The design of the following article is to point out, for the benefit of New Testament students in general, some of the approximations to its diction which may be found in a comparatively unknown Greek astrological treatise, bearing the title *Vettii Valentiis Anthologiarum Libri*, the only critical edition of which was published at Berlin some twenty years ago. There is room, as we shall see, for such a survey; for, though many of these parallelisms have been remarked in Moulton and Milligan's *Vocabulary*, others have been overlooked. A cloud of mystery envelops the author, with his Roman appellation and uncertain date; but, before we touch on that obscure problem, we wish to bespeak the interest of our readers for a work that at first sight appears a mere farrago of hallucinations. What affinity, it may very naturally be asked, worth naming can subsist between the contents of Holy Writ and these vain dotings of a Pagan soothsayer?

To that query we reply frankly: as regards subject-matter, little indeed. They pertain to wholly diverse hemispheres of thought; we might term them polar opposites. For a profound gulf yawns betwixt the conception of Providence and Fate. "Fate is blind, Providence full of eyes." Fate ranks in the category of abstract ideas; whilst the very notion of Providence raises our minds to the lofty plane of personality, to the domain of a sovereign will and a sovereign choice. That "Jehovah sitteth King for ever" forms to God-fearing hearts a theme of constant thanksgiving; and their rejoicing reaches its acme in jubilant assurance that the arbiter of their destinies is no ruthless, indiscriminating, petrific Gorgon's head of doom, but a Disposer of events alike holy and benignant; that One and Only Potentate whose unerring control, and selection of means with a view to ends, will vindicate itself without exception at the day appointed for the manifestation of His secrets.

Judicial astrology proffers no such consolatory outlook. In contrast with the confidence of God's children in a Father's wisdom and love, one of the most sottish delusions bred in man's
darkened understanding early took the shape of belief in the sway of a cast-iron fatality, paramount over mundane affairs, and influential withal over the false gods of his own invention. Thus it came about that the tenor and duration of mortal existence were viewed as interwoven with the changeful aspects of the stellar heavens; and their mystical symbols, their tacit signalings from afar, deemed capable of decipherment, accessible to patient scrutiny. Man has ever been prone to link the grand phenomena of nature with his own puny concerns, to make himself in short the measure of the universe. Inscribed on the brow of night might be read in shining characters the legend that order was "Heaven's first law"; and on that unchallengeable basis, coupled with the theorem of a fixed concatenation between the upper and nether spheres, astrology, like its baser brood, fortune-telling, or the vulgar cant of our day about "lucky stars," reared its aerial superstructure, till, as it fondly dreamed, the Babel-tower grew conterminous with the upper firmament, and tapped its occult portents of good or ill for the behoof of the builders and their clients.

Underneath the brilliantly spangled skies of Mesopotamia, with their jewelled lamps studding the serene expanse overhead, as in Southern California today, astronomy could be prosecuted to rare advantage. Abraham knew these constellations right well, and so did the Chaldean sages of his birthplace. The rudiments of the science were quickly mastered. The signs of the zodiac can be traced by the clue of the precession of the equinoxes to a very remote epoch. A connexion was next assumed between the stars in their courses aloft and the stargazers conning their motions from below. The figments of horoscopy are founded primarily on the planetary influence ascendent at the hour of an infant's birth. The establishment of the zodiac however complicated the process by introducing the consideration of the sign through which a given planet might be passing at the time. By means of this artificial configuration of the heavens a more specious coadjustment was secured with the chequered pattern of human life. Our author was an ardent believer in, and leading expounder of this pseudo-science, and his lucubrations have come down to us fairly intact. They were not unknown to the Middle Ages, and a MS. transcribed from the Vatican text was bequeathed by John Selden to the Bodleian Library in Oxford, and made use of by him in one or two of his works. The dissertation De annis
climactericis of Salmiasius also draws largely on the treatise of Valens.

