Working Paper

Astrology and the Soul: History and Sources

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Special Note

By definition, a working paper represents conclusions which are tentative in nature. Additional sources will be added as they become available and as time permits.

Introduction

Within natal astrology, the 1st house occupying the eastern horizon at birth describes the native: physical vitality, appearance, and the soul. Between the Hellenistic and Medieval eras several specialized models were developed to assess these characteristics. They include longevity (vitality and length of life), physiognomy (form and shape of the face and body), and temperament (mix of four qualities of hot, cold, wet, and dry with applications in medical astrology). In addition, two competing models were developed to capture views on character and other properties of the soul: the kurios model of Antiochus/Porphyry (overall life purpose) and significators for psuché (soul) of Ptolemy (social conduct, including ethical behavior). Prior research has presented models and results for longevity (A Rectification Manual: The American Presidency, Chapter 4) and physiognomy (Astrological Physiognomy: History and Sources & Astrological Physiognomy: Empirical Tests of the Leo Rising Decan). The focus of this paper is the soul.

Summary

Soul. Daemon. Genius. Guardian Angel. All of these philosophical concepts have parallel astrological counterparts ranging from the Hellenistic oikodespotēs geneseōs and kurios to the Medieval Arabic mubtazz. How these astrological concepts are defined, calculated, and transmitted is the objective of this paper, which includes a comprehensive literature review of calculation methods for the astrological soul.

In the last twenty years, a wave of books by psychologists and writers have revived the Greek notion of the daimon as a guiding force in human creativity and development in what amounts to a rejection of self-obtained knowledge, science, and the nature vs nurture paradigm which has dominated intellectual circles since the Enlightenment. Prominent among these writers are Patrick Harpur (Daimonic Reality: A Field Guide to the Otherworld, 1995; The Philosophers’ Secret Fire: A History of the Imagination, 2002; A Complete Guide to the Soul, 2010), Stephen Diamond (Anger, Madness, and the Daimonic, 1996), James Hillman (The Soul’s Code, 1997), Elizabeth Gilbert (Eat, Pray, Love, 2006), and Matt Cardin (A Course in Demonic Creativity, 2011). Within the Greek tradition, the origin of what these authors describe can be traced to Plato’s Myth of Er, which involves a daimon assigned prior to incarnation in order to help the soul achieve its chosen purpose on earth. The Neoplatonist philosopher and astrological writer Porphyry describes an astrological method for identifying the planet in the natal horoscope whose qualities and configuration best describe the workings of the daimon during an individual’s life. According to Porphyry, this planet is the oikodespotēs geneseōs to which a majority of surviving Hellenistic astrological authors also assign character and other features of the soul. Porphyry appears unique for linking the oikodespotēs geneseōs to the daimon described in
Plato’s Myth of Er though it must be emphasized this linkage relies on limited textual evidence. At this point in the revival of traditional astrology, we are on safer ground to state there are parallels and similarities between the *oikodespotēs geneseōs* and the daimon introduced in Plato’s Myth of Er. Beyond the *oikodespotēs geneseōs*, Porphyry introduced another horoscope ruler named the *kurios* whose computation is not found among other astrological writers. In my opinion, the planet selected as the *kurios* proves a better match to the soul’s chosen purpose on earth when properly delineated by essential and accidental dignities. This finding is supported by results presented in the companion paper Victor of the Chart: Testing Methods of Antiochus/Porphyry based on horoscopes discussed here: Victor of the Chart: Initial Database of Forty Horoscopes. By introducing the *kurios*, I suggest that Porphyry paves the way for medieval authors who later limit function of the *oikodespotēs geneseōs* to computing longevity.

Porphyry was not alone in designing models for the soul; in fact, his *kurios* model is an exception to models for the soul which are tabulated in this Working Paper. Most other surviving Hellenistic astrological models assign morality and other features of the soul to the *oikodespotēs geneseōs*, which for a smaller subset of astrologers was used to compute longevity. Finally, there is Ptolemy who takes a completely different tact. For Ptolemy, significators for the soul or *psuchē* are not found in a single planet in the natal horoscope, but through a multi-planet analysis of the configuration of the Moon, Mercury, and their rulers. For Ptolemy, there is a correspondence between the soul’s irrational and rational qualities and the planets Moon and Mercury.

Broadly speaking, the *kurios* of Porphyry and the *oikodespotēs geneseōs* mentioned by other authors are consistent with Plato’s conception of the soul as a disembodied entity which survives the physical human body in the afterlife. As an alternate approach, use of the Moon, Mercury, and their rulers as significators of the soul or *psuchē* by Ptolemy is more consistent with Aristotle’s tripartite division of the soul into nutritive, sensitive, and rational levels. Apart from a few cryptic statements in his *De Anima* III.4 (which many later commentators interpreted in a Platonic way), Aristotle did not seem to believe in a separable entity of soul or intellect existing apart from the concrete human being.

By the Medieval Arabic period, the Hellenistic *oikodespotēs geneseōs* became known as the *kadukhudḥab* and was generally restricted to longevity applications; other topics like character were reassigned to Ptolemy’s significators of the soul or *psuchē* (whose computation remained relatively unchanged) or the new *mubtazz* (which has computational similarities to the *kurios* but questionable linguistic linkage). Those Medieval Arabic astrologers employing the *mubtazz* left few instructions for practical applications, which is a bit frustrating for modern astrology students, especially considering that some authors envisioned the planetary *mubtazz* the single most powerful planet in the natal horoscope.
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Acknowledgements

To Chris Brennan for completing the unpublished working paper The Rulers of the Nativity commissioned for background for this study and for editorial review of this working paper.

To Benjamin Dykes for translating and publishing Hermann of Carinthia’s The Search of the Heart, which has spurred me to look more closely at models for the soul; for permission to reprint limited passages from his published translations (various); and for editorial review of this working paper.

Books available online: www.bendykes.com

To the American Federation of Astrologers for permission to reprint the following book excerpts:

- Excerpt on Jupiter as Ruler of the Nativity from Rhetorius the Egyptian, tr. James Holden, pp. 197-198.

- Excerpt on Jupiter as Ruler of the Nativity (pp. 219-220) and Saturn/Mercury combinations when one is either the Ruler of the Nativity or the Giver of Live (pp. 99-100) from Matheis by Julius Firmicus Maternus, tr. James Holden.


- Books available online: http://astrologers.com/
A. History

Terminology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek Transliteration</th>
<th>Modern Translation</th>
<th>Transmission</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valens: Epikratētōr, Apheta</td>
<td>Greek: οἰκοδεσπότης or οἰκοδεσπότης γενέσεως</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ptolemy: άφετης (aphetes)</td>
<td>Greek: συνοικοδεσπότης</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Greek: κύριος</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ptolemy: ψυχή</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modern: Predominator/ Releaser</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Medieval Arabic/Pahlavi: Hīlāj</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Medieval Latin: Hyleg/hylech</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modern Description: Prorogator; Releaser; Giver of Life</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Medieval Arabic/Pahlavi: Kadukhudhāh</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Medieval Latin: Alcodhoze/alcocoden or alcochoden</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Modern Description: Governor; Giver of Years</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Medieval Arabic/Pahlavi: Mubtazz</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Medieval Latin: AlQāsis: Esse Nati; Almuten; Almubtez</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Modern Description: Condition of the Native; Winner; Victor</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Medieval Arabic/Pahlavi: Nafs</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Medieval Latin: Esse Nati Animae</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modern Description: Being/Condition of the Soul; Manners (Lilly)</td>
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</table>

SPECIAL NOTE: Naming Conventions for this Working Paper.

With source material written in Greek, Arabic, Latin, and English, I have made the following editorial decisions for the sake of clarity.

For the bulk of the paper, I stick with the following Greek transliterations (highlighted above in bold): *epikratētōr, oikodespotēs, sunoikodespotēs, kurios*, and *ψυχή*. Later in this section and exclusively in *Section D. Astrology Sources: Medieval Arabic Period* I revert to the corresponding medieval arabic terms (also highlighted above in bold): *hīlāj, kadukhudhāh, mubtazz*, and *nafs*. On occasion, when quoting from a translilation I may use another term, such as ‘Giver of Years’ from James Holden’s translation of *Matheis* by Firmicus Maternus. In these cases, and any other situations where terminology is unclear, please refer back to this table for clarification.
In reviewing the history of the soul in natal astrology, I will approach the subject from three perspectives:

1. **Empirical.** How authors computed these terms using astrological rules, drawing from texts cited in Sections C. and D. of this Working Paper.

2. **Etymology.** Observations on the construction of these words and their meanings.

3. **Philosophy.** The influence of Greek philosophy on the astrological concept of the soul.

**A1. Empirical** (Note: Refer to authors listed in Sections C and D for citations).

**A1A. Epikratētōr**

With the Sun or Moon preferred; the Ascendant, Lot of Fortune, or prenatal syzygy secondary candidates; and the Midheaven (Valens) and Lot of Spirit (Paulus) mentioned as candidates by single authors, the epikratētōr can be likened to “the spark which lights the fire of life.” These are my own words which the reader will not find elsewhere – something I need to carefully emphasize in a literature review like this one. Of all the concepts covered in this Working Paper, the epikratētōr is used consistently by all authors surveyed (except for Nechepso and Petosiris, whose full texts have not survived). The epikratētōr can also be considered a sensitive point for health. Accordingly, when the epikratētōr mixes with malefics or killing planets by transit or direction, the native may sustain illness, injuries, and eventually death.

