

SEXUALITY AND EROTICISM IN THE HOROSCOPES OF ANTIGONUS OF NICAEA

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ABSTRACT

The present contribution focuses on six ancient Greco-Roman horoscopes that deal with sexuality and/or eroticism. Special attention is paid to two horoscopes by Antigonos of Nicaea (Antig. Nic. F2 and F3 in the edition of Heilen 2015): These texts are presented in full with English translations and diagrams as well as historical, lexical and astrological analyses of their contents. In both cases, Antigonos' discussions of sexual details turn out to be in keeping with the astrological tradition. In addition, they appear to serve the purpose of discrediting the respective natives. By way of contrast, F1 of Antigonos, the horoscope of Hadrian, is also taken into account, and it is argued that (and why) Antigonos purposely abstained from making comparable remarks on sexuality in F1.

KEY WORDS: ANTIGONUS OF NICAEA, CEIONIUS RUFIVS ALBINVS, CLAVDIVS PTOLEMY, EROTICISM, HADRIAN (EMPEROR), HEPHAESTIO OF THEBES, HISTORY, HETEROSEXUALITY, HOMOSEXUALITY, PAMPREPIVS OF PANOPOLIS, PEDANIVS FVSCVS, ΠΥΤΙΑΡΟΣ, SOCIAL NORMS, STOICICSM, ΦΥΣΙΣ.

SEXUALIDAD Y EROTISMO EN LOS HORÓSCOPOS DE ANTÍGONO DE NICEA

RESUMEN

La contribución presente se centra en seis horóscopos grecorromanos antiguos que tratan de sexualidad y erotismo. Se presta especial atención a dos horóscopos de Antígono de Nicea (Antig. Nic. F2 y F3 de la edición de Heilen 2015): Estos textos se presentan en su totalidad con traducción inglesa y diagramas, así como con análisis histórico, léxico y astrológico de su contenido. En ambos casos las discusiones de Antígono sobre detalles sexuales tienen que ver con la tradición astrológica. Además, parece que sirven al propósito de desacreditar a los respectivos nacidos. También se considera, a modo de contraste, el F1 de Antígono, el horóscopo de Adriano, y se ha argumentado que (y los motivos) Antígono se abstuvo a propósito de hacer indicaciones comparables sobre sexualidad en el F1.

PALABRAS CLAVE: ANTÍGONO DE NICEA, CEIONIO RUFIO ALBINO, CLAUDIO TOLOMEO, EROTISMO, ADRIANO (EMPERADOR), HEFESTIÓN DE TEBAS, HISTORIA, HETEROSEXUALIDAD, HOMOSEXUALIDAD, PAMPREPIO DE PANÓPOLIS, PEDANIO FUSCO, ΠΥΤΙΑΡΟΣ, NORMAS SOCIALES, ESTOISCISMO, ΦΥΣΙΣ.

While sexuality and eroticism occupy a large space in the theoretical sections of Greco–Roman astrological manuals, they are rarely mentioned in the extant practical applications of astrological theory. Among the more than 300 horoscopes that are preserved from Greco–Roman antiquity, only six contain astrological discussions of sexual details of the biographies of the respective natives. They are, in chronological order:

Text	Source ¹	Textual characterization (and scholarly identification) of the native
1	Antig. Nic., F2 ap. Heph., II18.54–61 (Hor. gr. 40.IV.5)	a ‘sordid’, lewd homosexual (anonymous)
2	Antig. Nic., F3 ap. Heph., II18.62–66 (Hor. gr. 113.IV.5)	a womanizer (Pedanius Fuscus, <i>PIR</i> ² P 198)
3	Val., II 37.52–55 (Hor. gr. 116.I.21)	an effeminate passive homosexual (anonymous)
4	Val., VII 6.164–192 (Hor. gr. 142.III.25)	a young heterosexual (anonymous)
5	Firm., <i>math.</i> 2.29,10–20 (Hor. lat. 303.III.14)	an adulterer (Ceionius Rufius Albinus, consul 335 CE, <i>PLRE</i> I 37 s.v. <i>Albinus</i> 14)
6	Rhet., V113–117 ² (Hor. gr. 440.IX.29)	a lewd person (Pamprepius of Panopolis, 440–484 CE, <i>PLRE</i> II 825–828)

All six are so-called literary horoscopes, preserved as examples in astrological manuals. The present contribution will be a case-study of the earliest two of these texts (1 and 2) with occasional references to the other four³.

The two horoscopes in question were written around the middle of the second century CE by Antigonus of Nicaea. Only fragments of this author’s astrological manual survive⁴. We know almost nothing about the author himself, except for his native town Nicaea and that he was probably identical with the physician Antigonus of Nicaea, datable to the same period and author of a medical treatise on antidotes. Most of the astrological fragments of Antigonus are preserved in a doxographical chapter of the *Apotelesmatika* of Hephaestio of Thebes, written in the early fifth century⁵. This chapter is devoted to

¹ The references in parentheses are to the identifiers of datable horoscopes in the catalogue of Heilen 2015, pp. 204–333 (Greco–Roman section: pp. 213–330).

² The authoritative edition is still that of PINGREE, 1976, pp. 144–146. The late David Pingree’s new edition of Rhetorius is being prepared by the present author for publication.

³ On text 3, see below, p. 127; on text 4, see below, p. 135; on text 5, see below, n. 72; on text 6, see below, p. 128.

⁴ See the edition of the Greek text with translation and extensive commentary in HEILEN, 2015.

⁵ Heph., II 18.21–76 and Heph., *epit.* 4.26,11–66, ed. PINGREE, 1973–1974. Hephaestio was born in 380 CE (see HEILEN, 2015, 297, on *Hor. gr.* 380.XI.26).

the τύχη ἀξιώματικῆ, i.e., the dignity and social reputation that a native may be expected to occupy in his life. Hephaestio first quotes from the works of Claudius Ptolemy and Dorotheus of Sidon. Then he gives various, partly extensive excerpts from the manual of Antigonus who is said to represent the tradition that goes back to the two legendary astrological authorities ‘Nechepsos and Petosiris’⁶. The first three of these excerpts are horoscopes of anonymous individuals, numbered **F1**, **F2**, and **F3** in my edition (Heilen 2015). The astronomical data contained in these horoscopes refer to the following birth-days: 24 January 76 CE (**F1**), 5 April 40 CE (**F2**), and 5 or 6 April 113 CE (**F3**).

Although these horoscopes are, as usual in literary horoscopes, presented anonymously, the first and third can be identified with certainty thanks to biographical information contained in the texts: **F1** (the longest extant horoscope from antiquity) is the horoscope of emperor Hadrian (76–138 CE), **F3** that of his grand-nephew Pedanius Fuscus. In view of this connection between **F1** and **F3**, **F2** is probably the horoscope of another member of the family or the entourage of Hadrian. This man’s identity, however, cannot be reliably ascertained, partly because the text does not say at which age and in which manner he died. Several identifications have been proposed by modern scholars:

- a) P. Aelius Hadrianus Afer⁷, the father of Hadrian;
- b) L. Iulius Ursus Servianus⁸, Hadrian’s brother in law and grandfather of Pedanius Fuscus (**F3**);
- c) L. Licinius Sura⁹, the second most powerful man in Rome under Trajan;
- d) M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curvatus Maternus¹⁰;
- e) P. Acilius Attianus¹¹, a friend of Trajan and together with Trajan tutor of Hadrian after the early death of Hadrian’s father in 85/86 CE¹².

⁶ Heph., II 18.21. On ‘Nechepsos and Petosiris’ see RYHOLT, 2011, HEILEN, 2011, HEILEN, 2015, pp. 40–47 and pp. 539–562.

⁷ PIR² A 185 / CABALLOS RUFINO, 1990, pp. 44f., n° 8. This identification was first suggested by Cramer 1954, 162–163, with reference to NEUGEBAUER – VAN HOESEN, 1959, p. 80.

⁸ PIR² I 631 (cf. I 569) / CABALLOS RUFINO, 1990, pp. 386–388, n° I 30. First suggested by CRAMER, 1954, p. 177.

⁹ PIR² L 253 / CABALLOS RUFINO, 1990, pp. 183–193, n° 103. First suggested by BARNES, 1976.

¹⁰ PIR² C 1604 / CABALLOS RUFINO, 1990, pp. 349f., n° I 15. First suggested by CABALLOS RUFINO, 1986, 124.

¹¹ PIR² A 45 / Caballos Rufino 1990, 31–38, n° 5. First suggested by Caballos Rufino 1990, 35–36.

¹² A sixth, absurd proposal was made by BAKHOUCHE, 2002, p. 178: “L. Ceionus [sic] Commodus, le futur empereur Commode”.

The most plausible of these identifications is the last, P. Acilius Attianus¹³. In view of the certain identifications of **F1** and **F3**, several points need to be emphasized: Antigonus was not a court astrologer in Rome but worked somewhere in the East of the Roman Empire (Alexandria?)¹⁴; there is a significant discrepancy between his positive picture of Hadrian (**F1**) and his negative picture of the other two individuals (**F2** and **F3**); a plausible yet uncertain explanation of this fact is to assume that Antigonus drew his biographical information on all three natives primarily from Hadrian's (now lost) autobiography¹⁵.

