APPENDIX 3.A

THE DEMONISATION OF THE DAIMON AND ANTIPATHY TO ASTROLOGY

Early Christians were not oblivious to the Septuagint translators calling evil spirits and gods of other cultures 'daimonia'. It had also not escaped them that the planetary gods called cosmocrators became 'world-lords of darkness' in the New Testament. All this fits nicely into the picture of astrology as infested by demons in addition to denying the possibility of salvation. Even so, many Christians did consult astrologers or practice astrology themselves,[1] and much ink was spilt in attempting to tell them the error of their ways. One argument to be made was the demonic one: astrology is the practice, even creation, of demons. This cut no ice with the pagans: they knew that daimons could be good and bad, and besides, the astrological chart gave evidence of exactly that. One could have advantages from good daimons and take steps to ward off the worst effects from bad ones. Possession by demons to the peril of one's soul was not a pagan concern, and it was useful to know about the possibilities of illness, injury and death as seen in the chart.

But the Christians were not deterred, and their writings show vehement and increasingly strident insistence on all daimons as evil. And if they were, and astrology were connected with them, then astrology was fatally tainted (in addition to being 'fatalistic'). This culminated in Augustine's unequivocal and highly influential assertions that astrology was unreservedly the work of demons.[2] After him, there was constant anxiety for Christian astrologers that astrology be considered compatible with Christian doctrine (William Lilly did not call his book *Christian Astrology* for nothing). It had become a perpetual problem.

We now examine some of the chief participants in the war against daimons and astrology. My aim is to demonstrate two main arguments against astrology by the early Christian authors: that it denied free will and salvation, and that its demonic taint included both the daimons' association with the creation and practice of astrology, and

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[1] See K. von Stuckrad, 'Jewish and Christian Astrology in Late Antiquity - A New Approach', *Numen*, 47, 2000, pp. 1-40, esp. pp. 2, 6-7.

[2] I do not imply that Augustine was the first to say this, but that his influence cemented it in the culture.

their well-known link to fate. Regarding influence, I shall try to show that two sources, especially, contribute to these ideas about daimons and astrology. They are the *Book of Enoch* (particularly the *Book of the Watchers*) and Philo of Alexandria. Through these two sources we can consistently trace the way Christian apologists and fathers deal with daimons and astrology.

The Book of Enoch and Philo of Alexandria

For its impact on astrology as viewed by Christians (and Jews) of Late Antiquity, the importance of the transmission of the *Book of the Watchers* (*1 Enoch* 1-36) cannot be overemphasised. Many scholars have pointed out its widespread dissemination; Annette Reed has taken the subject up in detail.[3] Not only was its message one of fallen angels leading to the creation of demons that populate the world, but those fallen angels also transmit forbidden knowledge, including astrology, to (presumed unworthy) mortals. Astrology is thus guilty by association, tied to the 'evil' perpetrated by the fallen angels. Even though Enoch, as a worthy sage, could be given information about the stars, this kind of knowledge should not be available to everyone, especially in the mundane way astrology tended to be practised. Thus the deeds of the fallen angels were unforgivable sins.

Philo was a highly influential Jewish writer, contemporary with the life of Jesus (ca. 20 BCE-ca. 50 CE).[4] He did not demonise all daimons in his writings, but made a distinction between good daimons (= good angels) and bad ones (see his treatise *De gigantibus*, which analyses the story of the angels who mated with human women and produced the giants). His view of natal astrology as an unacceptable artefact of fatalism was congruent with those of later Christian writers. Though Philo was Jewish, his insistence on the necessity of free will from the Jewish perspective provided continuity with Christian views of free will and the possibility of salvation. David Runia and others have shown the tremendous influence of Philo on early Christian thought[5] and, though Philo's was certainly not the only source of free will doctrine followed by the Christians (they had many arguments from pagan and other writers to draw from), I suggest his

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[3] See A. Y. Reed, *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature*, Cambridge 2005, esp. pp. 7-9, 13-16 and Chapter 5.

[4] G. Sterling, 'General Introduction' to D. T. Runia, intro., trans. and comm., *Philo of Alexandria: On the Creation of the Cosmos according to Moses*, Leiden/Boston/Cologne 2001, p. ix.

[5] See D. T. Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature: A Survey*, Assen/Minneapolis 1993; idem, 'Philo of Alexandria and the Beginnings of Christian Thought, Alexandrian and Jew', *Studia Philonica Annual*, 7, 1995, pp. 143-160, and his bibliography in both.

influence in general was such that his view of free will in regard to astrology would provide welcome confirmation of the anti-fatalist position. (We need hardly say that astrology's 'fatalism' was contested by astrologers themselves, and that anti-astrology polemics often showed scant knowledge of its actual practice, or deliberately distorted that practice.)

Let us look more closely at Philo's position. It would be fair to say that he owed his philosophy in equal measure to Platonism and Judaism. For Philo, astrology can be a legitimate practice of reading signs (*not* causes) of future events from the heavens (*De opificio mundi* 58-59), as long as those signs are for natural events like the weather and not for natal prediction.[6] The planets and stars are wholly virtuous and living, noetic beings (*De opif.* 73), but they are creations of the one God and must not be worshipped. Furthermore, Philo's opposition to what he sees as astrological fatalism and the denial of free will, elucidated especially in *De providentia*, 1.77-88, is not lost on future Christian apologists.[7]

On the hierarchy of divine beings, Philo uses Genesis 6:1-4 as his foundation text. Particularly relevant is 6:2: 'And when the angels of God saw the daughters of men, that they were beautiful, they took wives for themselves from all whom they chose.'[8] These, as we know from the *Book of the Watchers*, produced the giants for which Philo's treatise is named (the giants are also in Gen. 6:4). Philo says that those whom Moses calls angels, other philosopers call daimons. This allows him to begin an exegesis on the origins of angels and daimons (*De gig.* 6-16). The world is filled with living souls, including the stars; again he says the stars are divine souls, without blemish, moving in perfect circles (*De gig.* 8).[9] Angels, daimons and souls are all related, as different kinds of living souls; some remain in the air and some descend into bodies (*De gig.* 12-13).[10] If angels, daimons and souls are all made of the same stuff, this should erase the fear of daimons (i.e. *deisidaimonia*) (*De gig.* 16). These angels, daimons and souls can be good or bad:

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[6] See discussions in Runia, *Philo On Creation*, pp. 205-206; P. Frick, *Divine Providence in Philo of Alexandria*, Tübingen 1999, pp. 120-138; and D. Amand, *Fatalisme et liberté dans l'antiquité grecque*, Louvain 1945, repr. Amsterdam 1973, pp. 81-95.; also A. Scott, *Origen and the Life of the Stars: A History of an Idea*, Oxford 1991, pp. 72 and n. 67, 110 .

