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**A HELLENISTIC LEGACY : THE FOUNDATION FOR AN
'UNORTHODOX' WORLD VIEW
WITHIN BYZANTINE TRADITION***

(part two)

The Gnostic World View

The gnostic world view, like that of Posidonian Stoicism, is a synoptic view which various Hellenistic religious systems share¹. Also like the Posidonian view, it is an astrological *Weltanschauung* in which the seven planets play a primary role². Commenting on this similarity, Bevan remarks :

There is an undeniable family resemblance between his [Posidonius'] world, in which the souls rise through grosser air to the spheres of divine ether, and the world of the Gnostics a century or two later, where the souls strive to make their way upward through the demon-guarded spheres of the Seven Planets to the sphere of light and bliss beyond³.

But in Bevan's remark there lies implicit a fundamental difference between these world views, viz., in their interpretation of the astrological significance of the seven planets⁴. In the Stoic world view, as shown above, the planets are the divine rulers of the macrocosm, and as such they are the supreme and beneficent gods. According to the gnostic world view, however, they are demonic rulers of the physical world, subordinates to the first and

* This monograph was read before the Society of Cultural Studies in Athens, Greece, on November 26, 1982. The notes of the text have been abbreviated for lack of space; complete notes may be supplied if requested.

¹ *Vide* part one, in *Kernos*, 1 (1988), p. 63-77, esp. p. 66, n. 7-8.

² A. DIETERICH, *Abraxas*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 39-48 and 134 sq.

³ E. BEVAN, *Stoics and Sceptics*, Oxford, 1913, p. 116-117.

⁴ There are other differences, of course, e.g., the difference between Stoic immanence and gnostic transcendence, but these differences may be seen incidentally, as they bear upon the problem of the astrological significance of the seven planets in gnostic cosmology.

ultimate God, who is beyond the planets⁵. This disparaging view of the planets comes out of a sharply defined cosmic dualism, which distinguishes between the immanent world of nature and the transcendent world of spirit. Here arises a new mythological drama, the theme of which is the old conflict between good and evil. Its protagonists are the ultimate God of goodness, the seven evil planets, and man, who, tragically cast, is capable of both good and evil. The plot consists of a theological scheme, whereby man through the gift of divine gnosis overcomes the fatalistic tyranny of the planets to gain freedom and ultimate union with God. A brief description of this world picture and of its underlying sidereal theology will indicate clearly the astrological character of gnostic cosmology and the malevolent role which it assigns to the seven planets.

The Macrocosm

The pictorial cosmography of the gnostic world⁶ has two levels. It includes an outlook on the immanent world and a perspective on the transcendent world. Underlying and strengthening this cosmic dualism is the moral distinction between good and evil⁷. Matter is evil, and all that is material is consequently tainted with evil. Spirit, on the other hand, is good, and whatever would achieve the state of goodness must divest itself of the material. Thus the immanent and the transcendent worlds of gnostic cosmography become two opposing moral spheres in which the planets and the ultimate God are respectively the forces of evil and good.

The immanent world. Like the Stoic universe, the immanent world of the gnostics is a sensible cosmos of sublunary and superlunary parts⁸. In the sublunary part there are the four concentric spheres of the four elements :

⁵ For a synoptic view of the various aspects of gnostic cosmology, *vide* MURRAY, *Five Stages*, p. 140 sq.; FESTUGIERE, *Personal Religion*, p. 124-139; KNOX, *St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles*, p. 41 sq., *et passim*; BELL, *Cults and Creeds*, p. 75 sq.

⁶ The accounts of the gnostic world view are largely fragmentary and differ frequently in detail. Partial data, e.g., are found in Serapic fragments, Pauline writings, Greek and Latin patrology, and Neo-Platonic commentaries. The most systematic account, however, appears in the *Corpus Hermeticum*, and particularly in *The Poimandres*, i.e., Libellus I of SCOTT, ed., *Hermetica*, Oxford, 1924, I, 114-133. It is from *The Poimandres*, therefore, that the following description is drawn primarily.

⁷ *Corp. Herm.*, I, 19-21; STOB., *Herm.*, XI, 18 sq.

⁸ *Corp. Herm.*, I, 7-9 and 20; cf. also *Corp. Herm.*, XVI, 12 and 29; XVII, 19, where the αἰσθητὸς κόσμος is distinguished from the νοητὸς κόσμος.

earth, water, air, and fire⁹. The two lower spheres are inhabited by men and all the species of plant and animal life¹⁰. The upper air and fiery zone have for inhabitants the airy demons and the souls of the dead who have not yet ascended to the sphere of heaven¹¹. Above the moon is the fiery region which is divided into the spheres of the seven planets and the fixed stars¹². The planets are living beings, endowed with superior intelligence and function as the administrators of the physical world. They «encompass with their orbits the world perceived by sense; and their administration is called Destiny»¹³. The fixed stars are also astral powers, but their function is subordinate to the seven planets¹⁴.

⁹ *Corp. Herm.*, I, 5b; III, 2ab. *N.B.* that the mixing of the four elements gives rise to all sublunary bodies; cf. *Corp. Herm.*, I, 11b; IX, 6-8; *STOB., Herm.*, XXVI, 13 sq. Note the detailed account of these four regions in *STOB., Herm.*, XXV, 11-13.

¹⁰ *Corp. Herm.*, I, 11b; *STOB., Herm.*, XXV, 10 sq.

¹¹ *Corp. Herm.*, XVI, 8 sq.; ASCLEPIUS, III, 33b. In connection with this passage in Asclepius, SCOTT (*Hermetica*, III, 274-275 and 276) includes an excerpt from LYDUS, *De Mens.*, 4, 32 and 148, which describes the ascent of the souls from the lower air to the upper air or possibly the celestial fire. Cf. *Galat.* 4:3, 9; *Coloss.* 2:8, 20; *Ephes.* 1:20; 2:6; 6:12.

¹² *Corp. Herm.*, III, 2b; *STOB., Herm.*, XXV, 9. Within these spheres also are the souls of the dead who are ascending to the *ogdoas*, on which *vide infra* n. 18.

¹³ *Corp. Herm.*, I, 9. The Greek term used here is διοικήτορες; cf. the use of οικειότητες in DIOG. LAERT., VII, 147, and δυνάμεις ὑπουργοί in PLUT., *De Is. et Os.*, 378a, trans. F.C. Babbitt, LCL. In *Corp. Herm.*, XVI, 13 sq., the administrative function of the seven planets is described in conjunction with demonic intermediaries. The demons are described as drawn up in πλινθίδας or χοροὺς, i.e., *columns, battalions, or corps*, and each πλινθίς of demons is commanded by one of the planets. This account, however, assigns chief power to the sun. SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 451, says: «the planet-gods, working in subordination to the Sun, govern the material world; i.e. they collectively discharge the function of εἰμαρμένη. And each of them discharges his special part of this function through the agency of a particular corps of daemons subject to his orders. Cf. *Gen.* 1:14-19, H.B. Swete ed., *The Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint*, Cambridge, 1895. *Vide infra* the section on *Heimarmene*.

¹⁴ It is necessary to remark here that the fixed stars (the 36 Decani) are «subordinate» to the seven planets, in so far as the planets are the administrators of the sensible world; *Corp. Herm.*, I, 9. *N.B.*, however, the government of the material universe as described in ASCLEPIUS, III, 19b and 27c. SCOTT, *Hermetica*, III, 109. Wherever the Decani appear as the sovereign visible gods and the planets as subordinate powers, this is the result of the influence from the astrologers of the «Egyptian» school. The «Chaldean» school always attributes primacy to the seven planets; *vide* SCOTT, *Hermetica*, III, 372. E.g., the writer of *Corp. Herm.*, I (*The Poimandres*), as SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 33, notes, has nothing to say about the fixed stars, but takes into account the influence of the seven planets. Cf. also BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *L'Astrologie Grecque*, p. 215-240; BOLL, *Sphaera*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 216 sq.; 316; 336, n. 2; 372 sq.

The transcendent world. Above and beyond this sublunary and super-lunary physical realm is the transcendent intelligible world¹⁵, which is the archetype and exemplar of the sensible world¹⁶. In this incorporeal sphere the supreme God resides, and around him are gathered his innumerable Powers¹⁷. From this vantage point¹⁸, he governs the whole universe, with the

¹⁵ *Corp. Herm.*, XVI, 17; also *STOB., Herm.*, XIX, 1-9. *Vide* the synoptic account in *FESTUGIÈRE, op. cit.*, p. 124 sq.

¹⁶ *Corp. Herm.*, I, 8a : ἀρχέτυπος εἶδος. Cf. PHILO, *On the Confusion of Tongues*, 171-172, where he asserts that «God is one, but He has around Him numberless Potencies... Through these Potencies the incorporeal and intelligible world was framed, the ἀρχέτυπος of this phenomenal world, that being a system of invisible ideal forms, as this is of visible material bodies». DODD, *The Bible and the Greeks*, p. 108 sq. As SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 27, observes : «This 'intelligible world' is the παράδειγμα in God's mind, after the model of which the 'sensible world' is organized». *FESTUGIÈRE, op. cit.*, p. 126 sq.

¹⁷ *Corp. Herm.*, I, 7 and 26a. In sec. 7, the Light which stands for God is subdivided into the innumerable δυνάμεις, i.e., God is a Being made up of an unlimited number of Powers, who fill the boundless intelligible space outside of the cosmos. In sec. 26a, these Powers are hypostatized and are regarded as persons. *Vide* Scott's detailed treatment, in *Hermetica*, II, 65 sq., on the δυνάμεις. Particularly significant is the wide latitude of meanings ascribed to δυνάμεις in Philo's writings; cf., e.g., *On the Confusion of Tongues*, 171; *Allegorical Interpretation*, II, 86; *On the Migration of Abraham*, 181; *On the Life of Moses*, II, 291, trans. F.H. Colson, LCL; *On Flight and Finding*, 94 sq., trans. F.H. Colson and G.H. Whitaker, LCL; *On the Cherubim*, 27, trans. F.H. Colson and G.H. Whitaker, LCL; *On the Virtues and on the Office of Ambassadors*, I, trans. C.D. Yonge, *The Works of Philo Judaeus*, IV, London, 1855. In some of these passages Philo speaks of the δυνάμεις as limited in number; again, as innumerable. Cf. SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 66-67. In connection with Philo's hypostatization of the δυνάμεις, cf. the tendency in the N.T. to hypostatize the δύναμις θεοῦ : *Luke* 1:35; 22:69; *Acts* 8:10; *Rom.* 8:38; *I Cor.* 1:24; 15:24; *Ephes.* 1:21; *I Petr.* 3:22. Some of the Christian Gnostics also hypostatize this term; cf., e.g., SATORNILUS in HIPPOL. (Orig.), *Ref. Omn. Haer.* (Migne), II, 28; also in EPIPHAN., *Adv. Haer.*, I, 23 (Migne). *Vide* especially DODD, *The Bible and the Greeks*, p. 16-19 and 109-111; KNOX, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 50 sq.

¹⁸ I.e. enthroned above the firmament of stars, which is called the *ogdoas*. Cf. *Corp. Herm.*, I, 26a. SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 63, writes : «'The substance of the *ogdoas*' is the eighth and outermost sphere, that of the fixed stars». Cf. BASILIDES in HIPPOL. (Orig.), *Ref. Omn. Haer.* (Migne), VII, 25-27, who refers to the *ogdoas* as the sphere of the fixed stars, the κεφαλὴ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου. Sometimes he uses *ogdoas* as a personal name signifying «the Power that resides in the eighth sphere»; *vide* SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 64, n. 5. VALENTINUS, in IRENAEUS, *C. Haer.*, I, 1 and 5 (Migne), uses the word *ogdoas* in two senses : (1) as the group of the eight highest aeons; (2) as the eighth sphere, i.e., the sphere of the fixed stars, which is above the planetary *hebdomas*. *Ogdoas* as a person-name also occurs in the *Leiden Magical Papyrus W* (DIETERICH, *Abraxas*), XVI, 45, and XVII, 5, where it refers to the Being which rules

planetary administrators in the *Hebdomas*¹⁹ and the demons in the airy zone serving as his intermediaries²⁰. Also in this intelligible sphere are the pure souls of men²¹ who have risen at death through the elemental zones and the evil planetary spheres to immortal bliss with the ultimate God. Their lot is to rejoice in the contemplation of the beatific vision of God in his glory and in the comprehension of the ultimate reason of things²².

The Planets

Necessity. Within the various gnostic systems the seven planets take on a terrifying role. They are not only administrators of the physical world but also astral powers which inexorably pronounce man's fate. As such, they put into effect the dread powers of Necessity²³, viz., ἀνάγκη²⁴ and εἰμαρμένη²⁵.

over the ἄγγελοι, ἀρχάγγελοι, δαίμονες, δαιμόνισσαι, etc., and administers all things in the sensible world.

- ¹⁹ *Hebdomas* refers to the region of the seven planets; *vide* BASILIDES in HIPPOL. (Orig.), *Ref. Omn. Haer.*, VII, 26-27 (Migne); OPHITES in IRENAEUS, *C. Haer.*, I, 30, 9 (Migne). VALENTINUS in IRENAEUS, *C. Haer.*, I, 5, 3 (Migne), holding the *ogdoas* to be the sphere of Achamoth-Sophia, and the planetary *hebdomas* to be the sphere of her son the Demiurgus, refers sometimes to Sophia as the *ogdoas* and the Demiurgus as the *Hebdomas*.
- ²⁰ *Corp. Herm.*, XVI, 8-19. Cf. SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 450 sq. PHILO, *On the Confusion of Tongues*, 174. Note résumé in FESTUGIÈRE, *op. cit.*, p. 124.
- ²¹ In *Corp. Herm.*, I, 26a; IV, 5 and 8b; XI, 19. Cf. St. Paul's playing on this theme in *Romans* 10:6 sq., and his reference to his «Paradisiacal seizure» in *II Corinth.* 12:2. E. ROHDE, *Psyche*, trans. W.B. Hillis, London, 1925, p. 436 sq.
- ²² In *Corp. Herm.*, I, 26a, Poimandres says that at death the souls ἀνέρχονται πρὸς τὸν πάτερα, i.e., they leave the material world and enter the intelligible world, which is filled with the presence of God. That is to say, as some of the Gnostics put it, they enter the πλήρωμα; *vide* SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 67; also BELL, *Cults and Creeds*, p. 92. Cf. *Corp. Herm.*, IV, 8b-9; V, 3-5. A variation of this theme appears in *Corp. Herm.*, X, 7, where the soul is pictured as passing through three successive transformations on its *itinerarium ad deum* becoming first a man, then a demon, and finally a god. Concerning this apotheosis, Hermes states that «human souls, when they have attained to a beginning of immortal life, change into demons, and thereafter pass on into the choral dance of the gods». This probably means that they take their place among the star-gods, reflecting here more of a Stoic rather than a gnostic apotheosis. For an account of the gnostic ascent toward God, *vide* CUMONT, *After Life*, in *Roman Paganism*, New Haven, 1922, p. 190-213, *et passim*, and also FESTUGIÈRE, *op. cit.*, p. 122-139.
- ²³ As the descriptive term for these powers, «Necessity» is not altogether adequate. It will be noted that gnostic influence in Hermetic literature refines this notion into two distinct ideas, which are actually subordinate to a third notion closely related to the two. A similar difficulty occurred in the discussions of Necessity in Chaldean astrology (*vide* part one, in *Kernos* 1 [1988], p. 73, n. 50-51) and in the Stoic world

According to this distinction, *Ananke* is that power which puts constraint on particular things within the cosmos²⁶, «a firm and unalterable decision of Providence²⁷». *Heimarmene*, on the other hand, is Destiny, the power of cyclical movement²⁸. In heaven, it is the αἰτία τῆς τῶν ἄστρον διαθέσεως; on earth, it is the process of γένεσις, and φθορά²⁹. Under these compelling forces the planets become powers of evil rather than good. They are malignant and pitiless, subjecting man to their dominion and making his life a vain thing³⁰. Yet, in their administration the planets are under πρόνοια, the

view (*vide ibidem*, n. 52). Yet, this term, properly understood, may apply here without too much ambiguity.