We may add, _par parenthèse_, that the pretensions of astrology were not unchallenged by such sceptics of the ancient world as Sextus Empiricus, or such philosophical theists as Philo. Manilius however treats schemes of nativity as positively regnant. In most quarters they were accredited; and it would be hard to say whether Cicero or Tacitus disbelieved them or no. Nearly all the Roman Emperors, Tiberius notoriously, dabbled lavishly in this branch of "black art." Christianity alone, where professed with any purity, has proved its triumphant antagonist. The fact that Savonarola wrote against its claims was one of the many signs of the wane of medievalism. Calvin followed in his wake. Such an excellent classical scholar as the latter had no doubt read the case against astrology elaborated by the philosopher Favorinus in Aulus Gellius. He quotes the argument drawn by Persius (_Sat._ vi. 18) from the case of twins with life-stories utterly dissimilar, and instances the carnage of a great battle-field, all of whose victims cannot possibly have had converging horoscopes. Having shown its absurdity on rational grounds, Calvin concludes his arraignment by adducing the testimony of the Hebrew prophets against its vaticinations.

But the interest of Vettius Valens to us lies in another direction than his futile astrological "patter," one suggested to every observant student of _Moulton and Milligan_ by the frequency of the references made to him in that comprehensive work. This circumstance has led us to read him through for ourselves; and in so doing we have observed such a number of unnoticed parallelisms of usage that they form quite a supplement to those amassed in the above-mentioned lexicon. It is in proportion as Valens deviates from his professional jargon into passages of a more general bearing that his diction draws closest to New Testament models. It will be well, we think, to detain the reader no longer on the threshold, but at once give samples of the fresh materials thus brought to light, ere we seek in conclusion to locate their mysterious author in his proper chronological niche.

I. Approximating Phrases.

We shall notice in the first place some _similar or identical phrases_ which reward a careful investigation of his pages. Of course we cannot expect coincidences of expression with the
Greek Testament amid the profusion of astrological technicalities that encumber the bulk of the work. Fortunately for us, however, Vettius now and then waxes reflective or rhetorical, and in such contexts his Hellenistic Greek approximates to the Scriptural type more closely than any other known to us, unless it be Arrian's Epictetus. There is no token, however, of conscious imitation, or first-hand acquaintance with the Christian oracles. A single mention of a soothsayer named Abraham, and one passing reference to "sabbatical days," form the sole tokens of the slightest acquaintance with Judaism or its evangelical consummation.

1. Every reader of Paul's grand resurrection-chapter will recall the sublime passage beginning: "But some one will say" (1 Cor. xv. 35). The same formula occurs in Jas. ii. 18. We are not aware of its currency in classical Greek. It is striking therefore to come across ἐπεὶ τῆς twice over in Valens (II. 40, VI. 1), used precisely as in Paul and James, to introduce an objection about to be rebutted.

2. In Heb. xiii. 5 the precept, "Be content with your lot!" meets the reader's eye. But it is not without a thrill of surprise that we encounter this unwonted phrase, ἀρκοῦνται τοῖς παρῴσιν, in a passage of Vettius (V. 9). There is a singular anacoluthon, a sort of nominativus pendens, in the text of Hebrews here. If however we may treat the expression as proverbial, it would serve to explain the syncopated syntax, just as, e.g., in the aphorism Least said, soonest mended, or in the title of Shakespeare's drama, Love's Labour Lost.

3. All must own that the locution, "to bring from darkness to light" (ἐκ σκότους εἰς φῶς ἀγεί), has a peculiarly Biblical ring. Yet Valens employs this expression (IV. 5) to denote, not of course any spiritual metamorphosis, but an illuminative phase of planetary influence.

4. Some sections of his work seem more definitely completed than others which he has left "in the rough"; and that circumstance is marked by the appended postscript: τὸ ἔτος τὸ βιβλίου τετέλεσται. It answers the purpose of our Finis, and appears furthermore to indicate that these portions have received his finishing touch. Who can fail to be reminded thereby of the grand "It is finished" of John xix. 30, where, by the use of the same verb in the same perfect tense, the Divine Consummator has for ever set His seal on His own accomplished task?
5. The much-debated compound θεόπνευστος (2 Tim. iii. 16), hardly met with elsewhere, save in one passage of Plutarch’s Morals (904), where it occurs as an epithet of dreams, greets us in an interesting passage of our author (IX. 1), in which he echoes Horace’s *divinae particula aurae* by the assertion, ἐστιν τι θείον ἐν ἡμῖν θεόπνευστον δημιουργία,¹ a fairly conclusive proof that, as Dr. Warfield has elaborately argued, the word bears a passive sense. Valens also makes use of the word θεοφορεῖσθαι (II. 36), like Menander in his *Theophorumene*, to signalise some form of divine “inspiration” or actuation: cf. 2 Pet. i. 21.