[7] See the analysis in Amand, *Fatalisme et liberté*, pp. 88-93.

[8] Quoted in Philo, De gigantibus, 2.6 (ed. Wendland, p. 43.6-7): „Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι καλαί εἰσιν, ἔλαβον ἑαυτοῖς γυναῖκας ἀπὸ πασῶν, ὧν ἐξελέξαντο".

[9] Of course, for Philo they are not gods, but souls created by God; see also *De decalogo* 64-65 (ed. Cohn, 4, p. 283).

[10] This part clearly derives from *Timaeus* 43a-b and *Phaedrus* 248c. The way Philo describes the souls as descending into bodies and caught by currents, then struggling and rising back up, is reminiscent of Plutarch, the myth of Timarchus in *De genio Socratis* (esp. 590f-592e). (Plutarch, of course, post-dates Philo).

the good are virtuous and heavenly, the bad earthly and unholy (*De gig*. 16). Presumably the angels who took human wives, attracted to their physical beauty, were among the latter.[11] Unlike the Christians who come after him, Philo consistently uses the word 'daimon' as any Hellenised person would, i.e. neutrally, and always qualified. He is quite familiar with the concepts of good daimons who watch over and protect humans (he tends to call these 'angels'), with a personal daimon assigned at birth, and with bad daimons seduced by passions;[12] he also subscribes to the idea that daimons are linked to *nous*.

Following the Thread of Enoch and Philo

Rather than go exhaustively through the positions of every Christian writer on daimons and astrology, I shall select examples showing that they follow similar lines of argument based on similar sources, especially keeping hold of the thread of Enoch and Philo. As we move through this material, we shall see a divergence in style and thought between those who incorporate Philo, or the spirit of Philo, into their philosophies, and those who use Enoch.[13]

Justin Martyr (ca. 100-165 CE), who lived under Antoninus Pius and was probably executed under Marcus Aurelius was, coincidentally, an almost exact contemporary of Vettius Valens. He is the first Apologist to describe the offspring of the angels and human women as δαιμόνες (*2 Apol.* 5.3).[14] While the *Book of the Watchers* placed the demons at one remove from the children of the fallen angels and human women – via the 'malicious spirits' (πνεύματα πονηρά) of the disembodied Nephilim (*1 En.* 19.1) – in Justin, the children themselves are demons: 'The angels, transgressing this order [*i.e., going outside their angelic function by acting like humans*], were overcome by lust for intercourse with women, and they begat children who are those called

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[11] This is also the opinion of H. A. Wolfson, *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, 2 vols, Cambridge, MA 1947, repr. 1962, I, p. 384.

[12] Succumbing to passions for Philo is a moral evil (as opposed to physical evil, e.g. natural disasters and disease). Frick, *Providence in Philo*, pp. 143-166, discusses physical and moral evil. Humans can control the latter by choosing virtue rather than vice.

[13] Runia, *Philo in Christian Literature*, p. 55, notices a difference in those who follow Philo and try to incorporate the surrounding culture of their time, and those who do not. Runia does not mention Enoch, however.

[14] Reed, *Fallen Angels*, pp. 161-170, has shown the influence of Enoch on Justin. I follow her lead here. Scholarship is divided on whether Justin had access to Philo: see Runia, *Philo in Christian Literature*, pp. 97-105.

demons.'[15] The angels' yielding to passion[16] demonstrates their moral evil (as Philo would describe it). Justin conflates the evil 'spirits' with demons, perhaps relying on *1 En.* 19.1,[17] where the 'spirits' persuade humans to 'sacrifice to demons as to gods',[18] clearly an echo of (LXX) Deut. 32:17 where the Hebrew *šēdîm* become *daimonia*.

Not only that, but Justin made sure to point out that the angels also provided occult knowledge: 'And besides, they enslaved the human race to themselves, through magic writings....'[19] The demons created by the fallen angels are responsible for all the evils of the world today, says Justin, and they particularly hate the Christians: they even possess the imperial rulers who put Christians to death (*2 Apol.* 1. 2).[20]

Finally, Justin equates the pagan gods with fallen angels and demons (*2 Apol.* 5.5).[21] With one fell swoop, he destroys the religious and cultural edifice of the Greek gods and labels it as evil. The four points stressed by Justin: 1) fallen angels create demons; 2) demons are responsible for vice and sin; 3) fallen angels and demons are the same as pagan gods; and 4) fallen angels who create demons are responsible for giving illicit knowledge of occult practices to humans – get repeated and developed by subsequent Christian writers.

The chain first traces to **Tatian**, Justin's student. He also calls pagan gods demons,[22] but he develops this further by specifically saying that they introduced astrology to men (*Oration to the Greeks*, 8.1-9.2).[23] God placed the zodiac in the

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[15] Justin, *2 Apology*, 5.3 (ed. Marcovich, p. 143.9-10): οἱ δ' ἄγγελοι, παραβάντες τήνδε τὴν τάξιν, γυναικῶν μίξεσιν ἡττήθησαν καὶ παῖδας ἐτέκνωσαν, οἵ εἰσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι δαίμονες.

[16] This links to the Greek position about daimons as subject to passions; the angels are thus daimonic.

[17] Reed, *Fallen Angels*, p. 163.

[18] 1 Enoch 19.1 (ed. Black, p. 32): …τὰ πνεύματα αὐτῶν…λυμαίνεται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ πλανήσει αὐτοὺς ἐπιθύειν τοῖς δαιμονίοις…. ('...their spirits will defile humans and lead them astray to sacrifice to demons...'.)