- ²⁴ *Corp. Herm.*, III, Ia, declares that nature operates κατ' ἀνάγκην and, in 4, that the control of ἀνάγκη depends upon the θεῶν ἐγκυκλίῳ ἐναριθμίῳ δρομήματι, i.e., the star-gods. Cf. also *Corp. Herm.*, IX, 8; XVI, 11; *STOB., Herm.*, VII, 1; XXIII, 28 (Kronos is here designated as the father of *Ananke*) and 38. Cf. ST. PAUL's use of *Ananke* in I *Cor.* 9:16.
- ²⁵ *Corp. Herm.*, I, 9 : ἡ διοίκησις αὐτῶν [the seven planets] εἰμαρμένη καλεῖται; cf. 15. Also *Corp. Herm.*, XVI, 16 : ταύτην δὲ τὴν διοίκησιν Ἑρμῆς εἰμαρμένη ἐκάλεσεν. In *STOB., Herm.*, VII, 3, men are under *Heimarmene* by forces at work in their birth. In *STOB., Herm.*, XV, 6; XVII, 1; XVIII, 3 and 5, however, men are under *Heimarmene* as a result of evil choices.
- ²⁶ *STOB., Herm.*, XIV, 1; *vide* on this passage, SCOTT, *Hermetica*, I, 437, n. 1.
- ²⁷ *STOB., Herm.*, XIII : ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ κρίσις βεβαία καὶ ἀμετάτρεπτος προνοίας.
- ²⁸ *STOB., Herm.*, XIV, 1 : εἰμαρμένη δὲ ἄγει καὶ περιάγει πάντα. Cf. *Corp. Herm.*, I, 9.
- ²⁹ *STOB., Herm.*, XIV, 2. SCOTT, *Hermetica*, III, 429, suggests the use of κινήσεως in place of the suspected διαθέσεως : «It might be said that *Heimarmene* is (in subordination to Providence) αἰτία τῆς ἄστρον κινήσεως...» On earth, this power takes the form of cyclic succession of births and deaths. The notion that *Heimarmene* affects things in the sublunary zones by the movements of the planets and stars occurs throughout the *Hermetica*. Cf., e.g., *Corp. Herm.*, I, 9, on the administrative function of the planets; *Corp. Herm.*, III, 4, man's destiny determined by the δρομήματος ἐγκυκλίῳ θεῶν; *Corp. Herm.*, XVI, 16, on the planetary administration of the sublunary world through the agency of their subordinates the demons; *STOB., Herm.*, XII, 2 : ὅπλον γὰρ εἰμαρμένης οἱ ἀστέρες. N.B. the Stoic variation of this theme in ASCLEPIUS III, 38b, where the *caelestes dii* rule over things universal, and the *terreni* administer particulars; *vide* SCOTT, *Hermetica*, III, 246 sq.
- ³⁰ *STOB., Herm.*, VI, 2-17. In this Excerpt the planets, the Decans, the Liturgi — in fact all the stars — are considered to be maleficent powers, which bring calamities upon man and all things sublunar. SCOTT, *Hermetica*, III, 383, observes : «The stars were held to be instruments of εἰμαρμένη; and it was commonly thought that εἰμαρμένη is a maleficent power, and that the salvation of man consists in escape from εἰμαρμένη, i.e. from the dominance of astral influences.» Cf. also MURRAY, *Five Stages*, p. 141.

supreme or sovereign design of God³¹; thus, ἀνάγκη and εἰμαρμένη are actually subservient to the decisions of Providence³². On the basis of this theological distinction gnosticism provides a way of escape from astrological fatalism. If man looks to Providence, he can attain to *gnosis* and thereby nullify the tyrannical power of the planets³³.

Gnosis. The gnostic systems, therefore, are overwhelmingly concerned with man's escape from the prison of the seven planets³⁴. And the formula for freedom which they offer prefigures the later epic formula that «the all wise God and the hero's courage conquer Fate»³⁵. Only here, instead of the «hero's courage», it is the «initiate's gnosis» which overcomes Fate³⁶. *Gnosis*, however, unlike courage, does not originate from man; it is a gift from heaven³⁷. Moreover, it is not speculative knowledge, but rather δύναμις, divine power which unites man with God³⁸. The immediate purpose of this

³¹ *Corp. Herm.*, I, 9-11a. Although the term πρόνοια is not used here, its sense is clearly implied; cf. SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 34.

³² STOB., *Herm.*, XII, 1 : πρόνοια δέ ἐστιν ἀτοτελής λόγος τοῦ ἐπουρανίου θεοῦ· δύο δὲ τούτου ἀτοφυνεῖς δυνάμεις, ἀνάγκη καὶ εἰμαρμένη.

³³ *Corp. Herm.*, I, 25-26a; X, 23; ASCLEPIUS III, 29b. Cf. also the use of magic to overcome *Ananke*, the *fatalis necessitatis lex*, in EITREM, *P. Osl.*, Fasc. I, 133 sq.

³⁴ CUMONT, *Les Religions Orientales*, p. 168. The magic papyri refer to the dread δεσμὰ ἀνάγκης; cf. EITREM, *P. Osl.*, Fasc. I, 71. MURRAY, *op. cit.*, p. 141 sq.

³⁵ *Beowulf*, ll. 895-896, eds. G.B. Woods, H.A. Watt, and G.K. Anderson, *The Literature of England*, I (Chicago, 1947).

³⁶ *Corp. Herm.*, I, 26 a sq.; X, 14b-25. Cf. CUMONT, *After Life*, p. 121 and 207; BELL, *Cults and Creeds*, p. 92.

³⁷ *Corp. Herm.*, X, 9; γνώσις as the perfect science cannot be taught by speech or learned by hearing, rather it is the δῶρον τοῦ θεοῦ; cf. BELL, *op. cit.*, p. 91. As W. MORGAN, *The Religion and Theology of Paul*, Edinburgh, 1917, p. 136, puts it : «The knowledge which makes man a partaker of the divine nature is no product of philosophical speculation, but a gift of Heaven».

³⁸ *Corp. Herm.*, III, 3b. Cf. also the Neo-Platonic work *Abammonis ad Porphyrium Responsum*, X, 5c, ed. SCOTT, *Hermetica*, IV, Oxford, 1936; this work is commonly known as IAMBlichus' *De Mysteriis Liber* and will be referred to as such when citations are made from G. Parthey's edition (Berlin, 1857). Scott's reconstruction of this passage, IV, 93, reads in part : οἱ μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς ἐγνωκότες τῷ θεῷ σὺννεῖσι. On the γνώσις θεοῦ, vide, Th. WHITTAKER, *The Neo-Platonists : A Study in the History of Hellenism*, Cambridge, 1918, p. 220; H.A.A. KENNEDY, *St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions*, New York, 1913, p. 25; BELL, *op. cit.*, p. 92; MURRAY, *op. cit.*, p. 154. Commenting on the text of *Corp. Herm.*, I, 16, SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 48, states that «When a man is 'illuminated', or has attained to *gnosis*, he is no longer subject to the baleful influence of his planet, and the 'ruling passion' derived from that planet is suppressed in him.» *Gnosis* is thus pre-eminently δύναμις, which redeems man from

esoteric «knowledge» is to provide the initiate with the effective means of exorcising or propitiating the planets³⁹, so that he might escape their fatalistic tyranny. Under its tutelage he learns magic formulae, prayers, hymns, incantations⁴⁰, which appease the wrath of the planets. He also learns the mystery of redemption⁴¹, which provides at death the safe conduct of the soul through the planetary spheres as it ascends to its home in heaven. The final purpose of gnosis, however, is more than the securing of freedom from hostile powers. It is the attaining to ultimate union with God⁴², the divine fulfillment of human destiny.

Magic. An essential aspect of gnosis is the art of magic. Through this occult power the gnostic adept has limited control over the planets. He can compel or cajole them with prayers, invocations, and hymns to act in his favor. For example, a prayer to the sun in the *Papyri Osloenses* restrains wrath, brings victory, and procures favor for the one who offers the prayer⁴³. In another magical prayer the sun is addressed to procure for the sorcerer the dominion over a βιοθάνατος⁴⁴. Sun-prayers are also effective in medicine;

Heimarmene and from matter, i.e., primordial evil, both of which are imposed upon man through the corrupting influence of the seven planetary gods.

³⁹ *Corp. Herm.*, XVI, 15. Cf. SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 453; also BELL, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

⁴⁰ Cf., e.g., the magical papyri, particularly, the *P. Osl.*, Fasc. I (Eitrem), the *Leiden Magic. P. W.* (DIETERICH, *Abraxas*), the *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London*, ed. C. Wessely, Wien, 1888, and the *Papyri Graecae Magicae, die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, ed. K. Preisendanz, Leipzig, 1928 and 1931. Note also CUMONT, *Astrology and Religion*, p. 160, and SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 46 and 456.

⁴¹ *Corp. Herm.*, I, 16 sq. On the mystery of redemption among the Christian Gnostics, *vide* IRENAEUS, *C. Haer.*, I, 21, 1-5 (Migne); cf. this mystery in the Isis-Serapis cult in APULEIUS, *The Golden Ass*, XI, trans. W. Adlington, LCL. Certain features of this redemptive mystery are found also in the writings of St. PAUL, e.g. : I *Cor.* 2:7 and 4:1; *Coloss.* 1:26 sq., 2:2 and 4:3; *Ephes.* 1:9 sq., 3:3-6 and 9, and 6:19; *vide* ROBINSON, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*, p. 234 sq., «On the meaning of μυστήριον in the New Testament.» Although the Mithraic world view is more typical of Posidonian cosmology, its mystery of redemption bears some similarity to that of the gnostic view, as seen particularly in the *Mithra Liturgy* (DIETERICH, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*), 2, 2 sq. and 14, 34. Cf. also MURRAY, *op. cit.*, p. 142 sq. and KNOX, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 44 sq.; A.D. NOCK, *Conversion*, Oxford, 1952, 138-155, «The Conversion of Lucius.»

⁴² *Corp. Herm.*, I, 26 : τοῦτο ἔστι τὸ ἀγαθόν, (τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τοῖς γνώσιν ἐσχηκόσι [θεοῶν]). CUMONT, *After Life*, p. 121. Again cf. gnosis with Socrates' philosophizing as a kind of dying, PLAT., *Paed.*, 68b; WHITTAKER, *op. cit.*, (n. 38), p. 127.

⁴³ *Oslo Magic. P.* (Eitrem), I, 211-130 : Εὐχὴ ἡλιακὴ. The sun is addressed here as ὁ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων τοῦ κόσμου and ὁ στέφανος τῆς οἰκουμένης; *vide* EITREM's notes, in *P. Osl.*, Fasc. I, 86-87, on these two epithets.

⁴⁴ *Paris Magic. P.* (Wessely), 1955 sq. : στὰς πρὸς ἀνατολὴν λέγε οὕτως· ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε, κύριε ἥλιε, καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους σου ἀγγέλους ... διάσωσόν με. Cf. EITREM, *P. Osl.*, Fasc. I,

they rid man of gout, fever, and other pestilences⁴⁵. The sun, frequently addressed in magical hymns as the παντοκράτωρ or κοσμοκράτωρ⁴⁶, is thought in its rising and setting to be of theurgic importance to all life on earth⁴⁷. The moon also in its waxing and waning and in its conjunction with other celes-

85. N.B. APULEIUS, *The Golden Ass*, XI, 2 sq., where Lucius prays to Isis, the Queen of Heaven, to end his shame and suffering in the shape of an ass. The astrological connection here is indicated in PLUT., *De Is. et Os.*, 368c-d, and 372d, where Isis is identified with the moon; her consort is Osiris, the sun. CUMONT (*After Life*, p. 141) remarks that βιοθάνατος is a popular form for βιαιοθάνατος. This classification, he thinks, originated with the astrologists who «claimed to enumerate, in accordance with the position of Mars and Saturn, all the kinds of death reserved for victims of these murderous planets, and to foretell whether these unfortunates were to be drowned, burnt, poisoned, hanged, beheaded, crucified, impaled, crushed to death, thrown to the beasts, or given over to yet more atrocious tortures».

45 ALEX. TRALL., XII, 583, ed. T. Puschmann, Berlin, 1886, cited by EITREM, *P. Ols.*, Fasc. I, 88, recommends an amulet against gout : ὡς στερεοῦται ὁ ἥλιος ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι τούτοις καὶ ἀνακαινίζεται καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, οὕτω στερώσατε τὸ πλάσμα τοῦτο... Cf. also the mantic nature of the δράκων as a representation of the sun, e.g., as the οὐροβόρος δράκων in *Oslo Magic. P.* (Eitrem), I, 186; in this connection vide EITREM, *op. cit.*, Fasc. I, 81, 86-87, and 141. N.B. in *Pistis Sophia*, V, 359, trans. G.R.S. Mead (London, 1921), describes the disk of the sun as a great dragon with its tail in its mouth; also *The Testament of Solomon*, VI, 10, ed. C.C. McCown, Leipzig, 1922, indicates that one may see τοὺς δράκοντας τοὺς ἐπουρανίους πῶς εἰλοῦνται καὶ σφρουσι τὸ ἄρμα τοῦ ἡλίου, reminiscent perhaps of Elijah's apotheosis in II *Kings* 2:11 (LXX), as well as Medea's (by implication) in EUR., *Medea*, 1321, ed. A.W. Verrall, London, 1950; cf. CUMONT, *op. cit.*, p. 156 sq.

46 Cf. *Paris Magic. P.* (Wessely), 1597 sq. : πρὸς ἥλιον λόγος ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε τὸν μέγαν θεόν.. κοσμοκράτορα; 2196: ὁ τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης ὁ αἰὼν τῶν αἰώνων σὺ εἶ ὁ κοσμοκράτωρ; MACROB., *Saturn.*, I, 23, 21 (Eyssenhardt) : ἥλιε παντοκράτωρ, an invocation offered by the Syrian priests at Heliopolis. V.D. MACCHIORO, *From Orpheus to Paul*, London, 1930, p. 254 sq., n. 7.

47 *Corp. Herm.*, V, 3 : ὁ ἥλιος μέγιστος τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν θεῶν, ᾧ πάντες εἰκονοῦσι οἱ οὐράνιοι θεοὶ ὡσανεὶ βασιλεὶ καὶ δυνάστη. Also *Corp. Herm.*, XVI, 12, refers to the sun as the σωτήρ καὶ τροφεὺς of every kind of living being; *Corp. Herm.*, XI (2), 7, speaks of the sun as the ἄρχων of all order and as the ἡγεμὼν of the seven spheres. On the theurgic character of the sun, vide IUL., *Orat.*, V, 172d, where he speaks of the τὸν ἐπτάκτινα θεόν. Cf. also *Abammonis ad Porphyrium Responsum*, X, 5d-6b (Scott); SCOTT, *Hermetica*, IV, 95 sq. For an interesting treatment of this problem, vide E.R. DODDS, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Boston, 1957, p. 283-311., appendix II, an excursus on «Theurgy».

tial bodies has magical significance⁴⁸. Astrological medicine, for example, depends on the position of the moon in relation to the planets and the zodiac⁴⁹. According to the *London Magical Papyrus*, a hymn to Mercury⁵⁰ is to be recited while facing the rising moon and the rising sun in order to obtain an oracular response. Through spells, bans, and imprecations the gnostic counteracts the demonic force of the planets and staves off unfavorable consequences⁵¹. For instance, charms are used against the evil influence of

⁴⁸ *Oslo Magic. P.*, I, 321 sq., (Eitrem), provides a remedy to prevent conception; the amulet is to be worn ἀποκρουστικῆς οὐσης σελήνης ἐν θηλυκῷ ζωδίῳ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ Κρόνου ἢ Ἑρμοῦ. According to astrological belief in Greece, the moon was the female principle of all life, being referred to by the theologians as the μήτηρ τοῦ κόσμου : PLUT., *De Is. et Os.*, 368c; 372e; the moon influences the erotic life of both sexes; the Egyptians, e.g., ἐρωτικά τὴν σελήνην ἐπικαλοῦνται; 353f : when the moon was on the wane, the Egyptian priests abstained from onions, pigs, etc. And EITREM, *P. Osl.*, Fasc. I, 128 sq., remarks that the waning of the moon is prescribed in malevolent magic and that it also has theurgic effect on fever, gout, and surgical operations. Note also the significance of the rising, waxing, new, and full moon. Further, Eitrem states that «the prognostication depended on the position of the moon in relation to the planets and to the signs of the zodiac... The first sign of the zodiac was male, the second female etc., according to the Pythagorean rule that odd numbers were male and even numbers female. The moon and the female planets were especially favourable or mighty in the female signs, as were, conversely, the sun and the male planets in the male signs.» Cf., in this connection, αἱ ἐπὶ παρθένοι and ἕτεροι ἐπὶ θεοί, in the *Mithra Liturgy* (DIETERICH, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*), 12, 16 sq., who attend the μέγιστος θεός; the ἐπὶ εὐειδῆς κοῦρας and the ἐπὶ παῖδας ἀνακτας of the Orphic tradition, *Orphica*, Frag. 94, ed. E. Abel, Leipzig, 1885; the ἐπὶ ἀνθρώποι ἀρρενοθήλεα in *Corp. Herm.*, I, 16; and the ἐπὶ πνεύματα (female star-gods) in *The Testament of Solomon*, VIII, 1-4 (McCown). Along with their specific meanings, these diverse sevens apparently represent the planets in their masculine and feminine aspect; N.B. SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 48, n. 2 and 97, n. 2; III, 378; DIETERICH, *Abraxas*, p. 107 sq.; MURRAY, *Five Stages*, p. 140.

⁴⁹ As EITREM, (*P. Osl.*, Fasc. I, 127 sq.) states, astrological medicine attributes an important role to the moon : αὕτη γάρ, ὡς πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν, τοῦ παντὸς σώματος ἐστὶ κυρία ('Ptolem.' anon. p. 140, quoted by BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *L'Astrologie Grecque*, p. 521).

⁵⁰ *London Magic. P.*, ed. F.G. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, London, 1893, XLVI, 400 sq.; cf. CXXI, 668 sq. This prayer to Hermes also appears in the *Zauberpapyri* (Preisendanz), V, 401 sq. EITREM, *P. Ols.*, Fasc. I, 93 and 130. For the association of Hermes and the moon, vide PLUT., *De Is. et Os.*, 367e.

⁵¹ E.g., VETTIUS VALENS, VII, 5, 26 sq., ed. G. Kroll, Berlin, 1908 : ὀρκίζω σε ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τῶν πέντε ἀστέρων τοὺς δρόμους φύσιν τε καὶ πρόνοιαν καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα. On the relation between the planets and the elements *qua* demons, cf. DIBELIUS, *An die Kolosser Epheser an Philemon*, p. 29.

Saturn⁵²; and recipes, which are to be accompanied with the clanging of cymbals, drive away the moon⁵³. Astral incantations and exorcisms employ the seven vowels, *αηιουω*, as the mystic signs of the planets⁵⁴, for the ancient learning of the Chaldeans⁵⁵ had long ago correlated the vowels and the planets with magical significance. Thus, the one who uses this vocalic formula has control over all the planets⁵⁶. It is possible also that this same general planetary control appears in many exorcisms based upon *ἀνάγκη*⁵⁷. At any rate, it is clear that magical charms and formulae serve as occult means to the gnostic end, viz., the freedom of the soul from the fatal influence of the seven planets.