The first relevant text reads thus¹⁶:

Antig. Nic. **F2** ap. Heph., II 18.54–61 (ed. Heilen, 2015, pp. 160–168)

(54) ἔστω τινὰ ἔχειν τὸν Ἥλιον ἐν Κριῶ
περὶ μοίρας τῷ ὀρίοις Ἑρμοῦ, Σελήνην
ἐν Διδύμοις μοίρα ιε' ὀρίοις Ἀφροδίτης,
Κρόνον ἐν Ζυγῷ περὶ μοίρας κ' ὀρίοις
Διὸς ἀκρόνυχον, Δία ἐν Ὑδροχόῳ
μοίρα ζ' ὀρίοις Ἑρμοῦ ἐπ' ἀνατολῆς
ἑώας, Ἄρην δὲ ἐν Κριῶ περὶ μοίρας ιε'
ὀρίοις Ἑρμοῦ, Ἀφροδίτην ὁμοίως ἐν
Κριῶ περὶ μοίρας ε' ὀρίοις Διὸς, Ἑρμῆν
δὲ ἐν Κριῶ περὶ μοίρας ζ' ὀρίοις Διὸς,
τῶν τριῶν ἔτι ὑπὸ δύσιν ὄντων· καὶ ὁ
μὲν ὠροσκόπος Καρκίνου μοίρα κδ',
τὸ δὲ δύνων ὠσαύτως Αἰγόκερω μοίρα
κδ', καὶ τὸ μὲν ὑπέργειον μεσουράνημα
Κριοῦ μοίρα ι', τὸ δ' ὑπόγειον Ζυγοῦ ι'.
οἰκοδεσποτήσῃ τῆς γενέσεως, φησὶν, ὁ
Ἄρης. (55) ἡ δὲ τριταία τῆς Σελήνης ἐν

(54) Assume that somebody has the Sun in Aries about 19° in terms of Mercury, the Moon in Gemini 15°, terms of Venus, Saturn in Libra about 20°, terms of Jupiter, in opposition (to the Sun)¹⁷, Jupiter in Aquarius 6°, terms of Mercury, in the phase of morning visibility¹⁸, Mars in Aries about 15°, terms of Mercury, Venus equally in Aries about 5°, terms of Jupiter, Mercury in Aries about 6°, terms of Jupiter, and besides the three (Mars, Venus, and Mercury) in the phase of invisibility¹⁹. And (assume that) the ascendant (is) in Cancer 24°, the setting point in like manner in Capricornus 24°, the upper culmination in Aries 10°, the lower (culmination) in Libra 10°. The ruler of the nativity, he (Antigonus) says, will be Mars. (55) The

¹³ For detailed argument in support of this assertion, see HEILEN, 2015, pp. 1040–1042.

¹⁴ See my arguments in HEILEN, 2005, p. 61, and HEILEN, 2015, p. 54.

¹⁵ See HEILEN, 2005, pp. 61–64, and HEILEN, 2015, p. 55.

¹⁶ My English translation partly follows NEUGEBAUER – VAN HOESSEN (1959) and SCHMIDT (2009). All round brackets in my translations of **F2** (here) and of **F3** (below) contain words that elucidate the meaning of the Greek text without having lexical equivalents in it. A different, emic translation of all three horoscopes of Antigonus of Nicaea will become available in HEILEN (forthcoming).

¹⁷ Literally: (rising) at nightfall.

¹⁸ I.e., more than 15° (and less than 120°) apart from the Sun.

¹⁹ I.e., less than 15° apart from the Sun.

Καρκίνῳ ἔσται, ἡ ἑβδομαία ἐν Παρθένῳ, ἡ δὲ τεσσαρακοσταία ἐν Σκορπίῳ.

(56) Ὁ οὕτως ἔχων τοὺς ἀστέρας ἔσται προφανῆς ἐκ προφανῶν, ἐξουσιαστικός καὶ πολλοὺς κολάζων, πολυχρήματος, ἄδικος μὴ κατηγορούμενος· πολυχρήματος μὲν διὰ τὸ τρίγωνον (Κρόνου καὶ Διὸς καὶ Σελήνης ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὄντων), ἄδικος δὲ μὴ κατηγορούμενος διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἄρεως καὶ Ἑρμοῦ στάσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ μεσουρανήματος ἀμφοτέρων ὄντων ὑπαύγων, προφανῆς δὲ διὰ τὸ τοὺς δ' ἀστέρας ἐν τῷ μεσουρανήματι τυγχάνειν καὶ τὴν προγενομένην σύνοδον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γενῆσθαι ζῳδίῳ. οὐ γὰρ μικρὰ δύναμις ἔστιν ἡ προγενομένη σύνοδος, ὅπταν κατὰ κέντρον τύχη, μάλιστα τὸ ὠροσκοποῦν ἢ τὸ μεσουράνημα.

(57) Πρὸς δὲ τὰς θηλείας μίξεις ἀνεπίστροφος τυγχάνει καὶ ῥυπαρὸς πρὸς τὰς ἀρρενικὰς μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τὸ τὸν Ἄρεα μετὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἑρμοῦ τὴν στάσιν ἔχειν ἐν Κριῷ ἀσελγεῖ ὄντι καὶ ὀραῖσθαι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐκ διαμέτρου ὑπὸ Κρόνου, προσέτι τῷ πάντας αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἀστέρας ἐν ἀρρενικοῖς ζῳδίοις εἶναι.

(58) Ὁ δὲ ἥλιος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰδίου ὑψώματος ὢν καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μεσουρανήματος καὶ δορυφορούμενος παρά τε τῶν προαναγεγμένων αὐτοῦ ἀστέρων ἐν τε τῷ αὐτῷ ζῳδίῳ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς ἐν Ὑδροχόῳ (ἀεὶ γὰρ δορυφοροῦσιν ἕως <τῆς> τετραγώνου

third day of the Moon will be in Cancer, the seventh in Virgo, the fortieth in Scorpio²⁰.

(56) He who has the stars in this way (at his birth) will be distinguished among those who are distinguished, a person of authority and punisher of many, very wealthy, unjust but not accused: very wealthy due to the trigon because Saturn, Jupiter and the Moon are in it, unjust but not accused because of the positions of Mars and Mercury on the midheaven²¹, both being under the rays²², and distinguished because the four stars happen to be on the midheaven and the preceding conjunction (of Sun and Moon) took place in the same sign. For the preceding conjunction has no little power when it happens to be at a center, especially the ascendant or the midheaven.

(57) And he (the native) happens to be indifferent to female intercourse and sordid with regard to male intercourse, first and above all because of the position of Mars together with Venus and Mercury in Aries, which (zodiacal sign) is lewd, and because Venus is looked upon by Saturn from opposition, and in addition because they, the (seven) planets, are all in male signs.

(58) And the Sun being in its own exaltation and on the midheaven and attended by the planets which precede it in the same sign as well as by Jupiter in Aquarius – for always the stars which precede the Sun up to quartile position

²⁰ I.e., respectively at 15° Cancer, Virgo, and Scorpio (one, three, and five full signs apart from the natal Moon).

²¹ I.e., in the 10th place of the dodecatropos.

²² I.e., Mars and Mercury are near the Sun and therefore invisible.

στάσεως τῆς προανηνεγμένης) λαμπρὸν καὶ ἔνδοξον τὸ θέμα ἀπετέλεσεν. (59) ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ Σελήνη αὐξουσα ἐν τριγωνικῷ σχήματι πρὸς τε Κρόνον καὶ Δία εὐδαίμονα καὶ πολυχρήματον ἀπειργάσατο καὶ τῇ πατρίδι πολλὰ ἀναθήματα καὶ δωρεὰς παρέχοντα. (60) μὴ λαθέτω δέ σε μηδὲ τοῦτο ὡς τῶν ἀστέρων ὄντων πάντων ἢ τῶν πλείστων ἐν ἰδίοις ζωδίοις ἢ τόποις συμβαίνει ποιεῖν ἀξιωματικούς καὶ ἐπισήμους ἀνδρας.

(61) Οἱ δὲ ζωτικοὶ τούτου χρόνου γνωρίζονται ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Ἡλίου ἀφέσεως ἕως τῆς τετραγώνου αὐτοῦ στάσεως διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐν ἐπικαίρῳ τόπῳ καὶ τὴν προγενομένην σύνοδον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ζωδίῳ γεγενῆσθαι.

attend it as spearbearers – made the nativity magnificent and illustrious. (59) In like manner the Moon, waxing in the trigonal configuration with Saturn and Jupiter, also made (him) fortunate and very wealthy and a person who provided many dedications and gifts to his fatherland. (60) And let this, too, not escape your notice: When all or most of the planets are located in their own zodiacal signs or places, it follows that they produce dignified and notable men.

(61) And one gains knowledge of the length of life of this (man) from the releasing of the Sun and from its square position, because it (the Sun) is in an opportune place and the preceding conjunction (with the Moon) occurred in the same sign.