Identified as a first step in delineating longevity and predicting death, the epikratētōr was employed in two very different longevity models. Ptolemy used primary directions to direct the epikratētōr in order to determine illness and death. Other Hellenistic astrologers also used primary directions but only as a fine tuning method once planetary periods were first used to compute an approximate lifespan. This second approach, increasingly adopted by Medieval Arabic authors, used the epikratētōr as an initial step prior to computing a second planet (named the oikodespotēs) for computing lifespan to which we now turn.

**A1B. Oikodespotēs geneseōs or Oikodespotēs**

Once the planet or point signifying the epikratētōr was identified, one of its rulers was chosen as the oikodespotēs. Within the Hellenistic tradition, the bound ruler of the epikratētōr was often suggested as the primary candidate for the oikodespotēs. By the Medieval Arabic era, there appears to be a loosening of preference for the bound ruler, and greater emphasis on examining each of five possible rulers of the epikratētōr as candidates for the oikodespotēs (namely, its rulers by (1) sign, (2) exaltation, (3) triplicity, (4) bound, and (5) decan). In general, rulers with essential dignity, placed in angular or succedent houses, with favorable solar phases were preferred. Specific rules for choosing the oikodespotēs varied widely among authors.

Once chosen, the oikodespotēs was used to compute longevity by employing an additional set of rules based on the planet’s major, middle, and minor years. The connection between the Egyptian bounds, a planet’s major years, the oikodespotēs, and longevity calculations is made explicit by Paulus of Alexandria. He reminds us that since a planet’s major years are none other than the sum of its degrees assigned as Egyptian bounds across all twelve zodiac signs, if we are to compute longevity by identifying a planet...
which signifies the *oikodespotēs*, it is only logical to prefer the bound ruler, since its assigned degrees form the planet’s major years from which longevity is calculated.

Unlike the *epikratētōr*, whose conception as the “spark which lights the fire of life” remained relatively consistent for both Hellenistic and Medieval Arabic periods, the meaning of the *oikodespotēs* changed. As stated previously, by the Medieval Arabic period, the *oikodespotēs* was almost exclusively used for longevity calculations. And certainly during the Hellenistic period the *oikodespotēs* was recognized for longevity applications as Paulus attests. However, some Hellenistic authors (such as Nechepso/Petrosiirs, Rhetorius/Teucer, Valens, and Firmicus) attached other topics beyond longevity to the *oikodespotēs*; for instance: character, physiognomy, social status, types of illness, and the manner of death. This list of authors does not include Ptolemy who reassigned these topics to other planetary significators. Comparative readings of Teucer, Ptolemy, Valens, and Firmicus Maternus on Jupiter illustrate differences in topic assignments by these authors (See Section B: Example Delineations for Jupiter as the Victor).

**A1C. Sunoikodespotēs**

This ruler, not widely used even among Hellenistic authors, did not survive into the Medieval Arabic period. Antiochus/Porphyry and Valens are currently the only two known authors which mention the *sunoikodespotēs*, and extant passages by Antiochus/Porphyry differ on whether the *sunoikodespotēs* is the sign or bound lord of the *epikratētōr*.

Valens makes a brief comment that favorable configuration of the *oikodespotēs* and the *sunoikodespotēs* is beneficial for the native’s longevity and eminence. What Valens seems to suggest is the importance of considering not just the sign and bound ruler of the *epikratētōr* alone, but their configuration by aspect and angularity as an additional delineation step. For a given planet, favorable configuration of its respective sign and bound rulers suggests increased power.

**A1D. Kurios**

Within the Hellenistic tradition, Antiochus/Porphyry is the only author to explicitly define rules for the *kurios* which are distinct from the *oikodespotēs*. Conceptually, Antiochus/Porphyry does not give us much help; in fact, the text arguably sows seeds of confusion. After stating that choosing the planet which is the *kurios* is difficult, Antiochus/Porphyry further muddies the water by stating other authors did not distinguish between the functions of the *epikratētōr*, the *oikodespotēs*, and the *kurios*. But neither does Antiochus/Porphyry, other than providing a very loose nautical paradigm. So instead, let’s focus on what the method itself reveals.

Recall that the identification of the *oikodespotēs* is really the 2nd step of a two-step process following the selection of the *epikratētōr*. The *oikodespotēs* is one of the rulers for the *epikratētōr*.

Computation of the *kurios* of Antiochus/Porphyry is also a two-step process, but it is decidedly more complex. Unlike the *oikodespotēs*, for which the same list of planets or points make up the candidate list (e.g., Sun, Moon, Ascendant, Lot of Fortune, prenatal syzygy), literally any planet in the horoscope can be a Stage 1 candidate for the *kurios*. This is because Stage 1 candidates include sign and bound rulers for a list of significators in addition to any of the five planets which occupy specific solar phases (rising, setting, stations). In Stage 2, a more extensive criteria list used to rank these candidates once identified. Compared to the *oikodespotēs* where essential dignity, angularity, and solar phase were common criteria, the
Stage 2 *kurios* ranking procedure adds additional criteria including besiegement, reception, sect, and rejoicing conditions based on sex of a planet’s sign and quadrant placement.

If the method itself reveals how the purpose of the *kurios* differs from the *oikodespotēs*, I suggest the purpose is revealed in the list of Stage 1 candidates—which in the first of two variations listed by Antiochus/Porphyry includes the Midheaven and planets placed in or near the Midheaven. This is the first time that a Hellenistic astrologer includes 10th house significators as candidates for one of the horoscope’s principal rulers. If the purpose of the *kurios* is to convey the soul’s intent as expressed in career, profession, or any other 10th house activity signifying the realization/outcome of the native’s life, then Antiochus/Porphyry points the way by including 10th house significators as *kurios* candidates.

Functionally, the Medieval Arabic version of the *kurios* (*mubtazz*) bears some similarity to the Hellenistic version, though versions by al-Kindi, al-Qabisi, and ibn Ezra are watered down by considering fewer criteria for ranking *mubtazz* candidates. Hermann’s criteria are more extensive and the closest in spirit to the original Antiochus/Porphyry criteria. If Benjamin Dykes is correct that Hermann’s *The Search of the Heart* may be inspired by or based on ‘Umar al-Tabarī’s untranslated Arabic *Treatise on the Discovery of Innermost Thoughts by the Way of the Stars*, then existing evidence favors the transmission of something approximating the Antiochus/Porphyry Victor model at the beginning of the Medieval Arabic period.

A1E. Psuché

In *Tetrabiblos* III.13 (trans. Robbins), Ptolemy introduces an entirely different paradigm for the soul or psuché. What follows is Ptolemy’s assignment of the rational/irrational natures of the soul to Mercury/Moon and their rulers. After outlining the influence of a planet’s placement in cardinal, fixed, and mutable signs, Ptolemy mentions solar phase, angularity, and essential dignity as criteria for judging psuché. (Note these conditions are also used as Stage 2 criteria in the *kurios* model of Antiochus/Porphyry). By far the greatest portion of III.13 is devoted to descriptions of the soul’s character, based on the planet(s) ruling the Moon and Mercury. Using the term *oikodespotēs* to describe the rulers of the Moon and Mercury, Ptolemy is nevertheless unspecific as to whether we should consider the sign ruler or some other planetary ruler for the Moon and Mercury.

Among Hellenistic astrologers, the late compiler Hephaistio closely follows Ptolemy’s significators for the soul or psuché, but few other Hellenistic authors do. In the Medieval Arabic period, Masha’allah and his student Abu Ali Al-Khayyat include a version of Ptolemy’s model based on the Lord of the Ascendant and Mercury, though the Moon is omitted. Among other authors surveyed in the Medieval Arabic period, Kushyar ibn Labban closely follows Ptolemy’s model. Ibn Ezra includes Ptolemy’s model, together with a simplified *kurios* model.

A2. Etymology

The history of words, their evolution, and their adaptation by different cultures offers another lens through which to consider astrological methods for delineating the soul. As my personal research to date is primarily empirical (e.g., seeking to test methods and their rules), my comments here will be brief.

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1 Other than Valens which includes the Midheaven degree as a possible candidate for the epikratētōr.

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Writing this literature review in 2012, it remains apparent to me that from a linguistic perspective, astrologers have yet to reach a definitive conclusion on the difference between the oikodespotēs and the kurios. So let’s look at these words.

**Oikodespotēs geneseōs**

Oikos = a house, a dwelling. Source: [http://concordances.org/greek/3624.htm](http://concordances.org/greek/3624.htm)

Despotēs = lord, master. Source: [http://concordances.org/greek/1203.htm](http://concordances.org/greek/1203.htm)

Oikodespotēs = the master of a house. Source: [http://concordances.org/greek/3617.htm](http://concordances.org/greek/3617.htm)


**Comments.** From oikos and despotēs, the combined oikodespotēs means “master of the house” or “lord of the house.” Cited references indicate that despotēs is an authority figure who exercises unrestricted power by way of ownership. Applied to astrology, the oikodespotēs is the ruler of a house and is the ultimate judge of house affairs. With geneseōs meaning origin, birth, or nativity, the term oikodespotēs geneseōs can be interpreted as the house ruler of the entire nativity. Another interpretation is this: since we know the oikodespotēs geneseōs is based on one of the rulers of the epikratētōr, can the oikodespotēs geneseōs be interpreted more strictly as the house master of the epikratētōr and not the entire nativity? Such an interpretation would be more consistent with the relationship of the kadukhudhāh to the hīlāj in the Medieval Arabic period, leaving the kurios available to function as the house master of the horoscope.