[19] *2 Apol.* 5.4 (ed. Marcovich, p. 144.11-12): καὶ προσέτι λοιπὸν τὸ ἀνθρώπ<ε>ιον γένος ἑαυτοῖς ἐδούλωσαν· τὰ μὲν διὰ μαγικῶν γραφῶν…. Reed, *Fallen Angels*, p. 164, correlates this to the transmission of such knowledge, including astrology, in *1 En.* 7:1, 8:3 and 9:7.

[20] See Reed, *Fallen Angels*, p. 162.

[21] See ibid., p. 165 and n. 8, who cites Psalms LXX 95:5 and 106:37, and Deut. 32:17 as ammunition for Justin. See also p. 175 and n. 29 for followers of this position like Tatian and Minucius Felix.

[22] D. W. Amundsen, 'Tatian's "rejection" of medicine in the second century', in *Ancient Medicine in its Socio-cultural Context*, vol. 2, eds P. J. van der Eijk, H. F. J. Horstmanshoff and P. H. Schrijvers, Amsterdam/Atlanta 1995, pp. 377-392, here p. 379, refers to 'Tatian's extreme, although entirely orthodox, demonology...'.

[23] *Oratio ad Graecos* 8.1 (ed. Whittaker, p. 14.5-8): διάγραμμα γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀστροθεσίας ἀναδείξαντες ὥσπερ οἱ τοῖς κύβοις παίζοντες, τὴν εἱμαρμένην εἰσηγήσαντο λίαν ἄδικον. ὅ τε γὰρ κρίνων καὶ ὁ κρινόμενος καθ' εἱμαρμένην εἰσὶν γεγονότες…. 'For they (sc. demons) showed men a diagram of the placement of the stars, and like dice-players they introduced the factor of fate—a very unjust one—which brought both judge and prisoner to where they are now.' Trans. Whittaker, p. 15, modified. Here we see that Tatian's knowledge of astrology is limited, for he uses words seldom employed by astrologers (in a search of all astrologers in the *TLG*, *astrothesia* appears four times, three times in Valens (III, 13.13 [ed. Pingree, p. 149.19]; IX, 9.13 [ed. Pingree, p. 332.32]; IX, 12.31 [ed. Pingree, p. 342.2]) and once in Hephaestio (III, 1.2

heavens, but demons gave astrology to humans to make them slaves to fate. Furthermore, the demons laugh as they contemplate how humans will suffer because of it (here Tatian perverts Homer as he compares the demons with Homer's 'blessed gods' and their 'unquenchable laughter' [*Od.* 8.326]). Christians, however, are above fate (Tatian makes a pun on the 'erring' planetary demons and God who does not err).[24] **Theodotus**, the Valentinian Gnostic, went a step further and said that 'Until baptism, they say, Fate is true, but after it the astrologers no longer arrive at the truth.[25]

Tertullian (160-225 CE), along the same lines, claimed that once Christianity arrived, astrology was no longer effective (*De idolatria*, 9.4); moreover, fallen angels caused idolatry by giving 'curiosity' to humans (astrology was a prime example of this), for which they were 'damned by God'.[26] Though Tertullian makes no mention of Philo,[27] his ties to Enoch are strong – he supports the canonicity of the Enoch material.[28] **Irenaeus** (115-202 CE) continues the theme of astrology as idolatry, now a demonically inspired heresy: 'Marcus [*the heretic*], you maker of idols and inspector of portents, / advocate of astrology and the art of magic, / through these you confirm the doctrines of error, / showing signs to those led astray by you, / the workings of apostatic power / which your father Satan presents for you / to do through the angelic power Azazel.'[29] Irenaeus makes the heretic astrologer himself the deceiver, not the planets in the heavens. The practitioner has taken on the demon's role.

[ed. Pingree, p. 227.13]); *diagramma* appears once, in Paulus, ch. 5 (ed. Boer, p. 18.10), but with a standard meaning of 'diagram', not astrological chart. However, that does not prevent Tatian from being sure that astrology is demonic and sinful.

[24] Greek πλανάω, 'wander', from which the word planet comes, can also mean 'err'.

[25] *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 78.1 (ed. Casey, p. 88.675-676): Μέχρι τοῦ βαπτίσματος οὖν ἡ Εἱμαρμένη, φασίν, ἀληθής· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐκέτι ἀληθεύουσιν οἱ ἀστρολόγοι. T. Hegedus, *Early Christianity and Ancient Astrology*, New York/Oxford 2007, p. 343, points out the differentiation between mortal and spiritual birth here, comparing it to the popular pagan practice of the descent and ascent of the soul.

[26] *De idolatria*. 9.1 (ed. Waszink/Van Winder, p. 34.7-8): '...angelos esse illos desertores dei, amatores feminarum, proditores etiam huius curiositatis, propterea quoque damnatos a deo.' See the commentary on the connotation of 'curiositas' (and bibiography) in Hegedus, *Christianity and Astrology*, p. 127 and n. 28 (pp. 133-134); curiosity as an evil incited by using divination and astrology is also taken up by Augustine in *On Christian Doctrine*, II, 23.35. For more on Tertullian and astrology see Hegedus, pp. 307-317.

[27] Runia, *Philo in Christian Literature*, p. 55, groups Tertullian with Tatian in rejecting outside cultures.

[28] See Tertullian, *De idolatria*, ed. Waszink/Van Winden, commentary to 4,2, p. 113, with citations.

[29] *Adversus haereses*, 1.15.6, (ed. Rousseau/Doutreleau, 1.2, pp. 250.147-149, 252.150-153): Idolorum fabricator, Marce, et portentorum inspector,/ Astrologiae cognitor et magicae artis, / Per quae confirmas erroris doctrinas, / Signa ostendens his qui a te seducuntur, / Apostaticae virtutis operationes, / Quae tibi praestat tuus pater Satanas / Per angelicam virtutem Azazel facere.... Quoted in Reed, *Fallen Angels*, pp. 176-177, who links Irenaeus's views to the transmission of magical and astrological teachings by the fallen angels. Runia, *Philo in Christian Literature*, p. 118 and n. 121, suggests that 'Irenaeus is a link in the chain of tradition that connects Philo to later Christian monasticism'. E. Schneweis, *Angels and Demons According to Lactantius*, Washington, D.C. 1944, p. 101, also suggests Irenaeus knew of the Enoch story.

