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## THE MICHIGAN ASTROLOGICAL PAPYRUS<sup>1</sup>

BY A. E. HOUSMAN

Mr. Robbins' commentary on this treatise shows thorough knowledge of the subject, provides sufficient information, and affords in the arithmetical portion a great deal of assistance. The text itself he has evidently transcribed with scrupulous care, and most of his supplements are either certain or appropriate. But in particulars much remains to do, not only of completion but of correction and interpretation. There are also inconsistencies in Mr. Robbins' practice. For his readers' convenience he has freely inserted colons and full stops, but in many places where they are no less necessary and their necessity is no less obvious he allows sentences to mix. It was quite right, in printing a document for the first time, to preserve the vulgar interchanges of certain vowels and diphthongs,  $\epsilon$  and  $\eta$ ,  $o$  and  $\omega$ ,  $\iota$  and  $\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\eta$  and  $o\iota$  (1 G 19), and so forth; and where they are likely to cause difficulty Mr. Robbins points them out (1 H 8, 1 I 20), though perhaps not everyone will immediately recognize  $\lambda\upsilon\pi\omicron\upsilon\eta\tau\alpha\iota$  in 6 11. But inflexions violating syntax he sometimes corrects and sometimes lets alone; he restores  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\pi\rho\epsilon\pi\eta$  (1 F 15),  $\tau\delta$  (1 H 24),  $\acute{\omega}\rho\omicron\sigma\kappa\acute{o}\pi\omicron\varsigma$  (1 I 11 f.),  $\text{Κρόνω}$  (3 A 18), but not  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$  (1 D 12),  $\text{Αιγόκερω}$  (2 A 31 and 3 B 5),  $\text{Λέοντος}$  (3 B 14). He accepts in his commentary the form  $\nu\omicron\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omicron\nu$ , and even ventures to accentuate it; and his own supplements present a genitive  $\text{Αιγόκερω}\varsigma$  (twice),  $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  (three times),  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota$   $\eta\acute{\mu}\epsilon\rho\alpha\varsigma$ , and  $\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\sigma\iota$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota$ .

I have inclosed within brackets, so far as may be, only what is my own; what stands immediately outside is not always the text of the papyrus but sometimes a satisfactory supplement of Mr. Robbins.

1 A 5 f.  $\pi[\alpha\theta]\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\delta\sigma\alpha$   $\nu\epsilon\phi[\rho\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}]$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}\kappa\rho\upsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}$   $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\acute{\iota}\tau\iota\alpha$ . See Valens, p. 2, 15 f.:  $\nu\epsilon\phi\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\kappa\rho\acute{\upsilon}\phi\omega\nu$ .

1 A 8–11.  $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu$  [ $\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\tau\delta$ ]  $\text{Ἡλίου}$   $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau[on$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\acute{o}\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$ .  $\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron]$   $\varsigma$   $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$   $\acute{o}\lambda\acute{\iota}\gamma\iota\sigma\tau\eta\nu$   $\delta\iota\alpha[\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota$   $\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\rho\alpha\nu$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon]$   $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ . This,  $\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\rho\alpha$ , is the term used below, and the  $\eta$  of 13 looks hither. The sub-

<sup>1</sup> C.P., XXII, 5–26.

ject of columns A–F is a planetary *μελοθεσία* of the human body, and the calculations in A and B are subsidiary to this end. The seven planets take possession of fourteen parts, seven *ἐμπροσθεν* and seven *ὀπισθεν*, of what this author calls the *ἀνδριάς* (1 B 35, C 19, E 40), which I suppose to be the body of man considered as an image of the universe. See 1 B 34 f.: τῶν ἐμπροσθεν μερῶν τοῦ ἀνδριάντος.

1 A 23. ἐν [ῆ]ι. If there is not room for θέ [ουσα], θεός must be the planet Venus herself.

1 A 25 f. τοσαύτη μὲν ἢ περὶ [οδος τῶν] κύκλων αὐτῶν.

1 B 29 f. ὥστε ὀξύτερον τοῦ Ἡ λ ί ο υ [αὐτήν] φέρεσθαι. The diphthong *ει* is written for short *ι* in 1 E 27, 3 A 16, and elsewhere.

1 B 31–33. τ ο ι α ὑ τ α ς οὔ[ν] ἐστ[α]ι κατὰ τοὺς ἐπικύκλους ἐκάστου αὐτῶν λαμβάνειν. Supply *μοίρας*, which is often left unsaid.