**Kurios**

Kurios = lord, master. Source: [http://concordances.org/greek/2962.htm](http://concordances.org/greek/2962.htm)

**Comments.** The difficulty in deciphering the astrological differences between the function of the oikodespotēs and the kurios is apparent when we see that both despotēs and kurios mean a “lord” or “master.” To dig deeper, we can consider context in how the words were used. What I have found is by no means a definitive solution to this conundrum, but is intended to provoke further investigations by those more skilled in language and etymology than I am. Here is what I have found:

The dialogue *Oeconomicus* (“The Economist”) by Xenophon (ca. 430-354 BCE), a contemporary of Socrates, offers a specific account on the functions of household management which is relevant to this discussion, since Xenophon specifically identifies the father of the household as its kurios. According to Xenophon, the father had absolute authority for household affairs though the father’s time was predominantly spent outside the walls of the house itself, leaving day-to-day household functions such as food preparation and oversight of servants to the wife. For the kurios, responsibilities outside the household included business affairs, voting, politics, and military service.

From an astrological perspective, these additional affairs correspond to the 10th house (profession/government) and the 11th house (politics/alliances/military service). Rulership over these additional life affairs is consistent with the astrological kurios as a ruler of something more than the household, which would include the 2nd (financial affairs), the 3rd (siblings), the 4th (father, male relatives, property management), 5th (children), 6th (slaves), 7th (wife), and the 8th (wife’s dowry). Specifically, the Kurios’ responsibilities for 10th and 11th affairs can be directly tied to the 1st variation of the kurios model by Antiochus/Porphyry, which is based on the Midheaven and planets in or near the Midheaven.
Further work needs to be done in this area, but I suggest that learning more about the usage of despotēs and kurios by Greek authors may help shed light on the difference between the oikodespotēs geneseōs and the kurios in astrological applications.

Recommended References - Etymology

Xenophon. *The Economist.*
Source: [http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1173/1173-h/1173-h.htm](http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1173/1173-h/1173-h.htm)

Giuseppe Bezza. *Some considerations about bylog and alcochoden.*
Source: [http://www.cieloeterra.it/eng/eng.articoli.considerations/eng.considerations.html](http://www.cieloeterra.it/eng/eng.articoli.considerations/eng.considerations.html)


Source: [http://bendykes.com/reviews/arabicvocab.pdf](http://bendykes.com/reviews/arabicvocab.pdf)

A3. Philosophy

*Body and Soul.* Greek philosophers often divided their analysis of the human being into two categories: body and soul.

For the **physical body**, the four elements (Empedocles ca. 490-430 BCE), the four primitive qualities (Aristotle ca. 384-322 BCE), and humoural theory (Hippocrates ca. 460-370 BCE) were adapted by astrologers for the delineation of physiognomy and temperament.

For the **soul**, two prominent influences on natal delineation were Plato (ca. 429-347 BCE) and Aristotle (384-322 BCE). Their conception of the soul inspired astrologers who sought to delineate character and other qualities associated with the soul. Specific linkages between philosophers and astrologers are difficult to prove. Considering where we are in the traditional astrology revival (writing this paper in 2012), we are on safer grounds to assert there are parallels and similarities between Hellenistic philosophy and astrology and avoid statements which make definitive linkages.²

**General Development.** From the time of Homeric poems to the 5th century of Socrates and Plato, the Greek notion of the soul underwent considerable change. Though the soul was always associated with life, the Homeric definition of soul was initially limited to human beings and associated with them in only a very general way without specific qualities such as morality.³ Later, not just humans, but plants and animals were deemed sufficiently alive to be ‘ensouled.’ By the 5th century, the connection between soul and qualities ranging from character, spiritedness, and desire was well-defined among the Greeks.

**Plato.** Plato’s standard conception of the soul (as described in dialogues such as the *Phaedo*) was of an immortal entity with a separable existence from the physical body. Details of the soul’s immortality are also recounted in the closing pages of the Plato’s *Republic*, in the Myth of Er. Included in the Myth of Er (reprinted in its entirety in Section F of this literature review) is the idea that the soul chooses its life before

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² If there is any exception, I suggest the influence of Aristotle on Ptolemy is reasonably clear.
incarnation in a ritual attended by the Goddess of Necessity and the three Fates. During the ritual, a daimon (spirit) is assigned to help the soul achieve its purpose on earth.

The soul’s qualities of reason, spiritedness, and desire found their way into a tripartite division of the soul, outlined by Plato in his middle dialogues. What is interesting is that these three qualities correspond well to the astrological attributes of the planets Mercury, Mars, and Venus. Astrologers ranging from Ptolemy to Bonatti specifically identify these three planets as significators for the three most common professions (as distinct from the Sun, Moon, Jupiter, and Saturn). Are Plato’s soul divisions the origin of this astrological preference for Mercury, Mars, and Venus as professional significators? If so, here is additional conceptual evidence that supports 10th-house realization of the soul in career and profession as important to the astrological soul’s jurisdiction as standalone qualities of reason, spiritedness, and desire.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plato’s Soul Divisions (Republic)</th>
<th>Suggested Planetary Correspondence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rational (truth)</td>
<td>Mercury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirited (honor and victory)</td>
<td>Mars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appetitive (food, drink, sex)</td>
<td>Venus</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Aristotle. Like Plato, Aristotle also divided the soul into three sections but his classification scheme was different. Based on the notion that all living things were ensouled, Aristotle argued that plants and animals also had souls, not just humans. Plants are capable of sustaining growth and existence through use of the “vegetative” soul. The animal kingdom’s capacity for motion, sensation and desire is sustained through the “sensitive” soul. Finally, the human capacity for reason and judgment is due to the “rational” soul. This system was nested, so that plants had vegetative soul alone, animals had vegetative and sensitive souls, and humans possessed all three soul levels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Living Being</th>
<th>Soul Level</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Suggested Astrological Correspondence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plant</td>
<td>Nutritive</td>
<td>Growth/Reproduction</td>
<td>Ascendant + Ruler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal</td>
<td>Sensitive</td>
<td>Locomotion/Perception</td>
<td>Moon + Ruler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human</td>
<td>Rational</td>
<td>Thought</td>
<td>Mercury + Ruler</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comments

Plato. Broadly speaking, it appears that Plato’s conception of the soul as given in the Myth of Er, as well as his tripartite division of the soul with implications for career and profession, is closest to the Antiochus/Porphyry model for the kurios. The famous written interchange between Porphyry and Iamblichus suggests Porphyry adhered to the type of soul described in Plato’s Myth of Er. I mention this dialogue in this literature review, but have included relevant source material in the subsequent list of references.

Aristotle. Aristotle’s nutritive, sensitive, and rational tripartite model of the soul is an easy fit to Ptolemy’s model of the soul based on the configuration of Moon, Mercury and their rulers.
Recommended References – Philosophy

Primary


Porphyry. *Letter to Anebo*.


Though we learn no new astrological methods for choosing the horoscopic planet presumed to signify the daimon from the preserved exchange between Porphyry and Iamblichus, Porphyry’s *Letter to Anebo* and Iamblichus’ response (*De Mysteriis*) helps clarify the tone of the philosophical debate on the daimon between these two Neoplatonic philosophers. In his *Letter to Anebo*, Porphyry makes reference to astrologers who compute the *oikodespotēs* in order to discern how the daimon works in the native’s life. An often-quoted passage from the *Letter to Anebo* states that liberation from fate is possible if one learns to communicate with his daimon, determined with the help of astrology. In his response (Chapter 9 of *De Mysteriis*), Iamblichus disputes these notions on two grounds. First, Iamblichus castigates Porphyry on the technical difficulty of computing the daimon through astrological methods that even Porphyry admits are difficult. Iamblichus’ second criticism is philosophical: he denies the possibility of an astrological daimon which liberates one from Fate, since Fate has assigned the daimon in the first place. [Comments in this paragraph based on conversations with Chris Brennan].

Secondary

The internet continues to explode with information. Here is what I have been able to dig up. Enjoy.

Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Available online: http://www.iep.utm.edu/. See entries for Aristotle and Plato. Especially recommended is Marilyn Lawrence’s entry on Hellenistic Astrology which is perhaps the most succinct discussion of the linkages between Hellenistic astrology and philosophy on the web with primary source references listed. Highly recommended. Available online: http://www.iep.utm.edu/astr-hel/.


modern writer who has fully engaged the Greek daimon as a creative guide behind his professional career as a horror fiction writer. Of special interest is Chapter Two: A Brief History of the Daimon and the Genius which Cardin briefs readers with the work of psychologists Stephen Diamond, Rollo May, Patrick Harpur (see below), and James Hillman (see below).

Benjamin Dykes. Logos and Light Lecture Series.

Elizabeth Gilbert. Lecture on Nurturing Creativity. Beginning at 6:30, her talk focuses on the Greek daimon as a guide to herself as a writer and others. Gilbert is the author of Eat, Pray, Love (2006), a successful memoir which was recently turned into a film starring Julia Roberts (2010).

Personal website: [http://classicalastrology.org/](http://classicalastrology.org/). Greenbaum’s research has yet to reach this side of the Atlantic in published form. Look for a published work in the near future.

Robert Hand. Introduction to Plato and Aristotle for Astrologers.

Patrick Harpur. In preparing this reference list, I recently learned about the works of Patrick Harpur through Matt Cardin’s history of the daimon. Daemonic Reality: A Field Guide to the Otherworld (1995) was Harpur’s first book and has become somewhat of a classic among occult circles. Harpur casts his net wide by attempting to treat disparate phenomena ranging from angelic appearances and alien abductions under the umbrella of fairies, daimons, and other spirits. His next set of books The Philosophers’ Secret Fire (2003/nonfiction) and Mercurius: The Marriage of Heaven & Earth (1990/fiction) focus on alchemy and are recommended as books to help orient the 21st century individual to the pre-1600 viewpoint of practicing astrologers. In The Secret Life of the Soul (2011), Harpur repeats himself somewhat by presenting “all the threads of the soul tradition and weave them into a bigger, clear picture, presenting a worldview at once ancient and revolutionary.” [book cover].
Author’s website: [http://www.harpur.org/patrick.htm](http://www.harpur.org/patrick.htm).