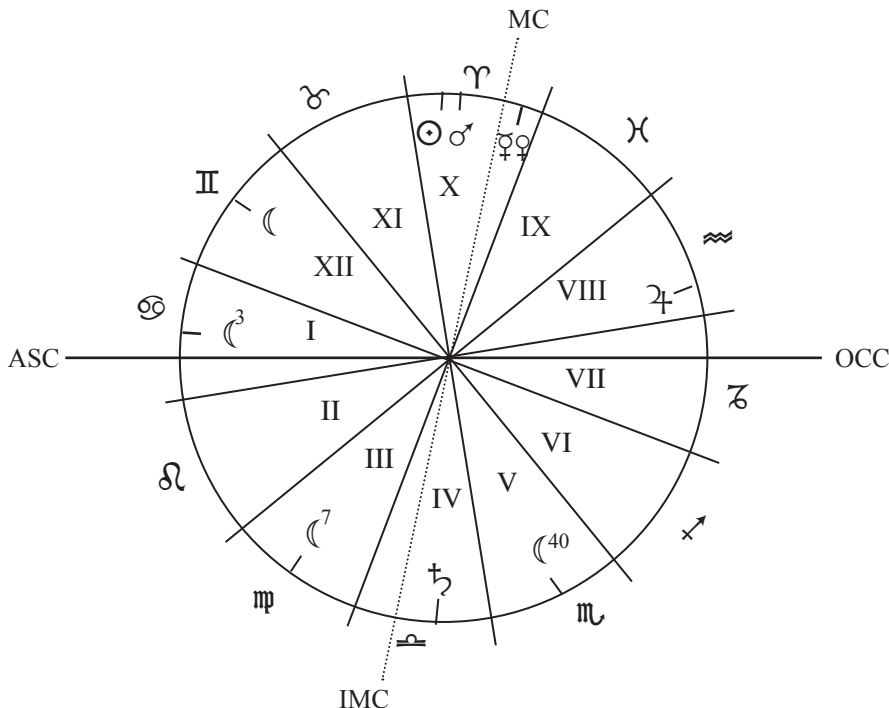


Fig. 1: Antig. Nic. F2 (Hor. gr. 40.IV.5)

In F2 § 57, the section that matters to us, Antigonus asserts that the native was indifferent to female intercourse and describes his sexual inclination as a ‘sordid’ interest in male partners. The term ῥυπαρός has been studied by Weische (2003) who analyzed its literal, metonymical and metaphorical uses in the Greek *koine*. Weische pays special attention to the strict distinction between metonymy and metaphor as introduced by the Stoics, and he recognizes antonymy as the most important criterion to structure a semantic field²³. This approach allows him to identify three antonymies: at the literal level, ῥυπαρός – καθαρός / καθάριος meaning ‘dirty’ as opposed to ‘clean’; at the metonymical level, ῥυπαρός – λαμπρός meaning ‘poor’ as opposed to ‘splendid’, and at the metaphorical level, ῥυπαρός – καθαρός / καθάριος meaning ‘morally reprehensible’ as opposed to ‘morally noble’. The literal and the metonymical meanings are connected to the material quality of garments which can be described either as such (literal) or with reference to the social status of those who wear the garments (metonymical); in other words: the metonymical meaning constitutes a shift within the same semantic field²⁴. The metaphorical meaning, instead, has nothing to do with the material quality of garments but with the abstract quality of the soul, which is an entirely different semantic field. This metaphorical use of ῥυπαρός is paramount in authors such as Philo of Alexandria and Epictetus who have a keen interest in religious and moral instruction.

All three semantic levels of ῥυπαρός can be found in Greek astrological literature. One example for each of them will suffice:

a) literal: Dor., p. 409,23–24 Pingree (on recovering a stolen good): Κρόνου δὲ [sc. ὀρῶντος] παρὰ δουλικῶ προσώπῳ ἢ ἐν σκοτεινῶ τόπῳ ἢ ὑγρῶ ἢ ῥυπαρῶ κτλ. (‘if Saturn casts an aspect, the object has been stolen by a slave or is currently in a dark, wet or dirty place’);

b) metonymical: Ptol., *apotel.* 3.14,11 ἐναντίως δὲ καὶ ἀδόξως κείμενος [sc. ὁ Κρόνος ποιεῖ] ῥυπαρούς, μικρολόγους, μικροψύχους (“but if his position is the opposite and without dignity, he makes them sordid, petty, mean-spirited”, trans. Robbins 1940, 341). This is the only attestation of ῥυπαρός in Ptolemy’s work. It occurs in his chapter on the quality of the soul as an effect of Saturn as ruler of the soul²⁵ in a disadvantageous position. According to Weische, the adjective here denotes a petty character²⁶.

²³ WEISCHE, 2003, p. 204.

²⁴ See WEISCHE, 2003, p. 201, with an example from the New Testament (Iac. 2,2).

²⁵ More on this concept on p. 140 below.

²⁶ WEISCHE, 2003, p. 207 (“eine ‘niedrige’, ‘kleinliche’ Gesinnung”).

c) metaphorical: Dorotheus writes in a section on marriage (Περὶ γάμου) which is extant in the original hexameters that neither Venus nor the Moon should be in a tropical sign at the time of a wedding because Venus then makes the wife extremely lewd, sordid, one who takes pleasure in secret adultery, while the Moon makes the marriage short-lived: ἐν τροπικῷ δὲ | ζῶφ μηδέ νυ Κύπρις ἔοι τότε μηδὲ Σελήνη· | Κύπρις μαχλοτάτην τεύχει ῥυπαρὴν τε δάμαρτα | θήσει φωριδίσιον ἀρεσκομένην λεχέεσσιν, | ἢ δέ κεν οὐ χρονίην εὐνήν ὀπάσειε Σελήνη²⁷. In Latin astrological texts, the metaphorical equivalents of ῥυπαρός and ἀκάθαρθος are *sordidus* and *impurus*. Again, they refer to sexuality and are connected with moral reproach²⁸.

The occurrence of ῥυπαρός in Antig. Nic. F2 clearly belongs to the third, metaphorical type. It remains, however, to be assessed what exactly Antigonus found sordid and blameful. To this purpose, we must examine the remainder of this little paragraph (F2 § 57) step by step, beginning with Antigonus' reference to Mars being together with Venus and Mercury (τὸν Ἄρεα μετὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἑρμοῦ).

In astrological predictions concerning heterosexuality, Mars symbolizes the man as opposed to Venus who symbolizes the woman²⁹. In predictions on homosexuality, Mars symbolizes the older lover (ἐραστής) as opposed to Mercury who symbolizes the younger beloved male (ἐρώμενος). See, for instance, Dor., p. 356,8 on those who have 'Mars together with Mercury' (ὁ Ἄρης σὺν Ἑρμῆ): παιδερασταὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι. This condition is fulfilled in F2 because Mars and Mercury are here located in the same zodiacal sign and are therefore symbolically united. Firmicus Maternus offers another relevant passage in his chapter *De puerorum amatoribus* where he writes (*math.* 7.15,2): *si Mars et Mercurius domicilia sua mutaverint [...], puerorum amatores efficient [...]*³⁰. *hoc idem faciunt et si in Martis domo simul fuerint*. The last sentence is applicable to F2³¹.

²⁷ Dor., p. 392,5 PINGREE ap. Heph., III 9.4.

²⁸ The earliest astrological attestations are in Firmicus' *Mathesis*: See Firm., *math.* 2.10,2 *Aries est signum [...]* *impurum libidinosum [...]*; *math.* 5.2,4 *si Venus in ipsis [i.e. Saturni] partibus fuerit inventa, circa venereos coitus sordidos faciet*; *math.* 5.2,11 *si Saturnus in ipsis [i.e. Veneris] finibus fuerit inventus [...], faciet inpueros inpuricos sordidos et miserae libidinis vitii implicatos, et qui ad naturales coitus venire non possint, sed qui contra naturam praepostero libidinis furore rapiantur*.

²⁹ See, for example, Ptol., *apotel.* 4.5,15 καὶ καθόλου δὲ παντοδαπὴν τινα διάθεσιν πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἔξουσιν, ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἐπισκεψόμεθα and *ibid.* 4.5.18 ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν τὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐπισκεπτέον.

³⁰ Cf. Dor., p. 343,8–10: Ἄρης καὶ Ἑρμῆς ἐναλλάξαντες τοὺς οἴκους ἀλλήλων ἢ τετραγωνίσαντες ἀλλήλους ἢ διαμετρήσαντες παιδεραστὰς ποιοῦσιν.

³¹ Other tenets that associate the couple of Mars and Mercury with pederasty can be found in Val., IV 25.5 and Firm., *math.* 7.15,1.

But what is, according to Antigonus, the function of Venus in the present alignment? Passages from ancient astrologers show that when Venus occurs in predictions on homosexuality and especially on pederasty, she does not symbolize a woman or any other specific human being but sexuality in the abstract sense³².

Next, the sign of Aries is characterized as ἀσελγές (‘lewd’, ‘lascivious’). The signs that belong to this category are traditionally Aries, Taurus, Capricornus and Pisces³³. The most lewd sign is, for ancient astrologers, that of Aries because it contains the highest number of single degrees that supposedly cause lewdness³⁴. According to the anonymous treatise *De stellis fixis* these degrees produce individuals that are described in reproachful terms as *turpia facientes, adulteros, impudicos, cinaedos, fornicatores impudicos* etc.³⁵

In the present case the lewdness of the native is enhanced by the fact that Mars is not only located in a lewd sign but is also the lord of that sign because Aries is the astrological night house of Mars. A similar intensification due to the position of the lord of a lewd sign is found in our third text (*Hor. gr.* 116.I.21) where Valens describes the native thus (II 37.53–55): ὁ κλῆρος τῆς τύχης Αἰγοκέρωτι, ὁ δαίμων Σκορπίῳ· τούτοις ἠναντιώθησαν οἱ κακοποιοί. ἐγένετο μαλακός, ἀρρητοποιός· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Αἰγόκερος ἀσελγής, καὶ ὁ τούτου κύριος Ταύρω, παθητικῶ ζῶδιῳ. καὶ Σκορπίος τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἀσελγείας δηλοῖ. (‘The Lot of Fortune in Capricornus, the Daimon in Scorpio. To these (lots) the maleficent [*sc.* stars Mars and Saturn] were in opposition³⁶. He became effeminate and practiced unmentionable vices, for Capricorn is lascivious and its ruler [*sc.* Saturn] was in Taurus, a passive sign³⁷. And Scorpio indicates the kind of lasciviousness [*i.e., sexual*]³⁸’.

³² Such passages do not even require explicit references to Mars: cf. Dor., p. 343,6–7 = Rhet., V 66,1 = *CCAG* VIII 4 (1921), p. 194,10–11 (cf. Dor. arab., II 7.2). See also Rhet., V76,2 = *CCAG* VIII 4 (1921), p. 198,18–19, and Firm., *math.* 3.6,20.