6. The rare use of φαντασία for *pomp, display* (Acts xxv. 23) is paralleled by Valens’ virtual repetition of Luke’s phrase in his μετά πλείστης φαντασίας (I. 21).

7. Again, in Luke’s narrative of the centurion whose servant lay sick, we find him describing himself as a man “set under authority” (vii. 8). Here once more Valens reproduces the familiar phrase (II. 25), couched in the commoner genitive construction with the addition of an explanatory word (ὑπὸ ἑτέρων ἐξουσίας ηταγμένοι), to designate the status of a subordinate official.

8. One of the most salient features in Matthew’s delineation of the Gadarene demoniacs consists in the characterisation of them as παρερχόμεθα τινί (viii. 28). This unusual collocation of words seems meant to mark their utter intractability. Now Vettius, in a context (V. 12) tinged with medical terminology, uses precisely the same phrase twice over to denote a peculiarly obstinate and hopeless obduracy. The majority of these verbal coincidences have not attracted the notice of any expositor known to us; but Moulton and Milligan have observed Valens’ employment (vii. 5) of the quasi-medical diagnosis ρύθεις αἵματος, met with in the evangelists Luke and Mark, in reference to a case of haemorrhage. We may subjoin the Pauline ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ γίνεσθαι (I Cor. ii. 3), a description of physical weakness which Vettius (IV. 7) alleges to be suspended on certain planetary aspects; and the similar formation, ἐν ἐκστάσει γίνεσθαι, conjoined with the noun φρενῶν (IV. 25), the selfsame expression that the apostle makes use of (Acts xxii. 17) in recording the trance that befell him in the Temple.

¹ i.e., *a God-breathed piece of workmanship*, an affirmation which, duly guarded, accords with Gen. ii. 7.
9. The English term *epiphany* reminds us of its special application to the two Messianic Advents. Jeremy Taylor applies it to the transfiguration, not improperly in view of Luke's choice of the cognate verb (i. 79) to indicate the forthshining of the day-spring from on high. The metaphor is that of the orb of day shining out in all his splendour. It is not surprising therefore to find this astronomical figure reproduced in Valens in a form recalling Tit. ii. 13, which meets us again in Arrian's Epictetus, III. 22, namely αἱ δόξαι καὶ αἱ ἐπιφάνειαι.

10. Paul taught the men of Athens (Acts xvii. 31) that Christ's resurrection "affords a pledge" that God has appointed Him Judge of all. An instance of the same phrase πιστὶς παρέχειν used in the same sense occurs in Val. VII. 5.

11. Another Pauline expression that finds an echo in Valens (II. 9) consists in the phrase έν φυλακαίς (cf. Lat. *in custodiis*), which presents itself in Acts xxvi. 10, 2 Cor. vi, 5, xi. 23.

12. The well-known description of the powers that be as "ordained of God" (Rom. xiii. 1) gains fresh emphasis from the circumstance that Valens employs the selfsame combination of words (ἐξουσία τεταγμένα, II. 25) to specify "constituted authorities."

13. Finally, a thing we should scarcely expect, were it not for the evidence of votive inscriptions, and certain passages in Epictetus and Marcus Antoninus, we encounter, amid the astrological babble of our author, one or two devout sentiments, however impoverished in content, that strike familiarly on the Christian ear. Such are θεῷ εἰχαριστοῦσιν (IV. 15), a phrase in which Paul purposely prefers τῷ θεῷ, that none may mistake his meaning; and a recognition of superhuman aid, τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργοῦντος (IX. 1), which at once suggests the wording of Mark xvi. 20.

II. Single Words

So much for approximating phrases. In our notice of single words, we must consult brevity. We shall classify them dually, noticing first assimilations to the New Testament vocabulary in words of very sparse occurrence, and secondly in cases which cast light on their signification.
I. Rare Words.