B. Example Delineations for Jupiter as the \textit{oikodespotēs}

Planetary descriptions excerpted from astrology textbooks offer another way to evaluate the \textit{oikodespotēs} concept. How are planets described? In general terms? And specifically when they function as the \textit{oikodespotēs} or some other horoscope ruler? What types of information do planetary delineations provide? A window into morality? How people act? Life purpose? Or hints of a life purpose, once given a baseline set of morals, thoughts, and manners? Using Jupiter as an example, let’s consider the following delineations written by Hellenistic authors.

B.1. Jupiter: Teucer of Babylon (presumed 1st Century CE)


\textit{Citation}.

“Jupiter’s nature is windy and fertile and hot; of the bodily parts, it rules the feet, the semen, the womb, the liver, the right-hand parts, and the teeth. And it signifies the begetting of children, off-spring, associations, knowledge, the friendship of great men, the desire for wealth and abundance, prosperity or gifts, justice, authority, terms in public office, honors, presidencies, priesthood, trusts, and victories. It is of the diurnal sect, and grey in color, and sweet to the taste. And among the metals it has silver, and in common with Mercury it has [the rulership] of the ears.

“And it has five phases: rising, setting, first station, second station, acronychal. First, therefore, it rises; then it stands still at its first station; then [it makes] its acronychal phase; then its second station; and then its setting. For when the Sun is elongated from it by 10 degrees, it makes its morning rising; just so, departing from the that same Sun by 120 degrees, it makes its first station; and, with the Sun approaching it, it retrogrades; and when the Sun has stood away from it by 180 degrees, then it begins to make the acronychal phase; similarly, running along backwards, it makes its second station; and when the Sun has separated from it by 240 degrees, then it begins to make its natural motion; and again, overtaking it by 10 degrees, it makes its evening setting; and it continues in the setting until when it is again separated by 10 degrees. And it goes through the zodiacal circle in twelve years.

“When this star has the rulership of the nativity in a diurnal geniture, and when it is [also] angular in its own domiciles or in its exaltation, or when it is in sect, it denotes magnates and those who are renowned, acceptable, dignified, good, honest, high-minded, [ruling] over cities or managing the affairs of the common people, and having the approbation among one another, either of kings or of the chief men, well spoken of because of their goodness and piety, receiving the honors of offerings or of priestly offices, those who are fond of their relatives, and beneficent in friendship, and delighting in their wife and children, unless it is in the DSC angle; for then they are not happy in that way with their children; but if it is severely injured by destructive [stars] assailing it, conformable in his good deeds, and decreasing very much the powers of the high-minded, and begrudging progress [in life]. And similarly, it has those significations that are in accordance with it – and it makes those when configured in other [places], in those [that are] said next.

“And it makes white-skinned [persons], plump, with a large full beard, good in his manner, dignified, full-statured, with a broad forehead, blue or gray eyes, having hair in his nostrils, bald in front, large-
headed, giving good counsel, dealing with everyone. This one dies from [some] throat ailment, pneumonia, headache, cardiac conditions, and those [conditions] that show an excess of wind.”

Comments.

Teucer of Babylon offers one of the earliest known delineations of the 12 signs and 7 planets. Robert Schmidt speculates they may be variants of the original Antiochus Summary. These delineations were recorded by Rhetorius of Egypt (6th or 7th Century), a late compiler. Teucer’s delineations for Jupiter include statements on morality, social status, physiognomy, illness, and death.

B.2. Jupiter: Claudius Ptolemy (c. 90. CE – c. 168 CE)


Citation.

Tetrabiblos III.11. (Of bodily form and temperament).

“Jupiter, as the ruler of the aforesaid regions, when he is rising, makes his subjects in appearance light of skin, but in such a way as to have a good colour, with moderately curling hair and large eyes, tall, and commanding respect; in temperament they exceed in the hot and the most. When Jupiter is setting, he makes his subjects light, to be sure, but not as before, in such a way as to given them a good colour, and with lank hair or even bald in in front and on the crown, and of average stature; in temperament they have an excess of the moist.”

Tetrabiblos III.12. (Of Bodily Injuries and Diseases).

Jupiter is lord of touch, the lungs, arteries, and semen.

Tetrabiblos III.13. (Of the Quality of the Soul).

“If Jupiter alone has the domination of the soul, in honourable positions he makes his subjects magnanimous, generous, god-fearing, honourable, pleasure-loving, kind, magnificent, liberal, just, high-minded, dignified, minding their own business, compassionate, fond of discussion, beneficent, affectionate, with qualities of leadership. If he chances to be in the opposite kind of position, he makes their souls seem similar, to be sure, but with a difference in the direction of greater humility, less conspicuousness, and poorer judgment. For example, instead of magnanimity, he endows them with prodigality; instead of reverence for the gods, with superstition; instead of modesty, with cowardice; instead of dignity, with conceit; instead of kindness, with foolish simplicity; instead of the love of beauty, with love of pleasure; instead of high-mindedness, with stupidity; instead of liberality, with indifference, and the like.” Ptolemy then presents delineations of Jupiter with Mars, Venus, and Mercury.

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"For when the planets which govern the Lot of Fortune are in power, they make the subjects rich, particularly when they chance or have the proper testimony of the luminaries...Jupiter through fiduciary relationships, guardianships, or priesthoods..."

"The lord of action is apprehended by two methods, from the sun and from the culminating sign...if Jupiter witnesses Mercury, they will be law-makers, orators, sophists, who enjoy familiarity with great persons...If Jupiter testifies to Venus, they will be athletes, wearers of the wreath, persons deemed worthy of honours, and men who derive advancement from women...If Jupiter testifies to Mars, he produces soldiers, servants, publicans, innkeepers, ferrymen, assistants at sacrifice...If Jupiter testifies to Mercury and Venus, he produces lawyers, supervisors or counting houses, public officers, teachers of children, leaders of the populace...If Jupiter testifies to Mercury and Mars, they produce men-at-arms, duellists, energetic, clever persons, busybodies, who meddle in others' affairs and thereby gain their living...But if Jupiter testifies to Venus and Mars, frequenters of temples, interpreters of omens, bearers of the sacred instruments, supervisors of women, interpreters of marriages and matches, making their living by such occupations, and at the same time devoted to pleasure, and reckless..."

"Jupiter causes death through strangulation, pneumonia, apoplexy, spasms, headaches, and cardiac affections, and such conditions as are accompanied by irregularity or foulness of breath."

Arguably, Ptolemy has taken Teucer's single section on Jupiter, subdivided it, and assigned specific sections to his own classification scheme of natal delineation topics. For instance, compare Teucer's paragraph beginning "When this star has rulership of the nativity..." with Ptolemy's paragraph beginning "If Jupiter alone has the domination of the soul..." The similarity of delineations demonstrates that Ptolemy has taken characteristics of Jupiter as oikodespotēs and reassigned them to Jupiter as significator of the soul. For Ptolemy, the delineation is the same; but the computation for Jupiter as significator of the soul is based on Jupiter's rulership of both Moon and Mercury. The oikodespotēs computation is entirely different.

B.3. Jupiter: Vettius Valens (2nd Century CE)

"Jupiter indicates childbearing, engendering, desire, loves, political ties, acquaintance, friendships with great men, prosperity, salaries, great gifts, an abundance of crops, justice, offices, officeholding, ranks, authority over temples, arbitrations, trusts, inheritance, brotherhood, fellowship, beneficence, the secure possession of goods, relief from troubles, release from bonds, freedom, deposits in trust, money, stewardships. Of the external body parts it rules the thighs and the feet (Consequently in the games..."
Jupiter governs the race.) Of the internal parts it rules the sperm, the uterus, the liver, the parts of the right side. Of materials, it rules tin. It is of the day sect. In color it is grey verging on white and is sweet in taste” (Riley, p. 1).

Comment.

This is a very similar but stripped-down version of Teucer of Babylon’s Jupiter delineation.


Citation. *Mathesis* IV.19.9.

“If Jupiter is Ruler of the Nativity, it will make magnanimous men trying to achieve great things, and those who are always trusted, and who are always inspired [to do] great acts. And those who give themselves more than their resources of wealth and power call for. Imperious persons, and those who are noble, famous, and honorable in all their actions, lovers of elegance, cheerful, and those who want to be amused in every way, taking much food, loving their friends, and capable, affable, straightforward – and those who are always accustomed to do well.

“But their body is constructed in a moderate manner, and the form of their body will be elegant, shapely, and white; they will have beautiful eyes and a head adorned with thick locks of hair, making footsteps with a steady pace. But their life will be famous, noteworthy, full of good fortune from their trustworthiness; and they will surely get everything that they desire. But they are also always ready for good associations, and they are protected by the testimony of great men. They always love their wives and children with tender <affection>, and their children attain the greatest increases of dignity, so that great merit of dignity comes to them from the honors of their children. It will make illnesses involving the heart from wine or from indigestion, but death will come from hilarity and rectal prolapse and sexual intercourse.