Bardaiṣan of Edessa (154-222/3 CE) is one of the few who considers astrology to be legitimate.[30] His tripartite philosophy divides the world into nature, fate and free will (corresponding to body, soul and spirit).[31] Humans have free will but are also subject to fate, which can be seen in the astrological chart. He understands both 'Chaldean' and 'Egyptian' astrology,[32] and lays out three positions on astrology:[33] it is 1) completely determined; 2) a fraud, and fate does not exist; and 3) fate exists, and can be seen in the usual subjects of the chart ('riches, honour, health, sickness, children and everything we covet'),[34] but human minds are free and 'they do what they will as free beings'.[35] Position 1 is usually taken by many anti-astrology writers and sometimes (though adding compatibilist justifications) by astrologers. Position 2 articulates a common Christian position.[36] Position 3 is Bardaiṣan's own (and also what many astrologers would say about their art, to a greater or lesser degree). Needless to say, Bardaiṣan makes no mention of astrology as the work of demons in this treatise. Although there is no evidence of Bardaiṣan knowing the work of Philo on fate and free will,[37] he does mention the angels who mated with human women.[38] Bardaiṣan influenced both Pseudo-Clement and Eusebius.

Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150-ca. 215 CE), one of the founders of Christian philosophy and a member of the Catechetical school in Alexandria, tried to marry Christian faith with Hellenistic philosophy.[39] In this he follows the path of Philo,[40] thereby bringing back a level of civility to Christian apologetics after the stridency of people like Justin and Tatian.[41] In following Philo, he becomes one of the group desiring

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[30] See Bardaiṣan of Edessa, *The Book of the Laws of Countries: Dialogue on Fate of Bardaiṣan of Edessa*, ed., trans. and comm. Han J. W. Drijvers, 2nd imp., Piscataway, NJ 2007, pp. v*, vii*, Drijvers mentions his astrology practice and his supposed conversion, though he is not sure Bardaiṣan would have called himself a Christian.
[31] Ibid., p. vi*.
[32] Bardaiṣan of Edessa, *The Book of the Laws of Countries: Dialogue on Fate of Bardaiṣan of Edessa*, ed., trans. and comm. Han J. W. Drijvers, Assen 1965, pp. 39-41.
[33] See ibid., pp. 27-33.
[34] Ibid., pp. 31-33.
[35] Ibid., p. 25.
[36] Hegedus, *Christianity and Astrology*, p. 263 and n. 23, mentions Dihle's suggestion that Bardaisan is thinking of Epicureanism; but by Bardaiṣan's time, this would have been an orthodox Christian position.
[37] See Runia, *Philo in Christian Literature*, p. 22 and n.90.
[38] Reed, *Fallen Angels*, pp. 149, 222, n. 73.
[39] Amand, *Fatalisme et liberté*, p. 261; Runia, *Philo in Christian Literature*, p.55.
[40] He explicitly mentions him; see Runia, *Philo in Christian Literature*, p. 132.
[41] Ibid., p. 134 (sophistication); also pp. 132-156 for a long discussion of Clement and his works (and see his bibliography therein).

to incorporate ideas of Greek philosophy into Christian thinking, versus the group that fervently disavowed them (e.g. Tatian, Tertullian, Irenaeus, etc.).[42]

Clement did assert the Enochian premise that astrology and divination, among other occult arts, were taught to humans by evil angels,[43] but he saw the stars and planets as signs (not causes) and did not consider them to be evil.[44] He was a staunch advocate of moral freedom.[45] In a reference to the daimon of Socrates, he treats the daimon, which warned Socrates from doing the wrong thing, as a cause of Socrates' virtue: 'For Socrates, the daimon was a cause, not by not preventing, but by averting, even if it was not urging on.'[46] But Clement did not take a stand against astrological fatalism – that would be left to his disciple, Origen.[47]

Origen (ca. 185-ca. 254 CE), as well, continued the tradition of Philo and Clement in respecting, if not always agreeing with, Greek philosophy. Like Clement, stars are signs, not causes.[48] Here Origen follows not only Philo and Clement, but also pagan writers like Plotinus (in *Ennead* II, 3). But the only beings who can read these signs are angels or very wise men. We should not take this as evidence that Origen otherwise condoned astrology; he certainly pointed out arguments against it including, for the first time, that astrologers take no account of precession (*Philocalia*, 23).[49] In his *Commentary on Matthew* (13, 6), his exegesis on Matt. 17:14-21 brings demons into the picture. The demons who cause the boy's deafness and blindness have timed their attack to the correct phase of the moon, to make it seem like the cause is astrological. So the Moon is not the cause of the affliction, but demons using its natural phases to mask their involvement. This is not quite the same as saying that astrology is the work of demons; rather, astrology, i.e. the planets and stars, is really the dupe of demons.[50] This novel position begins with Origen. A version of it may appear in Pseudo-Clement, however.

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[42] Ibid. p. 55, quoting K. J. Popma, 'Patristic Evaluation of Culture', *Philosophia Reformata*, 38, 1973, pp. 97-113, here p. 97.
[43] Scott, *Origen*, p. 105 and notes.
[44] Ibid., pp. 105 and nn. 6-7, 110.
[45] See Amand, *Fatalisme et liberté*, pp. 267-273.
[46] *Stromateis* I, 17.83.4 (ed. Stählin, II, p. 54.10-12): …τῷ Σωκράτει τὸ δαιμόνιον αἴτιον ἦν οὐχὶ μὴ κωλῦον, ἀλλ' ἀποτρέπον, εἰ καὶ μὴ προέτρεπεν., cited in Amand, p. 271 and n. 1.
[47] Amand, *Fatalisme et liberté*, p. 274.
[48] *Philocalia*, 23, quoted in Hegedus, *Christianity and Astrology*, p. 331 (see his discussion, pp. 331-333.
[49] Ibid., pp. 31-33.
[50] I disagree with Hegedus, p. 129, that Origen's remark about 'natal astrologers, who refer the cause of all madness and demonic possession to the figures [*i.e. phases*] of the moon' (13, 6 [ed. Benz/ Klostermann, vol. 10, p. 195.13-16]: …τῶν γενεθλιαλόγων, τὴν αἰτίαν πάσης μανίας καὶ παντὸς δαιμονιασμοῦ ἀναφερόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς τῆς σελήνης σχηματισμούς…), means he is 'expounding on its [astrology's] demonic origins'. Origen merely states that astrologers see a connection between the Moon and madness or possession. For