Mystery. Gnosticism offers in *μυστήριον*, however, the ultimate prospects of overcoming the relentless tyranny of the planets⁵⁸. But only the «fully

⁵² Cf. EITREM, *P. Osl.*, Fasc. I, 130 : «*Saturnus* who according to Greek mythology swallowed his own children, was according to common astrological belief *ψυχρόν* and *ξηρόν*, and therefore caused barrenness and childlessness.» *Leiden Magic. P. W* (DIETERICH, *Abraxas*, XXIV, 15), refers to Kronos as a hostile star. *Vide* DIETERICH, *Abraxas*, p. 78.

⁵³ Cf. EITREM, *P. Osl.*, Fasc. I, 76, who cites from a papyrus, *χαλκὸς κροτηθεὶς λύει τὰ φάσματα*, as an instance of the clanging of cymbals which drove away the moon.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Paris Magic. P.* (Wessely), 1301, which reads in part : ἄρκτη, θεὰ μεγίστη, ἄρχουσα οὐρανοῦ .. στοιχείον ἄφθαρτον, σύστημα τοῦ παντός, πανφεγγὴς ἁρμονία τῶν ὅλων αηιουω πλινθίων. Here the Great Bear is invoked as the «all-splendorous harmony of the ordered group of the seven planets. It is altogether likely here that the seven stars of the Bear are representative of the seven planets». As SCOTT, *Hermetica*, III, 378, n. 2, suggests, these are the *πρόσωπα* of the planets. On this passage, *vide* also DIETERICH, *Abraxas*, p. 103, n. 1. Again, in the *Zauberpapyri* (Preisendanz), IV, 2194 sq., an invocation to ὁ αἰὼν τῶν αἰώνων speaks of the *αηιουω* which, although the text is not clear, represents the seven planets. The use of the seven vowels as symbols of the planets occurs as a magic formula in the *Mithra Liturgy* (DIETERICH, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*), 109 sq. and 33.

⁵⁵ PLUTARCH, *The E at Delphi*, 386a.

⁵⁶ MURRAY, *Five Stages*, p. 136-137, comments : «The planets also become Elements in the Kosmos, *Stoicheia*... The word *Stoicheia*, 'elementa', had long been used for the Greek A B C, and in particular for the seven vowels *αηιουω*. That is no chance, no mere coincidence. The vowels are the mystic signs of the Planets; they have control over the planets. Hence strange prayers and magic formulae innumerable».

⁵⁷ Ἀνάγκη, in this sense, refers by synecdoche to the talismanic power of the seven planets. Cf. the *Mithra Liturgy* (DIETERICH, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*), 10, 4 sq. : ἐπικαλοῦμαι ἕνεκα τῆς κατεπειγούσης καὶ πικρᾶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου ἀνάγκης; also EITREM, *P. Osl.*, Fasc. I, 133 sq.

⁵⁸ *Corp. Herm.*, I, 16. Cf. SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 46 sq., on *μυστήριον* in connection with man's relation to the seven planets; also KENNEDY, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 72 sq. and 129 sq.; S. ANGUS, *The Mystery-Religions and Christianity*, New York, 1925, p. 39-75.

initiated» are worthy of this wisdom⁵⁹. It is the mystery of complete redemption, the apotheosis of the soul. According to this eschatological doctrine, man achieves the final victory over the seven evil planets and dread εἰμαρμένη in the ascent of his disembodied soul to the highest of the celestial spheres⁶⁰. At this point gnosis involves the union of myth and mystery, for underlying the mystical ascent of the soul is the story of man's origin, fall, and restoration. The details of this redemption-myth differ in the various gnostic accounts, but the motif is essentially the same. Man is originally a son of God, incorporeal and immortal, and has his abode in the sphere of heaven above the planets⁶¹. For one reason or another he falls from his high estate, is incarnated, and takes up residence on earth. In descending to earth, he passes through the planetary spheres, where he receives from each of the planets something of its evil nature. Thus living on a plane below the planets, he becomes subject to their evil will. Although now in part corporeal and mortal, he is in respect of his true being still divine and immortal. Yet two destinies are open to him. If he yields to the rule of the planets, turning to carnal desire and love of the body, he falls under the power of death. If, however, he «recognizes» his divinity and his essential superiority to the planets, he may enter into mystic communion with God, be redeemed, and overcome the evil influence of the planets. The finale of this redemption-myth comes at death, when man's soul separates itself from the body and ascends to

⁵⁹ *Corp. Herm.*, IV, 4, speaks of those who have received baptism τοῦ νοός and who have got a share τῆς γνώσεως as τέλειοι. PHILO, *On the Cherubim*, 42, refers to the μύσται as those who receive instruction in the τελετὰς θείας. St. PAUL, I *Corinth.* 2:6, considers σοφία a higher level of instruction which he presents to the τέλειοι; vide KENNEDY, *op. cit.*, p. 130, and MORGAN, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 165 sq.

⁶⁰ *Corp. Herm.*, I, 25-26a; IV, 8b; XI (2), 19. Cf. DIETERICH, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, p. 180 sq., «der Ideen von der Himmelsreise der Seele». As SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 61, observes, this notion was probably adopted by the Mithraists of the Roman Empire and represented symbolically in their ritual. The details of the Mithraic ritual appear in ORIG., *C. Cels.*, VI, 22 (Migne); the planets are referred to as the κλίμαξ ἐπτάπυλος. It was probably from the Mithraists that this notion of the apotheosis of the soul passed to the Christian Gnostics, who substituted the names of angels for those of the planets-gods; cf. ORIG., *C. Cels.*, VI, 22-31 (Migne). Vide another Gnostic account in IRENAEUS, *C. Haer.*, I, 30, 12 (Migne). BASILIDES in HIPPOCR., *Ref. Omn. Haer.*, VII, 27 (Migne), speaks of the death and ascension of Jesus. Although the eschatological significance is not emphasized in Lucius' initiation into the Isis mystery cult, APULEIUS, *The Golden Ass.*, XI, 18-25, his visionary ascent into the celestial spheres portends the actual apotheosis at death. On the diverse aspects of gnostic apotheosis, vide BOUSSET, *Die Himmelsreise der Seele*, in *ARW.*, 4 (1901), p. 136-169 and 229-273.

⁶¹ *Corp. Herm.*, X, 24b; ASCLEPIUS, I, 8. The account which follows here is taken primarily from *The Poimandres*, *Corp. Herm.*, I, 12-26a.

the sphere of heaven from which it came. The account given in the *Poimandres* is typical of this apotheosis.

[At death] ... the bodily senses go back to their own sources, becoming parts of the universe, and entering into fresh combinations to do other work. And thereupon the man mounts upward through the structure of the heavens.

And to the first zone of heaven [Moon] he gives up the force which works increase and that which works decrease; to the second zone [Mercury], the machinations of evil cunning; to the third zone [Venus], the lust whereby men are deceived; to the fourth zone [Sun], domineering arrogance; to the fifth zone [Mars], unholy daring and rash audacity; to the sixth zone [Jupiter], evil strivings after wealth; and to the seventh zone [Saturn], the falsehood which lies in wait to work harm. And thereupon, having been stripped of all that was wrought upon him by the structure of the heavens, he ascends to the substance of the eighth sphere [the fixed stars], being now possessed by his own proper power; and he sings, together with those who dwell there, hymning the Father; and they that are there rejoice with him at his coming. And being made like to those with whom he dwells, he hears the Powers, who are above the substance of the eighth sphere, singing praise, to God with a voice that is theirs alone. And thereafter, each in his turn, they [the men who have ascended to the eighth sphere] mount upward to the Father; they give themselves up to the Powers, and becoming Powers themselves, they enter into God. This is the Good; this is the consummation, for those who have got *gnosis*⁶².

The Astrological Role of the Planets

In the preceding sections it has been shown that the astrological character of Hellenistic cosmology appears most clearly in the importance which the Stoic and the gnostic systems attach to the planets and that this astrological emphasis is patently of Chaldean origin. From this account it is also clear that the planets have a dual astrological role in the Hellenistic setting. In keeping with Chaldean astrology, the planets are divine rulers who preside over the physical world, determining its phenomena and processes. But, more than cosmic rulers, the planets are astral deities who stand in a certain moral relation to man. According to the Stoic world view, for example, they are the supreme beneficent gods who offer man salvation from the demonic forces of Fortune and Fate; while according to the gnostic world view, they

⁶² *Corp. Herm.*, I, 25-26a. Vide CUMONT, *Les Religions Orientales*, p. 265 sq., n. 91, where he argues for «la provenance babylonienne de la doctrine que les âmes remontent au ciel en traversant les sept sphères planétaires».

are evil subordinate deities who thwart man's attempt for freedom and union with the ultimate God of Heaven. It remains now to discuss more specifically this dual astrological role of the planets, considering first their administrative relation to the world and secondly their moral relation to man.

The Planets and the Physical Order

Since the conception of the physical world in both the Stoic and the gnostic systems is essentially the same, it is not necessary to distinguish these systems in describing the astrological role of the planets as comic rulers. Moreover, in both systems, the planets have the same administrative office. They are the gods who rule the physical world through the power of Necessity. This regulative power the planets administer according to the constitutive division of the physical world into its sublunary and superlunary parts. The planets, therefore, may be regarded in this astrological role as sublunary and superlunary rulers, and the role itself may be indicated by characteristic epithets which designate particular ruling functions.

The Planets as Sublunary Rulers

Rulers of the elements. One of the most significant ruling functions of the seven planets within the sublunary zones is their regulative control over the four elements. Simplicius refers to the planets in this capacity under the characteristic epithet θεοὶ στοιχειοκράτορες⁶³. The positions of the planets in the sky, their mutual relations and energies, and their own particular dispositions determine the various combinations of the elements, which give rise to all physical phenomena⁶⁴. Winds, rain, drought, earthquakes, and other catastrophic events, usually ascribed to the operation of Chance, are actually under the divine auspices of the planets⁶⁵. Moreover, the more natural courses of events and development of phenomena are also under the direction of the planets. For example, Cicero observes that the sun in regulating the changes of the four seasons is an indirect cause of all creatures which exist

⁶³ SIMPLICIUS, *De Caelo*, I, 3 (Heiberg, p. 107); τοὺς στοιχειοκράτορες θεοὺς τοὺς τῶν ὅλων στοιχείων ἐπιβεβηκότας ... τῶν ὑπὸ σελήνην στοιχείων (cited by CUMONT and CANET, *Mithra ou Sarapis* ΚΟΣΜΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ, in *AIB*, p. 319). Simplicius of Cilicia belongs to the last generation of the pagan Neo-Platonists (c. A.D. 530). Cf. E. ZELLER, *Outlines of the History of Greek Philosophy*, trans. L.R. Palmer, London, 1950, p. 310.

⁶⁴ Cf. Fr. CUMONT, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, trans. T.J. McCormack, New York, 1956, p. 125; ID., *Astrology and Religion*, p. 120-122.

⁶⁵ DIOD., II, 30, 4-5.

on the land and in the sea⁶⁶. Similarly, in a magical papyrus, the sun is singled out as the ἄλκιμον θαλασσοκράτορα⁶⁷. Iamblichus refers to both the sun and the moon as presiding over all γένεσις in the sublunar world⁶⁸. And Cicero remarks that the moon brings nourishment to animals and stimulates their growth and causes plants to thrive and attain their full development⁶⁹. Also on commemorative reliefs there are various inscriptions which contain epithets descriptive of the planets in this astrological function. For example, in a Palmyran inscription Saturn is referred to as the star-god of night⁷⁰. Jupiter, usually designated as the god of lightning, is represented on an astrological plaque as the god of iron⁷¹. The gnostic systems frequently attribute each of the planets to one of the elements : the moon is the ethereal earth; Mercury and Saturn the water; Venus and Jupiter the air; the sun and Mars the fire⁷². In the mysteries of Mithra the planets are represented symbolically by the seven different metals of which the Mithraic ladder to

⁶⁶ CIC., *De Nat. Deo.*, II, 49.

⁶⁷ *Paris Magic. P.* (Wessely), 1596-1605; cf. also *Zauberpapyri* (Preisendanz), IV, 1596-1604, both of which read in part : πρὸς Ἥλιον λόγος· ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε, τὸν μέγιστον θεὸν... ἄλκιμον θαλασσοκράτορα. The sun is also referred to in the *Paris Magic. P.* (DIETERICH, *Abraxas*, p. 49), 588 sq., as φωτοκράτωρ. In all the hymns and invocations to the sun, its rising and setting are especially noted as being of great importance to all life on earth; cf. EITREM, *P. Osl.*, Fasc. I, 85.

⁶⁸ *Abammonis ad Prophyrium Responsum*, VIII, 3d (Scott) : καὶ ἄλλη τῆς φύσεως ὅλης περὶ γένεσιν ἀρχή, ἥντινα σελήνη διδύσσει. Cf. SCOTT, *Hermetica*, IV, 64. I have referred to Iamblichus here in connection with this passage because this work is more commonly known as *Iamblichi De Mysteriis Liber*; vide supra n. 38. As regards the problem of authorship, vide SCOTT, *Hermetica*, IV, 40f. According to WHITTAKER, *op. cit.*, p. 121 sq., Iamblichus was a native of Chalcis in Coele-Syria, who followed Porphyry in the Neo-Platonic succession, teaching primarily in Syria; he died in the reign of Constantine, c. A.D. 330. On the theurgic nature of his *De Mysteriis*, vide DODDS, *op. cit.* (n. 47), p. 287 sq.

⁶⁹ CIC., *De Nat. Deor.*, II, 50. Cf. MACROB., *Comm. in Somn. Scipion.*, I, 19, 23 (Stahl).

⁷⁰ Vide inscription in CUMONT, *Les Religions Orientales*, pl. X, concerning which Cumont notes : «Saturne est, suivant une doctrine astrologique très répandue, 'le soleil de la nuit'».

⁷¹ CUMONT, *op. cit.*, p. 105, fig. 7; cf. also pl. XI, p. 118 sq., and especially p. 137 sq.

⁷² MACROB., *Comm. in Somn. Scipion.*, I, 8 (Eyssenhardt); cf. W.H. STAHL, *Macrobius : Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, New York, 1952, p. 132, n. 11. On the cult of the elements vide STOB. *Herm.*, XXIII, 54, 63 (Kore Kosmu); *Wisdom of Solomon* (LXX) 13:2; cf. also BOUSSET, *art. cit.* (n. 60), p. 237-245; DIETERICH, *Abraxas*, p. 61; SCOTT, *Hermetica*, IV, 462 sq. *The Testament of Solomon* (McCown), VIII, 2, refers to the στοιχεῖα as star-gods. Cf. CUMONT, *After Life*, p. 187.

heaven is composed⁷³. This mystical symbolism is extended so that plants and stones are also attached to the planets and receive theurgic powers from this association⁷⁴. As a consequence the busts of the planet-gods and other planetary charms are used as phylacteries to control the elements⁷⁵.

Rulers of time. Not only do the planets exercise dominion over physical nature but they also serve as tutelary rulers of sublunar time. Ptolemy thus refers to them as *χρονοκράτορες*⁷⁶. Each planet has a special power over a period of time : hours, days, weeks, months, seasons, years, and even centuries and millenaries⁷⁷. These periods become propitious or unpropitious according to the mythological nature of the planet presiding at the time⁷⁸. Of special significance is the association of the seven *chronokratores* with seven sacred days. Under this planetary influence there evolves a new way of reckoning time. Instead of the old month division of three nine-day

⁷³ ORIG., *C. Cels.* (Migne), VI, 21. Cf. CUMONT, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, p. 144. Also CUMONT, *After Life*, p. 107. Cf. PHILO, *Who is the Heir*, 221 sq., where the seven candlesticks are symbolical of the seven planets; and PHILO, *On the Creation*, 126, where the seven vowels (στοιχεῖα) are associated with the seven planets and thus with the sympathy of the universe.

⁷⁴ ASCLEPIUS, III, 38a, speaks of the use of herbs, stones, and scents which induce the gods to acquiesce to the will of man. Cf. DODDS, *op. cit.* (n. 47), p. 293; CUMONT, *Astrology and Religion*, p. 120; MCCOWN, *The Testament of Solomon*, p. 48.

⁷⁵ CUMONT, *Les Religions Orientales*, pl. XV, 3, buste de Mercure employé comme phylactère. Cf. the astrological recipes in EITREM, *P. Osl.*, Fasc. I, 127-130, where the names of different planets are employed as charms for health, prosperity, prophecy, interpretation of dreams, etc.; vide MURRAY, *Five Stages*, p. 136 sq.

⁷⁶ PTOL., *Tetrabiblos*, 209. Cf. PROCL., *Platonis Timaeum Commentaria*, III, 2, 10 ed. E. Diehl, Lipsiae, 1906, where the planets are referred to as the guardians τῶν ἀριθμῶν τοῦ χρόνου; also *Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta magica*, fr. 21, 5, ed. E. Riess, in *Philologus*, 6 (1891-1893), refers to a planet as a *χρονοκράτορα τῶν ἀστέρων*. Vide CUMONT, *op. cit.*, p. 152; also SCOTT, *Hermetica*, III, 366, n. 5.

⁷⁷ DIO. CASS., XXXVII, 18, suggests this notion of *chronokratores*, i.e., the notion that each division of time is presided over by its own star-god, in his assignment of the days to the seven planets. As SCOTT, *Hermetica*, III, 365, n. 4, observes, this practice of assigning divisions of time to *chronokratores* must have arisen out of actual observation of the positions of certain heavenly bodies at certain times. DIOD., I, 28, speaks of the Chaldean παρατήρησεις τῶν ἄστρον; also II, 30, 2. This same practice has a religious significance, as may be seen in ST. PAUL, *Galat.* 4:10, ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς. It is not difficult to see also that the observation of time and its subdivisions leads under the influence of astrology to their veneration; cf. CUMONT, *Les Religions Orientales*, p. 288, n. 50, and ID., *Astrology and Religion*, p. 109, 120, and 165.