1 C 18–24. καταντήσει δὲ ἕως ἄκρ[ου γενείου]ν. καὶ ἔστιν ἡ ὄψις τὸ θαῦμα τοῦ ἀνδρι[άντος], ὥστε ὄλην μὲν τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν σ[ῆν] ? Ἡλίου] καὶ Σελήνης εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἔχειν [τὸν] μὲν [τὸ γνωμ]ονικόν, [αὐτήν] δὲ τὸ μεταβολικόν καὶ [παθητι]κόν. καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Ἑρμοῦ τὸ νοερόν [καὶ ? λόγ]ου ἡγεμονικόν πρόσσεστιν. See 30 below, and 1 F 38: ἡ μὲν γὰρ κεφαλὴ ὄλη Ἡλίου καὶ Σελήνης.

1 C 28–31. ἔστιν οὖν, ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ πρόσωπον μάλιστα θαυμασ- τὸν διὰ τὰς μεταβολὰς καὶ τὰ προσπίπτοντα [πά]θη, οὕτως καὶ ἡ Σελήνη θαυμαστὸν ἐν [κόσμῳ]. See 22 above.

1 D 17. Διὸς μέρος. [λαμβάνει] δὲ [σ]τῆ[θος]. ἕως στομάχου καὶ ἡπα[ρ. Διὸς δέ].

1 D 20. τῶν εἰσφερομένων [σιτίων] αἱμάτωσιν. See 33 f.

1 D 22. τὸ ἀρχικὸν προ[σῆ]ρ[μοσε]. προνοεῖται [γούν].

1 D 25 f. ἰκτεριᾶ ἢ ὑδρωπιᾶ.

1 E 13 ὦν (ἦ) τὸ τρίτον ὦμ. Here and again in 1 I 9 τὸ γὰρ ἀνάπαλιν (ἦ) φαῦλον either *ἦ* must be deleted or *ἔστιν* substituted, which in the latter place is less acceptable because of 1 H 24.

1 E 28. Ὀλύμπια should not be altered: στέφονται Ὀλύμπια is Horace's *coronari Olympiā*.

1 E 35. κινουμέν[ου].

1 E 40 f. τὰ ἐμπρόσθια [τοῦ] ἀ[νδ]ρ[ιάντ]ος μέρη. See 1 B 34 f. cited at 1 A 8–11. Is the *τ* reported by Mr. Robbins here and in 3 B 10 the first stroke of *N*?

1 F 14–18. κ ν ἡ μ α ς δὲ ἐμπεριέξει καὶ πως, ὀ[πό]τε ἴδωμεν ὄψιν

ἐκπρεπῆ, ἐκπεριελθόντες εὐθὺ κνήμην ὀρώμεν φύσει πά[ντε]ς, ἀγούσης ἐπὶ τοῦτο ὁμοζύγου μερίδος τῆς σεληνιακῆς ἡμᾶς. The Moon has two portions of the body, the face (ὄψις) in front (I C 18–33) and the calves behind.

1 F 20–24. Κρόνου μέρος, [ἰγνῦαι ?] καὶ μηρῶν ἄκρα, αἰὲ ἐγκόπων [ἀνθρώπων]. εἶτα ἕως σοε Διὸς, μηροί. οἱ [οὐ]ν ἐ[π]έραστο[ι κα]ὶ εἰς χρῆσιν εὐθ[ε]ροι διὰ τοῦ Διὸς εἰς τοῦτο ἄγονται.

1 F 30–35. οἱ οὖν πάθος ἔχοντες αἰσχρὸν καὶ παρὰ φύσιν πάσχουσιν, εἰ μὲν βίᾳ καὶ ἀκουσίως, τούτων Ἀφροδίτη εὐρεθήσεται ἐν ταύταις ταῖς Ἐρμού δαιμονιώδεσιν μοίραις κεκακωμένη, εἰ δὲ ἐκουσίως, καὶ τοῦ Ἐρμού ἀστήρ εὐρεθήσεται ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς μοίραις κεκακωμένος. The meaning of τούτων Ἀφροδίτη is “Venus in these men’s genitures,” and nothing is to be inserted; cf. Maneth. vi. 215: δαίμονι . . . χαλεπῶ κείνης, “the twelfth place in the wife’s geniture,” 220 f., Doroth. 158 f. (CCAG, VI, 104), Firm. *Math.* vi. 29. 17.