Origen does not believe that stars and planets can ever be intrinsically evil, though they can fall into sin, and demons may use them for evil purposes.[51] In other works (e.g. *Contra Celsum*, 4.92), Origen affirms that evil daimons exist and even associates them with Titans and Giants (is this a hint of Enochian material?).[52] Demons can know the future because they are not limited by earthly bodies, and with this knowledge they lure humans away from God; they also infest animals and lead humans to try to read the future from their movement (e.g. augury). Divination as a lure away from God is taken up by Augustine, in *On Christian Doctrine* (II, 23.35-36).

Eusebius (ca. 263- ca. 339 CE) is an important source for topics like oracles, astrology and daimons. His *Praeparatio Evangelica* provides excerpts from pagan writers on these subjects (like Porphyry) that might otherwise have been lost. *PE* is meant to show the superiority of Christianity against other religions, and he has absorbed the arguments of his predecessors, including Origen (and through him, Plato).[53] As Amand has pointed out, a large portion of VI, 6 is devoted to Carneadean arguments against fate.[54] Eusebius asserts that God can overpower fate, God's providence is greater than fate, and therefore, if God rules everything, fate cannot stand.

The preface to Book VI provides us with a few succinct statements about daimons and the stars:

> Now let us examine [the oracles'] false doctrines about fate ... in order that the daemons who have been supposed to inspire the oracles may be shown to be wicked and impotent, not only by the depravity of their system, but also by their opinions being neither right nor true. ... For it is not said that they have gained the knowledge of future events beforehand by any superior power, but that they guess what is coming from observation of the motion of the stars, just as men do. Thus, it is said, they have no power either to help, or to effect anything at all, except what is in accordance with fate.[55]

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connections between the Moon and illness, including 'lunacy', in antiquity, see C. Préaux, *La lune dans la pensée grecque*, Brussels 1973, pp. 91-94.

[51] See the discussion of Scott, *Origen*, pp. 137-144.

[52] Reed, *Fallen Angels*, p. 148 and n. 89, gives Origen's other allusions to Enoch.

[53] Runia, *Philo in Christian Literature*, p. 213, citing Timothy Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius*, Cambridge, MA 1981, pp. 93-94.

[54] Amand, *Fatalisme et liberté*, pp. 342-343.

[55] *PE* VI, Proem.1, 3 (ed. Mras, vol. 8/1, pp. 293.7-11, 14-18): φέρε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ εἱμαρμένης ψευδοδοξουμένων αὐτοῖς … ὡς ἂν μὴ διὰ μόνης τῆς τοῦ τρόπου μοχθηρίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὐδὲ ἀληθῶς αὐτοῖς δοξαζομένων φαῦλοι καὶ ἀδρανεῖς ὄντες οἱ τὰ χρηστήρια κινεῖν νενομισμένοι δαίμονες ἀποδειχθεῖεν. … οὐ γὰρ δὴ δυνάμει κρείττονι τὴν τῶν μελλόντων γνῶσιν προειληφέναι φασὶν αὐτούς, ἐκ θεωρίας δὲ τῆς τῶν ἄστρων κινήσεως ὁμοίως ἀνθρώποις τὰ μέλλοντα καταστοχάζεσθαι. οὕτως οὐδὲν δύνασθαι οὔτ' ὠφελεῖν οὔτε τι τὸ παράπαν ἐνεργεῖν αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ τὰ καθειμαρμένα, φασί. Trans. E. H. Gifford (slightly modified), Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel*, 2 vols, Oxford 1903, repr. Grand Rapids, MI 1981, 236b, c, p. 254. These sentiments are taken up by the 6th-century Christian writer John Philoponus (*De opificio mundi*, IV, 20 (trans. Rosset and Congourdeau, pp. 196-200).

These are not the upright, benevolent daimons of Plutarch's *De defectu oraculorum*, but demonised daimons from the Christian tradition.[56] Their system is depraved, and their opinions are wrong, false and therefore worthless. They are no better than humans at 'guessing' what the stars portend. Above all, they are powerless; they can only operate in accordance with fate, a fate which itself is overpowered by God.[57]

VI, 6 contains additional statements about the mendaciousness of demons,[58] their tendencies to delude and deceive, their belief in the superiority of fate (and attendant necessity) and their denial of free will. Here astrology is the adjunct to this fated universe; furthermore, Eusebius decrees that if the stars and fate control both events and human reason, the end of philosophy and piety will follow, along with any preference for good.[59] Even if he really believes this, it is hard to see that belief in some kind of fate, and that astrology can correlate human life to the heavens, will lead to the annihilation of philosophy and religious reverence in one blow.

In VI, 10, Eusebius quotes Bardaiṣan on the customs of countries superseding any individual astrological influence.[60] He holds respect for Philo and Judaism as a transitional phase to Christianity.[61] He tries to incorporate aspects of other philosophies congenial to his view of Christianity.[62] Thus he is part of the Philo-Clement-Origen crowd, though his thoughts on demons have that Enochian tinge of fervidity).

Lactantius (250-325 CE), roughly contemporaneous with Eusebius, could not be more different in style. A polemicist, he followed the Enochian position on fallen angels creating demons, not necessarily from reading Enoch himself, but probably from

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[56] In fact, they are Plutarch's daimons taken out of context and skewed to Eusebius's polemic.

[57] Eusebius seizes on Plutarch's acknowledgement that some daimons are bad, but ignores his assertion that good daimons are in charge of the oracles, as well as Plutarch's insistence on a providence that is good and ever-present.