⁷⁸ Cf. CIC., *De Nat. Deo.*, II, 63 sq.; MACROB., *Comm. in Somn. Scipion.*, I, 19, 18-20, and 21, 24-27 (Eyssenhart); STOB., *Herm.*, XXIII, 27-29 (Kore Kosmu), on which vide notes in SCOTT, *Hermetica*, III, 522 sq.

periods, the seven-day week is established, each day being named after a planet and placed under its patronage⁷⁹. Thus in the astrological system, as Cumont notes, each day is sacred to a planet :

All these durations continued to be regarded as having a definite influence, as being endowed with a magic potency, and astrology sought to codify these activities, by placing each division of time under the protection of a star in its system of «chronocratories»⁸⁰.

Rulers of mankind. Another ruling function attributed to the planets in the sublunary world is their administration of Necessity in connection with human affairs⁸¹. In this regard the planets are referred to as κοσμοκράτορες⁸² or as παντοκράτορες⁸³. These epithets of course have a wider application, as will be shown in the following section on their superlunary use. But their use here is simply descriptive of planetary influence on man. Two aspects of this influence may be noted briefly. In one sense the planets color the lives of men by affecting through their qualities and influences human dispositions and activities. For example, Saturn, because of its slow deliberate movement, makes men vacillating and apathetic; Jupiter brings fortune and health to men; Mars threatens the dwellings of men; the sun, as the mind and guiding principle of the universe, reveals all things to men by his light; Venus favors lovers; Mercury assures success in business; and the moon produces mysterious influences, particularly on the growth of plants and on the health of women⁸⁴. More significantly, however, the planets determine man's nativity and foretell his destiny. Cicero notes that the Chaldeans attribute this

⁷⁹ DIO CASS., XXXVII, 18. Cf. F.H. COLSON, *The Week*, Cambridge, 1926, p. 95 sq.; MURRAY, *Five Stages*, p. 137; CUMONT, *Astrology and Religion*, p. 164 sq.; vide also allusions to this astrological feature in M.P. NILSSON, *Greek Popular Religion*, New York, 1947, p. 106; CORNFORD, *From Religion to Philosophy*, p. 170 sq.; R.B. ONIANS, *The Origins of European Thought*, Cambridge, 1954, p. 415, n. 13; SCOTT, *Hermetica*, III, 365.

⁸⁰ CUMONT, *op. cit.*, p. 109. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, *L'Astrologie Grecque*, p. 474 sq. and 491 sq., thus remarks that according to Greek astrology the seven planets are at the same time *kosmokratores* and *chronokratores*.

⁸¹ DIOD., II, 30, 3-5; CIC., *De Republ.*, VI, 17.

⁸² IAMBLL., *De Myster. Lib.*, II, 3, ed. G. Parthey, Berlin, 1857 : οἱ κοσμοκράτορες οἱ τὰ ὑπὸ σελήνην στοιχεῖα διοικούντες.

⁸³ Cf. the use of παντοκράτωρ as applied to the influence of Hermes in the *London Magic. P.*, CXXI, 668 sq. (Kenyon), and Helios in MACROB., *Saturn.*, I, 23, 21 (Eyssenhardt). Vide *infra* n. 128 sq. and 136 for further remarks on these citations.

⁸⁴ *Corp. Herm.*, I, 25; STOB., *Herm.*, XXIX; CIC., *De Republ.*, VI, 17. Cf. SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 60-61; BOUSSET, *art. cit.* (n. 60), p. 268; CUMONT, *op. cit.*, p. 119 and 126.

particular ruling function to the moon, believing that the condition of the moon at the time of one's birth affects one's destiny⁸⁵. But it is also believed that man's natural end can be hastened by the intervention of a murderous star (ἀναιρέτης)⁸⁶. For example, Saturn and Mars in a certain position can bring unexpected death by accident or killing⁸⁷. This apparent contradiction raises the question of the moral nature of the planets, as to whether they are essentially baneful or beneficial to men, and also indicates the fluid character of astrology in Hellenistic times. The difficulty can be resolved partially by considering the moral nature of the planets according to the two representative systems of Hellenistic cosmology⁸⁸; and this consideration will be taken up in the section on «The Planets and the Moral Order». It is sufficient to note here that the planets have a determinative influence on human destiny. As a result, they become either supreme beneficent deities or subordinate evil powers. Because of this moral interpretation, therefore, it is not strange that the planets are identified by other deity-titles⁸⁹, as well as their more customary Olympian names.

⁸⁵ CIC., *De Divinat.*, II, 91. Cf. PHILO, *Allegorical Interpretation*, I, 8, and *Special Laws*, II, 140-161.

⁸⁶ CUMONT, *After Life*, p. 100 and 131. On the astrological significance of ἀναιρέτης, vide LIDDELL and SCOTT, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, I, 106. Cf. ἀναιρετικὸς in PTOL., *Tetrabiblos*, 127.

⁸⁷ MACROB., *Comm. in Somn. Scipion.* (Eyssenhardt), I, 19, 20. Ares' hostile nature is described briefly in CIC., *De Republica*, VI, 17. In a charm against conception, *Oslo Magic. P.* (Eitrem), I, 321-332, it is necessary to perform its ritual procedures ἐν ἡμέρᾳ Κρόνου ἢ Ἑρμοῦ. *Leiden Magic. P. W.* (DIETERICH, *Abraxas*), XXIV, 15, speaks of Kronos as a hostile star. Cf. CUMONT, *op. cit.*, p. 131 and 141 sq.

⁸⁸ I.e., the Stoic and the gnostic systems.

⁸⁹ E.g., Helios is identified with the Egyptian deity Serapis, the *Leiden Magic. P. W.* (DIETERICH, *Abraxas*), XIV, 20, and with the Persian god Mithra, the *Mithra Liturgy* (DIETERICH, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*), 2, 5; the moon is identified on occasions with Isis, as in PLUT., *De Is. et Os.*, 372e, and also with Men, in *Orphic Hymn* (Hermann), IX (8), 2-3. Kronos, as well as Helios, is identified with the Hebrew god Iao or Yahweh. Vide the «Buste de Sabazius» in CUMONT, *Les Religions Orientales*, pl. III, where the old Thraco-Phrygian divinity has been identified with Yahweh Sabaoth. Sabazius is referred to here as «le Jupiter Sabazius, l'Hypsistos, maître des sphères étoilées». On the identification of Helios and Yahweh, vide the *Leiden Magic. P. W.* (DIETERICH, *Abraxas*), II, 35 : ἡλιε, οὗ ἡ δόξα ααα ηηη ωωω ιιι ααα ωωω Σαβαώθ ἀρβάθ Ἰάω. Other identifications appear from time to time in the papyri, e.g., the sun with Shamash and Adad or with Seth-Typhon and Re; one of the planets, or all of them together, may be identified with Ahriman, Lucifer, Satan, et al. On this problem, cf. J.B. MCMINN, *Fusion of the Gods : A Religio-Astrological Study of the Interpenetration of the East and West in Asia Minor*, in *JNES*, 15 (1956), p. 210 sq.

The Planets as Superlunary Rulers

Rulers of the firmament. One of the special superlunary functions of the planets is to turn the axis of the firmament⁹⁰. In this connection they are referred to as πολοκράτορες⁹¹ and are identified in some way with the seven stars of the Great Bear⁹², which in Mithraism becomes the abode of the μέγιστος θεός⁹³. The seven stars of the Bear are also represented by the seven Greek vowels αηιουω, which are frequently used as mystic signs of the planets⁹⁴. Because of this planetary association, Scott concludes that

⁹⁰ Cf. *Corp. Herm.*, II, 7; especially, the *Mithra Liturgy* (DIETERICH, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*), 12, 27-14, 10; *Paris Magic. P.* (Wessely), 1301-1305.

⁹¹ The *Mithra Liturgy* (DIETERICH, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*), 12, 29 sq., speaking of seven star-gods (perhaps symbolically the seven planets), reads in part : οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ καλούμενοι πολοκράτορες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, who are associated with the ἄρκτος ἡ κινουσα καὶ ἀντιστρέφουσα τὸν οὐρανόν (14, 17 sq.). Cf. DIETERICH, *op. cit.*, p. 72 sq.; also DIETERICH, *Abraxas*, p. 105.

⁹² STOB., *Herm.*, VI, 13, describes the Bear as the constellation composed ἐξ ἀστέρων ἐπτά, whose function is to make the zodiacal circle revolve. In *Corp. Herm.*, V, 4, the Bear is said to carry round through its own revolution the whole cosmos. Cf. SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 161-162 and III, 377 sq.

⁹³ As SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 97, notes, in the Mithraic cult the North Pole seems to have been of primary significance, being the abode of Mithra, the *Megistos Theos*, to whom Helios, the ruler of the planetary spheres, is subordinated. Attending the supreme god is a group of seven youths (perhaps the stars of the Great Bear) and a group of seven maidens (the stars of the Little Bear); it is the seven youths who are referred to as οἱ πολοκράτορες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ... οἱ κνωδακοφύλακες... οἱ στρέφοντες ὑπὸ ἐν κέλυσμα τὸν περιδίνητον τοῦ κύκλου ἄξονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (12, 29-14, 2). On p. 48, n. 2, Scott remarks that the number (ἐπτά) of these groups might cause them to be associated with the seven planets. If the two groups were fused into one, it would become a group of seven bisexual beings; cf., e.g., the seven bisexual men in *Corp. Herm.*, I, 17-18.

⁹⁴ *Paris Magic. P.* (Wessely), 1301 : ἄρκτη, θεὰ μέγιστη, ἄρχουσα οὐρανοῦ... πανφεγγὴς ἁρμονία τῶν ὅλων αηιουω πλινθίου. Cf. PHILO, *On The Creation*, 113 sq. Because of a natural sympathy, the things of earth depend on the things of heaven; thus he correlates the various «sevens» on earth (e.g., the seven parts of the body and the soul, the seven varieties of the voice, the seven movements, the seven days, the seven-stringed lyre, and the seven vowels) with the primal celestial «seven», viz., the planets. This hebdomadal harmony appears most clearly in the correspondence of the seven vowels and the seven-stringed lyre with the seven planets (126). DIETERICH, *Abraxas*, p. 24, thus concludes : «Die sieben Wochentage, die sieben Planeten, die sieben Sphären, die sieben Vokale, die sieben Saiten der Leier--alles wird schliesslich verbunden».

...the seven stars of the Bear are [frequently] identified with the seven planets, or assumed to be under the charge of the same star-gods; they are, so to speak, πρόσωπα of the planets⁹⁵.

Rulers of time. The planets are also χρονοκράτορες of the superlunary spheres. As the sun and the moon produce the days, the months, and the years of sublunar time, so the seven planets together determine the superlunary phases of the Great Cosmic Year⁹⁶, the consummation (ἀποκατάστασις)⁹⁷ of which occurs by ἐκπόρωσις⁹⁸ when the seven wandering stars return to their original point of departure. Associated with this idea of cosmic *apokatastasis*, however, is the notion of cosmic eternity. The world, though experiencing a conflagration in the Great Cosmic Year, is generated again and continues eternally in the divine process of generation and destruction⁹⁹. The planets, therefore, are χρονοκράτορες which oversee this process, effecting through their movements *ad infinitum one cosmic period after another*¹⁰⁰. As the Hermetist puts it, they «fill endless time with their movements»¹⁰¹ and their movements endure through eternity. This function of the planets as masters

⁹⁵ SCOTT, *Hermetica*, III, 378, n. 2. Cf. MURRAY, *Five Stages*, p. 137.

⁹⁶ CIC., *De Republ.*, VI, 24; *De Nat. Deor.*, II, 51; PTOLEM., *Tetrabiblos*, 7. Cf. PROCL., *Platon. Tim. Comment.*, I, 101, 2, ed. E. Diehl, Lipsiae, 1903, where, according to Iamblichus, the Assyrians have preserved the memorials of the whole *apokatastasis* and periods of the seven *kosmokratores*; henceforth referred to as PROCL., *Tim.* (Diehl). PLAT., *Tim.*, 39, gives the Cosmic Year as 36,000 years; cf. R.G. BURY, *Plato*, LCL, VII, p. 82, n. 2. Vide CUMONT, *Les Religions Orientales*, p. 164 and 289, n. 53.

⁹⁷ STOICS (Eusebius) in DIELS, *Doxographi*, p. 469, 12-16. Cf. *Corp. Herm.*, VIII, 4; XI (1), 2; XII (2), 15b.

⁹⁸ On the doctrine of ἐκπόρωσις, *vide* the fragmentary accounts in H. DIELS, *Doxographi Graeci*, Stoics (Stobaeus), p. 338, 16-18; Stoics (Plutarch), p. 393, 1-7; Stoics (Eusebius), p. 468, 6-12 and 18-22; *passim*. Cf. also GREENE, *Moirā*, p. 339 sq., and CUMONT, *After Life*, p. 12 sq.

⁹⁹ DIOG. LAERT., VII, 137-142 and 147. This account discusses briefly the nature of the world in its process of coming into being and passing away. Although it emphasizes the destruction of the world, it indicates clearly that its destruction and renewal continue ἄπειρον. Cf. GREENE, *Moirā*, p. 340. BEVAN, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 50-51, refers to the eternity of the Stoic world in terms of the doctrine of Eternal Recurrence.

¹⁰⁰ CIC., *De Nat. Deor.*, II, 51. Cf. *Zauberpapyri* (Preisendanz), IV, 2194-2199 (*Paris Magic. P.*), where in a magic formula the sun is addressed as ὁ τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης ὁ αἰὼν τῶν αἰώνων. CUMONT and CANET, *Mithra ou Sarapis ΚΟΣΜΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ*, in *AIB*, p. 320, note: «Constamment la notion d'éternité et celle d'universalité sont jointes et même confondues dans la puissance attribuée aux divinités astrales». Cf. also CUMONT, *Les Religions Orientales*, p. 269, n. 109.

¹⁰¹ *Corp. Herm.*, XI, (2), 7: ἑπτὰ κόσμους ... δρόμῳ διαφόρῳ τὸν αἰῶνα ἀναπληροῦντας.

of time demonstrates their omnipotence, whereby they also rightfully receive the titles of κοσμοκράτορες¹⁰² and παντοκράτορες¹⁰³.

Rulers of the spheres. As Cumont has suggested¹⁰⁴, it is possible that the planets were originally referred to as the masters of the celestial spheres. Certainly, in the language of astrology and the oriental cults, one finds the epithet κόσμος or κόσμοι employed in the sense of *world* or *worlds* to designate the planetary spheres¹⁰⁵. In the astronomical system ascribed to Philolaus¹⁰⁶, κόσμος does not signify the universe as a whole (τὸ πᾶν), but rather denotes the region of the planetary spheres, in contrast both to the outer sphere (ὄλυμπος) above the planets and to the sublunar atmosphere (οὐρανός) below them¹⁰⁷. One Hermetic passage refers to the planets as the ἐπὶ τὰ κόσμοι¹⁰⁸. Also Heraclides Ponticus¹⁰⁹ and some of the Pythagoreans call each of the planets a κόσμος¹¹⁰. According to Hippolytus¹¹¹, the astrologers distinguish the κόσμος of the fixed stars and the κόσμος of the planets, remarking that these powers govern their own proper zones. In this connection the planets are usually referred to as κοσμοκράτορες¹¹², although occasionally

¹⁰² E.g., *Zauberpapyri* (Preisendanz), IV, 2198 (*Paris Magic. P.*), the sun is referred to not only as ὁ αἰὼν τῶν αἰώνων but also ὁ κοσμοκράτωρ; also PROCL., *Tim.*, III, 95, 31-34 (Diehl) : καὶ ἔνεκα τῆς τούτου γενέσεως ἀπογεννᾷ καὶ ἥλιον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους κοσμοκράτορας ὡς προκαλουμένους μὲν τὸν ἀφανῆ χρόνον καὶ ἐκφαίνοντας καὶ μεριζομένους αὐτὸν καὶ διαιροῦντας καὶ αἰεὶ ὡσαύτως συνελίσσοντας. Here it is clear that the Demiurge has produced the sun and the other *kosmokratores* for the purpose of establishing invisible time.

¹⁰³ In the *Leiden Magic. P. W* (DIETERICH, *Abraxas*), XVII, 14, and XIX, 10, the sun is referred to this astrological connection as ὁ παντοκράτωρ.

¹⁰⁴ CUMONT and CANET, *art. cit.* (n. 100), p. 319.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. von HUMBOLDT, *Cosmos*, I, 52.

¹⁰⁶ According to W.D. ROSS, *Philolaus*, in *OCD*, p. 682, little is known about Philolaus of Croton. He was a Pythagorean contemporary with Socrates; his fragments and *Testimonia* are found in DIELS, *Vorsokratiker*, I, 398-419.

¹⁰⁷ PHILOLAUS (Aetius) in DIELS, *Vorsokratiker*, I, 403, 21 sq. : τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ ὄλυμπου φορὰν, ἐν ᾧ τοὺς πέντε πλανήτας μεθ' ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης τετάχθαι, [καλεῖ] κόσμον.

¹⁰⁸ *Corp. Herm.*, XI, (2), 7 : ἴδε καὶ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους ἐπὶ τὰ κόσμους. Cf. SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 307.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. K.O. BRINK, in *OCD*, p. 414.

¹¹⁰ HERACLIDES (Stobaeus) in DIELS, *Doxographi*, p. 343 : Ἡρακλείδης καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ἕκαστον τῶν ἀστέρων κόσμον ὑπάρχειν ... ταῦτα δὲ τὰ δόγματα ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς φέρεσθαι. κοσμοποιοῦσι γὰρ ἕκαστον τῶν ἀστέρων. Cf. W.K.C. GUTHRIE, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, London, 1952, p. 185, and SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 307.