³³ The earliest attestation concerns Dorotheus (Dor. arab., II 7.5). Some later Greek astrologers mention this or that additional sign. On the whole topic, see HÜBNER, 1982, pp. 215–216 (n° 4.331).

³⁴ HÜBNER, 2005, p. 29.

³⁵ HÜBNER, 1995, I, p. 136, table 20.

³⁶ See the diagram in NEUGEBAUER – VAN HOESSEN, 1959, p. 224.

³⁷ The translation of NEUGEBAUER – VAN HOESSEN, 1959, p. 112: “Taurus, the sign (which indicates the kind of) weakness” is wrong. Taurus is classified as a female and passive sign; cf. HÜBNER, 1982, pp. 152–156 (n° 3.31) and p. 212 (n° 4.222.32).

³⁸ This is because in zodiacal melothesia, to which the same chapter of Valens is devoted, Scorpio is assigned to the sexual organs (see Val., III 37.15).

In addition to the lewdness of Aries, the native is, according to Antigonus, also inclined to ‘sordid’ homosexuality because of the opposition of Saturn to Venus (καὶ ὀρᾶσθαι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐκ διαμέτρου ὑπὸ Κρόνου). This is geometrically true if one counts entire zodiacal signs, as usual in early horoscopes³⁹.

There is an interesting parallel in a later Greek horoscope, that of Pamprepis of Panopolis (Rhet., V 113–117 = *Hor. gr.* 440.IX.29, our text 6). It contains a short paragraph on the native’s lewdness (Περὶ τῆς ἀσελγείας) which runs thus (Rhet., V 116)⁴⁰:

ὄρα τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκοποῦ καὶ τὸν κληῖρον τῆς τύχης καὶ τοῦ δαίμονος ἐν ἀσελγεί ζῳδίῳ ἐμπεπωκότας· ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τὸ διαμετρεῖν Κρόνον πρὸς Ἀφροδίτην οἴκῳ Ἄρεως <οὔσαν> καὶ Κρόνος οἴκῳ Ἀφροδίτης τὴν ἀσελγείαν ἀπε<ι>ργάσαντο⁴¹.

‘Pay attention to the lord of the ascendant [=♃, because ASC = 23° 30′ ≈] and to the lot of Daimon [20° 34′ ♄] which fall [each] in a lewd zodiacal sign. But certainly the lewdness was also caused by the opposition of Saturn [25° ♄] to Venus [26° ♀], who was in a house of Mars, and by Saturn’s own position in a house of Venus.’

All three criteria that Rhetorius mentions in his second sentence correspond to those in Antig. Nic. **F2**: the opposition of Saturn to Venus, the position of Venus in a house of Mars, and the position of Saturn in a house of Venus. The ἀσελγεία which is in both cases explained thus matches a tenet of Dorotheus who is reported to have taught that Ἀφροδίτη οἴκοις Κρόνου ἢ Ἄρεως ὑπ’ αὐτῶν θεωρουμένη ἀσελγείς ποιεῖ. ἢ Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Ἑρμῆς καὶ Ἄρης θεωρήσαντες ἀλλήλους ἀσελγείς ποιοῦσιν⁴². The conditions in Dorotheus’ first sentence are fulfilled in **F2**. Altogether, the interpretation of the alignment in **F2** as producing a lewd individual is in compliance with comparable astrological texts.

Another text that deserves our attention at least in passing is from Ahmad ibn Yūsuf’s Arabic commentary on sentence 95 of the pseudo-Ptolemaic *Centiloquium*⁴³. This text from the 10th century illustrates lewdness caused by the combined effects of Aries and Saturn. It does so through a case study that has no parallel in ancient literature as far as the confession of secret sexual desires is concerned. Ahmad re-

³⁹ The exact distance between Venus (5° ♀) and Saturn (20° ♄) is here 165°.

⁴⁰ Our texts 1, 3 and 6 are the only extant ancient horoscopes which mention lewd signs.

⁴¹ Dubitanter emendavi.

⁴² Dor., p. 343,12–14 = Rhet., V 66,5–6 = *CCAG* VIII 4 (1921), p. 194,16–18; cf. Dor. arab., II 7.5.

⁴³ I follow the Italian translation of MARTORELLO – BEZZA, 2013, pp. 225–227, using some expressions from the English translation of LEMAY, 1980, p. 132.

ports that he had an acquaintance in whose horoscope the first degree of Aries was ascending and various astrologically important positions in the chart fell in terms of Saturn. Ahmad saw a sordid lewdness prefigured in that man's horoscope, but contrary to his astrologically based expectation, the man was dressed in clean clothes and perfumed. When Ahmad asked him about the seeming contradiction between his horoscope and his exterior appearance, the man revealed a great inner tension: He felt tortured by the desire to spend the night with a black woman or a black man, preferably the latter, wrapped in a coarse blanket of sheep hair⁴⁴. At the same time the man swore by God that he hated his own homosexual desire and did not yield to it, nor did he reveal it to his social environment.

The clear moral condemnation of lewdness in this text has a long tradition in astrological texts. It can be traced back with certainty to the second century CE. Whenever Ptolemy, Antigonus' contemporary, uses the terms ἀσελγής, ἀσελγεια und ἀσελγαίνειν, he does so in negative predictions and in combination with adjectives such as αἰσχρός ('shameful'), ἀκάθαρτος ('impure'), ἐπονειδιστος ('disgraceful'), etc.⁴⁵ Valens provides further relevant contemporary attestations⁴⁶. Interestingly, the combination of ἀσελγής and αἰσχρός is unattested before ca. 100 CE, even if one broadens the perspective to the whole spectrum of Greek literature⁴⁷. The reason for this is probably the development of sexual morals under the Roman emperors in which Stoic philosophy exercised a strong influence in favor of self-control, especially control of passions.

⁴⁴ LEMAY, 1980, p. 132, translates "goat's hair", but see the commentary of MARTORELLO – BEZZA, 2013, p. 347.

⁴⁵ Cf. Ptol., *apotel.* 3.14,17 who writes that when Saturn and Venus together hold the οἰκοδεσποτεία τῆς ψυχῆς and are located inconveniently with respect to the centers etc., they produce λάγνους, ἀσελγείς, αἰσχροποιούς, ἀδιαφόρους καὶ ἀκαθάρτους πρὸς τὰς συνουσίας κτλ. ("loose, lascivious, doers of base acts, indiscriminating and unclean in sexual relations"; trans. ROBBINS, 1940, p. 345). See also *ibid.* 3.14,30 (on Mars and Venus in the same circumstances): ῥίψοφθάλμους, λάγνους, καταφερεῖς, ἀδιαφόρους, διασύρτας, μοιχικούς, ὕβριστάς, ψεύστας, δολοπλόκους, ὑπονοθευτὰς οἰκείων τε καὶ ἄλλοτριῶν, ὀξεῖς ἅμα καὶ προσκορεῖς πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, διαφθορεῖς γυναικῶν καὶ παρθένων, ... καὶ ἀσελγαίνοντας and also *apotel.* 3.15,12 ὁ μὲν τοῦ Κρόνου συμπροσγεγόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ ἀσελγέστερον καὶ ἀκαθαρότερον ἢ καὶ ἐπονειδιστότερον ἐκάστω τῶν ἐκκειμένων πέφυκε συνεργεῖν.

⁴⁶ Val., II 37.17 γυναῖκες Καυνίαι, τριβάδες, ἀσελγείς· λατρευτικοί, αἰσχροποιοί. II 41.6 ἀσελγείς τε καὶ ἐπαίσχρους γενομένους. IV 25.9 εἰν δέ πως ὁ τοῦ Κρόνου σὺν τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τῆ Σελήνης συμπαρῆ ἢ ἐπιμαρτυρήσει, αἰσχροῶν καὶ ἀσελγῶν ἔργων ἐρῶσιν, ἐπὶ τε ἀρρενικῶν καὶ θηλικῶν ψογίζονται καὶ περιβοησίας ὑπομένουσιν ἢ μετανοοῦντες ἀντιστρεπτοῦσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους νικῶμενοι.

⁴⁷ The earliest attestation is in Plutarch where it occurs again in the context of sexual licentiousness. See Plutarch's comparison of Aristophanes and Menander (p. 854D): οὐδενὶ γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔοικε μετρίῳ τὴν ποίησιν γεγραφέναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀσελγῆ τοῖς ἀκολάστοις, τὰ βλάσφημα δὲ καὶ πικρὰ τοῖς βασκάνοις καὶ κακοήθεσιν.

Antigonus' last argument in **F2** § 57 is that the planets are all located in male signs (τῶ πάντας αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἀστέρας ἐν ἀρρενικοῖς ζῳδίοις εἶναι). It is not clear, however, what this is supposed to explain: the native's homosexuality? or its being 'sordid'? The anaphoric pronoun αὐτοὺς leaves it open if 'they, the (aforementioned) stars' are only those four that had been mentioned in the previous lines of § 57 (i.e., Mars, Venus, Mercury, and Saturn) or if the reference is to all seven celestial bodies that had been mentioned in the systematic exposition of the astronomical data in § 54 and that actually happen to be all seven located in male signs. While both interpretations are possible, I prefer the latter.