[58] *PE* VI, 6.1 (ed. Mras, vol. 8/1, p. 300.1-2): πῶς δὲ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων ταῖς ψευδολογίαις ἀπατήσειέ ποτε τοὺς χρωμένους; 'How could a good daimon ever deceive the inquirers by false statements? (Trans. Gifford, 242d, p. 260.) In Eusebius's circular logic, there are no good daimons, so only bad daimons can make false statements; but their false statements show they are bad in the first place.

[59] *PE* VI, 6.5 (ed. Mras, vol. 8/1, p. 300.18-22): εἰ γὰρ ἄστροις καὶ εἱμαρμένῃ οὐ μόνα τὰ ἐκτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς κατὰ λογισμὸν προθυμίας ἀναθετέον καί τις ἀπαραίτητος ἀνάγκη τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας ἐκβιάζεται γνώμας, οἰχήσεταί σοι φιλοσοφία, οἰχήσεται καὶ εὐσέβεια· οὐδέ τις ἦν τοῖς σπουδαίοις ἔπαινος ἀρετῆς…. 'For if we must refer not only external events, but also the desires founded upon reason, to the stars and fate, and if human judgements are extorted by some inexorable necessity, there will be an end of your philosophy, an end also of piety: nor is there, as we thought, any praise of virtue for the good...'. (Gifford trans., 242d, p. 260, slightly modified.)

[60] Origen and those following him also used Bardaiṣan: Hegedus, *Christianity and Astrology*, p. 94. We should note that Ptolemy addresses this issue and makes qualifications in *Tetr.*, II, 1-4.

[61] Runia, *Philo in Christian Literature*, p. 226 and n. 67.

[62] Ibid., p. 226.

Tertullian.[63] Lactantius takes statements from the *Hermetica* to buttress his views of demons' maleficence, then ties them to astrology and other practices:

> 'Both [*Asclepius and Hermes*] affirm that demons are the enemies and harassers of men, so that Trismegistus calls them 'malicious angels'; thus he was not ignorant of the fact that they, corrupted from heavenly beings, began to be earthly. From them were invented astrology, divination, augury and those which are called oracles, and necromancy, the magical art and whatever other evil things humans practice, either openly or secretly.[64]

His writings are peppered with statements like this; for him, the pagans and their demonology were an enticing target, and he was not concerned with trifles like representing their views accurately.[65] His continuing need was to link demons with 'dark arts' (demons make them dark), and to proclaim their falsity: 'Likewise [demons] transmitted astrology, augury and divination; though these things are false in themselves, nevertheless the originators of evils themselves thus govern and regulate them so that they are believed true. ... Thus they have cast darkness over the human race, so that truth may be subverted...'.[66]

Pseudo-Clement seems measured by comparison. His *Recognitions* were probably written in the fourth century CE, though they contain earlier ideas. Pseudo-Clement also takes up the theme of astrology as the work of demons; in Book IX, 12, he follows Origen's position that the heavenly bodies themselves do not cause things, but demons have hijacked the movements of the stars and planets to make it seem as if they are causing them. The demons then lead humans to sin by making them think astrology is legitimate:

> Therefore the astrologers, being ignorant of such mysteries, think these things happen from the courses of the stars, and in responding to those who approach them for consultations about the future, they are deceived in a great many instances... ...since they do not know that it is not the courses of the stars, but the working of demons which accomplishes these things, demons who, slaving to confirm the error of astrology, dupe humans into sinning with astrological

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[63] E. Schneweis, *Angels and Demons According to Lactantius*, Washington, D.C. 1944, p. 93. Schneweis also mentions Lactantius's sympathy with the teachings of Minucius Felix, Tertullian and Cyprian, p. 14. Reed, *Fallen Angels*, p. 175, n. 29, suggests that Lactantius was dependent on the *Book of Jubilees* for some of his demonology.

[64] *Divinae Institutiones*, II, 15.8-II, 16.1 (ed. Heck/Wlosok, vol. 1, pp. 189.11-190.4): 'uterque vero 'daemonas esse' adfirmat 'inimicos et vexatores hominum', quos ideo Trismegistus ἀγγέλους πονηρούς appellat; adeo non ignoravit ex caelestibus depravatos terrenos esse coepisse. Eorum inventa sunt astrologia et haruspicina et auguratio et ipsa quae dicuntur oracula et necromantia et ars magica et quidquid praeterea malorum exercent homines vel palam vel occulte.'

[65] Schneweis, *Lactantius*, pp. 81, 86.

[66] *Epitome Divinarum institutionum*, 23.5 (ed. Heck/Wlosok, p. 29.11-14): 'idem astrologiam prodid-erunt et auguratum et haruspicinam; quae cum per se falsa sint, tamen ipsi auctores malorum sic ea gubernant, sic temperant, ut vera credantur.' Ibid., 23.9 (ed. Heck/Wlosok, p. 30.10-12): 'sic fraudibus suis obduxerunt humano generi tenebras, ut oppressa veritate...'.

calculations, so that when they pay the penalties of sin either by God's permission or legal requirements, the astrologer may seem to have spoken the truth.[67]

But counterbalancing this severe view is an unusual story within the *Recognitions*, paralleled in the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*.[68] This story, called the 'Passages of Peter' (Περίοδοι Πέτρου), depends, in fact, on an astrological motif which is central to the plot.[69] It recounts the life of 'Clement' of Rome, who ended up being converted to Christianity by Peter and travelling with him around the Mediterranean. When Clement was a little boy of five, his mother Mattidia had a dream that she must leave Rome with Clement's twin brothers.[70] She did this, but was never heard from again, though Clement's father tried to find her. He, too, went off in search of her and vanished, when Clement was twelve. Twenty years later, Clement meets Peter, is converted, and travels with Peter. During their travels, they meet an old beggarwoman who, as it turns out, is actually Clement's mother, shipwrecked and reduced to poverty. They then discover that other companions of Peter are Clement's twin brothers, lost from their mother during the shipwreck. Finally, they meet an old man observing their rite of baptism for Clement's mother and, of course, he turns out to be Clement's father. The old man tells them about his knowledge of his wife's birthchart which, he says, turned out to be true.[71] 'She had Mars and Venus above the centrepin, with the Moon in the Setting [place] in

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[67] *Recognitiones* IX.12.1, 3 (ed. Rehm/Paschke, p. 264.1-4, 9-13): 'igitur astrologi, ignorantes huius-modi mysteria, putant stellarum cursibus ista contingere, unde et his qui accedunt ad eos, ut de futuris aliquid consultant, respondentes falluntur in plurimis... ...ignorantes quod non stellarum cursus haec, sed daemonum gerit operatio, qui ad astrologiae errorem confirmandum deservientes, calculis mathesis decipiunt homines ad peccandum, ut cum, vel deo permittente vel legibus exigentibus, peccati dederint poenas, verum dixisse videatur astrologus.' (A Latin translation of the lost Greek original was made by Rufinus in the early fifth century.)