“But you ought to consider Jupiter, when it is the Ruler of the Nativity, in the same way as [you did] Saturn, and also the other stars. For that was said about one as an example, that should also instruct you for the rest. For if Jupiter is made the Ruler of the Nativity and holds the first angles of the nativity [posited] in his own domicile, or in his exaltation, or in his terms, or in the domicile of the Sun, or in the exaltation of the Sun, and if it is a diurnal nativity and it is adorned with the testimonies of the benefic stars, and the Moon is moving toward it full of light, and Mars is not possessing any angle of the nativity or resisting it, or attacking the light of the waxing Moon, it denotes all the indications of good fortune.

“But if it is in those signs in which it is humiliated, or in the terms of other [stars], or in dejected and inactive houses of the nativity, and if both itself and the Moon are struck by bad aspects of the malefics, [then] declining in strength and deprived of all freedom of power, it denotes nothing great in the nativity nor a complete number of years [of life] – for if the malefic stars aspect it by square or by opposition, they subtract a number from the decreed time of years according to their own strength.”
**Comments:**

Firmicus’ treatment of Jupiter as Ruler of the Nativity is very similar to Teucer’s delineation which includes statements on morality, social status, illness, and death; physiognomy is omitted. Comparing the structure of the *Mathēsis* to Ptolemy’s *Tetrabiblos* yields this observation: In *Mathēsis*, after Maternus discusses the Ruler of the Nativity, Maternus includes a chapter on Action (IV.21) and delineates Mars, Venus, and Mercury in a very similar manner as Ptolemy does in *Tetrabiblos* IV.4. In *Tetrabiblos*, Ptolemy omits discussion of Ruler of the Nativity altogether.

### C. Sources: Hellenistic Period (c. 2nd century BCE – 5th/6th centuries CE)

This outline follows the classification scheme proposed by Project Hindsight, *Catalogue of Hellenistic Astrologers and their Writings*; available online: [http://projecthindsight.com/reference/catalog.html](http://projecthindsight.com/reference/catalog.html)

#### I. Nechepso and Petosiris (c. 2nd century BCE)

**In brief.** Together with Hermes Trismegistus and Asclepius, Nechepso and Petosiris are considered the founders of Hellenistic astrology. Nechepso (Egyptian pharaoh) and Petosiris (Egyptian high priest) are quoted by later astrologers and appear influential as authors for principal Hellenistic source material.

**Text.** An astrological textbook was probably written or translated in the 2nd century BCE, though it has not survived. Later authors quotes sections, such as Valens:

**Citation.** In his Anthology, Valens quotes Petosiris on the *oikodespotēs*:

> “The beginning, the end, the controller, and the measurement standard of the whole is the Master star of each nativity: it makes clear what kind of person the native will be, what kind of basis his livelihood will have, what his character will be, what sort of body *health and appearance* He will have, and all the things that will accompany him in life. Without this star nothing, neither occupation nor rank, will come to anyone.”

Valens, *Anthology*, 2, 41:3-4 translated by Riley, p. 16, with changes to terminology by Brennan.

**Comments.**

The attribution of multiple delineation topics to a single planet by Petosiris is similar to multiple delineation topics assigned to the rising decan within Hellenistic astrology, a finding I noted in my literature review on physiognomy. See *Astrological Physiognomy: History and Sources* (April 20, 2010).

As the astrological tradition developed, some of these delineation topics were reassigned to different planets or special delineation techniques. For instance, subsequent authors assigned “the beginning” to the *epikratētōr* “the end” to the killing planet, and reserved the role of “the controller and the measurement standard of the whole” for the *oikodespotēs* as a predictor of longevity. Ptolemy assigned *psuchē* to the configuration of the Moon, Mercury, and their rulers.
II. Dorotheus of Sidon (presumed 1st Century CE)

In Brief. Dorotheus was an early compiler living in the 1st century. His principal work Pentateuch has not survived, though ‘Umar bin al-Farrukhan al-Tabarī translated a Pahlavi version into Arabic. What this means is that David Pingree’s 1976 English translation is a 4th hand version of the original text. Determining which parts of the text are original can be a speculative exercise.


Relevant to this literature view is Book 3 of Pentateuch, which includes sections on the epikratētōr and oikodespotēs. In the opinion of Chris Brennan, Chapter 1 is an interpolation (either Pahlavi or Arabic) and Chapter 2 is close to the original Dorotheus, suggested by Hephaistio’s Apotelesmatics, Book 2 whose summary of Dorotheus is a much closer fit to Chapter 2 of Pingree’s translation.

Citations.

III.1,1-26. This text is very garbled. The following general principles are outlined (e.g., I am not describing every situation here): luminaries are preferred as the epikratētōr; Sun by day and the Moon by night, as long as the luminaries are not cadent. Sex by quadrant placement is also an issue raised for the Sun in the 7th or 8th houses (which is a feminine quadrant); Sun in masculine signs (only) is acceptable as the epikratētōr if found in those houses. If both luminaries are cadent, then consider the Ascendant as epikratētōr. For each candidate for the epikratētōr, the bound lord is the preferred oikodespotēs and must be placed in an angular or succedent house. For the Ascendant, the sign ruler is allowable as oikodespotēs if angular/succedent and oriental. The Lot of Fortune and prenatal syzygy are not mentioned as candidates.

III.2,1-18; 45-48. This section is more clear. Pingree translates the epikratētōr as Indicator; the oikodespotēs as Governor. Chris Brennan compared Pingree’s text with Hephaistio, and finding Hephaistio’s summary more consistent, summarizes these rules for the epikratētōr and oikodespotēs:

- Prefer the Sun by day and the Moon by night.
- The one which is more angular wins, especially if it is in the 1st, 10th, or 11th. If cadent; it is excluded.
- Bound lord of luminary is the preferred oikodespotēs as long as it aspects the epikratētōr.
- If bound lord of luminary is in aversion to the luminary, choose the sign ruler; next, exaltation lord; finally the triplicity ruler. (Decan ruler excluded.)
- If both luminaries fail, consider the Lot of Fortune and its lord. The same qualifications apply (position/aspect).
- If the Lot of Fortune fails, consider the prenatal syzygy and its lord. The same qualifications apply.
- If the prenatal syzygy fails, consider the Ascendant and its lord. The same qualifications apply.

Comments.

Dorotheus does not mention the kurios, nor does he use the years of the planets for longevity computation once the oikodespotēs is computed. Instead, Dorotheus provides instructions using primary directions in order to compute longevity (III.2,45-48). This is also Ptolemy’s approach, who uses primary directions in lieu of planetary periods for longevity projections.
III. Manilius (c. 10 C.E.)

*In Brief.* Manilius is classified as an early compiler. His poem *Astronomica* is unusual for its considerable differences as compared with other Hellenistic astrologers. Of interest to this literature review is his system for assigning houses based on the Lot of Fortune. Though Manilius is not alone among the Hellenistic tradition for advocating Lot of Fortune houses, his delineations for house topics are unique.

With the angles from the Lot of Fortune said to be more active according to Valens (Chapter 4), I wanted to include Manilius’ Lot of Fortune house delineations in this review, because planets angular from the Lot of Fortune often surface as valid Lords of the Nativity even when cadent from the Ascendant (my finding). Below is a chart which summarizes house topics; detailed descriptions of 1st/10th houses follow.


**Citation.** 3. 96-159. Assignment of Topics to Lot of Fortune houses.

![Manilius Lot of Fortune Houses Diagram]

[1st House: Home]. “The first lot has been assigned to fortune. This is the name by which it is known in astrology, because it contains in itself the chief essentials of the home and all that attaches to the name of home: the limit accorded to the number of one’s slaves and the amount of one’s land, and the size of buildings it is given one to erect, according to the degree of harmony in the wandering stars of bright heaven.”

[10th House: Character]. “Next will be found the one that embraces the conduct of life; herein our character is determined, likewise with what traditions every family is shaped, and in what appointed fashion servants discharge the tasks to which they have been severally deputed.”

**Comments.**

Of interest is delineation of the 10th from Fortune as the conduct of life which determines character. With character being an integral part of *psyche* as envisioned by Greek philosophers, the 10th house from Fortune appears useful as an alternate method for delineating *psyche.*

www.regulus-astrology.com
IV. Antiochus of Athens (probably late 2nd Century CE) and Porphyry (c. 275 CE)

**In Brief.** According to Project Hindsight, Antiochus is the presumed author of the lost text *Introductory Matters*, for which Robert Schmidt has attempted a reconstruction based on subsequent references made by Porphyry, Rhetorius, and other authors. What has survived is an abbreviated version of an Antiochus work named the *Antiochus Summary*, whose missing section on the *kurios* Schmidt fills out with a later version which appears in Porphyry’s *Introduction to the Tetrabiblos of Ptolemy*. For this reason I group Antiochus and Porphyry together for this literature review on the *epikratētōr*, *oikodespotēs*, and *kurios*. To be clear, this is not Porphyry’s model, but in Schmidt’s opinion it is Porphyry’s restatement of the Antiochus model. In this and subsequent papers, I refer to this as the ‘Antiochus/Porphyry’ model for the *kurios*.

In II.C of the *Antiochus Summary*, additional references to the *oikodespotēs* and *kurios* mention Nechepso and Petosiris, which suggests that these concepts can be tied to the founders of Hellenistic astrology. Schmidt includes delineations of each of the five planets as the *oikodespotēs* from Rhetorius, whom Schmidt speculates copied his delineations from the original Antiochus text.

**Texts.**


**Citations (see next page for Holden’s translation. I found no major differences between Holden and Schmidt).**

Porphyry 30.A. Rules for choosing the *epikratētōr*, *oikodespotēs*, *sunoiodespotēs*, and *kurios*.