One additional problem is that Antigonus' contemporary Ptolemy would take the presence of all planets in male signs as indicative of a strong sexual orientation κατὰ φύσιν, according to nature. It is important to remember that for Ptolemy the four planets that indicate sexuality are Sun, Moon, Mars and Venus. When Sun and Moon are both located in a male zodiacal sign, he says, the effect is an unusually strong heterosexual inclination (Ptol., *apotel.* 3.15,7 ὑπερβάλλουσι τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν). When also Mars and Venus happen to be in male signs, the heterosexual inclination becomes extreme (*apotel.* 3.15,8): πρὸς τὰς κατὰ φύσιν συνουσίας γίνονται καταφερεῖς καὶ μοιχικοὶ καὶ ἀκόρεστοι ("the males become addicted to natural sexual intercourse, and are adulterous, insatiate"; trans. Robbins, 1940, p. 369). This seems to be the opposite of Antigonus' point of view, in the sense that Ptolemy would interpret the present horoscope (**F2**) as that of a wild, very active heterosexual man. Hence, we must choose between two different explanations: Either Antigonus and Ptolemy have contradictory views on the astrological prerequisites of homosexuality or Ptolemy's repeated expression κατὰ φύσιν does not simply and exclusively mean heterosexuality. It turns out that the latter of these two explanations is correct. Unlike in modern western morality with its Judeo-Christian background, pagan Greek ideas about what is natural (κατὰ φύσιν) and what is not natural (παρὰ φύσιν) did not primarily focus on the gender of the sexual partners but rather on the distribution of active and passive roles during sexual intercourse. Konstan (1997, p. 166) concludes his analysis of the conventional values in Greek astrological texts, especially in the paraphrases of Dorotheus, thus: "Greek homoeroticism was asymmetrical: the distinction between the active and receptive partners was qualitative." Even more illuminating is the result of a similar study by Winkler (1990, p. 70): "The calculus of correctness operated not on the sameness/difference of the genders but on the dominance/submission of the persons involved." See also Cantarella (2002, p. 221), on "the pagan contrast between activity and passivity, which identified manliness with the assumption of the active sexual role, either with women or with men (and which had informed the morality of the Greeks as well as of the Romans, albeit in completely different ways)".

These statements are confirmed by Ptolemy who explicitly associates masculinity with the active role in sexuality and femininity with the passive role: He speaks of τὸ ἔπανδρον [...] τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ δραστηκώτερον (*apotel.*, 3.15,8) and of τὸ θηλυκώτερον καὶ τὸ κατασταλτικώτερον (*ibid.* 3.15,11). This is also why the expression παρὰ φύσιν is by Ptolemy limited to passive homosexuality, which is in his view to be expected in the extreme degree when the luminaries and Mars and Venus are, in a man's nativity, all four located in female signs. The opposite extreme occurs when in a woman's nativity Sun, Moon, Venus and Mars are in male signs: such a woman will be a lesbian usurping the male role in sexuality.

There are numerous passages from Dorotheus, Pseudo-Manetho and Vettius Valens which show clearly that this focus on the active and passive roles and the corresponding astrological interpretation of Sun, Moon, Mars and Venus in male or female signs was not just Ptolemy's view but common thinking among astrologers of the first and second centuries CE⁴⁸.

We may therefore assume that every astrologer of the time of Antigonus would have interpreted the chart of **F2** as indicating a man with very active, dominant sexuality. Ptolemy would apply the following, interesting distinction to a case like the present one in which the native has Sun, Moon, Mars and Venus in male signs of his horoscope: If in such a case Mars and Venus are located on different sides of the Sun, the man will be bisexual and very active, but not psychologically ill; if, however, Mars and Venus are both on the same side of the Sun, more precisely: preceding it, then the native will suffer from a disease of the soul and be exclusively homosexual and have very dominant sex with male partners of any age (Ptol., *apotel.* 4.5,17): ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφοτέροι ἐῶσι, πρὸς τὰ παιδικὰ μόνα νοσηματώδεις, ἀρρενικῶν δὲ ὄντων τῶν ζῳδίων καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρρένων ἡλικίαν. This tenet is fully applicable to **F2**. In other words: Ptolemy and Antigonus would arrive at the same result, namely that the native of **F2** has no interest in women but is strongly active as a homosexual⁴⁹.

This has the interesting consequence that Antigonus' characterization of the native as sordid can *not* be explained with passive homosexuality. We must assume that

⁴⁸ Much of the relevant material is quoted in a forthcoming (*MHNH*, 15) article of Juan Francisco Martos. One relevant passage is Val., II 37.52–55 (*Hor. gr.* 116.I.21) on which see p. 127 above.

⁴⁹ While their conclusions would be the same, their methods are different in one noteworthy respect: What Antigonus explains through the position of Mercury (probably in keeping with the astrological tradition) is by Ptolemy explained through the positions of Mars and Venus relative to the Sun, thus making not only male but also female homosexual relations predictable. For details, see HEILEN, 2015, p. 1119.

Antigonos thought of another reason. It is possible, but beyond proof, that Antigonos thought that the native of **F2** had sexual partners of low social status, such as slaves or male prostitutes. His reasoning would then be similar to the following passage of Firmicus (*math.* 6.15,14): *Si Saturnus et Venus diametra se radiatione respexerint, <et> in contrariis constituti locis longa se invicem virium suarum potestate pulsaverint, facient homines lupanaribus deditos promiscua libidinum <cupiditate> scorta sectari, ut ex hoc cum magna nota gravi pulsentur infamia.* Although Firmicus does not use the adjective *sordidus* or a similar one, we are obviously dealing with similar conditions and a similar moral condemnation as in Antig. Nic. **F2**.

It is now time to come to the horoscope of Pedanius Fuscus, Hadrian's grand-nephew (Antig. Nic. **F3**). This young man was executed in the late 130s CE together with his grandfather L. Iulius Ursus Servianus (Hadrian's brother in law) at the emperor's command not much before Hadrian died of a severe illness. It is clear that Hadrian did not want these two relatives to survive him and potentially to succeed him in the power. The text reads thus:

Antig. Nic., **F3** ap. Heph., II 18.62–66 (ed. Heilen, 2015, 168–174)

(62) Καὶ τρίτης δὲ ἄλλης γενέσεώς τινος μνημονεύει οὕτως, ὃν φησι ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῷ τε ἰδίῳ καὶ τῶν πατέρων γεγενῆσθαι περὶ τὸ κε' ἔτος. (63) τὸν μὲν Ἥλιον καὶ τὸν ὠροσκόπον εἶχε ἐν Κριῶ, Σελήνην ἐν Ταύρῳ, Κρόνον ἐν Κριῶ μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἐπὶ ἑώας ἀνατολῆς τὴν φάσιν ποιούμενον, Ἑρμῆν ὁμοίως ἐν Κριῶ ἐπὶ ἑώας δύσεως, Δία ἐν Ἰχθύσιν ἐπὶ ἑώας ἀνατολῆς, Ἀφροδίτην ἐν Ἰχθύσιν ἐπὶ στηριγμοῦ ἑώου, Ἄρεα <ἐν> Ὑδροχόῳ ἐπὶ ἀνατολῆς ἑώας. ὁ κληρὸς τῆς Τύχης εἰς Ταῦρον πίπτει. οἰκοδεσποτήσκει, φησίν, ὁ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἀστήρ τῆς γενέσεως. (64) ἡ τριταία τῆς Σελήνης ἔσται <ἐν> Διδύμοις, ἡ ἑβδομαία ἐν Λέοντι, ἡ τεσσαρακοστία ἐν Ζυγῶ.

(65) Ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐκ μεγίστου γένους καὶ προφανοῦς, λέγω δὴ πατρὸς καὶ

(62) And he (Antigonos) records as follows a third, other nativity of someone who, as he says, was born to destruction of himself and of his forefathers at about the age of 25. (63) He had the Sun and the ascendant in Aries, Moon in Taurus, Saturn, who made his heliacal rising three days later, in Aries, Mercury in like manner in Aries in the phase of morning invisibility, Jupiter in Pisces in the phase of morning visibility, Venus in Pisces at morning station, Mars in Aquarius in the phase of morning visibility. The Lot of Fortune falls in Taurus. The ruler of the nativity, he says, will be Mars. (64) The third day of the Moon will be in Gemini, the seventh in Leo, the fortieth in Libra.

(65) He who had such characteristics was from a very important and distin-

μητρός, ἐνδοξότατος μὲν, βιαιοθανατήσας δέ· οὗτος γὰρ ἐλπίδων μεγάλων γενόμενος καὶ δοκῶν ἤδη ἐπὶ βασιλείαν ἐλθεῖν, κακόβουλος γενόμενος περὶ τὸ κε' ἔτος ἐσφάλῃ καὶ ἐν κατηγορία πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα γενόμενος ἀνηρέθη μετὰ τινος πρεσβύτου τῶν τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ (ἐν διαβολῇ καὶ αὐτοῦ γενομένου δι' αὐτόν, πρὸς δ' ἔτι τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ πάντων δι' αὐτόν ταπεινῶς ἀπηλλαγμένων).

(66a) Τὸ μὲν οὖν προφανῆ αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι διὰ τὸ τὸν Ἥλιον ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ εἶναι καὶ δορυφορεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ κακόβουλον γεγενῆσθαι διὰ τὸ τὸν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Κρόνου ἐν Ἄρεως οἴκῳ τετυχηκέναι καὶ τινα τῶν τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ γεραιὸν ἀπολέσαι διὰ τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα, τὸ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν κατακοπῆναι διὰ τὸ τὴν Σελήνην εἶναι ἐν Ταύρῳ μελεοκοπούμενῳ ζῳδίῳ καὶ ἀκτινοβολεῖν τὸν Ἄρεα ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπαναφορᾶς τοῦ μεσουρανήματος ὄντα, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου εἶναι τὴν βλάβην διὰ τὸ τὸν Ἄρεα εἶναι ἐν ἀνθρωποειδεῖ ζῳδίῳ.