[68] Here I add my own observations to the work of Hegedus, *Christianity and Astrology*, pp. 319-327; F. S. Jones, 'Eros and Astrology in the Περίοδοι Πέτρου: The Sense of the Pseudo-Clementine Novel', *Apocrypha*, 12, 2001, pp. 53-78; and N. Kelley, 'Astrology in the Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions', *JEH*, 59, 2008, pp. 607-629.

[69] Jones, 'Eros and Astrology', pp. 75-78, develops the argument that the novel's progress hinges on astrology. He points out that *periodos* is also an astrological term (p. 78), but he uses the standard definition in LSJ of 'orbit of a heavenly body' (Hegedus, *Christianity and Astrology*, p. 321, does the same). A better definition is 'recurring cycle', referring to least, middle and greater years of planets. See Valens, III, 13 and **Appendix of Basic Astrological Techniques**, 'Planetary Periods'. Perhaps this is a subtle pun: once St. Peter has made his 'passage', planetary ones can be superseded.

[70] The story is recounted in *Recognitions*, VII, 8-10.

[71] He says he is an astrologer who cast his wife's chart: *Homilies*, XIV, 6.2 (ed. Rehm/Paschke, p. 207.9-11): ἐγὼ γὰρ ἀστρολόγος ὢν καὶ Ῥώμην πρῶτον οἰκήσας φιλωθείς τινι πρὸς γένους ὄντι Καίσαρος, αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς συμβίου τὴν γένεσιν ἠπιστάμην…. He also says he studied with Anubio (a known 1st or early 2nd century CE astrologer): *Homilies*, XIV, 11.2 (ed. Rehm/Paschke, p. 210.7-9): εἰμὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀμύητος τοῦ θεωρήματος, πλὴν συνῆν μοί τις, ἀστρολόγων ἄριστος, ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος, Ἀννουβίων ὀνόματι…. See D. Obbink, 'Anoubion, Elegiacs', in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, LXVI, ed. N. Gonis, London 1999, pp. 57-109, here pp. 60-62, for a discussion of Anubio's dating.

the house of Mars and terms of Saturn'.[72] Such a conjunction of Mars and Venus, said the old man, meant she would be an adulteress;[73] and the Moon connected with malefics that she would die by shipwreck in a foreign land.[74] He thought she had run off with her slave and then died. But actually her husband's brother had made advances to her, and she fled (having made up the dream) because of his unwanted attentions. She and the twins had been shipwrecked and separated from each other (*Recognitions*, VII, 15-16).

The birthchart essentially drives the story. Mars and Venus in the tenth showcase the themes of love, violence, loss and reconciliation; the Moon in the seventh, representing the mother, is in Mars's house and Saturn's bounds, literally the captive (under house arrest?) of the malefics. The Moon must also be in square to Mars and Venus, at least by sign. Saturn, Mars and Moon are all connected astrologically with shipwreck.[75] Pseudo-Clement, of course, makes the point that her chart has actually not been fulfilled, as Mattidia did not die in the shipwreck (and her 'chastity' allowed her to evade the 'fate' set in the chart).[76] The baptism of Clement has set in motion the subsequent 'recognitions' and reunions. We saw in Theodotus the contention that baptism erases astrological fate. But Pseudo-Clement has also been influenced by Bardaiṣan, who affirms that free will can supersede the 'fate' set in the astrological chart (thus not denying astrology).[77] Pseudo-Clement follows Bardaiṣan up to a point, though he still seems suspicious of the practice of astrology with its 'good' and 'bad' planets. Whether events predicted by the chart come to pass is dependent both on the free will of the native and on the Providence of God (X, 12). Providence will (eventually) step in if the victim is blameless, as in Mattidia's case. This whole affair has some similarities with the three levels of fate and providence outlined in Ps. Plutarch's *De fato*; we could even say that the primary *pronoia* of that essay corresponds to the providence exercised in this instance towards Clement's family.

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[72] *Recognitions*, IX, 32.5 (ed. Rehm/Paschke, p. 319.11-12): 'habuit enim Martem cum Venere super centrum, Lunam vero in occasu in domo Martis et finibus Saturni...'. (That Rufinus probably did not know astrological terminology is evident in his literal translation of κέντρον as *centrum* instead of *cardo*. But Clement's father appears to know his subject in *Recognitions*, IX, 17.)

[73] Jones, 'Eros and Astrology', p. 63 n. 9, cites Firmicus, *Mathesis*, VI, 24.2 and III, 6.21-22 to support the claim of adultery with that configuration of Mars and Venus; Hegedus, *Christianity and Astrology*, p. 324, n. 4, adds Ptolemy, *Tetr*. III, 14; but also see Firmicus, *Mathesis*, VI, 24.4; Ptolemy, *Tetr*. IV, 5 and Dorotheus, *Carmen Astrologicum* II, 4.14.

[74] See Valens, I, 1.4, 15 and 21.

[75] See **Chapter 4** for another shipwreck and its astrology.

[76] Though an astrologer might say that the aspect of (benefic) Venus to the Moon would mitigate death by shipwreck.

[77] Jones, 'Eros and Astrology', pp. 62-63, 76; and Kelley, 'Astrology in the Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions', pp. 614-615 and sources in n. 37, outlined this influence.