**Comments.** The Antiochus/Porphyry model is unique because these authors were the first to explicitly define the *kurios* as a separate entity from the *oikodespotēs*. It’s possible this step was also taken by Valens, though there are enough ambiguities in Valens’ *Anthologies* to prevent a definitive verdict.
Furthermore, it is necessary to explain in detail in what respect the Ruler of the Nativity, and the Lord, and the Ruling [star] differ from each other. For the ancients devising the nomenclature did not distinguish their function. For each has its own force, just as the sailor and the steersman. We shall explain, therefore, in what respect they differ from each other.

Some, then, put the Sun to rule by day and the Moon to rule by night; and this will be accurately set forth thus: in a diurnal nativity, the Sun, if it is rising in the east, will take the ruling position; but when the Sun is declining in the west, if the Moon happens to be in the east, she will take [that position], and if she is succedent to the ASC, through her rising into the east; but if they are both cadent in the west, the ASC will have the ruling position. And in a nocturnal nativity, if the Moon rises into the east, she will take the ruling position, but if she is declining into the west and the Sun is under the earth succedent to the ASC, he will be in the ruling position.

And if both of them happen to be under the earth, angular or succedent, the Moon will have the ruling position because of the sect, but if she is found to be cadent, and the [Sun] is angular, he [will be selected]. For the angular one of the Lights and the one that is more in the east and of the sect is judged to be the Ruling [Star]. And if both of them are cadent, the ASC will obtain the ruling position then.

And whenever you appoint the Ruling [Star] from this, the house-ruler and the joint house-ruler will be left remaining. For the Lord of the sign is which the Ruling [Star] is will be the House-ruler, and it is necessary to look at it and the Joint House-ruler of the terms to see how they move and in what aspect they are, and whether they behold the ASC or the Moon, for the whole distinction will be from these. And some simply put the Lord of the Terms of the ASC as the Ruler of the Nativity and the Joint-ruler of the sign.

The lord of the nativity on the one hand and the Ruler of the MC they define, particularly if it is angular [and] effective, but if not, the one that is close to the MC, for instance in the highest part of the nativity – which is the one ruling actions – and if not that one, then the one that is cadent to the MC.

And the first, the Lord of the ASC or the one that is posited on it in the domicile and the terms, either the one of the Moon, or the one of the MC, or the one of the [Lot of] Fortune, or the one 7 days before birth, or within 7 days making a phase of the rising or the setting or of a station. For this one of the cosmic sign is then being rendered authoritative by common consent and [chosen] to rule those being born, and if there are two of them, they put the one rising as being more powerful. To these they join the ruler of the preceding lunar conjunction; and I say the Ruler of the Terms in which the conjunction of the Sun with the Moon occurred, if indeed the Moon is moving away from the conjunction; but if she is waning, the one becoming the Ruler of the Terms of the full Moon.

And from all these, the one posited [so that it is] harmonizing most with the nativity [is the] Ruler, i.e., the one posited in front, the most easterly, or the one that is most in its own domicile, and that has the most force for the scheme of the nativity and those that are mutually configured with it.

And in connection with the Ruler that has been found, it is necessary to look at how [it is disposed], in those things that have been said in order, and what is the power [derived] from this. For there is much dispute about this, and almost all of it is very difficult [to understand]. Sometimes, however, it happens that the same [star] is found to be both Ruler and House-ruler, whenever the Ruler that is found is the House-ruler of the dominant Light, which same will preside over a great destiny.

Reminder on Terminology (underlined words):

- Rule = Epikratētōr
- House-ruler = Oikodespotēs
- Joint house-ruler = Sunoikodespotēs
- Lord of the Nativity = Kurios
V. Claudius Ptolemy (c. 90 CE – c. 168 CE)

In Brief. Ptolemy was a revisionist who sought to standardize astrology according to rational and scientific principles, with Aristotle as a strong influence. This meant that astrological practices which lacked an obvious basis in natural philosophy were discarded. These included the Lots and the Egyptian bounds, which he replaced with his own set of bounds based on what Ptolemy considered a more logical rationale. His astrological treatise *Tetrabiblos* (“four books”) was widely influential in the Latin West, some say to the detriment of astrology because his text was not representative of mainstream astrology practiced during the Hellenistic era.

Text. *Tetrabiblos*. Edited and Translated by F. E. Robbins. Harvard University Press, 1940. Another popular English translation by J. M. Ashmand is considered less authoritative because it is based on a paraphrase of the *Tetrabiblos* rather than on the entire work.5

Citations.

III.10. Of Length of Life. Method for determining the *epikratētōr*:

Ptolemy restricts the position of the *epikratētōr* to these house positions, translated by Robbins as ‘prorogative places.’ In order of preference: 10th, 1st (from 25 degrees below to 5 degrees above the horizon), 11th, 7th, 9th. *epikratētōr* candidates are the Sun, Moon, Ascendant, Lot of Fortune, and their rulers.

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<tr>
<th>Diurnal Figures</th>
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<td>(2) Moon</td>
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<td>(3) <em>Epikratētōr</em> of Sun, prior New Moon, and ASC</td>
<td>(3) <em>Epikratētōr</em> of Moon, prior Full Moon, Lot of Fortune</td>
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<td>(4a) If syzygy was New Moon =&gt; Ascendant</td>
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<td>(4b) If syzygy was Full Moon =&gt; Lot of Fortune</td>
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</table>

Special Rule #1: If both luminaries are in prorogative places, take the one that is the place of greatest authority (e.g., ranked from greatest to least authority: 10th, 1st, 11th, 7th, 9th).

Special Rule #2: Also consider a ruling planet of the proper sect over the luminaries if the ruling planet occupies a position of greater authority and bears a relation of domination to both the sects. [Note: this is a confusing instruction which in practice may not be able to be implemented because more than one planet can be in the proper sect. Perhaps Ptolemy is referring to the *epikratētōr* further qualified by sect.]

III.13. Of the Quality of the Soul

Assignment of qualities of the soul to Mercury and the Moon.

- Mercury: reason and the mind
- Moon & planets she is configured with: sensory and irrational part

5 For further discussion, see [http://www.hellenisticastrology.com/astrologers/claudius-ptolemy/](http://www.hellenisticastrology.com/astrologers/claudius-ptolemy/).
General method of inquiry of character.

- Sign placement of Mercury and Moon
- Rulers of Mercury and the Moon
- Aspects to the Sun and angles
- Sign Modality
- Solar phase. Planets which are oriental/rising favored over planets which are occidental/setting.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sign Modality</th>
<th>Effects on Character</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cardinal</td>
<td>“…fitted for dealing with the people, fond of turbulence and political activity, glory-seeking, moreover, and attentive to the gods, noble, mobile, inquisitive, inventive, good at conjecture, and fitted for astrology and divination.” Robbins III.13, p. 335 (for all)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutable</td>
<td>“…complex, changeable, hard to apprehend, light, unstable, fickle, amorous, versatile, fond of music, lazy, easily acquisitive, prone to change their minds.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fixed</td>
<td>“…just, unaffected by flattery, persistent, firm, intelligent, patient, industrious, stern, self-controlled, tenacious of grudges, extortionate, contentious, ambitious, factious, grasping, hard, inflexible.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Specific character delineations based on the ruler(s) of Mercury and the Moon.

Beginning with Saturn alone, Ptolemy works through all permutations of planets alone and planet pairs as possible rulers of Mercury and the Moon. Each combination yields specific delineations for character presented for both good and bad placements of planet(s). Ptolemy does not specify whether to use the sign ruler or some other planet as the rulers to consider.

Comments.

Ptolemy computes no oikodespotēs nor any longevity estimate based on major years of the planets. Following his exposition of the releaser, he proceeds by directing the epikratētōr to determine death according to a variety of rules.

Ptolemy also computes no kurios as an indication of psuché or life purpose. Instead he chooses to assign qualities of psuché to rulers of the Moon and Mercury. In Part B of this literature review, see that Ptolemy’s delineation of Jupiter as psuché is very similar to delineations of Jupiter as oikodespotēs by Maternus and Rhetorius. Ptolemy’s use of one or two planet combinations to delineate psuché has proven influential for many subsequent authors including Renaissance astrologer William Lilly who renamed this natal topic ‘manners.’

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VI. Vettius Valens (2nd Century CE)

In Brief. Valens was a practicing astrologer and likely a younger contemporary of Ptolemy. His astrological text, the Anthology, is written in the style of case study notes distilled for teaching purposes.


Unlike Ptolemy’s Tetrabiblos, Valens’ Anthology is not well organized. As a result some topics are scattered across different chapters, which can increase difficulty in discerning Valens’ intent for a specific topic.

Citations.

I.1 The Nature of the Stars. (Riley p. 2). Delineations provided for each of the seven planets. While Valens does not specifically use the term oikodespotēs in this section, Valens’ descriptions are similar to planet descriptions given by Ptolemy, Maternus, and Rhetorius who use similar planetary definitions to describe the oikodespotēs.

II.17. The Trine Influences of the Stars on Prosperity or Poverty. The Configurations of Trine, Sextile, and Opposition. (Riley p. 34)

In this lengthy passage on planetary configurations, Valens indicates that favorable configurations which include the oikodespotēs and the sunoikodespotēs produce eminence. For Jupiter and Mars:

Jupiter trine with Mars, if one is the oikodespotēs and the [sunoikodespotēs?], indicates great men, leaders and dictators, especially when these stars are in their own signs, triangles, or degrees, in operative signs, or when they have exchanged domiciles or terms, especially if they rule the Lot of Fortune or its houseruler. They make great affairs: kings, those in charge of the military (navies or armies), those who rebuild cities or those who destroy them. (Riley p. 34)

If neither star is oikodespotēs or kurios or sunoikodespotēs the trine configuration is mediocre. The native becomes a military/government official. (Riley p. 34)

Compared to Riley’s translation, these passages are presented with changes to terminology suggested by Brennan: houseruler = oikodespotēs; master = kurios, and co-houseruler = sunoikodespotēs. If Brennan is correct, then Valens’ use of ‘master’ is one of the few instances in the Hellenistic literature (other than Antiochus/Porphyry) where another ruler is specified other than the oikodespotēs and sunoikodespotēs. The limits of this argument is that Valens didn’t use kurios for master and the Greek terms for oikodespotēs and kurios which Valens used have similar meanings. Moreover, nowhere else in the text does Valens distinguish between the oikodespotēs and kurios as he appears to in this passage.