(66b) Ἐρωτικὸς δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐγένετο καὶ φιλομον<όμ>αχος, ἐρωτικὸς μὲν διὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὸν Δία, φιλομον<όμ>αχος δὲ διὰ τὸν Ἄρην ὄντα ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπαναφορᾶς τοῦ μεσουρανήματος

guished family, I mean that of his father and (also that) of his mother, a person of highest repute, but he died a violent death. For after this person had developed great hopes and seemed already to be approaching the kingship, he became ill-advised around his 25th year and made a mistake. He was denounced to the emperor with the consequence that he was killed together with a certain old man of his family. The latter had been accused, too, because of him. Moreover, all members of his family escaped only after they had lost their privileges because of him.

(66a) That he became distinguished was because the Sun was in the ascendant and attended by spear-bearers; that he became ill-advised because Mercury and Saturn happened to be in the house of Mars, and that he destroyed an old man of his family because of the same configuration (i.e. Mercury with Saturn); and that he himself was (with the executioner's sword) cut down was because the Moon was in Taurus, a sign with mutilated limbs, and because Mars shot a ray (at the Moon) being on the epanaphora⁵⁰ of the midheaven; and that the harm came from a human being because Mars was in a human-shaped sign.

(66b) The person with such a nativity was amorous and fond of gladiators, amorous through Venus and Jupiter, fond of gladiators because Mars was on the epanaphora of the midheaven and Mercury

⁵⁰ I.e., the following sign (in the sense of daily, clockwise rotation), here: the 11th sign/place.

καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ὄντα ἐν οἴκῳ τοῦ Ἄρεως.

was in a house of Mars.

(66c) τὸ δὲ περὶ <τὸ> κε' ἔτος τεθνάναι αὐτὸν κακῶς εἶπε διὰ τὴν ἀναφορὰν εἶναι τοῦ Ταύρου καὶ τοῦ Ὑδροχόου τὴν αὐτὴν οὖσαν.

(66c) The fact that he died in a bad manner about his 25th year was, he (Antigonus) said, because of the rising time of Taurus and Aquarius which is the same⁵¹.

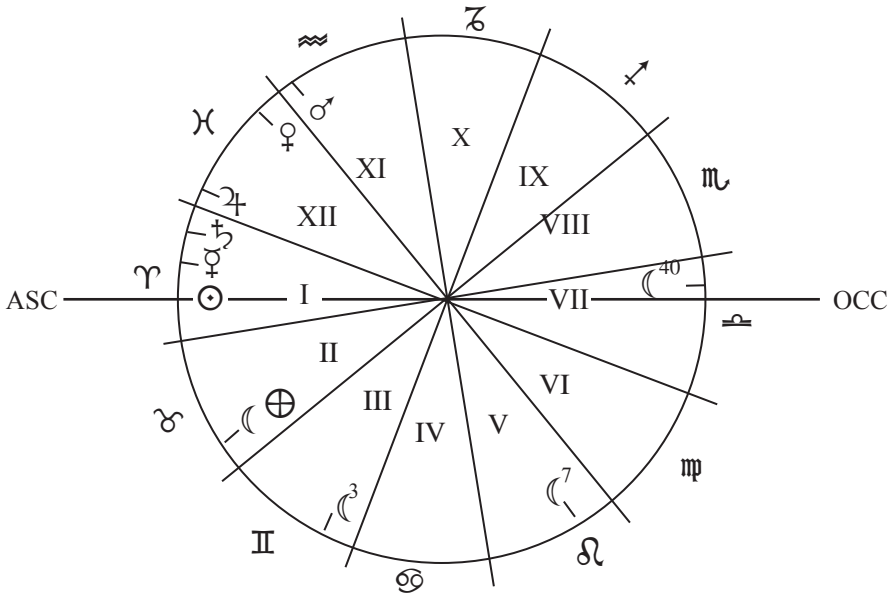


Fig. 2: Antig. Nic. F3 (Hor. gr. 113.IV.5)

The paragraph that matters for our leading question is F3 § 66b. By characterizing the young man as ἐρωτικός and φιλομονόμαχος, Antigonus discredits him as psychologically and morally inadequate for the imperial succession. The fact that Antigonus characterizes Pedanius thus is not surprising if the assumption that Antigonus' source for Pedanius' biographical data was Hadrian's autobiography is correct⁵². Let us examine each of the two terms separately.

The adjective ἐρωτικός is not necessarily negative, but it can have a negative ring because erotic passions are counted among the diseases of the soul. Plutarch,

⁵¹ In the clima of Alexandria, it is 25° of right ascension.

⁵² See above, n. 15.

for instance, classifies them so, writing that ἐρωτικά are very strong and vehement passions of the soul⁵³. Several pagan and Christian texts associate erotic inclinations explicitly with licentiousness (ἀκολασία) and madness (μανία), and we equally find astrological authors who employ the adjective ἐρωτικός in negative contexts⁵⁴. In short, it can certainly be derogatory to be characterized as ἐρωτικός. One interesting passage of Dorotheus that is only preserved in paraphrases asserts that when Jupiter (who normally rules over all the other Olympic gods) is dominated by Venus through a quartile aspect cast by the planetary goddess to the left, the natives will be ἐρωτικός and enthusiastic about women⁵⁵. In addition to being the earliest astrological attestation of the adjective ἐρωτικός and to bearing witness of its negative quality, this text also indicates that the adjective usually refers to heterosexual passions. This is (with only one exception)⁵⁶ confirmed by the contexts of dozens of later astrological attestations including Val., VII 6.164–192 (*Hor. gr.* 142.III.25, our text 4)⁵⁷.

By using the rare compound φιλομονόμαχος⁵⁸ Antigonus does probably not mean that Pedanius engaged personally in gladiatorial combat: That would have been the ultimate disgrace for a free-born Roman citizen⁵⁹ and Pedanius would have ruined any hope for the throne already *before* his allegedly deadly mistake (F3 § 65 ἐσφάλῃ). The sense must rather be that Pedanius displayed an exaggerated interest in *watching* gladiators and bloodshed, an attitude that was considered blameworthy, too, but far less than to act and fight personally as a gladiator. “Of the criticisms in ancient literary sources levelled specifically at gladiatorial games, that which occurs most frequently is that they mobilised the emotions of the onlookers in such a way as to cloud their reason;

⁵³ Plut., *quaest. conv.* 681A τῶν ἐρωτικῶν, ἃ δὴ μέγιστα καὶ σφοδρότατα παθήματα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστίν, ἀρχὴν ἢ ὄψις ἐνδίδωσιν.

⁵⁴ See the quotations in HEILEN, 2015, pp. 1233, 1240 and 1243.

⁵⁵ Par. <Dor.> pp. 380,24–25 PINGREE, 1986 (= Val., *app.* 1,136; see below, n. 62): εἰ δὲ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη τὸν Δία καθυπερτερεῖ, ἐρωτικοὶ ἔσονται, περικαλλῶς ἔχοντες εἰς γυναῖκας. The same thought is similarly transmitted in Dor. p. 348,33–34: εἰ δὲ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη τὸν Δία καθυπερτερεῖ, ἐρωτικοὶ ἔσονται κτλ.

⁵⁶ Heph., III 9.38 predicts a native who will, under the influence of Mercury, be ἐρωτικός εἰς παῖδας.

⁵⁷ Within that horoscope, see esp. Val., VII 6.165: τῷ ἡ' ἔτει σὺν ἐπισήμῳ γυναικὶ ἐξενίτευσε διὰ φιλίαν καὶ δόξαν καὶ πρὸς ἄλλην συνήθειαν καὶ ἐρωτικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔσχεν ('in his 18th year he went abroad with a notable woman because of friendship and expectation [i.e., of advantages for himself] and in addition to his other intercourse with her he also developed an erotic desire'). The young man's desire at his specific age is explained (*ibid.*, VII 6.166) with the position of Venus in Aquarius, a quickly rising sign (the quick rising supposedly indicates few years of age).

⁵⁸ See the commentary in HEILEN, 2015, pp. 1233–1235.

⁵⁹ WIEDEMANN, 1992, p. 28.

they made them less rational, less properly human⁶⁰. Such a person was obviously not suitable for positions that require prudent, cool-minded decision-making.

In sum, Antigonos characterizes Pedanius as a youth who subordinates his reason in at least two respects, eroticism and gladiators, to irrational desires. Such a game-crazy womanizer (to put it bluntly) is not suitable to become emperor. Not surprisingly, Pedanius is called κακόβουλος (F3 §§ 65 and 66a).

But what is the astrological explanation of these biographical details, especially of Pedanius' being ἐρωτικός?⁶¹ Antigonos explains the young man's amorousness with Venus and Jupiter (ἐρωτικός μὲν διὰ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὸν Δία). Conjunctions of these two astrologically 'benevolent' planets are in principle considered to be very propitious, as various passages from ancient astrological manuals confirm. Suffice it to quote an extant paraphrase of Dorotheus which asserts, among other details, that those who are born under conjunctions of Jupiter and Venus are inclined towards an intense heterosexual sex life (the relevant words are underlined):

Σὺν δὲ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ὧν ὁ Ζεὺς τὸ τιμητικὸν ἐπιδείκνυται καὶ ταῖς χάρισι κεκοσμημένον καὶ τὴν παρὰ πολλῶν φιλίαν, τό τε ἀγαθόφρον καὶ εὐσεβὲς καὶ ἀστεῖον καὶ τὸ παρ' ἡγεμόσι ποθεινὸν καὶ εὐφημον λαὶ εὐκλεές. οὗτοι καὶ ἐξ ἐπισήμων τινῶν γυναικῶν τὸν βίον αὔξουσιν ἢ ἱερῶν προστατεύουσιν, κατ' ἐξοχὴν δὲ εἰσι φιλέρωτες καὶ πολλαῖς γυναιξίν ἐν συνουσίᾳ γίνονται, εὐγάμοι τε καὶ εὐτεκνοὶ εἰ μὴ ὄρᾳ Κρόνος καὶ Ἄρης⁶².