¹¹¹ HIPPOL. (Orig.), *Ref. Omn. Haer.*, V, 2, 13 (Migne).

¹¹² E.g., cf. PROCL., *Tim.*, III, 58, 7-8 (Diehl) : οἱ γὰρ καλούμενοι πλάνητες κοσμοκράτορες εἰσι καὶ ὀλικὴν εἰλήχασιν δόναμιν.

called μεγαλοκράτορες¹¹³. As rulers of their own spheres, they preside over the innumerable spirits occupying planetary space¹¹⁴. These spirits, according to Hellenistic cosmology, are disembodied souls which have passed from mortality through the sublunary zones to astral immortality¹¹⁵. Being associated with the planets in this way, they too are sometimes identified as κοσμοκράτορες¹¹⁶; yet, in the strictest sense, it is only the visible gods, i.e., the seven planets, which are the rulers of the spheres. An extension of this spherical command is observed in the regulative power of the planets over the zodiacal sphere. They become the ζωδιοκράτορες¹¹⁷. This power, however, as well as the general surveillance of the universe, is finally assigned to the

¹¹³ Vide the *Mithra Liturgy* (DIETERICH, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*), 14, 6-7, where the Mithraic votary addresses the ἑπτὰ θεοί (in all likelihood the seven planets), asking for health, good sight, courage, etc., and calls them οἱ κύριοί μου καὶ μεγαλοκράτορες θεοί; in 10, 32, the sun is addressed as μεγαλοκράτωρ βασιλεῦ.

¹¹⁴ MURRAY, *Five Stages*, p. 135.

¹¹⁵ Cf. CIC., *De Republ.*, VI, 15-16; POSIDONIUS (?) (Sextus Empiricus) in von ARNIM, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, II, 223-224 and 321, 8-18; *Corp. Herm.*, I, 16 sq.; IRENEAUS, *C. Haer.*, I, 21, 1-5 (Migne); APULEIUS, *The Golden Ass*, XI.

¹¹⁶ Particularly is this identification true in the case of kings and emperors who stand in a mystical relation with the sun. CUMONT, *L'Égypte des Astrologues*, Bruxelles, 1937, p. 27 sq. Cf. Mrs. S.A. STRONG, *A Bronze Bust of a Julio-Claudian Prince (? Caligula) in the Museum of Colchester; with a Note on the Symbolism of the Globe in Imperial Portraiture*, in *JRS*, 6 (1916), p. 44-46, on the emperor and his connection with Jupiter and Sol on the Chariot of the Sun as a symbol of apotheosis. Cf. also L.R. TAYLOR, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*, Middletown, 1931, p. 45, 90-92, 177, 180, and 187. The idea of the assimilation of the *kings* to the sun is expressed particularly in *Pseudo-Callisthenis Historiam Fabulosam*, I, 20 (cod. c), ed. C. Müller, Paris, 1846; when Alexander returned victorious to Macedonia, the people marvelling at his wisdom and courage sang his praises in a song, part of which reads : ἀνατείλας γὰρ καταγλάϊσε ῥώμην, / καὶ πάντας ἡμαύρωσε λοιποὺς ἀστέρας. / Δέχου οὖν αὐτόν, λαμπρὰ Μακεδονία, / καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀμῦναι ἐν τούτῳ δίδου. / Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ κοσμοκράτωρ. Cf. PETERSON, *Εἷς Θεός*, p. 173, n. 1, where the emperor, linked with κοσμοκράτωρ Ἥλιος, himself becomes κοσμοκράτωρ, i.e., *Helios-Aion*. Although astral apotheosis was granted originally only to the royal souls, as STOB., *Herm.*, XXIV, 1-6, notes, it later became the popular *itinerarium ad deum*; vide CUMONT, *Astrology and Religion*, p. 178 sq.

¹¹⁷ *Damascii Successoris Dubitationes et Solutiones de Primis Principiis*, 131, ed. C.A. Ruelle, II, Paris, 1889, refers to the ἑπτὰ κοσμοκράτορας as the ἐγκοσμίους ζωδιοκράτορας... ἐπὶ τῶν τεταρτημορίων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων βεβῶτας. Cf. WHITTAKER, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 180 sq.

sun¹¹⁸. The gradual ascendancy of Helios over the other planets distinguishes him as the κοσμοκράτωρ *par excellence*¹¹⁹. He is the bright star of the day, the most illustrious of the visible gods¹²⁰. By his power he moves all the starry spheres and thus rules the universe¹²¹. This astrological extension results in solar henotheism¹²², one of the eminent religious forms of Hellenistic cosmology.

Rulers of the universe. In connection with their sovereignty over the superlunary spheres, the planets are also regarded as the masters of the universe. The most common epithet descriptive of this planetary function is κοσμοκράτωρ, signifying in this sense one who has power of control over the whole world¹²³. This notion of planetary omnipotence is associated particu-

¹¹⁸ *Corp. Herm.*, XI (2), 7, describes Helios as πάσης τάξεως ἄρχοντος, καὶ ἡγεμόνος τῶν ἐπὶ κόσμων. *Corp. Herm.*, XVI, 12, speaks of the sun as the savior and sustainer of all life : σωτήρ δὲ καὶ τροφεύς ἐστι παντὸς γένους ὁ ἥλιος. Vide SCOTT, in *Hermetica*, II, 441 sq., on the supremacy of the sun. The *Mithra Liturgy* (DIETERICH, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*), 10, 31 sq., reflects the primacy of the sun in a brief encomium : κύριε, χαίρε, μεγαλοδόναμε, μεγαλοκράτωρ βασιλεῦ, μέγιστε θεῶν, Ἥλιε, ὁ κύριος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, θεὸς θεῶν. Cf. also CUMONT, *After Life*, p. 100 sq.; *vide supra* n. 47.

¹¹⁹ *Orphic Hymn* (Hermann), VIII (7), among its many epithets descriptive of the magnificence of Helios, characterizes the omnipotence of the deity as κοσμοκράτωρ and δέσποτα κόσμου. *Paris Magic. P.* (Wessely), 1598, speaks of Helios as τὸν μέγιστον θεόν, ἀέναον κύριον, κοσμοκράτορα. Cf. EITREM, *P. Osl.*, Fasc. I, p. 47 sq. and 84 sq.

¹²⁰ *Corp. Herm.*, XVI, 7 : λαμπρότατα [ἥλιος] περιλάμπει πάντα τὸν κόσμον by which light the sun maintains everlasting life in immortal ζῶα and generates temporary life in mortal ζῶα; cf. SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 446 sq. CIC., *De Republ.*, VI, 17 refers to the sun as *dux et princeps et moderator luminum reliquorum, mens mundi et temperatio, tanta magnitudine ut cuncta sua luce lustret et compleat*. Cf. PLATO, *Republ.*, 508c, where the sun is spoken of as the offspring and visible image of the Good.

¹²¹ Cf. *Corp. Herm.*, XI (2), 7, where the sun is spoken of as πάσης τάξεως ἄρχοντες (i.e., as SCOTT, *Hermetica*, I, 213, translates it, «the rulers of all ordered movement») and ἡγεμόνος τῶν ἐπὶ κόσμων; JULIAN OF LAODICEA, *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum*, I, 136, ed. F. Cumont *et alii*, Brussels, 1898. In *Corp. Herm.*, V, 3, Helios is called the μέγιστος τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν θεῶν, ᾧ πάντες εἰκουςιν οἱ οὐράνιοι θεοὶ ὡσανεὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ δυναστέϊ. STOB., *Herm.*, II, A, 14, speaks of the sun as ἄρχων πάντων καὶ ποιῶν πάντα. Earlier CLEANTHES (Stobaeus) in DIELS, *Doxographi*, p. 465, 5-6, had placed the *hegemonikon* of the world in the sun : ἡγεμονικὸν δὲ τοῦ κόσμου Κλεάνθει μὲν ἤρεσε τὸν ἥλιον εἶναι διὰ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἄστρον ὑπάρχειν.

¹²² DIETERICH, *Abraxas*, p. 55 sq. Cf. also CUMONT, *Astrology and Religion*, p. 94 sq., 124 sq., and 130-135; SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 431; EITREM, *P. Osl.*, Fasc. I, 51.

¹²³ Cf. e.g., PROCL., *Tim.*, III, 127, (Diehl), 14 : τὰ πλανώμενα... ἡγεμονικὴν ἔλαχε καὶ κοσμοκρατορικὴν ἀξίαν ἐν τῷ παντί. CUMONT and CANET, *art. cit.* (n. 100), p. 319.

larly with the gods Mithra, Serapis, Zeus, Helios¹²⁴, and Hermes¹²⁵ and with certain kings and emperors¹²⁶. On at least two occasions the idea of omnipotence in κοσμοκράτωρ is strengthened by the adjective ἀνίκητος¹²⁷. The epithet παντοκράτωρ is coined on the same model¹²⁸. It means the one who rules or controls all things; and used, as Dodd suggests¹²⁹, with κοσμοκράτωρ in mind, it refers to the one God who rules and controls all other cosmic powers¹³⁰. In this sense παντοκράτωρ and κοσμοκράτωρ are synonyms. An instance of this synonymity appears in the magical papyri, where, in two

¹²⁴ Cf. an inscription found in Ghislanzoni (*Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, IX, 323) : εἰς ζεὺς σάραπας [μίτρας superimposed on σάραπας] ἥλιος κοσμοκράτωρ ἀνίκητος. This same inscription is studied in CUMONT and CANET, *art. cit.*, p. 315 sq. *N.B.* the same union of divinities in the *London Magic. P.* (Kenyon), XLVI, 65 : Ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε Ζεῦ Ἥλιε Μίθρα Σάραπι ἀνίκητε. Other associations which reflect planetary connections occur, e.g., in the *Leiden Magic. P. W* (DIETERICH, *Abraxas*), XIV, 21 sq. : ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε... κοσμοκράτωρ Σάραπι; also 41 sq.; in the *Mithra Liturgy* (DIETERICH, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*), 2, 5 : ὁ μέγας θεὸς Ἥλιος Μίθρας; *Orphic Hymn* (Hermann), VIII (7), 11 : [ἥλιος] κοσμοκράτωρ; 16 : δέσποτα κόσμου. DIETERICH, *Abraxas*, p. 55, observes that «Alle die grössten Götter Zeus und Sarapis, Attis und Mithras, Osiris und Dionysos, sie sind nun Sonnengötter und auch Helios vereinigt noch einmal in sich alle andern».

¹²⁵ *Leiden Magic. P. W* (DIETERICH, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*), XVI, 1 sq. : Ἑρμης, ἐπικαλοῦμαι σε... Σαβαώθ ἄρβαθ Ἰάω Ζαγούρη. Hermes is associated here with the Hebrew deity (?) Yahweh Sabaoth and perhaps (?) Zagreus (Dionysus). *London Magic. P.* (Kenyon), XLVI, 400 : Ἑρμῇ κοσμοκράτωρ, ἐνκάρδιε, κύκλε σελήνης.

¹²⁶ Cf. *I.G.S.I.*, 926 (Kaibel), where the city of Gaza makes a dedication to Gordian III : τὸν θεοφιλέστατον κοσμοκράτορα; *I.G.R.*, I, 1063 (Cagnat), where, in Alexandria, Caracalla is referred to as κοσμοκράτωρ because he is a lover of the sun-god Serapis (c. A.D. 216). Cf. also PSEUDO-CALLISTH., *Hist. Fabul.*, I, 7 and 16 (Müller); II, 26 and 43; *passim*; this work expresses the idea of the assimilation of the kings to the sun. Vide TAYLOR, *op. cit.* (n. 116), p. 90-92, 113 sq., and 242.

¹²⁷ Vide *supra* n. 124.

¹²⁸ *London Magic. P.* (Kenyon), CXXI, 668 : Ἑρμῇ παντοκράτωρ, apparently a variant of XLVI, 400 : Ἑρμῇ παντοκράτωρ. MACROB., *Saturn.*, I, 23, 21 (Eyssenhardt) : Ἥλιε παντοκράτωρ κόσμου. Cf. also CUMONT, *Les Religions Orientales*, p. 268, n. 101 and 104.

¹²⁹ DODD, *The Bible and the Greeks*, p. 19.

¹³⁰ Cf. the use of παντοκράτωρ in the LXX : *Wisdom of Solomon* 7:25; *Jeremiah* 38 (36):35; also in the N.T. : *II Cor.* 6:18; *Revelation* 1:8; 4:8; 11:17; 15:3; 16:7, 14; 19:6, 15; 21:22. DIOG. LAER., VII, 147, speaks of the one god who functions through his οἰκειότητα; also PLUT., *De Is. et Os.*, 378a, implies a theoretical monotheism in his μία πρόνοια, which watches over the ancillary powers. Another instance of this same usage occurs in *The Testament of Solomon* (McCown), III, 5, where in a brief panegyric, Solomon prays : εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ [sic]; this praise comes as a result of Solomon's divine authority over the δαίμονες; cf. also VI, 8.

versions of a prayer to the planet-god Hermes, these epithets are used as equivalent titles. In one version the god is addressed as ἑρμῇ κοσμοκράτωρ; in the other, ἑρμῇ παντοκράτωρ¹³¹. The idea of omnipotence, however, is eventually attributed only to the sun¹³². Because he leads the «starry choir» and is the king and guide of all the other luminaries, he is master of the whole world: ἥλιος βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡγεμὼν τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου καθεστὼς πάντων καθηγούμενος καὶ πάντων ὧν γενεσιάρχης¹³³. In later Hellenistic times Helios becomes the chief deity of the mystery cults and the royal planet of the Roman Empire¹³⁴. Many prayers and invocations are addressed to him as the omnipotent planet-god¹³⁵. For example, Macrobius records such an invocation to Helios offered by the Syrian priests at Heliopolis : "Ἥλιε παντοκράτωρ κόσμου πνεῦμα κόσμου δύναμις κόσμου φῶς¹³⁶. The supremacy of the sun over the other planets indicates the astrological religious tendency of

¹³¹ *Vide supra* n. 128. No other change is noted; cf. CUMONT and CANET, *art. cit.*, p. 320.

¹³² Cf., e.g., STOB., *Herm.*, II, A, 14. It must be remarked here, however, that the Hermetist regards the sun as second to the Demiurge, the first invisible god. *Vide supra* n. 118-121. This same idea occurs in *Corp. Herm.*, XVI, 4-10a, 12, and 13-16, where the sun is supreme within the cosmos, being subordinate only to the supracosmic god.

¹³³ JULIAN OF LAODICEA, *CCA*, I, 136 (cited by CUMONT, *Les Religions Orientales*, p. 270, n. 116). Cf. also CIC., *De Republ.*, VI, 4; PLIN., *H.N.*, II, 12, trans. H. Rackham, LCL, I.

¹³⁴ Helios as the chief deity among the mystery cults : cf. the *Mithra Liturgy* (DIETERICH, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*), 2, 5, *et passim*, where Helios is identical with the μέγας θεός; *vide* CUMONT, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, p. 95, 121, and 135. Also cf. *Orphic Hymn* (Hermann), VIII (7); *vide* GUTHRIE, *op. cit.* (n. 110), p. 43; MACCHIORO, *op. cit.* (n. 46), p. 149. According to the *Leiden Magic. P. W* (DIETERICH, *Abraxas*), XIV, 20 sq. and 40 sq., the cult of Serapis identifies Serapis as a heliacal deity; *vide* BELL, *Cults and Creeds*, p. 21. Helios as the royal planet of the Roman Empire : cf. TAC., *Hist.*, III, 24, trans. C.H. Moore, LCL., where Antonius encourages the Flavian troops, challenging them to defeat the Vitellians; IUL., *Orat.*, IV, 137c, refers to Helios as ὁ θεός, who gives life and is the cause of all movement, i.e., coming to be and passing away. CUMONT, *Astrology and Religion*, p. 94 sq., 104-106, 133 sq., and 161. N.B. SCOTT's résumé, in *Hermetica*, II, 431, of the exaltation of the sun-god in later Hellenistic times.

¹³⁵ *Vide supra* n. 118-121.

¹³⁶ MACROB., *Saturn.*, I, 23, 21 (Eyssenhardt). Cf. Orphic fragment in 23, 22; also in HERMANN, *Orphica*, p. 464, where the sun is addressed as ἥλιε παγγενέτωρ. *N.* also in MACROB., *Saturn.*, I, 18, 18, that the line Εἰς Ζεὺς εἰς Αἰδῆς εἰς Ἥλιος εἰς Διόνυσος occurs. This line may reflect, as KNOX, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 37, n. 7, notes, the oriental notion of the sun as the one divine Aion expressing himself in the four seasons and thus representing the division of eternity into recurring cycles of time. *Vide* invocation addressed to the sun-god in the *Papyrus Mimaut* transcribed in SCOTT, *Hermetica*, III, 284. MACCHIORO, *op. cit.*, p. 354, n. 7.

Hellenistic cosmology, a tendency which expresses itself literally in solar henotheism and metaphorically in transcendent monotheism¹³⁷.

The Planets and the Moral Order

The moral nature of the planets in Hellenistic cosmology is dependent upon the manner in which these gods influence man and determine his destiny. According to the two representative Hellenistic systems, this astrological role has two interpretations. In the Stoic system the planets are benevolent supreme deities who offer their devotees deliverance from the ills of sublunary existence. This deliverance is a redemptive process rising out of the mystical contemplation of the starry heavens and results in astral apotheosis. Man is not only elevated to the rank of deity but is also identified with one of the planets; he becomes a «fellow star»¹³⁸. In the gnostic system, however, the planets are malevolent subordinate deities, who impose upon man the demonic forces of Fortune and Fate. Redemption from these cosmic powers comes directly from the first and ultimate God, who is above and beyond the planets. His gift of gnosis empowers man through magic and mystery to overcome planetary influence and at death to pass triumphantly through the malign planetary spheres to freedom and union with the ultimate God. Thus transcending the nature and the power of the planets, man achieves the true fulfillment of his destiny, becoming one of God's innumerable Powers.