II.41. Violent Death. Examples. (Riley pp. 54-55)

In this section, Valens quotes Petosiris on the role of the oikodespotēs (see I. Nechepso and Petosiris of this literature review). Valens disagrees with Petosiris on the all-encompassing nature of the oikodespotēs (what kind of person, livelihood, character, body, health and appearance). Instead Valens argues that
these functions are often given by different planets, because planets in mixed condition are in accord with lives having some features good and others bad.


- Rules for determining the *epikratētōr* and the *oikodespotēs* are given in this section. Valens’s approach appears to take rules of Antiochus/Porphyry as a point of departure to which he adds a laundry list of rules, twenty-five in all. Key points:
  - Employs more house positions for the *epikratētōr* than Ptolemy. 9th is allowable for the Sun and Moon under specific conditions.
  - Possible candidates for the *epikratētōr* are the Sun, Moon, Ascendant, Midheaven. Use of the Midheaven is unique among Hellenistic authors; Lot of Fortune is not mentioned. Prenatal New Moon is allowable only if both luminaries are together in one of the angles.
  - The bound lord of the *epikratētōr* is always the *oikodespotēs*.
  - If both luminaries are in the bounds of the same planet, whether or not the luminaries are in the same or different signs, then that planet will always be the *oikodespotēs*.

III.3. On Releasing. (Riley pp. 59-61)

This section delineates rules for determining longevity once the *epikratētōr* and *oikodespotēs* are chosen. It opens a series of chapters which involves primary directions as well as a completely different method of longevity projection involving what Valens calls 7-Day and 9-Day methods for computing a critical period/point.

*Comments.*

The multitude of case studies supplied by Valens is either:

- a reminder of the limits of the best-designed set of rules for any astrological topic or
- unorganized individual findings and observations which Valens was unable to systematize

For these reasons, caution is advised before committing to any takeaway from Valens’ *Anthology*. For myself, the section on the configuration of Jupiter and Mars is the most important because Valens is explicit that a great aspect configuration cannot help the native unless the planet(s) comprising the configuration are also the *oikodespotēs*, *sunoikodespotēs*, or *kurios*. These statements appear to be consistent with the two-stage selection method for the *kurios* advocated by Antiochus/Porphyry, whose Stage I limits candidates for the *kurios* to planets ruling key natal planets or places.
VII. Paulus Alexandrinus (c. 378 CE) and Olympiodorus (c. 564 CE)

In Brief: Paulus and Olympiodorus are classified as late compilers and commentators. The text of Paulus’ *Introductory Matters* has survived relatively intact and is representative of mainstream astrological practices. Olympiodorus and later scholiasts (unnamed authors) have added commentary.


Citations.

Chapter 3. Concerning the Bounds Which the Five Wandering Stars are Allotted in the Twelve Zoidia [On Account of Rejoicing in These Degrees just as If They Found Themselves in Their Own Zoidia].

- Introduces the Egyptian bounds; explicitly links them to the planetary periods, longevity, and *oikodespotēs* with this statement: “For through these bounds the Egyptian sages determined the reckoning concerning the *oikodespotēs*; from the *oikodespotēs* is drawn conclusions about the length of life” (p. 6).

- A scholiast gives this model for the *oikodespotēs*: an angular planet which is in its own bounds, exaltation, triplicity, or sign; and is not retrograde or under the beams. The scholiast continues the sentence which Greenbaum assumes is a continuation of the same model for *oikodespotēs*; Brennan thinks the balance of the paragraph concerns a second model for the *oikodespotēs*: the planet which has the most number of essential dignities over the Sun and Ascendant in diurnal nativities, or the Moon and Lot of Fortune in nocturnal nativities (p. 8).

Chapter 36. Concerning Rulership.

Model for the *epikratētōr* and *oikodespotēs*:

Diurnal figures:

- Choose the Sun as *epikratētōr* if in 1st, 10th, 11th, 7th, or 8th houses and if in masculine sign.

- Consider the Sun’s bound, exaltation, and triplicity ruler as the *oikodespotēs*. Use pertaining-to-arising, position in an angle, the *oikodespotēs*’s own essential dignities (sign, exaltation, bound), and aspect to the Sun as criteria to select the Master.

Nocturnal figures:

- Choose the Moon as *epikratētōr* if in 1st, 10th, 7th, 4th, 5th, 11th, 2nd, and 8th.

- Consider the Moon’s bound and sign ruler as the *oikodespotēs*. Use pertaining-to-arising, position in an angle, the *oikodespotēs*’s own essential dignities (sign, exaltation, bound), and aspect to the Moon as criteria to select the *oikodespotēs*.
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- If neither luminary is in the correct house, then the prenatal syzygy is the ἐπικρατέτωρ and the bound, triplicity, and sign rulers are candidates for the ὁικοδεσπότης. Use criteria above to refine.

- If the prenatal syzygy is not in the correct house, then choose the Lot of Fortune or the Lot of Spirit as the ἐπικρατέτωρ and consider the bound and triplicity lords as the ὁικοδεσπότης. Use same criteria to refine.

- If the prenatal syzygy is not in the correct house, then choose the Lord of the Ascendant as the ὁικοδεσπότης.

- Concludes by stating the ὁικοδεσπότης must be configured with the ἐπικρατέτωρ.

Longevity:

- States the ὁικοδεσπότης gives its major years when well-situated.
- If either luminary aspects the ὁικοδεσπότης, the Sun adds 120 yrs and the Moon 108 yrs.
- Benefics add years (Jupiter, 12; Venus, 8) when they are configured with the ὁικοδεσπότης but add nothing if they are cadent, under the sunbeams, or retrograde.
- Malefics add years (Mars, 15; Saturn, 30) only if well-placed; if poorly placed, they subtract years.
- Mercury only adds 20 years when configured with the Master; Mercury does not subtract years.

In the commentary by Olympiodorus (pp. 152-154), several points are clarified:

- Four dignities are used in the analysis: sign, bound, triplicity, and exaltation.
- Disqualifies a candidate for ὁικοδεσπότης if under the beams, despite having essential dignities.
- As criteria for choosing the ὁικοδεσπότης, considers angularity and essential dignity.
- Well-situated planets add their minor years to the Master’s major years. “Well-situated” is defined as planets in angular or succedent houses and free of the sunbeams.
- Badly-situated planets subtract their minor years to the ὁικοδεσπότης’ major years. “Badly-situated” is defined as planets in aversion to the Ascendant and under the sunbeams.

Comments.

More so than any other Hellenistic author, Paulus Alexandrinus explicitly makes the connection between the Egyptian bounds, a planet’s major years, the ὁικοδεσπότης, and longevity calculations. Absent from Introductory Matters are delineations for the ὁικοδεσπότης covering other topics like morality, illnesses, physiognomy, etc.,

His model for the ἐπικρατέτωρ and ὁικοδεσπότης is similar in structure to other authors. Differences include the ability of the malefics to add years. Paulus also qualifies planets adding or subtracting years based on angularity and whether they are under the sunbeams; essential dignities are not explicitly mentioned as a factor.

Paulus does not include a model for kurios.
VIII. Firmicus Maternus (middle 4th Century CE)

In Brief. Firmicus’ work is called the *Mathesis*. This is a lengthy work in eight books written in Latin for a Roman audience. It draws on many of the earliest Hellenistic sources and preserves material not found elsewhere. From a practical astrological perspective, it is one of the two largest sources of delineation texts, treating of planets in houses, aspects, applications and separations of the Moon, decennials, etc., within the Hellenistic tradition. Valens’ *Anthologies* is the other extensive text.

Texts.


*On the Ruler of the Nativity and the Chronocrator*. Lost text which gives a fuller treatment of the Ruler of the Nativity, which Maternus states he covers only sparsely in *Mathesis* (see Mathesis IV.20:1. p. 228).

Citations.

II.25. Which God denotes how many Years of Life (Holden Chapter 26, pp. 75-76.)

- Explicitly links the *oikodespotēs* to longevity. However, Maternus uses “Ruler of Life,” “*Epikratētōr,*” and “Ruler of the Nativity” interchangeably, which is confusing.
- For each planet, states a range of longevity projections using a planet’s major years, minor years; months and hours are delineated by using the minor years.
- States a planet gives its major years when the *oikodespotēs* is in his own sign, exaltation, or bound, and if in-sector stars make favorable aspects. States that a planet gives “middling age” if “at least in his own terms, or in his own domicile, or in his own rising, but [with] the ASC in Libra.”

III.2.23 (Holden pp. 99-100)

Confusion over whether Maternus considers the *oikodespotēs* and the *epikratētōr* a single planet or two separate planets is evident in this paragraph which delineates a Saturn configuration:

> But if, with Saturn placed thus, the star of Mercury was associated with it, it will give the greatest ingenuity of mind and long substance of life, especially if it is the Ruler of the Nativity or the Giver of Life. But if that one is the one who is the Giver of Life and it is harmful, it subtracts thirty years from those years that were decreed. But it also denotes stronger evils, however often it is placed thus against the Ruler of the Nativity, which the Greeks call the *oecodespotēn*, or if it is posited against the Giver of Life, especially if Mars aspects it by a square or opposition aspect. For it if is posted thus, it denotes paralytics, deformed persons, hunchbacks, dwarves, stooped men, hermaphrodites, and whatever [sorts of men] are similar to these. Moreover, it denotes these things in accordance with the bodies and substance of the signs.