The principally beneficial quality of conjunctions of Jupiter and Venus is, in the present case (Antig. Nic., F3), intensified by the positions of both planets in the sign of Pisces (the astrological exaltation of Venus and the night house of Jupiter)⁶³ and by the fact that Venus had had her second station – in other words: the end of her retrogradation – a few days earlier and is, at Pedanius' birth, accelerating in

⁶⁰ WIEDEMANN, 1992, pp. 141–142.

⁶¹ For the astrological explanation of his being φιλομονόμαχος, see HEILEN, 2015, p. 1245.

⁶² Par. <Dor.> pp. 378,29–379,2 PINGREE, 1986 (= Val., *app.* 1.115–116; for my attribution of this paraphrase to Dorotheus see HEILEN, 2010, p. 136). For the parallel Latin version of this text that is preserved in Firm., *math.* 6.23,4–5 and for further parallels see HEILEN, 2015, pp. 1237–1238. The relevant passage must go back to a common, old, now lost source ('Nechepsos and Petosiris?'); see again HEILEN, 2010, esp. p. 136 (with stemma).

⁶³ See HEILEN, 2015, p. 715 (tab. 15), and p. 737 (tab. 19).

direct motion⁶⁴. This intensification in terms of quantity, however, comes along with a negative modification in terms of quality because Pisces produces individuals that correspond to the restless and (in the hierarchy of living beings) low nature of fish (Val., I 2.79): οἱ οὖν γεννώμενοι ἄστατοι, ἀμφίβολοι, ἐκ κακῶν εἰς ἀγαθὰ μεταβάλλοντες, ἐρωτικοί, λατρευτικοί, ἀσελγεῖς, πολύγονοι, ὀχλικοί. In view of the rare combination of the roots ἐρωτικ- and ἀσελγ- in this text⁶⁵, the reader may further wish to pay attention to the fact that Pedanius (**F3**) has the Sun, Saturn and Mercury in Aries, another ἀσελγὲς ζῳδιον (cf. **F2** § 57), while in **F2** Aries hosts Sun, Mars, Venus and Mercury. It is likely, therefore, that Antigonus saw, with respect to erotic and/or sexual licentiousness, parallels between **F2** and **F3** based on the qualities of the zodiacal signs.

More detrimental is, however, the astrological circumstance that in **F3** Jupiter and Venus happen to be located in the twelfth place of the dodecatropos whose canonical characteristics acknowledged by all ancient astrologers are very bad. The twelfth place is that of enemies, imprisonment, and all kinds of problems. This circumstance perverts, in the present chart, the powers of the benefic planets Jupiter and Venus and turns their blessings into the corresponding vices, thus making Pedanius an overall blameworthy character. For general assertions to this effect see, for example, Val., II 5.2 οἱ ἀγαθοποιοὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ [i.e., in the 12th place] οὐ μερίζουσι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀγαθὰ and Firmic., *math.* 2.19,13 *vitia etiam in hoc loco [...] invenimus*. One finds also specific assertions regarding the twelfth place's influence on eroticism and sexuality. Of particular interest is a (now lost) astrological text of uncertain age on the effects of the planets in the twelve places of the dodecatropos that is indirectly preserved through Firmicus, Paul of Alexandria and Rhetorius of Egypt. Since all three authors quote frequently and extensively from that lost text, it must have enjoyed considerable reputation and authority among astrologers. The *terminus ante quem* for its composition is the early 4th c. CE (Firmicus). Presumably, however, it was much older so that Antigonus could have known it, too. The passage of that lost text which is relevant to our purpose predicted, for Venus in the 12th place of male nativities, men that would suffer much sorrow because of women, as the following synopsis of the extant testimonia shows:

⁶⁴ See HEILEN, 2015, p. 1155, on **F3** § 63 ἐπὶ στηριγμοῦ ἔφου.

⁶⁵ There are only five Greek parallels for this combination, none of them in astrological texts.

Firm., *math.* 3.6,25–26Alex., 24, p. 72,4–6⁶⁶Rhet., V 57.40–42
(= *CCAG* VIII 4, 1921, p.
130,14–21)

(25) *In duodecimo loco Venus ab horoscopo constituta si in nocturna genitura sic fuerit inventa, faciet mulierum causa assiduo tristicitiae dolore cruciari. Si sic [exemplo] positam Mars et Mercurius forti radiatione respexerit, faciet ei ab ancillis libidinis causa frequenter insidias, facit animi aestus et decernit instinctu libidinis turpis amoris incendia; alii vero ancillas matrimoniis sibi iungunt, alii [sibi] publicas meretrices genialis sibi tori copulatione consociant, ex qua causa etiam filiorum soboles denegatur.*

(26) *per diem vero in hoc loco posita mulierum causa necem vel malae mortis decernit atrocitatem secundum naturam qualitatemque signorum; habet enim haec stella varias, sed quae difficile inveniri possint, decernendi potestates.*

Ὁ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ τόπου τυχῶν διὰ γυναικείας προφάσεις λυπουμένους καὶ πάθει ψυχικοῖς περικυλιόμενους, τουτέστιν ἐρωτικοῦς ποιήσει. ἐπιμίσηγονται δὲ καὶ δούλαις ἢ γηραιαῖς ἢ ἑταιρίσιν, ὧν χάριν ἐν ἀτεκνία διατελοῦσιν·

ἐὰν δὲ ὁ ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀστὲρα ἐπίκεντρος σχηματίσει, δουλοκοίτας καὶ κακογάμους, ὅτε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων γυναικῶν παρακοιμιστὰς ποιήσει.

(40) Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ κακοδαίμονουτος ζφδίου [*CCAG*: τῶ κακοδαίμονουῶντι ζφδίῳ] τυχοῦσα ἢ Ἀφροδίτη νυκτὸς διὰ γυναικῶν προφάσεις λυπουμένους <ποιεῖ>. (41) ἐὰν δὲ κατοπτεύηται ὑπὸ Κρόνου καὶ Ἑρμοῦ ἢ <Ἄρεως> [*CCAG*: Ἄρεως] καὶ πάθει ψυχικοῖς περικυλιόμενους – τουτέστιν ἐρωτικοῖς [*sic*] – <ποιεῖ> [*om. CCAG*]: τινὲς δὲ καὶ δούλαις ἢ ἑταίραις ζεύγνυνται, ὧν καὶ χάριν [*CCAG*: χάριν καὶ] ἐν ἀτεκνία γίνονται.

(42) ἡμέρας δὲ τυχοῦσα ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ τόπου κακῶς καὶ βιαίως ἔνεκα γυναικῶν ἀπολλυμένους <σημαίνει> [*CCAG*: σημαίνει] κατὰ τὴν τῶν ζφδίων φυσικὴν ιδιότητα· ἔχει δὲ [*CCAG*: γὰρ] ποικίλους καὶ δυσσευρέτους ἢ θεὰ χρηματισμούς, <ἄφ' ἧς⁶⁷ καὶ τὰ τοῦ βίου πράγματα ὀδηγηθήσεται.

⁶⁶ Cf. *Olymp.*, 23 p. 75,12–15.

⁶⁷ <ἄφ' ἧς conii. PINGREE, οἷς conii. CUMONT (*CCAG*), ἧς vel ὑφ' ἧς codd.

Three points deserve our attention:

1. Firmicus and Rhetorius distinguish between day and night births. The second part of the original (lost) prediction, which was about day births, is missing in Paul's adaptation, intentionally, as it seems, because Paul omits the word *νοκτὸς* in the first part. In the case of Pedanius we should probably apply the day formula (assuming that the Sun was rising at his birth), but this assumption cannot be verified because in **F3** Antigonus gives the positions of the ascendant and the Sun (as well as those of the other heavenly bodies) only with precision to the sign, not to the degree.

2. For night births Paul and Rhetorius predict individuals with abnormal psychic dispositions in the field of erotics (*πάθεισι ψυχικοῖς περικυλισμένοις*); they summarize these dispositions using the adjective *ἑρωτικούς*.

3. The day formula's prediction (it is extant in Firmicus and Rhetorius) is even worse because Venus is then unfavorably located not only with regard to the dodecatopos but also with regard to her 'sect' (*ἄρσεις*). This day formula predicts men who will perish because of women in miserable and violent ways according to the qualities of the respective zodiacal sign that happens to occupy the twelfth place⁶⁸.

Interestingly, our lost old manual also contained a passage on Jupiter in the twelfth place as is evident from all three witnesses⁶⁹. The predictions in that passage, however, seem not to have contained any information pertaining to sexuality or eroticism. This indicates that Antigonus thought primarily of Venus in the 12th place as being responsible for Pedanius' reprehensible erotic inclinations, though probably not exclusively: If conjunctions of Jupiter and Venus as such, i.e. regardless of the dodecatopos, are thought to cause intense heterosexual inclinations⁷⁰, then this

⁶⁸ We find a similarly negative prediction regarding Venus in the 12th place in the Demotic papyrus P. Berlin 8345, col. III, 7–10: "He runs amuck(?) because of a wife. <He> is not permitted to agree with a woman. He causes mi[sery] during his life. A wife did not customarily ..." (Engl. trans. of HUGHES, 1986, p. 57; see also the commentary *ibid.* p. 62 on col. II,3).

⁶⁹ Firm., *math.* 3.3, 22–23; Paul. Alex., 24 p. 71, 13–15 (cf. Olymp., 23 p. 75, 6–9); Rhet., V 57.35–36 (= *CCAG* VIII 4, 1921, p. 130, 1–4). See the synoptic presentation of these texts with commentary in HEILEN, 2015, p. 1242. The passage of Rhetorius ends with an interesting generalizing statement (Rhet., V 57.36): *πάντοτε δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐν τοῖς ζῳδίοις τούτοις τυχὼν οὐκ ἀγαθὸς γενήσεται* ('whenever the god [Jupiter] happens to be in these signs [which happen to coincide with the twelfth place of different nativities], he will not become beneficial').