From Pseudo-Clement's more nuanced position we return to mainstream Christian views of astrology as something to be shunned. Arguably the most influential writer on the evils of astrological practice was **Augustine** (354-430 CE). Augustine's prodigious output was by no means free from criticism of either demons[78] or astrology, sometimes both at the same time. He tells of his early interest in, and even practice of, astrology (*Confessions*, IV, 3.4-6), his repudiation of it (VII, 6.8-10) and then, on numerous occasions, its demonic origin (e.g. *City of God*, V, 7.49-54; *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, II, 17.37; *Against the Sceptics* 1.7.19-21).[79] But there is nothing like a reformed drunk. Augustine's vitriol against astrology often goes over the top. In *On Christian Doctrine*, for example, he says that practitioners and users of astrology are making 'compacts and covenants with demons',[80] and those duped by its pernicious practice are performing a kind of 'fornication of the soul'.[81]

One section in *The Literal Meaning of Genesis* (II, 17.35-37) encapsulates Augustine's views. It begins with his usual denunciation of astrology as a tool of fate: 'In what pertains to fate, let us be loyal to the true faith and wholeheartedly reject all subtleties of astrologers and their so-called scientific observations (which they call ἀποτελέσματα), which they fancy established by their theories.'[82] Here Augustine sets up astrology as a 'false faith' and as a pseudo-science (thus killing two birds with one stone: astrology as a religion and as a science). Unlike many other Christian polemicists against astrology, he does understand the practice of astrology, or at least he uses the right jargon, ἀποτελέσματα being the usual word for astrological outcomes (he also refers to 'the same horoscope and the same moon' for twins,[83] showing he knew that Ascendant and Moon degrees could be the same for twins born within minutes of each other). Here

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[78] Several of his works contain comments about demons; one, *De divinatione daemonum*, is devoted to explaining how they can prophesy (Augustine, *De divinatione daemonum*, ed. Joseph Zycha, CSEL 41, Vienna 1900, pp. 597-618).

[79] This last primarily on divination, in which astrology is included. For more on Augustine's views on demons in relation to astrology see *On Christian Doctrine*, 2.19.29-24.37, as cited in the discussion of Hegedus, *Christianity and Astrology*, pp. 142-146 and notes. See also Bouché-Leclercq's discussion of Augustine, *AG*, pp. 618-625.

[80] II, 22.34 (ed. J. Martin, p. 57.32): '...cum daemonibus pacta et conventa...'.

[81] II, 23.35 (ibid., p. 58.12): 'hoc genus fornicationis animae...'.

[82] II, 17.35 (ed. Zycha, pp. 59.25-60.2): 'De fatis autem qualeslibet eorum argutias et quasi de mathesi documentorum experimenta, quae illi ἀποτελέσματα vocant, omnino a nostrae fidei sanitate respuamus.' Trans. J. H. Taylor, Augustine, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, 2 vols, New York/Mahwah, NJ 1982, I, p. 72.

[83] II, 17.36 (ed. Zycha, p. 61.6-7): '...illas constellationes intuens mathematicus ad eundem horoscopum, ad eandem lunam...'.

Augustine uses two standard arguments against astrology, the 'many born at the same time are different and develop differently' argument, coupled with the twins argument.[84]

He then remarks: '...we must admit that when astrologers speak the truth, they are speaking by a most hidden instinct that affects a man's mind without his knowing it.'[85] God is not the hidden instinct prompting this truth, Augustine insists, but 'evil spirits' bent on 'deceiving men'.[86] They only tell the truth in this instance to ensnare humans. They can do this 'partly by reason of their keen and subtle senses ... partly because of their shrewdness due to the experience they have had over the long ages they have lived, partly because the good angels reveal to them what they themselves have learnt from Almighty God...'.[87] Thus astrology is damned not only as the tool of fate but also of the demons' malevolent and malicious will.

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In most of these writers the same arguments appear over and over, with frantic denunciations and threats of eternal damnation to those who even think about using astrology. This can only be because astrology was seen as a threat: to their new world view, to their championing of free will over fate, to their ideas of sin, even to their conversion rate.[88] The demonic component of astrology plays a significant role in their arguments, because it is the demons who operate astrology as a vast swindle of humanity. Since, as time went on, the Christian victory over paganism made the obsolescence of pagan religion more and more certain, any original conceptions of daimons as good receded more and more into the distant and forgotten past. The chain of transmission, which began with Philo's reverence for pagan philosophy, honest belief in humans' free choice and acknowledgement of both good and bad daimons, ends with the unalterable conviction that astrology is evil because it is a fraud perpetrated on the human race by demons skilled in the art of deception, and because it denies any possibility of human freedom.

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[84] II, 17.35-36 (ed. Zycha, pp. 60.10-15, 60.19-61.15); trans. Taylor, pp. 71-72. The twins argument is also elaborated in *City of God*, V, 1-6 and *On Christian Doctrine*, II, 23.33-34; the many born at the same time argument in *City of God*, V, 7.

[85] II, 17.37 (ed. Zycha, p. 61.16-18): 'Ideoque fatendum est, quando ab istis vera dicuntur, instinctu quodam occultissimo dici, quem nescientes humanae mentes patiuntur.' (Trans. Taylor, p. 72, modified.)

[86] II, 17.37 (ed. Zycha, p. 61.18-19): 'quod cum ad decipiendos homines fit, spirituum seductorum operatio est...'; a similar comment in *City of God*, V, 7.49-54 (ed. Dombart/Kalb, p. 135.49-54): 'His omnibus consideratis non inmerito creditur, cum astrologi mirabiliter multa vera respondent, occulto instinctu fieri spirituum non bonorum, quorum cura est has falsas et noxias opiniones de astralibus fatis inserere humanis mentibus atque firmare, non horoscopi notati et inspecti aliqua arte, quae nulla est.'

[87] II, 17.37 (ed. Zycha, p. 61.20-23): '...partim subtilioris sensus acumine... partim experientia callidiore propter tam magnam longitudinem vitae, partim sanctis angelis, quod ipsi ab omnipotente deo discunt...'. Trans. Taylor, p. 72.

[88] See Hegedus, *Christianity and Astrology*, pp. 170-171.