The Planets as Benevolent Gods

To observe the benevolent role of the planets in the Stoic world view, one must turn his attention away from the exterior world towards the world of the

¹³⁷ Cf. PLUT., *The E at Delphi*, 393d, where, in his exposition of the Delphic religion, he speaks of those who identify Apollo with the sun, but he himself prefers to identify the sun as the visible image of the supracosmic deity. The sun as the symbol and image of the supreme extracosmic god also appears in *Corp. Herm.*, XVI, 7 sq. EITREM, *P. Osl.*, Fasc. I, 51, transcribes an invocation to the supreme god Typhon Seth, which is to be uttered before the sun and which employs epithets frequently associated with the sun, e.g., παντοκράτωρ and θεὸν θεῶν. This monotheistic bent, in association with sun-worship, is also referred to in its Orphic connections in HARRISON, *Prolegomena*, p. 461-462, in Hermetic thought in SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 455, and III, 189; and in Neo-Platonic theology in CUMONT, *Astrology and Religion*, p. 134 sq. and 197. Observe Cumont's account of this theological development in Syria (ID., *Les Religions Orientales*, p. 122-124).

¹³⁸ Cf. the *Mithra Liturgy* (DIETERICH, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*), 8, 4 sq. : σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε· σιγή· σιγή· λόγος· ἐγὼ εἰμι σύμπλανος ὑμῖν ἀστήρ. MURRAY, *Five Stages*, p. 142. DIETERICH, *Abraxas*, p. 23.

soul. According to this moral order, the planets are not simply astral deities who protect men against the perils of nature : wind, rain, drought, earthquake, and other pestilences. They are also the gods who save men's souls from death and lead them to eternal life amid their spheres. This divine intervention in human affairs translates the gods into saviors of men and guides of the soul¹³⁹ and serves as the basis of the belief in astral apotheosis. It is significant to note that this eschatological belief appears in its early stages in Hellenic thought, particularly in Aristophanes¹⁴⁰ and Plato¹⁴¹, but it has little religious significance. During Hellenistic times, however, it is permeated with mysticism and astrolatry and becomes more religious than philosophical. As a consequence, it dominates all other eschatological theories. At first, this apotheosis is restricted to the heroes of the past, but later it becomes appropriate to assure this same destiny to kings, emperors, and

¹³⁹ Although a lacuna occurs in the text, these two functions of the astral gods are described briefly in STOB., *Herm.*, XXVI, 3 : δορυφόροι ὄντες τῆς καθόλου προνοίας, ὧν ὁ μὲν ψυχοταμίας, ὁ δὲ ψυχοπομπός. In STOB., *Herm.*, XXVI, 1, the moon functions as a ψυκοταμίας; DIO. LAER., VIII, 31 refers to Hermes as ταμίας τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πομπαῖος. In EUR., *Alc.*, 361, ed. H.W. Hayley, *The Alcestia of Euripides*, Boston, 1898, Charon is spoken of as a ψυχοπομπός; DIOD., I, 96, 6, refers to Hermes as the ψυχοπομπός in Egyptian and Orphic mysteries.

¹⁴⁰ Perhaps the earliest extant statement indicating such a belief is one found in ARISTOPH., *Pac.*, 832 sq., trans. B.B. Rogers, LCL. The hero Trygaeus flies up to heaven on an enormous Mount Etna dung-beetle to persuade the gods to restore Peace to Greece. On his return from this adventurous journey, his servant, questioning him about what he has seen, asks : ὥς ἀστέρες γιγνόμεθ' ὅταν τις ἀποθάνῃ. The assumption is that the souls of the dead not only ascend to heaven but actually turn into stars. Both HARRISON, *Prolegomena*, p. 205, and GUTHRIE, *op. cit.*, p. 185., ascribe this belief to Orphic doctrine. ROHDE, *Psyche*, p. 359, n. 76, assigns this notion to popular belief; cf. also GUTHRIE, *The Greeks and their Gods*, p. 213 and 264. CUMONT, *After Life*, p. 95, on the other hand, ascribes the belief in astral immortality to the Chaldeans : that it was propagated in Greece by the Pythagoreans.

¹⁴¹ PLATO (*Tim.*, 42b) adopts this same belief, but with moral implications. Cf. GREENE, *Moirai*, p. 307 sq.; CUMONT, *After Life*, p. 170 sq.; *Astrology and Religion*, p. 175-176.

eminent men of the state¹⁴². For example, in the account of «Scipio's Dream», it is remarked that

*omnibus, qui patriam conservaverint, adiuverint, auxerint, certum esse in caelo definitum locum, ubi beati aevo sempiterno fruenter...*¹⁴³

Finally, under the religious impetus of the mystery cults, astral redemption is accorded to everyone who devotes himself to the service of the planet-gods. So popular is this salvation that Cicero comments : *Totem prope caelum nonne humano generi completum est*¹⁴⁴ ?

Saviors of men. To Posidonius and his Stoic circle all the planets indiscriminately are saviors of the good disembodied δαίμων¹⁴⁵. On being liberated from the body, the good δαίμων flies instantly to the region of the pure stars, where it remains in paradisiacal bliss. The Orphic, however, looks primarily to the moon for salvation¹⁴⁶. At death he declares :

γῆς παῖς εἰμὶ καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος, αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γένος οὐράνιον¹⁴⁷.

¹⁴² Cf. STAT., *Theb.*, I, 22, trans. J.H. Mozley, LCL, on the deification of Theban rulers. Cf. MURRAY, *Five Stages*, p. 146 sq. LUC., *De Civil. Bell.*, I, 45-66, speaks of the astral deification of Julius Caesar; PLIN., *HN*, II, 94, refers to the comet which appeared for seven days after Julius Caesar's death; Octavian explained it as the apotheosis of his father; vide TAYLOR, *op. cit.* (n. 116), p. 91 sq. On the apotheosis of the emperors, cf. Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars*, 100, trans. J.C. Rolfe, LCL, where he records that an expraetor claimed that he had seen the apotheosis of Augustus; JULIAN, *The Caesars*, 307c, trans. W.C. Wright, LCL, speaks of the emperors as attaining immortality in the upper air just below the moon; vide CUMONT, *After Life*, p. 98.

¹⁴³ CIC., *De Republ.*, VI, 13, 18. Cf. CUMONT, *After Life*, p. 113-114.

¹⁴⁴ CIC., *Tusc.*, I, 12, 28, trans. J.E. King, LCL. Cf. also I, 43, 18; CUMONT, *Astrology and Religion*, p. 190.

¹⁴⁵ POSIDONIUS (?) (Sextus Empiricus) in von ARNIM, *Fragmenta*, II, 321, 8-18; also 223-224. This passage is also cited in BEVAN, *Stoics*, p. 108., n. 1, and is attributed to Posidonius; cf. also p. 106-107 and 114-115.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. *Orphic Fragment 91* (GUTHRIE, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, p. 138). The Greek text appears in PROCL., *Tim.* III, 154a (Diehl) : μήσατο [Phanes ?] δ' ἄλλην γαῖαν ἀπείριτον, ἣν τε σελήνην ἀθάνατοι κλήζουσιν; also cited in SCOTT, *Hermetica*, II, 307. Cf. RHODE, *Psyche*, p. 410, n. 116; CUMONT, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

¹⁴⁷ *The Petelia Tablet* (HARRISON, *Prolegmena*, p. 573); vide also «Critical Appendix on the Orphic Tablets», written by Gilbert Murray, p. 659 sq. Cf. J.R. WATMOUGH, *Orphism*, Cambridge, 1934, p. 54; MURRAY, *Five Stages*, p. 142; ONIANS, *op. cit.* (n. 79), p. 230 sq., n. 8.

Upon his ascent to the lunar sphere, he thus becomes a planetary god¹⁴⁸. The Pythagorean also shares this belief in astral apotheosis. The first question in the Pythagorean catechism asks : τί ἐστὶν αἱ μακάρων νῆσοι; to which the devotee replies : ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη¹⁴⁹. Although having Mithra as mediator and guide in his empyrean ascent, the Mithraic votary places his confidence in the support of the seven benevolent planets, who combat without respite the powers of evil¹⁵⁰. But of particular significance in his redemption are the planets Saturn, Jupiter, and Helios¹⁵¹. As he ascends to the eighth sphere of heaven, he can with assurance declare to the planets : ἐγὼ εἰμι σύμπλανος ὑμῖν ἀστέρι¹⁵². Under the patronage of the Imperial cult, the sun becomes the principal planet-god and is referred to in prayers and panegyrics, e.g., as βασιλεὺς ἥλιος, ἥλιος αἰών, ἥλιος κοσμοκράτωρ, and *sol sanctissimus*¹⁵³. He is associated also with other deity-titles which indicate his supremacy, such as Zeus, Serapis, and Mithra¹⁵⁴. The emperor is the image of Helios on earth and like him receives epithets descriptive of divinity, e.g., δεσπότης τῆς οἰκουμένης, υἱὸς θεοῦ, κοσμοκράτωρ, αὐτοκράτωρ, and σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου¹⁵⁵. As the divine solar representative, he leads his people in the true worship of the royal

¹⁴⁸ Cf. *Timponne Grande Tablet (a)* (HARRISON, *Prolegomena*, p. 662), 5 : θεὸς ἐγένου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου. The immediate context of this statement does not explicitly assert astral apotheosis, but it does imply it.

¹⁴⁹ IAMBlichus in DIELS, *Vorsokratiker*, I, 464, 6. Vide DODDS, *op. cit.* (n. 116), p. 248 and 263, n. 68; CUMONT, *After Life*, p. 96 sq. and 103; ROHDE, *Psyche*, p. 359, n. 75-76. Cf. *Deut.* (LXX) 4:19; and on this idea, CLEM. AL., *Strom.*, VI, 14 (Migne).

¹⁵⁰ CUMONT, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, p. 126 and 144 sq.; also p. 120, 123, and 132 sq.

¹⁵¹ Cf. CUMONT, *Les Religions Orientales*, p. 276, n. 37; *The Mysteries of Mithra*, p. 140 and 146; *Astrology and Religion*, p. 135.

¹⁵² *The Mithra Liturgy* (DIETERICH, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*), 8, 5. Cf. DIETERICH, *Abraxas*, p. 23. A similar idea is expressed in *Corp. Herm.*, X, 24b sq. CUMONT, *Les Religions Orientales*, p. 116 sq.; MURRAY, *Five Stages*, p. 142.

¹⁵³ Note, restectively, the following citations : JUL. LAOD., *CCA*, I, 136 (cited by CUMONT, *Les Religions Orientales*, p. 270, n. 116); *Zauberpapyri* (Preisendanz), IV, 2199; an inscription in Ghislanzoni, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichita*, IX, 323; a Palmyran inscription «Dédicace aux Dieux Solaires Palmyréniens» in CUMONT, *op. cit.*, pl. X, from which Aurelian, c. A.D. 274, was inspired to create the new cult of *sol invictus*.

¹⁵⁴ Vide *supra* n. 124-125. Cf. also DIETERICH, *Abraxas*, p. 55 sq.

¹⁵⁵ Vide «Inscriptions Recording Divine Honors» in TAYLOR, *op. cit.* (n. 116), appendix III, p. 267 sq.; vide *supra* n. 126. Cf. also CUMONT, *Astrology and Religion*, p. 95 sq. Observe the figure of εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ in *Coloss.* 1:4.

planet. At death he takes his place among the planetary spheres as an astral deity and a companion to the sun-god¹⁵⁶.

Guides of the soul. The benevolent role of the planets also appears in their function as *psychopompoi*¹⁵⁷, the ἡγεμόνες θεοὶ who escort the pure souls to heaven¹⁵⁸. Although Posidonius speaks of the apotheosis of the δαίμων, he seems to leave its ascent to the planetary spheres up to the «law of physics»¹⁵⁹. In Plutarch, however, — who is thought to re-echo Posidonius —¹⁶⁰ the disembodied *daimones* render aid to the soul seeking its own salvation¹⁶¹. Perhaps Posidonius thinks of these *daimones* as planet-gods, who in a sense are, like Philo's *angeloi*, conductors of the soul¹⁶². According to Orphic and Pythagorean traditions, it is said that Hermes guides the pure souls after their separation from the body εἰς τὸν ὕψιστον¹⁶³ or to Olympus to shine among the stars¹⁶⁴. The Mithraic devotee looks to the leadership of Mithra himself as the ἡγεμόνα θεόν¹⁶⁵. But in this capacity Mithra is usually associated with Helios, whose chariot is used to convey the good souls to the celestial thrones where Jupiter-Ormazd receives them¹⁶⁶. In the Syrian cults¹⁶⁷, as well as in

¹⁵⁶ Cf. CUMONT, *After Life*, p. 112 sq. and 157; *Astrology and Religion*, p. 185; TAYLOR, *op. cit.*, p. 91 sq.; *supra* n. 142.

¹⁵⁷ *Vide supra* n. 139. This idea also appears in PLAT., *Phaed.*, 107d and 108b.

¹⁵⁸ JULIAN, *The Caesars*, 336c. Cf. a funeral inscription transcribed in CUMONT, *Les Religions Orientales*, p. 264, n. 90, where one asserts that he is in the ether among the choirs of stars, λαχὼν θεὸν ἡγεμονῆα.

¹⁵⁹ BEVAN, *Stoics*, p. 107. On the mechanical means of the ascent of the soul, cf. CUMONT, *Astrology and Religion*, p. 188 sq.

¹⁶⁰ BEVAN, *Stoics*, p. 112.

¹⁶¹ PLUT., *De Genio Socrate (Moral.)*, 24, passage quoted in BEVAN, *Stoics*, p. 113, n. 1.

¹⁶² Cf. PHILO, *On Dreams*, I, 147, trans. F.H. Colson and G.H. Whitaker, LCL. CUMONT, *Les Religions Orientales*, p. 265, n. 90; *After Life*, p. 163; BEVAN, *Stoics*, p. 113.

¹⁶³ DIOG. LAERT., VIII, 31. Cf. *Isaiah* (LXX) 14:13 sq. : σὺ δὲ εἶπας τῇ διανοίᾳ σου εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβήσομαι, ἐπάνω τῶν ἀστέρων θήσω τὸν θρόνον μου... ἀναβήσομαι ἐπάνω τῶν νεφῶν ἔσομαι ὅμοιος τῷ ὑψίστῳ. *Vide* CUMONT, *After Life*, p. 104 and, especially, *Les Religions Orientales*, p. 266, n. 93. HIPPOL. (Orig.), *Ref. Omn. Haer.*, V, 2 (Migne). DIETERICH, *Abraxas*, p. 64-65.

¹⁶⁴ HAUSSOULLIER, in *RPh*, 23 (1909), p. 6 : 'Ἀλλὰ σ' ἔχων εἰς Ὀλυμπον ἂν [ἤγαγεν] εὐσφυρος Ἑρμῆς/ Αἰθέρα δ' ὀκταέτης κατιδὼν ἄστροις ἅμα λάμπεις (cited by CUMONT, *Les Religions Orientales*, p. 265, n. 90).

¹⁶⁵ E.g., the emperor JULIAN, *The Caesars*, 336c, represents himself as being told by Hermes that Mithra will be his *psychopompos* at death. CUMONT, *After Life*, p. 164.

¹⁶⁶ The inscription of Antiochus Commagene in MICHEL, *Recueil*, n° 735, 1, 40 : Σῶμα πρὸς οὐρανίου Διὸς Ὡρομάσδου θρόνου θεοφιλή ψυχὴν προπέμψαν εἰς τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα κοιμήσεται (cited by CUMONT, *Les Religions Orientales*, p. 266, n. 91). Cf.

the Imperial cult¹⁶⁸, Helios becomes the primary escort of the souls returning to heaven. And as indicated above, this solar motif tends to absorb or subordinate all other forms.

The Planets as Malevolent Gods

According to the moral order of the gnostic world view, the planets assume a terrifying role. They are malevolent deities who impose on man the enslaving power of astral Necessity. Under their control man cannot hope for freedom and ultimate union with the supreme God, who resides above the planets in the sphere of intelligible light. His destiny is to remain beneath the moon among the demonic elemental spirits of the airy and the fiery zones. Yet, escape from the planets is open to him in the mysteries. Through a complicated series of ceremonies and instructions in the sacred lore of gnosis, he can enter into mystical communion with God, become divine, and be withdrawn from the power of Fate. His final victory over the planets, however, occurs at death, when his soul, by the magical power of gnosis, passes safely through the dread planetary spheres in its ascent to heaven to become one of the Powers of God. According to Hermes Trismegistus, Τοῦτο ἔστι τὸ ἀγαθόν, τοῦτο τὸ τέλος τοῖς γνῶσιν ἐσχηκόσι θεωθῆναι¹⁶⁹.

Although this planetary hostility towards man is apparent in all gnostic systems, the particular malevolent functions which the planets assume are not always clear and distinct. This ambiguity occurs, perhaps, because the mythological structure of each gnostic system differs and also because the epithets descriptive of the malign planetary functions frequently coalesce. Yet, in the gnostic systems there are two fairly distinct classifications which localize generally the malevolent functions of the planets and which give some coherence to the various epithets ascribed to them. Accordingly,

DIETERICH, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, p. 68; also BOUSSET, *art. cit.* (n. 60), p. 160-169; CUMONT, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, p. 144 sq.