⁷⁰ This is asserted by the paraphrase of Dorotheus quoted above, p. 136 (with n. 62).

combined effect of *both* planetary deities must, from an ancient astrological perspective, be perverted when the conjunction happens to take place in the twelfth place of the dodecatropos⁷¹.

It is further possible that Antigonus considered Venus as being Pedanius' ruler of the soul. Even if the astrological concept of an *οικοδεσπότης τῆς ψυχῆς* is attested in no other source than Ptol., *apotel.* 3.14 (this chapter contains five references of which two are quoted by Heph., II15), it is unlikely that Ptolemy himself invented the concept and coined the technical term. Be this as it may, Ptolemy makes the ruler of the zodiacal sign of Mercury lord of the rational part of the soul and the ruler of the zodiacal sign of the Moon lord of the irrational part of the soul (i.e. of the seat of erotic inclinations). Consequently, there will be either one or two rulers of the soul in each individual chart, depending on the positions of Mercury and the Moon. In **F3** Ptolemy would assign the rulership of the rational part of the soul to Mars (because Mercury is in Aries) and that of the irrational part to Venus (because the Moon is in Taurus). The effects of the rulers of the soul depend, according to Ptolemy, on whether the rulers are favorably or unfavorably located. He mentions *ἐρωτικούς* three times in the relevant chapter, first in *apotel.* 3.14,25 with regard to Jupiter and Venus in unfavorable positions, next in *apotel.* 3.14,29 for Mars and Venus in favorable positions, and last in *apotel.* 3.14,33 for Venus alone in unfavorable positions. Since only Venus plays a role in all three predictions, she (and not Mars or Jupiter) must, in Ptolemy's view, be the cause of *ἐρωτικούς*, and this effect is obviously not a good one in his view because it is always connected with unfavorable conditions⁷².

However, Antigonus' rationale cannot have been exactly the same as Ptolemy's because then the rulers of the soul in **F3** would, as already mentioned, be Mars in the 11th place and Venus in the 12th, with the consequence that Venus would not just pro-

⁷¹ Compare the general statement of Rhetorius on Jupiter in the 12th place quoted in n. 69. Note also that Jupiter belongs (unlike Venus) to the astrological sect of the day. Antigonus may have seen this as another reason for attributing the negative erotic influence primarily to Venus (if he actually did; his text does not differentiate between Jupiter and Venus in § 66b, except for naming Venus first).

⁷² At first sight, Ptolemy seems not to be thinking of any unfavorable circumstance in *apotel.* 3.14,29, but it is implicit in the co-rulership of Mars who is, generally speaking, the enemy of peace, order, and moderation, and, with special regard to sexuality, the archetype of the adulterer established in the Homeric tale of Ares and Aphrodite (*Od.* 8.268-269 *ἐμίγησαν... λάθρη*). This famous myth left many traces in astrological texts, too. Suffice it to mention the horoscope of Ceionius Rufius Albinus (Firm., *math.* 2.29,10-20 = *Hor. lat.* 303.III.14, our text 5) in which the native is characterized as an adulterer (*adulter*) and his blameful deed (a *crimen* of which the native is *reus*) explained with *antiscia*, a negative form of astrological ray-casting by Mars (*violenta Martis radiatione*) on Venus (*ibid.* 2.29,14 and 2.29,17).

duce moderately reproachable individuals such as ἐρωτικούς but seriously wicked perpetrators of sexual crimes such as διαφθορεῖς γυναικῶν καὶ παρθένων (Ptol., *apotel.* 3.14,30). Even if ἐρωτικοί are obviously not as bad, in Ptolemy's view, as διαφθορεῖς γυναικῶν καὶ παρθένων, they are still reprehensible. This is clear from his prediction for Jupiter and Venus as rulers of the soul in which he differentiates between honorable and unacceptable forms of eroticism, reserving the adjective ἐρωτικός to the latter, negative variant: τῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης συνουκειωθεῖς [sc. ὁ τοῦ Διὸς] ἐπὶ μὲν ἐνδόξων διαθέσεων ποιεῖ [...] ἐπαφροδίτους ἐν τῷ σεμνῷ, [...] ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων τρυφητάς, ἡδυβίους, θηλυψύχους, ὀρχηστικούς, γυναικοθύμους, δαπάνους, καταγυναίους, ἐρωτικούς, λάγνους, καταφερεῖς, μοιχοῦς, φιλοκόσμους, ὑπομαλάκους, ῥαθύμους, ἀσώτους, ἐπιμώμους κτλ. (Ptol., *apotel.* 3.14,24–25). In sum, if Ptolemy (as I tend to assume) took over the concept of οἰκοδεσπότης τῆς ψυχῆς and the basic rules for interpreting this ruler's effects from a pre-existing tradition, Antigonus is likely to have been familiar with it, to have identified Venus as ruler of the irrational part of Pedanius' soul, and to have interpreted Venus' position in the twelfth place negatively.

It has become clear that there were various possibilities for providing astrological explanations of the (according to Antigonus) abnormal erotic inclinations of Pedanius Fuscus.

In view of the prominent role that sexuality plays in Antigonus' relatively short horoscopes **F2** and **F3** (and also, more generally speaking, in Greco–Roman astrological manuals)⁷³, it is noteworthy that his particularly long and elaborate horoscope of Hadrian (**F1**) does not contain a single word on this topic. This is all the more surprising because on the one hand Hadrian's homoerotic inclinations, especially his infatuation for the Bythynian youth Antinous, were well-known⁷⁴ and on the other hand Hadrian's horoscope did provide an opportunity for explaining these inclinations astrologically, namely the position of Jupiter in Aquarius: Zeus/Jupiter, the astrological symbol of kingship, is particularly suited to symbolize Hadrian who occupies the first place among ancient literary associations of the earthly ruler with the highest god⁷⁵, and Aquarius, who pours water from his celestial urn, is associated with Ganymede, the beautiful youth that Zeus had, according to Greek myth, abducted in the shape of an

⁷³ See CUMONT, 1937, pp. 177–184.

⁷⁴ See Cass. Dio, LXIX 11.2–4 and Hist. Aug. *Hadr.* 14.5–6 (with FÜNDLING, 2006 ad loc.); see also BIRLEY, 1997, pp. 2 and 42.

⁷⁵ This is largely due to Hadrian's historical role as he who brought the construction of the temple of Zeus in Athens to completion. Cf. PRICE, 1984, p. 86, and CLAUSS, 1999, p. 142.

eagle to serve as cup-bearer at the banquets of the gods. This myth served as a model of pederasty in ancient literature, including astrological texts⁷⁶. It is a likely assumption that Antigonus' total silence on sexual or erotic topics in **F1** has to do with his different overall appreciation of the three natives in **F1**, **F2** and **F3**.

This leads us to conclude our analysis with the following two insights: Firstly, Antigonus' discussion of sexual or erotic details in **F2** § 57 and **F3** § 66b is in keeping with the astrological tradition and mainstream of his time. This specific, thematically bound insight is in compliance with a more general one that cannot be substantiated here with detailed argument, namely that all three extant horoscopes of this author (**F1–F3**) can be read, and were probably read by ancient readers, as impressive examples of the truth of the astrological doctrine transmitted in theoretical manuals⁷⁷. Secondly, we find that Antigonus' allusions to sexuality and eroticism in **F2** and **F3** contribute substantially to his overall purpose of discrediting the respective natives⁷⁸. In **F1**, instead, whose native (Hadrian) is praised in various respects by Antigonus, the topics of sexuality and eroticism are entirely absent, probably because they would have disturbed the picture of a cultured and decorous ruler entirely devoted to his political responsibilities. The negative instrumentalization of specific forms of both homosexual and heterosexual inclinations that we find in **F2** and **F3** complies with contemporary social norms and with the general Stoic repudiation of passions⁷⁹.

⁷⁶ Cf. P. Mich. III 149, col. VI,22–26: οἱ οὖν ἐπέραστοι καὶ εἰς χρῆσιν εὐθετοὶ διὰ τοῦ Διὸς εἰς τοῦτο ἄγονται· δύναται τοῦτο Γανυμήδης μυθικῶς προσπαίειν τῇ φύσει ὁμοδρομοῦσιν (trans. ROBBINS, 1936, p. 110: “hence beloved boys and those who are well adapted for the practice are led to these courses through the influence of Jupiter; Ganymede serves to express this in mythology for those whose courses are natural”). See further CUMONT, 1937, p. 181, note 3 (at the end), and HEILEN, 2015, pp. 668–669, esp. note 1372.

⁷⁷ Interested readers may wish to consult the comprehensive commentary on Antig. Nic., **F1–F3** in HEILEN, 2015, pp. 522–1252, esp. pp. 685 (on Hadrian's emperorship in **F1**), 834 and 862 (on Hadrian's siblings), 884–885 (on the medical cause of Hadrian's death), 1232 (on **F3** § 66a), and many other pages of that commentary, including the reference *ibid.* 1250 to the pertinent remark of Valens who explicitly declares, in a different astrological context (comparison of the horoscopes of six men who almost died together in a sea-storm), that he wishes to demonstrate the marvelous coherence of all parts of nature as revealed by astrology (πρὸς τὸ θαυμάσαι τὴν φύσιν, Val., VII 6.127).

⁷⁸ For other, non-sexual ways of discrediting those natives see especially the adjectives ἄδικος (**F2** § 56, twice) and κακόβουλος (**F3** §§ 65 and 66a).

⁷⁹ I thank Dorian G. Greenbaum for correcting various English mistakes in an earlier version of this article.

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