(i) συνοχή (Luke xxi. 25, 2 Cor. ii. 4) furnishes a good example. In the sense of anguish, hardly an instance outside the LXX. can be discovered, though the verb συνέχεσθαι bore the correlative meaning long before. But it occurs a score of times in Valens, sometimes perhaps, as we have noted below, in the sense of legal detention; but elsewhere (e.g., in VII. 5) in the Biblical meaning of distress. (ii.) The verb δειγματίζειν (Col. ii. 15, cf. Matt. i. 19, to put to shame, gibbet, is nowhere met with in this sense, even in the papyri, though the scanty examples of παράδειγματίζειν (Heb. vi. 6) confirm the received interpretation. But the noun δειγματισμός, exposure, finger of scorn, reappears thrice in Valens (I. 22, IV. 23) as a form of contumelious treatment not very distinctly defined. (iii.) save for one passage of Aristotle, the verb ἐγκρατείσθαι (I Cor. vii. 9, ix. 25) to practise abstinence, has no warrant in Greek literature. Here too Valens comes to our aid by using it (II. 40). (iv.) He also (II. 31, VII. 5) adopts the LXX. term for grandees (μεγαστάνειν), found in Mark vi. 21, and twice in the Apocalypse, which seems to have had a Jewish currency to begin with, and then to have acquired a status in Latin writers of the silver age. (v.) The quasi-medical use of ὀξύλεισθαι, to be afflicted with (Lk. vi. 15 R.T., Acts v. 16), which has lately been called in question, is amply sustained by the practice of Valens, who employs the verb with specifications of disease, and makes ὄσσεται ὀξύλησε his stock-term for “bodily maladies.” (vi) νυχθήμερον (2 Cor. xi. 25). This interesting formation was clearly requisitioned to denote a day of twenty-four hours, in contrast with the abridged reckoning of “the third day,” etc., common both to sacred and profane literature. It is found in a fragment of Plutarch (δυλο νυχθημερώφ, Mor. vii. 54, Teubner) descriptive of a voyage, and may pass for a nautical term. Astronomers likewise needed such an expression; So Valens (VIII. 6, IX. 4) has recourse to the equivalent ἡμερονύκτιον (vii). In I Cor. ix. 27, Paul uses the verb δουλαγώγειν, to make one’s thrall. Arrian’s Epictetus furnishes a counterpart to this phrase; but Vettius’ negative compound ἀδουλαγώγητος, “unenthralled,” yields a welcome addition to our slender means of illustrating it. These approximations to the New Testament might be multiplied; but we forbear. Such scarce words as ἔκτρωμα, ἀστατῶν (I Cor. iv. 11), to shift about (four times in Valens), θλῦσις, a semi-astrological vocable, ἀρκετός, θησιωμαχεῖν,
and the metaphorical usage of φωτισμός, φωτίζεται, all of them find an echo in the pages of our author.

2. Nor are Illustrative Suggestions lacking. (i.) We are not aware that anyone has observed Valens' predilection for the favourite verb of Luke, καταξιοῦσθαι, corresponding with the Lat. dignari. Our author would seem to employ it as a kind of technical term for promotion. His use of it in reference to parties “deemed worthy” of undying fame (V. 9), or advance to honour or power (I. 21, II. 21), suggests that in such connexions as Acts v. 41, or 2 Thess. i. 5, there may lie a hint of preferment or reward, in this case, to be sure, not of debt but of grace.

(ii.) The characteristically Petrine verb σταρμίζειν (vide Luke xxii. 32), together with its derivatives σταρμεύμων, ἀστήρματος, all have their place in Valens' vocabulary. How plainly they convey to him the notion of stedfastness appears from his remark that, despite their name, the planets have a configuration that is stable and uniform (σταρμεύμων, VI. 1). (iii.) Much nonsense has been written concerning the sheer inadmissibility of the old translation of Phil. ii. 16, “holding forth the word of life,” and all manner of grotesque substitutes for it have been propounded, notwithstanding the clear example of such a sense of ἐπέχειν pointed out in Theocr. XIII. 46. The fact that Paul's figure here is an astronomical one seems to be generally ignored. Yet the noun φωστήρας in the previous verse intimates luminaries not merely in the LXX. and the papyri, but in Valens himself (II. 32); and he repeatedly makes use of the verb ἐπέχειν (e.g. in IV. 21, 22, V. 11) to express the tidings which particular conjunctions of the stars tender or present to the sons of men. They may “announce,” for instance, a year of drought. Surely this usage lends support to the traditional rendering. (iv.) Another term round which controversy has gathered, the ἐπίλυσις of 2 Pet. i. 20, bids fair to receive its quietus from Valens' unequivocal restriction of it (IV. 11, V. 9, etc.) to the sense of elucidation, interpretation (Germ. Auflösung), after the model of its parent verb. (v.) Vettius likewise employs the verb ἀσταφείν, found thrice in the Epistle to Timothy, absolutely (I. 22, VI. 1, IX. 11), as the Germans use fehlschlagen, and we say "to miss one's aim." The term was evidently required in later Greek as a subaltern to ἀμαρτάνειν, which was gradually acquiring an ethical connotation of its own.