1 F 36. τένων in Graeco-Latin glossaries answers to *ceruix*. Man is here distributed among the planets as follows (I inclose within brackets those apportionments which the papyrus omits and we are left to infer): “Before: top of head Sun, face Moon, shoulders Saturn, breast stomach liver Jupiter [belly and arms Mercury], hands genitals thighs knees shins Mars, feet Venus. Behind: back of head Sun, shoulders and back Mars, buttocks Mercury, thighs Jupiter, hams Saturn, calves Moon [heels Venus].”

1 G 10. Mr. Robbins’ [εὐτό]ναις, which should at least be εὐτόνοις, is not a good contrast to δαιμονιώδεσι; perhaps [ύγει]ναῖς.

1 H 16 f. Ἡλίου κα[ὶ] Σελήνης· ἄρχ[ε]ι δέ. A symbol was used for Σελήνης, as in 9.

1 I 15. The sixth place is called Δαιμονία in CCAG, VIII, iii, p. 101, 23, and the fifth *Daemonie* in Manil. ii. 897.

1 I 18. τὸ δὲ ἰα ἀγαθὸς δαίμων, <τὸ δὲ ἰβ̄ κακὸς δαίμων>.

1 I 20–26. Here we have a fourth account of the *octatropos*<sup>1</sup> to add to those which I cited from Firmicus, Antiochus, and Thrasyllus at Manil. ii. 969 and iii, p. 69; and it contains a surprise. The three other authors, Firmicus apparently, Antiochus certainly, and Thrasyllus with the utmost explicitness, make the places in this system of

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Robbins writes *octotopos*, and also *dodecatopos*; and indeed Mr. W. Gundel is the only scholar whom I have yet induced to discard those figments of Scaliger’s.

eight identical with the first eight places in the system of twelve; they are numbered downward from the horoscope, and the eighth is the place next above the Occident. But this author says ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου τὰ περὶ ζωῆς ζητεῖται (this is ungrammatical and should probably be ζητητέα, for ζητεῖτε is not likely), ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἄνω δευτέρου βίου, numbering upward, so that the second place in the *octatropos* is the twelfth in the *dodecatropos*, the third the eleventh, the γονέων τόπος leaps from the base to the summit of the universe, and only in the first and seventh places do the two systems coincide.

1 I 32–34. ἔκ τε πρεσβυτέρων περι[λει]μ[μα] κ[αὶ θαν]άτων μονιῶν ὠφελίαν, “left property from old men and benefit from the decease of celibates,” *orborum hereditates*. The phrase ἀπὸ θανάτων ὠφέλεια occurs more than once in Paul. Alex., fol. M 4.

1 J 7 f. γυναικείων προσώπ[ων], “female persons.”

1 J 40 f. καὶ ἐντὸς τῶν ἰε̄ μοιρῶν εἰ γίνονται ἐγκρύψεις, συνφδοὶ εἰσιν οἱ ἀστέρες τοῖς ἀποτελέσμασι. See 25 δέκα πέντε.

2 A 9. ἀπο[σ]χόντες, and in 6 and 7 either this participle or ἀποστάς.

2 A 30. Not μοῖραν but μοίρας, as in 31.

2 B 10 f. [ἀριθμῆ]σαι εἰς ζωὴν ὁ χρόνος [ἕκασ]τος ἰσχύει [ἔτος]. This doctrine I have set forth, citing authorities, in Manil. iii, pp. xxiv–xxvi.

2 B 11–14. τῶν δὲ ζῳδίων ἃ με[ν] λέγομε[ν] ἀκούοντα ἀλλήλων, ἃ δὲ ὀρῶντα ἄλληλα, ἃ δὲ αἰσθανόμενα ἀλλήλων. ἀκούει [δ’ ἄρ’] οὖν <ἀλλήλων> τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰσημερινῶν ἀρχόμενα καὶ ἴσον ἀπ’ αὐτῶν διίστάμενα. The papyrus has ἴσον ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων διίσταται. This is absurd in itself, because any two things are necessarily equidistant from each other; apart from that, the things from which these signs are equidistant are the equinoctial signs; and further ἀλλήλων is required with ἀκούει, since in all this exposition the verbs ἀκούειν ὀρᾶν βλέπειν are nowhere used without their object. I suppose that a scribe, for lack of punctuation, fancied that the ἀλλήλων immediately before ἀκούει belonged to it, and therefore omitted the other; and that this, having been added in the margin, was wrongly substituted for αὐτῶν. If διίσταται is not changed to the participle, καὶ must be changed to ἃ. Perhaps I had better give the warning that in *CCAG*, VIII, ii, p. 89, 12 f., ἀκούει δὲ τὰ ἴσον ἀπέχοντα τῶν ἰσημερινῶν ἀλλήλων, the construction is ἀκούει ἀλλήλων.