¹⁶⁷ CUMONT, *Les Religions Orientales*, p. 264, n. 90, writes : «La croyance que les âmes pieuses sont guidées vers le ciel par une divinité *psychopompe* ne se trouve pas seulement dans les mystères de Mithra... mais aussi dans les cultes syriens où ce rôle est souvent attribué au dieu solaire», citing the Le Bas-Waddington inscription, 2442 : βασιλεῦ δέσποτα [Helios] ἴλαθι καὶ δίδου πᾶσιν ἡμῖν ὑγίην καθαρὰν, πρήξις ἀγαθὰς καὶ βίου τέλος ἐσθλόν.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Mrs. STRONG, *art. cit.* (n. 116), p. 46; TAYLOR, *op. cit.* (n. 116), p. 187; CUMONT, *Astrology and Religion*, p. 184 sq.

¹⁶⁹ *Corp. Herm.*, I, 26a. Cf. KENNEDY, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 163 sq., where he defines the γνῶσις τοῦ θεοῦ as a supernatural gift accompanied by the impartation of the «powers» of God. Note also *Corp. Herm.*, IX, 4a; XIII, 8b, which reads in part : χαίρει λοιπόν, ὃ τέκνον, ἀνακαθαιρόμενος ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεσιν... ἦλθεν ἡμῖν γνῶσις θεοῦ. *Pistis Sophia*, II, 252 (Mead, trans.), G.R.S. Mead.

therefore, the planets are conceived of as being both celestial and elemental evil powers.

Celestial powers. As hostile celestial deities, the planets assume a typical role in the gnostic systems. They are commandants (ἄρχοντες)¹⁷⁰ or cosmic rulers (κοσμοκράτορες)¹⁷¹ who are posted by the entrances to their separate spheres to guard the gates of heaven against the uninitiated soul's ascent to God¹⁷². These seven Archons admit safe passage through their portals only to the souls who have gnosis and who are under the guidance of a divine ἡγεμών¹⁷³. All other souls they turn away, consigning them to the sublunary zones, where they remain enslaved to the planets, under the dread rule of εἰμαρμένη¹⁷⁴. This eschatological motif appears most clearly in the *Hermetica* and in the early Christian Gnostic writings. In Philo's discussion of the sovereignty of God in his *Special Laws*, he refers to the planets in this gnostic personal sense as ἄρχοντες, but he refuses to admit their

¹⁷⁰ Cf. STOB., *Herm.*, XXIV, 2, where the sun and the moon are spoken of as ἄρχοντες; in *Corp. Herm.*, I, 9, the planets are called διοικήτορες, but their evil function as ἄρχοντες is seen in 25-26a, in the account of the soul's ascent to heaven. *N.B.* also the account of this celestial ascent (perhaps the teaching of the Ophites) in ORIG., *C. Cels.*, VI, 31 (Migne), where it is said that the pure soul must pass through the φραγμὸν κακίας-πόλλας ἀρχόντων αἰῶνι δεδεμένους-- on its journey to God; cf. also 27 and 37. Similar accounts appear in IRENAEUS, *C. Haer.*, I, 21, 5 (Migne); HIPPOCR., (*Orig.*), *Ref. Omn. Haer.*, V, 3 (Migne); *Acta Ionannis*, 114, ed. M. Bonnet, Lipsiae, 1898 : *vide* M.R. JAMES, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1945, p. 269 sq. An allusion to this *archontic* function is found also in *The Testament of Solomon* (McCown), Rec. C X, 25; cf. Ms. P IX, 7, where esoteric knowledge of the names of οἱ ἑπτὰ δαίμονες gives Solomon power over these fiery star-gods. For a brief review of the astrological sense of ἄρχων in N.T. and early Christian literature, *vide* ARNDT & GINGRICH, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, p. 113.

¹⁷¹ Cf. *Acta Philippi*, 144, ed. M. Bonnet, Lipsiae, 1903, where Philip prays for safe passage through the planetary spheres to paradise, saying : ἕως ἂν παρέλθω πάντας τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας καὶ τὸν πονηρὸν δράκοντα (*vide* JAMES, *op. cit.*, p. 450); IAMBLL., *De Myster. Liber.*, II, 3 (Parthey), (*vide supra* n. 82 for partial quotation); IRENAEUS, *C. Haer.*, I, 5, 4 (Migne), (κοσμοκράτωρ = Satan).

¹⁷² Other terms are also employed to describe the planetary powers who guard the gates of heaven, e.g. : *Corp. Herm.*, IV, 8b, speaks of the δρόμους ἀστέρων; XI (2), 19, refers to them as the δῖνη τῶν ἀστέρων.

¹⁷³ *Vide supra* n. 139. Cf. *Pistis Sophia*, II, 195 sq., 227 sq., 232, and 235 sq. (Mead), on gnosis and the ascension of the soul; note also arcana in APULEIUS, *The Golden Ass*, XI, 21. CUMONT, *Les Religions Orientales*, p. 264, n. 90; FESTUGIÈRE, *Personnal Religion*, p. 123-139.

¹⁷⁴ *Corp. Herm.*, I, 9. DODD, *The Bible and the Greeks*, p. 138 sq. *Pistis Sophia*, III, 248-292 (Mead).

sovereignty over man¹⁷⁵. Writers of Jewish apocalyptic and early Rabbinic literature reflect their gnostic heritage, when they refer to the planets as δυνάμεις, θρόνοι, ἐξουσίαι, ἄγγελοι, and ἀρχάγγελοι of the seven heavens¹⁷⁶. In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, particularly, there are various lists of τὰ ἐπὶ τὰ πνεύματα τῆς πλάνης¹⁷⁷, which may be referred to as planetary Archons, since they are under the authority of the chief ἄρχων τῆς πλάνης (σατανᾶς or βελίαρ)¹⁷⁸. A conception like that of the seven Archons or *Kosmokratores* can be discerned also in the background of the Pauline letters, in those hierarchies of evil forces ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις¹⁷⁹, which are ruled κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος¹⁸⁰, ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου¹⁸¹. Although the chief Archon (σατανᾶς)¹⁸² appears here to reside in the lower air, perhaps¹⁸³ ὡς ἀστραπὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πεσόντα, he is nevertheless a celestial power, and his primary habitat is ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις¹⁸⁴. This seems

¹⁷⁵ PHILO, *On the Special Laws*, I, 13 sq.; there is here, however, little or no eschatological significance. Cf. DODD, *op. cit.*, p. 140; also KNOX, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 150, n. 2. I *Samuel* (LXX) 6:1 refers to the οἱ ἄρχοντες visible and invisible.

¹⁷⁶ *Levi* in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, 3:5-8, ed. R.H. Charles, Oxford, 1908; this work is abbreviated henceforth as CHARLES, *Testaments. Slavonic Enoch* in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 20, ed. R.H. Charles, II, Oxford, 1913; this work is abbreviated henceforth as CHARLES, *Apocrypha*. Also cf. *Ethiopic Enoch* (CHARLES, *Apocrypha*) 61:10. Vide «Table Showing Three Views of the Seven Heavens» in H. St. John THACKERAY, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, London, 1900, p. 178-179; N.B. also p. 175 sq. on the «spirits» in Jewish literature. *The Testament of Solomon* (McCown), Ms. D VIII, 6-7, speaks of οἱ θρόνοι and αἱ κυριότητες, as well as the Cherubim and Seraphim, as the heavenly powers. MORGAN, *op. cit.* (n. 37), p. 6-12, presents in brief the world view of Jewish Apocalyptic.

¹⁷⁷ *Reuben* (CHARLES, *Testaments*) 2:2-3:7. *Levi* (CHARLES, *Testaments*) 3:1, refers to these πνεύματα ας ἐπὶ τὰ οὐρανῶν.

¹⁷⁸ From CHARLES, *Testaments* : *Simeon* 2:7; *Judah* 19:14; cf. also *Dan* 5:6 and 10; *Reuben* 2:2. Vide CHARLES, *Apocrypha*, II, 296.

¹⁷⁹ *Ephesians* 3:10 and 6:12.

¹⁸⁰ *Ephes.* 2:2. Cf. SCOTT's note, in *Hermetica*, III, 259, on *summi daemonis* in ASCLEPIUS, III, 28, as a parallel to the Pauline phrase.

¹⁸¹ *II Corinth.* 4:4. Cf. also *Simeon* (Charles, *Testaments*), 2:7 and *Judah* (Charles, *Testaments*), 19:4.

¹⁸² *II Corinth.* 11:14; 12:7.

¹⁸³ *Luke* 10:18. Cf. *The Testament of Solomon*, XX, 16-18 (McCown), in part : ἀστέρες εἰσὶν οἱ πίπτοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ... καταπίπτομεν ὡς ἀστραπαὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν; *Jude* 13 : ἀστέρες πλανῆται; vide CLEM. AL., *Strom.*, IV, 18, 116 sq. (Migne) : τοῖς ἐφεστῶσι τῇ ἀνόδῳ ἀγγέλοις.

¹⁸⁴ *Ephes.* 3:10 and 6:12. Concerning this problem, cf. THACKERAY, *op. cit.* (n. 176), p. 177.

clear in *Ephesians* 6:12, where St. Paul transfers the struggle between the Christian and the powers of evil to the planetary spheres. He writes :

ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη πρὸς αἷμα καὶ σάρκα,
ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας, πρὸς
τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκοτὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος
τούτου, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν
τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις¹⁸⁵.

Again, in *Romans* 8, St. Paul describes the relation of the Christian to the fate determined by the planets¹⁸⁶. More specifically, however, in his Corinthian correspondance, he reflects the influence of gnostic thought, when he refers to the hostile celestial powers as the ἄρχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου who unwittingly crucified τὸν κύριον τῆς δόξης¹⁸⁷. This reference to the role of the Archons in the crucifixion of Jesus suggests the motif of the incognito redeemer who descends to earth through the portals of the planetary spheres unrecognized¹⁸⁸. Like St. Paul, other New Testament writers also describe Satan as the chief Archon of the planetary spheres, referring to him as ὁ ἄρχων τῶν

¹⁸⁵ *Ephes.* 6:12. Cf. H.L. STRACK and Paul BILLERBECK, eds, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, München, 1926, III, 616, on *Ephesians* 6:12. KNOX, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 221, n. 2, also considers *Ephes.* 6:12 as indicative of the Christian's wrestling with the planets; cf. p. 123. DIBELIUS, *An die Kolosser Epheser an Philemon*, p. 97-98. NOCK, *op. cit.* (n. 41), p. 103, speaks of the relation of the Christians to the *Kosmokratores*, i.e., the planetary lords.

¹⁸⁶ *Rom.* 8:15-39. Cf. St. Paul's reference to τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα in *Galat.* 4:9; also to τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου in 4:3; *Coloss.* 2:8 and 20.

¹⁸⁷ *I Corinth.* 2:6-8. Cf. *John* 12:31 and 14:30. *N.B.* also *The Epistles of Ignatius*, trans. K. LAKE, *The Apostolic Fathers*, I, LCL : *Ephes.* 17:1; 19; *Magn.* 1:3; *Trall.* 4:2; *Rom.* 7:1; *Phil.* 6:12. It should be noted that although most N.T. scholars consider the ἄρχοντες in *II Corinth.* 2:6-8 to be planetary powers, THACKERAY, *op. cit.* (n. 176), p. 156 sq., considers them to be the earthly rulers who crucified the Lord.

¹⁸⁸ This mysterious transaction and the ἄγνοια of the planetary powers are supported by Ignatius in his letter to the *Ephesians* (LAKE, *The Apostolic Fathers*) 19:1-3; *N.B.* the astrological character of the description. Cf. also *The Epistle to Diognetus*, trans. K. LAKE, *The Apostolic Fathers*, II, LCL, 7:1-9; vide H.G. MEECHAM, ed. and trans., *The Epistle to Diognetus*, Manchester, 1949, p. 117-123, notes on chap. 7. KNOX, *op. cit.*, p. 220-226, Note IV, «The Descent of the Redeemer». On the «Heavenly Man», cf. *Corp. Herm.*, I, 13a sq. This same picture appears in HIPPOL. (Orig.), *Ref. Omn. Haer.*, VI, 46 (Migne), where the *Anthropos* descends upon Jesus; note also in 43 the descent of the god with the name of the seven letters to correspond to the seven vowels (αεηιουω). WHITTAKER, *op. cit.* (n. 38), p. 221 sq.; MURRAY, *Five Stages*, p. 154 sq. *N.B.* on the purpose of Christ's death to reconcile not only man but also the Archons, cf. *Coloss.* 1:16 and 20; *I Corinth.* 11:10 and 15:24; *Rom.* 8:38; *Galat.* 1:8.

δαιμονίων¹⁸⁹ and ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου¹⁹⁰. Similarly, the Apostolic Fathers speak of Satan as ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, ὁ ἄδικος ἄρχων, ὁ πονηρὸς ἄρχων and ὁ ἄρχων καιροῦ τοῦ νῦν τῆς ἀνομίας¹⁹¹ and of his celestial forces as ἄγγελοι and δυνάμεις τοῦ σατανᾶ, ἀρχοντικάί, and ἀγγελικάί¹⁹². The writers of the Apocryphal New Testament also allude to the planets as hostile forces and refer to Satan as the chief ἄρχων and κοσμοκράτωρ¹⁹³. Particularly significant in the Apocryphal New Testament, however, is Philip's prayer in the *Acts of Philip*, where upon his death he asks for safe passage through the spheres of all τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας καὶ τὸν πονηρὸν δράκοντα¹⁹⁴. In the writings of the early Church Fathers, the New Testament appellatives for the evil planetary powers quite naturally recur; yet the Fathers themselves under the influence of the gnostic world view describe in their own terms the austere role of the «ruling» planets¹⁹⁵. Moreover, in their essays against the deviant teachings of the Christian Gnostics, they review the various cosmic schemes in which the souls of men are thought to ascend to heaven through the demon-

¹⁸⁹ E.g., *Matthew* 9:34 and 12:24; in this same context, cf. *Mark* 3:22 and *Luke* 11:15. Cf. also STRACK & BILLERBECK, *Kommentar*, I, 631-635. *The Testament of Solomon* (McCown), II, 9 sq., speaks of βελζεβούλ as the ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων, in keeping with the N.T., Talmud, and Midrasch. PORPHYRY, *Of the Philosophy to be derived from Oracles* in EUSEB., *Praep. Evang.*, 174a, ed. E.H. Gifford, I, Oxford, 1903, says that τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων λέγων εἶναι τὸν Σάραπιν καὶ τὴν Ἑκάτην ἢ δὲ θεία γραφή τὸν βελζεβούλ.

¹⁹⁰ *John* 12:31, 14:30, and 16:11.

¹⁹¹ Cf. *The Epistles of Ignatius* (LAKE, *The Apostolic Fathers*) *passim*; *The Epistle of Barnabas* (LAKE, *op. cit.*) 4:13 and 18:2; *The Martyrdom of Polycarp* (LAKE, *op. cit.*) 19:2.

¹⁹² Cf. *The Epistle of Barnabas* (LAKE, *The Apostolic Fathers*) 18:1; *The Epistles of Ignatius* (LAKE, *op. cit.*): *Ephes.* 13:1-2; *Trall.* 5:2; also *The Epistle to Diognetus* (LAKE, *op. cit.*) 7. Vide the interesting account of the devil as *kosmokrator* in GRAVES, *The White Goddess*, New York, 1958, p. 515-517.

¹⁹³ E.g., *Acta Philippi* (Bonnet), 144; *The Preaching of Peter* in CLEM. AL., *Strom.*, VI, 5, 39 (Migne); *Acta Ioannis* (Bonnet), 23. Vide JAMES, *op. cit.* (n. 170), p. 17, 231 sq., 290, and 450.

¹⁹⁴ *Acta Philippi* (Bonnet), 144. Cf. also JAMES, *op. cit.*, p. 450.

¹⁹⁵ Cf., e.g., IRENAEUS, *C. Haer.*, I, 10, 1 (Migne), on *Ephes.* 6:12: *re* the angels who transgressed and became apostates; such are the *kosmokratores*; CLEM. AL., *Strom.*, III, 26; IV, 7; V, 14; VII, 3 (Migne); ORIG., *C. Cels.*, VIII, 34 (Migne).

guarded spheres of the seven planets¹⁹⁶. With a similar emphasis, *The Testament of Solomon*, a Hellenistic compilation of magic, astrology, and demonology, speaks of the planets as the seven evil spirits, under the familiar epithets ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι, δυνάμεις, στοιχεῖα, and κοσμοκράτορες¹⁹⁷, and also refers to Satan (βεελζεβούλ) as their chief, ὁ ἀρχὼν τῶν δαιμονίων¹⁹⁸. The Neo-Platonists Porphyry, Iamblichus, and Proclus, influenced by the gnostic mysteries, call the planets ἄρχοντες¹⁹⁹ and κοσμοκράτορες, οἱ τὰ ὑπὸ σελήνην στοιχεῖα διοικοῦντες²⁰⁰.

Elemental powers. As a result of the close association between the planets and the elements in the gnostic world view, it is not strange that these two forces should occasionally coalesce. Thus, under the epithets στοιχεῖα and κοσμοκράτορες, the planets now and then become identified with the elemental powers, i.e., the demons which reside in the sublunary zones²⁰¹. Murray notes this coalescence and remarks on its mystical character.