But we must be mindful not to cloy our readers with a surfeit of technical details. We therefore deliberately omit the discussion
of grammatical analogies, such as the imperatival infinitive in the
apodosis of a conditional clause, of which some have found an
instance in our Lord's prayer in the Garden (Luke xxii. 42, v.l.),
a construction occurring twice (V. 11, IX. 6) in this treatise;
or the indeclinable πληρος suspected in Jn. i. 14, Acts vi. 5,
copiously attested by the papyri from the first century onwards,
and exemplified in Val. VIII. 3. From a host of further
applicants for notice we can adduce only a few miscellaneous
samples, more or less typical of the rest.
(a) The verb ψύχειν, like καταψύχειν elsewhere, and its
substantive ψύξ, assume in Valens (I. 22, II. 37) the rare figu­tative sense of dispiritment or "cooling down" of ardour. That is
the meaning our Lord assigns to this word in Matt. xxiv. 12.
(b) In another Gospel (Luke xxii. 63) we are told that the soldiers
who "held Jesus mocked Him." Deissmann and the papyri­
translators are disposed to affix the meaning arrest to the verb
συνέχειν here employed. But that stage of the tragedy was now
over, and Luke uses the present or imperfect tense. The truth
is, the word signifies to detain, not to arrest. It represents not
gefangen nehmen, but gefangen halten. Valens introduces it (II. 40)
in reference to the victims of banditti, "sentenced, held fast
(συσχεθέντες) and strangled." (c) The ευπεριστάτως of Heb.
xii. 1 is confessedly a hard nut to crack. Half-a-dozen renderings
are conceivable; but we hold that the old version derives
countenance from Valens' constant use of the noun περιστάτως
to express the conception of straits, "embarrassments." When
Epictetus applies the epithet ἀπεριστάτως to Diogenes (Arr. IV.,
1, 159) Liddell and Scott translate the term "solitary," a
description much more applicable to Timon. We venture to
think that our adjective unencumbered would be nearer the mark;
for Diogenes' chief boast was that he was not hampered by circum­
stances. In Hebrews ευπεριστάτως manifestly carries, as it
can do, an active sense, and we do not believe it can be better
paraphrased than in Diodati's noble Italian version: atto a darci
impaccio. (d) The scarce ἐπισχέον of Luke xxiii. 5 (to wax
insistent or prevail) finds a welcome parallel in Val. I. 22, IV.
14; and his compound ἐπεροσθείων suffices to warrant Paul's
combinations ἐπεροδιδασκεῖν, ἐπεροδηγεῖν. His phrase ἀνασκεύαι
πραγμάτων for ruination, τορσιτυρωδόν (I. 1, IV. II, 24)
likewise casts light on the use of the verb in Acts xv. 24.
(e) Unless in Philo, the noun βραβεῖον, prize, is of rare occurrence;
so we are the more glad to encounter the phrase τὸ βραβεῖον ἀπονέμεν ἀπονέμεν twice over in Vettius (IV. i1, VII. 5), and the cognate verb βραβεῖον (IX. 15), to arbitrate, much as it is used in Col. iii. 15. The yet rarer compound of Col. ii. 18, which is almost unique, meets us a little earlier (IX. 7) in the phrase καταβραβεῖον τῶν λοιπῶν, which appears to signify “to domineer over the rest.” *Pace* Lightfoot, we take the prefix κατὰ to be emphatic,¹ and should not hesitate to translate the Colossian verse: “Let no man browbeat you . . .” *(f)* The ὄρεξεν with double accus. of Mark. v. 7, Acts xix. 13, is neither classical not warranted by the LXX. But the construction appears in inscriptions, and thrice in Valens (IV. 11, VII. 1, 5), and so does ὄροσις in the seemingly Hebraistic connotation of vision. *(g)* Finally, our readers will recall James’ notable verb χαλιναγγεῖν, for a metaphorical use of which commentators have had recourse to Lucian. But we meet it twice with a figurative application in Vettius (VI. 2, VIII. 5), who moreover confers on Nemesis the gruff epithet χαλιναγγός. Here we too must draw bridle!