2 B 16–19. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡ ἡμέρα νύκτα οὐχ ὄρα διὰ τοῦ διάμετρος εἶναι αὐτῇ, ἀκούει δ' ἴσης ἡμέρας ἴση νύξ, ὅταν ἐπ' ἴσας ὥραις τεληῆται ἡμέρα ἡ νύξ, ἀκούουσιν τὰ ζώδια καὶ χρόνοι ἀλλήλων. See 28.

2 B 21. Full stop after Ταῦρον; Mr. Robbins perceives what is missing in the sentence which ends here.

2 B 22 f. ἐν Διδύμοις γὰρ [ὄντος] ἡ ἡμέρα ὠρῶν ἰδ; then no addition is needed in 24.

2 B 25–31. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς γῆς μέσης οὔσης ἐ[ξαπωθο]ῦν[ται. ὁ δὲ] Λέων καὶ Τοξότης ἀκούουσιν ἀλλήλων, <καὶ ὁμοίως Παρθένος καὶ Σκορπίος>. ὁ δὲ Ζυγὸς καὶ Κριὸς [οὔ]. βλέπει δὲ ἡ ἴση ἡμέρα τὴν ἴσην ἡμέραν, οὐκέτι ἀκούει. τὰ οὖν ἰτῶν τροπικῶν ἀρχόμενα καὶ ἐκατέρωθεν ἴσον ἀφιστά[μενα, οἶον Λέων Δίδυ]μ[οί τε], ὀρῶσιν ἀλλήλα. Lines 29–31 have to be corrected by the light of the corresponding lines, 13 f., which are themselves corrupt. ἴσον is necessary and the θάπτον of the papyrus meaningless; I can only suppose that it comes from a scribe who was puzzled, as well he might be, by the η which I have altered into ἰ, and thought that it was ἦ and that it needed a comparative.

2 B 35. Ὑδροχόος· [ὁ δὲ] Αἰγόκερως.

2 B 38–44. καὶ ὅθεν ὁ Αἰγόκερως ἀνατέλλει, [ὅθεν δὲ] Καρκίνος, ἕτερον ζώδιον [οὔ]κ ἀνατέλλει, [ὥστε οὐκ] ἔστιν ὀρῶντα ἀλλήλα ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν τόπων, [ἢ οὐδένο]ς ὀρῶντος ἀνατέλλει. διόπερ [ταῦτα] μόν[α ἐκτο]σθεν σκιὰν βάλλουσιν τοῦ Ἡλίου [. . . . . τὰ] ἀλλὰ ζώδια διερχομένου. διόπερ ὁμολόγ[ως τεθ]έν[τ]ος ὁ ρᾶ ἡ ἡμέρα τὴν ἡμέραν. Cancer rises farther north, and Capricorn farther south, than any other sign; and therefore the Sun in Cancer casts shadows more to the south, and in Capricorn more to the north, than anywhere else in the zodiac. The one sign, therefore, is the other's counterpart in position, and his day "sees" the other's day, though the one is the longest and the other the shortest; and so the two signs ὀρατικὸν ἔχουσιν λόγον πρὸς ἀλλήλους (36 f.).

2 B 44–46. [ἀλλ]α δ[ὲ κατην]αν[τιω]μένα ἀλλήλων ἔστιν τὰ δ[ιαίτη]μ[ατα] ? τ[ῶν] ἀσ[τέρων, οἶον Καρκίνος καὶ Λέων, Παρθένος [καὶ Δίδυμοι, Ταῦρος καὶ Ζυγὸς, Σκορπίος καὶ Κριὸς, Ἰχθύες καὶ Τοξότης, Αἰγόκερως καὶ Ὑδροχόος]. These are the ὁμόζωνα of Paul. Alex., fol. E 3, and Ludw. Maxim., p. 106, ll. 3 f.; and as the one

passage is a chaos of misprints and the other obscure for lack of punctuation I have written out the list in full. Paulus defines them, *ὁμόζωνά ἐστιν ὅταν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀστέρος τυγχάνῃ τὰ ζώδια*; the pairs are the two houses of the several planets, except that the Sun and Moon have but one apiece.