It is significant that in Hellenistic theology the word Stoicheion, Element, gets to mean a Daemon as Megathos, Greatness, means an Angel. But behold a mystery ! The word *Stoicheia*, «elementa», had long been used for the Greek A B C, and in particular for the seven vowels αηιουω. That is no chance, no mere coincidence. The vowels are the mystic signs of the

¹⁹⁶ Cf. IRENAEUS, *C. Haer.*, I, 21, 5 (Migne), *re* the deviant teaching of Marcus; HIPPOL. (Orig.), *Ref. Omn. Haer.*, V, 1 sq. (Migne), *re* the Naasenes on the seven heavens and the seven planets; CLEM. AL., *Strom.*, II, 8 (Migne), *re* Basilides and Valentinus; ORIG., *C. Celsum*, VI, 27 (Migne), *re* the ἀρχοντικοὶ in the Ophitic teaching; also in 30, Origen speaks of οἱ ἐπτὰ ἄρχοντες δαίμονες; and in 31, he refers to the πύλας ἀρχόντων αἰῶνι δεδεμένους.

¹⁹⁷ *The Testament of Solomon* (McCown), XX, 14-15; VIII, 2; XVIII, 2. Cf. *Ephes.* 1:21 and *Coloss.* 1:16.

¹⁹⁸ *The Testament of Solomon* (McCown), II, 9; III, 5-6; XVI, 3 and 5; *passim*.

¹⁹⁹ PORPHYRY, *Of the Philosophy to be derived from Oracles*, in EUSEB., *Praep. Evang.*, 174a; *vide supra* n. 189. Cf. also 181a.

²⁰⁰ IAMBL., *De Myster. Lib.*, II, 3 (Parthey). Cf. PROCL., *Tim.*, III, 58, 7 sq. (Diehl) : οἱ γὰρ καλούμενοι πλάνητες κοσμοκράτορες εἰσιν.

²⁰¹ *E.g.*, cf. *Orphic Hymn* (Hermann), LXV, 4, where Hephaestus (fire) is personified as both an elemental and an astral spirit and is called στοιχεῖον ἀμεμφές. It is possible also to interpret St. Paul's use of στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου in *Galat.* 4:3 and 9 and in *Colos.* 2:8 and 20 as referring to cosmic spirits, i.e., either planetary powers or elemental demons. Cf. *The Testament of Solomon* (McCown), VIII, 2 : ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν στοιχεῖα κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους; also XX, 14b : ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι, κοσμοκράτορες, καὶ ἰπτάμεθα ἡμεῖς οἱ δαίμονες ἐν τῷ ἀέρι καὶ ἀκούομεν τῶν ἐπουρανίων τὰς φωνάς. Although these passages are ambiguous, in the light of other passages, *e.g.*, VIII, 4; XV, 5; XVII, 4; XVIII, 1-2, it seems more probable that these forces are planetary gods rather than elemental demons.

Planets; they have control over the Planets. Hence strange prayers and magic formulae innumerable²⁰².

Many uses of στοιχεῖα in Hellenistic writings suggest this transition in meaning²⁰³. It is possible, for example, to interpret Manetho's phrase ταῦτα τοι οὐρανίων ἄστρον στοιχεῖα in this double sense²⁰⁴. Yet, as E.D. Burton observes, the meaning of *demons* might be ascribed to στοιχεῖα in Manetho, but the context does not require anything other than the familiar classical usage of the word²⁰⁵. Perhaps the earliest probable identification of the two spirit-forces appears in St. Paul's Galatian and Colossian correspondence, where the στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου may be thought of as the astral or the elemental powers of the universe which had formerly held the Anatolian Christians in bondage²⁰⁶. Similarly, Justin Martyr speaks of τὰ οὐράνια στοιχεῖα in this inclusive sense, as the fallen angels of heaven and the demons of earth²⁰⁷. The writers of *The Epistle to Diognetus*²⁰⁸ and *The Clementine Homilies*²⁰⁹

²⁰² MURRAY, *Five Stages*, p. 136-137; cf. a similar statement in ID., *Hellenistic Philosophy*, in *The Hibbert Journal*, 9 (October, 1910), p. 23.

²⁰³ Cf. the use of στοιχεῖα in the following passages : PHILO, *On the Contemplative Life*, 3-9; *Orphic Hymn* (Hermann), V and LXV; DIOG. LAERT., VI, 102. N.B. *The Testament of Solomon* (McCown), XVIII, 2 : τὰ τριάκοντα ἔξ στοιχεῖα, οἱ κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ; in connection with an exorcistic charm in an *Oslo Magic. P.* (Eitrem), IV, which reads in part : Ἐξορκίζω σε τοῦ (ν) δώδεκα στυκίων [στοιχείων] τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἱκοσιτέσσερα [εἰκοσιτέσσερα] στυκίων τοῦ κόσμου; and also in connection with τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου, in *Galat.* 4:3 and 9 (an elliptical use) and in *Coloss.* 2:8 and 20, and with τοὺς κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου in *Ephes.* 6:12. Cf. CUMONT, *Astrology and Religion*, p. 121-122.

²⁰⁴ MANETHO, *Astrologus*, IV, 624-626, ed. H. Koechly, Lipsiae, 1858 : ταῦτα τοι οὐρανίων ἄστρον στοιχεῖα τέτυκται, οἷς ὁ πάλαι καὶ ὁ νῦν καὶ ἐπὶ χρόνος ἐκμετρέται ἐκμέτροις αἰῶσι, καὶ εἰς αἰῶνος ὀπηδεῖ. Cf. also this use of the term in the *Wisdom of Solomon* (LXX) 7:17-20.

²⁰⁵ E.D. BURTON, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians*, Edinburgh, 1921, p. 513.

²⁰⁶ *Galat.* 4:1-11 and *Coloss.* 2:6-23. Vide J.B. McMINN, *An Historical Treatment of the Greek Phrase τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*, unpubl. diss., Southern Seminary, Louisville, p. 232-260 and 289-305. Cf. also II *Peter* 3:10 and 12.

²⁰⁷ JUSTIN MARTYR, *Apologia*, II, 5, 4-6 (Migne) : ὁ θεὸς τὸν πάντα κόσμον ποιήσας καὶ τὰ ἐπίγεια ἀνθρώποις ὑποτάξας καὶ τὰ οὐράνια στοιχεῖα εἰς αὔξησιν καρπῶν καὶ ὥρων μεταβολὰς κοσμήσας. Cf. also THEOPHILUS, *To Autolycus*, I, 4 (Migne), where, in his praise of the one God, he speaks of his attributes : ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ ἀστέρες στοιχεῖα εἰσὶν, εἰς σημεῖα καὶ εἰς καιροὺς καὶ εἰς ἡμέρας καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτοὺς γεγονότα. These forces had been considered by the pagans as δαίμονες rather than attributes of a monotheistic deity.

²⁰⁸ *The Epistle to Diognetus* (LAKE, *The Apostolic Fathers*) 7:2, speaks of the Artificer and Demiurge by whom God made the heavens and enclosed the sea, οὗ τὰ

also telescope these demonic forces under the epithet στοιχεῖα. In the *Testament of Solomon* there appears under the descriptive phrase στοιχεῖα κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους a more explicit identification of the planetary gods with the elemental demons. While interviewing the demons of earth, Solomon encounters seven evil spirits of beauty and grace, who come before him in submission. Not recognizing them, however, he asks for their identification, and they reply :

ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν στοιχεῖα κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους
... καὶ τὰ ἄστρα ἡμῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ φαίνονται
μικρὰ καὶ ὡς θεοὶ καλούμεθα.²¹⁰

These seven spirits are evidently the planet-gods, who as demonic forces reside not only in the heavens but also on earth. This implication of dual residence might possibly account for St. Paul's apparent inconsistency in *Ephesians* 2:2, where the powers of darkness are assigned to the sublunary zones, and 6:12, where they are placed in the celestial spheres. At any rate, it is clear that the two forces coalesce at times and are thought of indiscriminately as demonic elemental powers.

Mantissa

Now, to what extent can we say that these paradigms serve as a Hellenistic legacy to Byzantine tradition ? How do they afford a foundation for an 'unorthodox' world view within the tradition ? On the face of it, adoption of either of these world views would account, in a significant way, for the

μυστήρια πιστῶς πάντα φυλάσσει τὰ στοιχεῖα; again, in 8:2, the *Epistle* asserts that «those pretentious philosophers» assign deity to the elements : οἱ δὲ ὕδωρ, οἱ δ' ἄλλο τι τῶν στοιχείων. Here the term denotes the heavenly bodies (sun, moon, stars) as well as fire, air, water, etc., and reflects the notion of pagan deities referred to in *Deut.* (LXX) 4:19; cf. MEECHAM, *The Epistle to Diognetus*, p. 117-124 (notes).

209 Cf. *Clementina : Homilia*, X, 9 (Migne), where the writer disparages the worshiping of idols : οἱ λογισμοὺς ἔχοντες οὐδὲ τὰ ζῶα προσκυνοῦσιν, οὐδὲ στοιχεῖα τὰ ὑπὸ θεοῦ γεγενημένα κολακεύουσιν, λέγω δὲ οὐρανόν, ἥλιον, σελήνην, ἀστραπὴν, θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς.

210 *The Testament of Solomon* (McCown), VIII, 2 and 4a. McCown notes : «They [demons] cause all kinds of diseases and bodily defects, from seasickness to epilepsy, being particularly dangerous to women in childbirth and to infants. They destroy fields, flocks, houses, ships, and human lives, and will finally bring the end of the world. The thirty-six *decani* are entirely of this sort. Demons are sources also of moral evil, inspiring heresies, idolatry, lust, theft, envy, hatred, murder, war, and kindered evils. The seven spirits who call themselves... [*kosmokratores*] are of this kind» (p. 45).

dominance of spirit forces in the life and thought of the ordinary Byzantine citizen. To that one, the world of the supernatural exists in a very real and familiar sense. God, his angels, and the saints, as well as the devil and his minions, inhabit the spheres, special locales, and even the artifacts of the Byzantine world. Consequently, a world view that recognizes such forces, and, especially, one with an astrological motif, could accommodate the beliefs and superstitions of the spirit-minded. Such a world view is ready to hand in the Hellenistic legacy, and a cursory reconstruction of certain 'unorthodox' features of a cosmic scheme within Byzantinism will suffice to show that this legacy provides this accommodation.

Byzantine autocracy gives evidence of this adjustment. As an adaptation of the Hellenistic view, with its astrological overtone, the emperor, although not a god, is the god's vice-regent²¹¹. His duty is to imitate god by establishing on earth a *mimesis* of the celestial order²¹². Under counsel of the *logos*, which is the immanent principle of order in the universe, he is the agent of the supreme cosmic power. Thus he shares the titles of his divine sovereign; he is the *autokrator*, the *kosmokrator*, and the *pantokrator*²¹³. The symbols of his imperial authority also reflect this astrological vintage. As a personification of the planetary sun-god, the emperor has the same attributes as the god and, in his portraits, is represented wearing the nimbus and carrying in his hand the terrestrial globe²¹⁴. The sun and the moon, as well as the eagle, the attribute of Kronos, are also planetary symbols of his universal authority²¹⁵. Under the influence of this symbolic association, the emperor bears the astrological epithet *chronokrator*²¹⁶. The final stroke, indicating both Hellenistic and astrological origins, is the apotheosis of the emperor, his ascent through the lower planetary spheres to the highest sphere

211 N.H. BAYNES, *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays*, London, 1955, p. 18, 33; H.W. HAUSSIG, *A History of Byzantine Civilization*, trans. J.M. Hussey, New York, 1971, p. 186 sq.; C. MANGO, *Byzantium : the Empire of New Rome*, New York, 1980, p. 219-220.

212 BAYNES, *op. cit.*, p. 48-49.

213 Cf. ENSSLIN, *The Emperor and the Imperial Administration*, in N.H. BAYNES and H.St.L.B. MOSS, *Byzantium : An Introduction to East Roman Civilization*, Oxford, 1948, p. 273; HAUSSIG, *op. cit.*, «15. Christ the Pantocrator; mosaic, Church of Hosios Loukas of Stiri, Phocis»; J. LINDSAY, *Byzantium into Europe*, London, 1952, «13. Christ Pantocrator and Others, Mosaic, Monreale Cathedral, 1174-82».

214 HAUSSIG, *op. cit.*, p. 187, 193; MANGO, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

215 HAUSSIG, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

216 *Vide supra*, n. 82, 100-104, and, especially, 116-139.

of heaven²¹⁷. This ascension reflects the pagan sense of apotheosis, the deification of the Roman emperor as a planetary deity in the starry heavens.

Byzantine mysticism affords another example of an «unorthodox» motive, a «Christian» adaptation of the Hellenistic legacy. Based on an asceticism aiming at a deepened inner spirituality, the Byzantine mystic seeks to achieve a vision of god and ultimately to *become* god²¹⁸. This *entheosis* he undertakes, not without orthodox regard for the sacraments of liturgy and prayer, but rather through a love of god undisturbed by the sufferings and other evils of the temporal world. His desire for ecstatic communion with god leads to the final goal of religion – the *unio mystica*²¹⁹. This mystical claim to *entheosis*, Lindsay argues, comes within the bounds of orthodoxy :

... in the East the idea of becoming God could be embodied in positions that forced their way to the centre of orthodoxy. Knowledge and being were held to be one : to know God was to be God. As a man rises from *apatheia* to *gnosis*, from a passive acceptance to unifying insight and knowledge, he gained a *soma pneumatikon*, a spiritual body, and at last became God²²⁰.

To argue this weak point, however, seems futile, when the Stoic format of «astral mysticism» is so ready to hand. Here, the Byzantine mystic's ecstatic communion with god, through love, to overcome the ills of this life and to become god is merely a stand-in for the Stoic devotee's esthetic contemplation of the starry heavens, through cosmic emotion, to overcome sublunary ills and to achieve astral apotheosis. But if one finds this Stoic stratagem inappropriate to the exaltation of the Byzantine mystic, then surely one can see its affinity with the gnostic mystery redemption-motif.

In pursuit of the vision of god, the mystic adopts another «unorthodox» feature to accommodate the «Christian» world view. Investing the symbols of the church with a new and profound content, he invokes the powers of the spirit world to effect his purposes. The traditional icons now possess mystic significance previously unknown in the church; they become numinous²²¹. As a locus for a saint, the saint could speak through it and by its agency work miracles. But no longer remaining a sacred tool of the mystic, the icon acquires an important place in popular piety; its miraculous aid comes to be

217 D.I. RICE, *The Byzantines*, New York, 1962, p. 28-129; HAUSSIG, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

218 Cf. LINDSAY, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

219 HAUSSIG, *op. cit.*, p. 329-331.

220 LINDSAY, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

221 MANGO, *op. cit.*, p. 98; HAUSSIG, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

regarded as a sacred right²²². For the ordinary Byzantine, it becomes a magical charm for all purposes : to procure favor, to bring victory, to counter evil influences, to ward off unfavorable circumstances, or to overcome illness. That this belief in the miraculous power of the icon should emerge even within the bastions of orthodoxy ought not be too surprising, for the efficacy of signs, spells, bans, incantations, and charms of all sorts has lain all too deep in the Greek psyche²²³. And as shown earlier, gnostic or esoteric wisdom always makes use of occult power.

One last example of an «unorthodox» fancy widely accepted among the Byzantine masses, an account vividly reminiscent of the gnostic mystery of redemption – the apotheosis of the soul. Life on earth, taken as a spiritual contest between angelic and demonic forces over the destiny of a soul, has its final act at the time of one's death. As the soul separates itself from the body, a throng of demons rushes to the deathbed in an attempt to take possession of the soul only to be thwarted by the soul's guardian angel. Departing the body, the soul has to journey through the planetary spheres and to stop along the way at customs houses (*telonia*) run by demons, who examine it on its deeds done on earth, either letting it pass upon proper payment due, determined by good works, or taking possession of it on the spot. Passing muster, the soul then mounts upward to the Father²²⁴.

While these accounts make no outward show of the austerity of planetary control, either from friendliness or hostility, all of the spirit-filled hosts of the celestial domain, both sublunary and superlunary, are still present in the form of angelic and demonic powers. Under a faint astrological motif, cosmic dualism still remains in the mind-set of the religious and the superstitious, whether in terms of icon-worship or in the struggle of the soul's ascent to heaven through demon-ridden planetary spheres. Leading philosophers and scientists, too, as well as religionists, magicians, alchemists, and, of course, astrologers, not only accept in theory this occult world view but also conduct their lives under its *auspices*. And it is at least an amalgam of this Hellenistic legacy that Byzantine intellectuals, such as Maximus the Confessor, Leo the Mathematician, Photius, Michael Psellus, John Italus, Theodore Metochites, and Gemistus Pletho, inherit and under its patronage practice this abstruse «science», albeit *sub rosa*. As Norman Baynes has so carefully argued²²⁵, the Byzantines are the intellectual heirs of the Hel-

²²² RICE, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

²²³ Cf. BAYNES, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

²²⁴ Vide MANGO, *op. cit.*, p. 164; this account derives from the Life of St. Anthony (*Vita S. Antonii*, 9, 28, PG XXVI, 857, 888). Also cf. BAYNES, *op. cit.*, p. 6 sq.

²²⁵ BAYNES, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

lenistic Age, having appropriated and making intimately their own the Hellenistic outlook. It serves as the surprising continuity in the Christian restatement of the pagan ideal. And this legacy, I claim, provides the foundation for an «unorthodox» world view within this unique Christian tradition.

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Errata *Kernos*, 1 (1988), p. 63-77.

- p. 64, n. 1 : last, in place of late.
- p. 66, n. 7 : Diehl, in place of Diehls.
- p. 66, n. 8 : interpenetration, in place of interpretation.
- p. 70, l. 9 : eternal, in place of eternal.
- p. 71, l. 34 : after ruling, enter power.
- p. 72, n. 44 : paper, in place of chapter.
- p. 73, n. 50 : before henotheistic, its, in place of his.
- p. 75, l. 10 : and, in place of an (before «the will of the God»).
- p. 77, l. 8 : immortality, in place of immorality.
- p. 77, n. 72 : men, in place of man.