them honor. Put...
hold in abhorrence and in check those who practice foreign rites, not only on account of the gods, for he who despises these will not hold anything else in due respect, but also because those who introduce strange divinities allure many to the adoption of foreign customs. As a result, conspiracies, political unions and clubs arise, which are by no means helpful to a monarchy. Tolerate neither despisers of the gods nor mountebanks. Divination, however, is necessary, and you must appoint certain diviners and augurs to be consulted by those who wish to do so. But magi must not be allowed, for, altho they oftentimes tell the truth, still they tell falsehoods more frequently and cause people to desire improper innovations. And this is the very thing that those who profess to philosophize, and there are quite a good many of them, also do. For this reason I bid you guard against them, too. Just because you found Arius and Athenodorus good and honorable men is no reason that you should believe that all the others who say that they philosophize are like them. For using this scheme as a pretext they cause countless trouble to nations and individuals.

P. 22 n. 1. Manili Astron. I. 1. My endeavor is to compose for mankind the story in verse of the heavenly sciences, and the accomplice stars of Fate which checover the sundered lots of men, the work of a heavenly reason.

P. 22 n. 2. Ib. IV. 14. The world is governed by Fate; everything occurs according to a fixed law.

P. 22 n. 3. Ib. IV. 49. Unless the Fates had a hand in this, they would never have enjoyed such good fortune.

P. 28 n. 1. Suet. Tit. XIV. 2. He will come in time to be even a king, but without the usual badge of royal dignity, the rule of the Caesars being as yet unknown.
P.23.n.3. Tac. Ann.VI.21: he cherished among his intimate friends.

P.24.n.1. Suet.Tib.XIV.1. He returned to Rome after an absence of nearly eight years, with great and confident hopes of his future elevation, which he had entertained from his youth in consequence of various prodigies and predictions.

P.25.n.2. Dio Cas.LVII.19.8-4. You, too, at some time shall taste of empire.

P.26.n. Tac.Ann.II.32.5: about expelling the astrologers from Italy.

P.27.n.2. Suet.Tib.36. He also excelled the astrologers; but upon their suing for pardon, and promising to renounce their profession, he revoked his decree.

P.27.n.3. Tac.Ann.III.22 sq. She was married to P. Quirinius, a citizen of great wealth, far advanced in years, but without children to inherit his estate. The wife was charged with an attempt to pass a supposititious child for his legitimate issue. Other articles were added; such as adultery, dealing in poisons and consultations with the Chaldean astrologers concerning the fate of the imperial family.

P.27.n.4 Tac.Ann.III.23: she was forbid the use of fire and water.

P.27.n.5 Suet.Tib.68: he forbade the soothsayers to be consulted in private and without some witnesses being present.

P.27.n.6 Tac.Ann.IV.58.2. The professors of judicial astrology declared their opinion that the position of the planets, under which Tiberius left the capital, made his return impossible. This prediction gained credit, and the death of the Emperor being, by consequence, thought near at hand, numbers, who had been bold enough to circulate the rumor, brought on their own destruction.
That the prince should remain during the space of eleven years a voluntary exile from the seat of government, was an event beyond the reach of human foresight. In the end, however, the art of such as pretended to see into the future was discovered to be vain and frivolous. It was seen how nearly truth and falsehood are allied, and how much the facts, which happened to be foretold, are involved in darkness. That Tiberius would return no more, was a prophecy verified by the event; the rest was altogether visionary; since we find that long after that time he appeared in the neighborhood of Rome, sometimes on the adjacent shore, often in the suburbs, and died at last in the extremity of old age.

P.29.n.1. Suet. Calig. 19.: Caius would no more be Emperor than he would ride on horseback across the gulf of Baiae.

P.29.n.2. Suet. Calig. 57.: of his approaching fate... that death would unavoidably and speedily befall him.

P.29.n.4. Tac. Ann. XII. 52. He was charged with having consulted the Chaldeans about the length of the Emperor's reign.


P.30.n.4. Tac. Ann. XIV. 9.: let him kill me provided he rule.

P.31.n.1. Tac. Ann. XVI. 14.: that he had discoveries of the first importance, involving even the safety of the prince, and if he might visit Rome for a few days, the whole should be brought to light, with all the machinations of Anteus and Cestorus Scapula, who beyond all doubt were engaged in treasonable design, and had been trying into their own destiny and that of the imperial house.
it would be his fortune to be at last deserted by all the world.

: the rule of the east, and some in express words the kingdom of Jerusalem: but the greater part of them flattered him with assurance of his being restored to his former fortune.

: a race of imposters, who had been ever ready, with vile infusions, to poison the hearts of princes, and even to stimulate ambition to its ruin; a set of perfidious men, proscripted by law, and yet, in defiance of all law, cherished in such a city as Rome the most detestable accessories of an imperial establishment.

Take notice: The Chaldeans also decree that Vitellius Germanicus shall be no more, by the day of the said caleños.

They announce the future! They declared that many would live: the end came upon them when they least suspected it: to others they granted but a short while to live: but they lived on leading absolutely useless lives: they foretold to babes at birth good-luck: but misfortune occurred in every one of them. We live an uncertain lot: these prophecies are fashioned for each one according to his disposition and are not evolved from a scientific belief in them.

Why do you think thousands of stars shine to no purpose?

for once let the prophets tell the truth, who have been taking him off every year, every month even, since he was made Emperor.