### III. BIOGRAPHICAL

But before making a dead halt, we have promised to say a word touching our travelling companion, the astrologer himself. To fulfil this pledge is no easy business, for a baffling obscurity overhangs his career. His occasional outbursts of gasconade manifest how solicitous he was of posthumous fame; yet the twilight of semi-oblivion has enshrouded him almost beyond recognition. The monastic scholar to whom we are indebted for the Berlin edition casts but scanty light on the subject in his Latin preface. One personal note, and one only, breaks in on the wearisome monotony of Valens’ technicalities. It consists of a pathetic heart-throb over the loss of an invaluable nursling or pupil (θραπτός), whom in his grief he entitles precious, the same epithet Luke confers on Gamaliel (Acts v. 34), and through whose decease and the distraction of mind it caused him he excuses the disjointed condition of his Third Book. The main reason for assigning his date to the second century lies in the circumstance that, by way of supporting the pretensions of his science, he draws up a series of horoscopes of Roman Emperors, reaching as far as Marcus Aurelius. But a passage occurs in one MS. of his

¹ It is so in the similar καταδιναστεῖον of Acts x. 38, Jas. ii. 6 (lord it over), reproduced exactly in Val. v. 9.
First Book which extends the imperial divination-table to Gordianus, a century later. This is pronounced an interpolation. The absence of any allusion to Ptolemy, though other astrologers are freely quoted, is held to indicate that they were contemporaries. In their chronological data therefore the German editor, and his learned coadjutors, are presumably correct. It may be noted that Valens cites at length two Egyptian astrologers Petosiris and Nechepso, provisionally assigned to the second century B.C. Petosiris receives mention as a typical astrologer in Juvenal (vi. 580), and both names are coupled together as authorities on this topic by Pliny Secundus (N.H., ii. 21, vii. 50).

But the question is not conclusively settled even now; for, although Kroll ignores the fact, it needs to be remarked that the only Vettius Valens known to Roman biography was a physician of that name who flourished in the reign of Claudius, and was put to death for an alleged intrigue with Messalina (Tac. Ann. xi. 31, 35; Plin. N.H. xxix. 5). Pliny adds that this Valens was the "founder of a new school" (novam instituit sectam); and from a note in Franzius' edition extracted from the Jesuit Hardouin, in which he is said to have "written Anthologies and treated of climacteric years," it is evident that some scholars of note have identified Pliny's Valens with our author. Kroll says nothing of all this; but he lays stress on the vague laments of neglect found in Vettius as plain proofs of his poverty. They may not altogether suit the Claudian Vettius; but such complaints seem to us occasioned mainly by the measures periodically adopted for state reasons to expel the scheming mathematici from Rome, a class of which Tacitus avers that they were always being denounced, yet always harboured. The real difficulty in the way of such an identification rests in the consideration that it would force us to delete the entire body of imperial horoscopes as a subsequent interpolation inserted in a re-issue of the work. For that no adequate ground can be alleged; though we would point out that the editor himself rejects one half of the catalogue, and reminds us that an "anthology" is peculiarly susceptible of modifications from later hands. Valens' treatise is loosely knit, and of that class which could without injury be brought up to date. Certain it is that our Valens makes liberal use of medical terms, especially in Bk. V, where prognostications of disease come under his notice. We are well content, however, to accept him as a second century

1 Genus hominum quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur (Hist. i, 22).
witness to the authenticity of the deposit of Divine truth delivered to the infant church of the first century as her inspired rule of faith. As an interpreter of stellar telegraphy we esteem his work rubbish; but, as Pliny the Elder has observed, "no book is so bad that some profit cannot be made of it"; and the profit of Valens, as we have sought to show, consists in the cross-lights he reflects on the text of the Greek New Testament.

Edmund K. Simpson.

Ipswich.