2 C 15 f. and 24 f. [έκκεν]τρότητες.

2 C 34–36. ἔκκ[εντροι δ' οἱ κύκλοι] λέγονται ὅτι ἡ γῆ τοῦ μὲν κόσμου κέντρον ἐστὶν τῶν δὲ ζ' πλανήτων [μέση].

2 D 7. Not [θηριό]μορφα but [δί]μορφα: *CCAG*, V, iii p. 97, 4: *δίμορφα Τοξότης Αἰγόκερως*.

3 A 5–8. τοῖς δὲ συγκινουμένοις πέντε θεοῖς ἀπένειμεν ἡ φύσις ἀνὰ δύο ο ἱ κ ο υ ς ἀρρενικόν τε καὶ θηλυκόν. "Ἡλιος μὲν γὰρ ἡμέρας ἔχει ἀρχὴν, Σελήνη δὲ νυκτός. See *CCAG*, V, ii, p. 132, 29. The planets have two houses apiece, a masculine and a feminine.

3 A 9–11. ἐστὶν δὲ τοῦ [κόσ]μου σπλάγχχνα τὰ ἐ ν ο ι κ ο ῦ μ ε ν α. [Ἐρμῆ] τὸ πρῶτον τμήμα ἐδόθη. In *Manil.* iii. 61 f., the signs of the zodiac are figuratively said *mundi praecordia obtinere*.

3 A 19. κατ' Αἰγόκερων.

3 A 34. φυλακὴ δὲ [Παρθένου]

3 B 4–7. [ἐπί] Ταύρου Παρθένου καὶ Αἰ γ ό κ ε ρ ω χ αί ρ ε ι ν μ ἔ ν Σελήνην Ἀφροδίτην Ἐρμῆν, [μέρος] δὲ κ[αὶ Ἀρη, μῆ] μέντοι γε ἀντεπιτροπεύειν. See *Doroth.* 66–69 (*CCAG*, VI, p. 94) Ταύρου Παρθενικῆς τε καὶ Αἰγόκερω κρατέουσιν | ἡματος Ἀφρογενῆς, νυκτός δὲ τε διὰ Σελήνην, | καὶ τρίτατος μετὰ τοῖσι θεοῖς πολεμοῖσιν ἀνάσσων· | ἐν δὲ νυ Παρθενικῇ Μαίης προσλάμβανε κούρον. Mr. Robbins' χ[αίρειν], if he has rightly deciphered the χ, seems to be unavoidable; but it is not wont to be thus used for *οἰκοδεσποτεῖν* (*δεσπόζειν, κυριεύειν*), it does not harmonize with *ἀντεπιτροπεύειν*, and its regular construction is ἐν c. dat. The *κρατεῖν* of Dorotheus would give the right sense, but is rather poetical.

3 B 9–11. ἐπὶ Σκορπίου Ἰχθύων καὶ Καρκίνου [ἄρχειν] Ἀρη καὶ Ἀφροδίτην, μετέχειν δὲ καὶ τριγώνου [Σελήνην, μῆ] μέντοι γε ἀντεπιτροπεύειν καὶ ἡμέρας. See *Doroth.* 73–75: Καρκίνον αὐτε λάχεν καὶ Σκορπίον ἡδέ τε λοίσθους Ἰχθύας | ἡματίη Κύπρις, Πυρβείς δὲ τε νυκτός, | καὶ μετὰ τοὺς ἐλικώπις ἔχει βασίλισσα Σελήνη; these three planets are assigned to this triangle also by Valens and Ptolemy. Δ is the regular

symbol for *τρίγωνον*. Where I have written *Σελληνην μή*, the papyrus had four letters; these were *σε μη*, and the same abbreviation was used in 1 F 14.

3 B 13–19. [*Ἐρμῆς δὲ*] *ἐτήρησεν τοὺς ἀστέρας* [τῶν τ] ξ̄ <τ>αἰ[s ἀπό] *πρώτης Λέοντος ἕως Ζυγοῦ* [μὲν] *προσθετικούς—φερομένους—, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς πρώτης Σκορπίου—ἀφαιρετικούς.*

6 17–20. *οἱ κακοποιοὶ τετράγωνοι καὶ διάμετροι εὐτονώτατοί εἰσιν εἰς τὸ βλάπτειν* [τὸ θέμα· *τρίγωνοι*] *δὲ ἀβλαβεῖς εἰσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοποιοί.*

6 28. *δ[ραθ]εῖσα.*

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