Doubt not, at least, this fact; that both our days harmonize by some definite compact, and are derived from the
self-same planet... At all events, there is some star, I know not what, that blends my destiny with thine.

P.35.n.1. Petron. Cena Trim. 76 so. A fortune-teller, a young Greek named Serates, a man who was on very good terms with the gods, gave me some points when I was making up my mind to go out of business. He told me of things that even I had forgotten. He set them forth down to the very finest possible point. He knew my very insides, and the only thing he didn't tell me was what I had had for dinner the day before. You would imagine that he had lived in the same house with me. I say, Habbina, you were there I think. Didn't he say this? "You have married a wife from such and such a position. You are unlucky in your friends. No one is ever as grateful to you as he ought to be. You have great estates. You are cherishing a viper in your bosom." And he also told me something that I haven't mentioned, that there remains to me now of life just thirty years, four months, and two days. Moreover, I'm going to come into a legacy pretty soon. That's what my horoscope tells me. But if I shall be so lucky as to unite my Apulian estates, I shall not have lived in vain. In the meantime, while my luck held, I built this house, which, as you know, was once a shanty, but 'tis now a palace.

P.36.n.1. Mart. Epig. IX.82. The astrologer said you're soon, Wunna. And I don't think he prorogated when he said it: for while you are dreading lest you leave anything behind you you have been wasting your ancestral substance in riotous living, and your thousands have dwindled away in less than a year. Tell me, Wunna, isn't this dying in short order?

P.36.n.2. Juv. III.42. ssv. I know not, the motion of the stars. I neither will nor can promise a man to secure his father's death.
Your horoscope is known to the astrologers. Yes! but it is a tedious business to wait for the slow-spinning distaffs. You will be cut off long before your thread is spun out.

who lounged away his time with his hord of Chaldaeans on the narrow cliffs of Capreae.

P.37.n.6. Juv. VI.560-584. Hence arises confidence in his art, if both his hands have clanked with chains, and he has been long an inmate of the cam-orison. No astrologer that has never been condemned will have any reputation for genius; but he that has hardly escaped with his life, and scarcely had good fortune to be sent to one of the Cyclades, and at length to be set free from the confined Seriphos—

P.37.n.1. Juv. VI.577-581. When it is her fancy to ride as far as the first mile-stone, the lucky hour is taken from her book; if the corner of her eye itches when she rubs it, she calls for ointment after a due inspection of her horoscope: tho she lies sick in bed no hour appears suited to taking food, save that which Ptosiris has directed.

P.38.r.2. Pliny N.E. XXIX.1.(5).9. By administering food and observing the proper hours from the horoscope calculated according to the movements of the stars.

P.38.r.3. Amm. Marc. XXVIII.4.24. Many do not go out in public nor dine or think that they can bathe with proper precautions, until they have learned, after a most careful examination of the calendar, where Mercury is, so to speak, or what part of the constellation of Cancer contains the moon as it goes thru the heavens.
Mercury approves always of sharp nails for thefts and does not allow the finger points to be injured. The beard is becoming to Jupiter and hair to Venus: therefore it necessarily follows that they are to unwilling to be deprived of the thing which is becoming to both. You, Mars, have always loved the beardless, and you, Luna, the bald-headed: but they don't prevent those who are favorable to them from having hair and a beard. Sol and Saturn do not offer any opposition to nails: so 'tis best to disregard entirely that monostich that is not acceptable to the gods.

This person had been informed against, and did not deny his having predicted some future events, of which, from the principles of his art, he confessed he had a foreknowledge. Domitian asked him, what end he thought he should come to himself? To which replying, "I shall in a short time be torn to pieces by dogs," he ordered him immediately to be slain, and, in order to demonstrate the vanity of his art, to be carefully buried. But during the preparations for executing the order, it happened that the funeral pile was blown down by a sudden storm, and the body, half-burnt, was torn to pieces by dogs: which being observed by Latinus, the comic actor, as he chanced to pass that way, he told it amongst the other news of the day to the Emperor at supper.

P. 39. n. 2. Auson. p. 198 Peiper. Mercury approves always of sharp nails for thefts and does not allow the finger points to be injured. The beard is becoming to Jupiter and hair to Venus: therefore it necessarily follows that they are to unwilling to be deprived of the thing which is becoming to both. You, Mars, have always loved the beardless, and you, Luna, the bald-headed: but they don't prevent those who are favorable to them from having hair and a beard. Sol and Saturn do not offer any opposition to nails: so 'tis best to disregard entirely that monostich that is not acceptable to the gods.

P. 42. n. 1. Suet. Dom. 15. This person had been informed against, and did not deny his having predicted some future events, of which, from the principles of his art, he confessed he had a foreknowledge. Domitian asked him, what end he thought he should come to himself? To which replying, "I shall in a short time be torn to pieces by dogs," he ordered him immediately to be slain, and, in order to demonstrate the vanity of his art, to be carefully buried. But during the preparations for executing the order, it happened that the funeral pile was blown down by a sudden storm, and the body, half-burnt, was torn to pieces by dogs: which being observed by Latinus, the comic actor, as he chanced to pass that way, he told it amongst the other news of the day to the Emperor at supper.

P. 42. n. 3. Dio Cas. 15. 5-8. He will die within a few days.

P. 43. n. 7. Ael. Spart. Sent. Sev. 31. 9. Because he had learned that her horoscope decreed that she should be the wife of a king.