Whatever the case, this paragraph explicitly links the *oikodespotēs* to longevity/health as in II.25.
IV. Preface (Holden p. 176)

Maternus includes most of his material on the oikodespotēs in Chapter 4. By way of organization of the Mathesis, Chapter 4 follows introductory material including definitions, universal techniques, and delinations of planetary configurations (such as that for Saturn just given). The contents of Chapter 4 include the Moon’s configurations, Lot of Fortune, Lot of Spirit, oikodespotēs, planets which signify actions, full/empty degrees, and masculine/feminine degrees. These topics move beyond specific planetary configurations found in Chapter 3 and introduce delineation techniques which consider the horoscope as a whole.


IV.19.1. Introduces the oikodespotēs by stating “for it possesses the sum of the whole nativity, and the decrees of the individual stars are allotted by it.” Recapitulates longevity conditions stated in II.25.

IV.19.2. Gives four models for computing the oikodespotēs.

1. A planet in the principal houses of the nativity (e.g., in an angle), in its own sign or bound.
2. The bound lord of the Sun in a diurnal nativity; bound lord of the Moon in a nocturnal nativity.
3. Moon’s exaltation ruler.
4. Sign lord of the next sign the Moon will make an ingress into after birth, with one exception: if the Moon is in Gemini at birth, because neither the Sun or Moon can be the oikodespotēs, the following sign of Virgo is relevant, with Virgo’s ruler Mercury being the oikodespotēs. Maternus prefers the 4th method and states it is “universally approved.”

IV.19.5. What the Star does that is found to be the oikodespotēs (Holden pp. 217-225)

Delineates five planets as oikodespotēs: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury. Delineations include morality, psychology, physiognomy, illnesses, social status, rank, and fortune.

IV.19.31 What the oikodespotēs does when Joined to Another Star (Holden pp. 225-228)

States explicitly that neither Sun nor Moon can be the oikodespotēs. Proceeds to give delineations for effects which occur when the oikodespotēs is configured with the luminaries.

Comments.

Because his book on the oikodespotēs (‘On the Ruler of the Nativity and the Chronocrator’) has been lost, we should not consider statements on the oikodespotēs made in Mathesis as definitive. In particular, as Chris Brennan has pointed out, his characterization that the 4th model for determining the oikodespotēs is ‘universally approved’ appears questionable given most other Hellenistic authors tended to follow the 2nd model. The 1st model Maternus is similar to the model advocated by Antiochus/Porphyry.

What is reasonable to conclude? Maternus assigned multiple delineation topics to planets designated as oikodespotēs ranging from longevity to moral qualities of the soul. This places him outside Ptolemy’s influence who assigned psuchē to the configuration of the Moon, Mercury, and their rulers.
IX. Hephaistio of Thebes (c. 415 CE)

_In Brief._ Classified as a late compiler and commentator, Hephaistio wrote _Apotelesmatics_ in three volumes. This is a well organized work structured as a commentary and synthesis of Ptolemy’s _Tetrabiblos_ and Dorotheus’ _Pentateuch_.

_Text._


_Citation._

I.13. Concerning Rulership and Co-rulership (with original footnotes)

_The lord of the house is said to be the ruler, _ but the star sharing a house is said to be a co-ruler _ on the one hand, whenever the house should be its own, and on the other, whenever the house should be the exaltation or trigon or boundary of the star._ The ruler of the birth is the one having more of the five relations of house, exaltation, trigon, boundaries, and phase in relation to the Sun.

II.11. Concerning the Length of Life According to the Truth and Ptolemy

Extensive commentary on Ptolemy’s method of primary directions used to compute longevity.

II.15. Concerning Quality of Soul

Commentary on Ptolemy’s method of assigning _psuchē _to the Moon, Mercury, their rulers, and their configuration. Project Hindsight expressly omitted translation of paired planet delineations for the rulers.

_Comments._

There is little new in Hephaistio’s _Apotelesmatics_; however, it does shed light on certain confusing passages in Ptolemy’s _Tetrabiblos_. In any case, mention of solar phase instead of decan as one of five relations demonstrates the importance given to solar phase as a criterion beyond essential dignity when computing the _oikodespotēs_.

7 _kurios_. Footnote by R. Schmidt.
9 It is not clear, despite the language, whether the second co-ruler in what follows must occupy the house (i.e. zoidion). Footnote by R. Hand.
10 _sunoikodespotēs_. In view of not 13 below, ‘co-ruler’ is perhaps not a comprehensive enough word to translate the senses of sun. This means that we may have mistranslated this word in some of our previous translations. Footnote by R. Schmidt.
11 The prefix sun in Greek has two basic meanings: ‘with’ and ‘completely.’ Accordingly, there are two different senses of _sunoikodespotēs_, one when a planet is a co-ruler, and another when it is actually in its own house, at which time it is completely the master of the house. Consequently there is no way to translate this passage clearly into English without rewriting it. We simply have to understand that ‘co-ruler’ stands for two completely different concepts. Footnote by R. Schmidt.

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X. Rhetorius the Egyptian (6th or 7th Century CE)

In Brief: A late compiler and commentator, Rhetorius is one of the last figures of Hellenistic astrology whose work survives in later Byzantine versions. His Compendium contains a number of excerpts from earlier authors, including Antiochus and Teucer of Babylon. Teucer wrote delineations for the signs and planets. Of interest to this literature review is the Rhetorius/Teucer planetary delineations which describe effects for each of the five planets as the oikodespotēs.


Citations. Description of the Seven Planets is presented in Appendix II, pp. 195-206. For the description of Jupiter, see Section B.1 of this Working Paper.

Rhetorius/Teucer modifies delineations for the oikodespotēs based on the following conditions:

- Primary sect rejoicing condition: diurnal planets in a diurnal figure; nocturnal planets, nocturnal figure
- Secondary sect rejoicing condition: consistent of planets’ sex and sign
- Essential Dignity: sign or exaltation
- House Position: angular or succedent
- Solar Phase: prefers oriental
- Configuration with other planets

When the oikodespotēs is found in inactive signs (in aversion to the Ascendant) or under the sunbeams, “they will produce these humble things and no measureable progress” (p. 200).

If the oikodespotēs is well-placed and strong, but the co-ruler of the sign in which the oikodespotēs is found is damaged, one part of life will be fortunate, and the rest of life unfortunate.

Comments. It is interesting to compare delineations by Rhetorius/Teucer with those made by Ptolemy, Valens, and Maternus (see Section B of this working paper for a comparison of Jupiter delineations). Those by Rhetorius/Teucer are reasonably complete compared to some later authors like Valens who offer substantial abbreviations.

Mention of life as a struggle for those natives with a oikodespotēs under the sunbeams is unusual; most other authors disregard planets under the sunbeams as candidates for being the oikodespotēs.
D. Sources: Medieval Arabic Period

I. Māshā’allah bin Atharī (c. 740 C.E. – 815 C.E.)

In Brief. Māshā’allah was a Persian Jewish astrologer originally from Khorasan who settled in Basra. There, with Nawbakht the Persian and ’Umar al-Tabarī, Māshā’allah participated in casting the electoral chart for the foundation of Baghdad on July 31, 762 (at the approximate age of 22). Māshā’allah wrote over 20 astrology works, with the vast majority surviving in secondary translations made in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. During the 12th century translation wave, Māshā’allah was Latinized as Messahala.

Texts.

The Book of Aristotle
On Nativities
On Reception
On the Significations of the Planets in a Nativity
What the Planets Signify in the Twelve Domiciles of the Circle

Each of these texts has been translated by Benjamin Dykes. The Book of Aristotle appears in Persian Nativities, Volume I. The other four texts are included in Works of Sahl and Māshā’allah.

The Book of Aristotle, On Nativities, and On Reception all have sections devoted to determining the hilāj and kadukbuddāb. Following the discussion of the hilāj and kadukbuddāb in On Nativities, Māshā’allah goes on to write the chapter “What kind of will the native has,” which is loosely based on Ptolemy’s model for manners. Comparing these texts, Māshā’allah’s student Abū ‘Ali Al-Khayyāt closely follows longevity models presented in On Nativities. On the Significations of the Planets in a Nativity lists in a cookbook delineation style effects of planets in signs ruled by other planets, house rulers placed in all twelve houses, and planets placed in all the bounds. What the Planets Signify in the Twelve Domiciles of the Circle is also written in a cookbook delineation style for effects of planets in each of the twelve houses. While delineations in On the Significations of the Planets and What the Planets Signify mostly concern discrete events, there are some references to character and morality which are useful to delineating both the nafs and mubtazz.

Citations: The Book of Aristotle

I.3 On the hilāj and the kadukbuddāb (pp. 13-14).

Quotes Dorotheus (Carmen III.1.1-6) on definitions for planets arising from the Sun, making distinctions between superior and inferior planets.

II.1 On the orientality and occidentality of the stars, and their greatest years (pp. 18-19).

Classifies a planet’s effectiveness in seven ways; with implication for longevity. [Note: This list is similar to conditions listed in II.8 On the corruption of the stars.]

1. Pertaining-to- ARISING and pertaining-to-sinking
2. Conjur North or South Node
3. Besiegement

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4. Placed in the 6th or 12th houses
5. Cadent (“falling”) by house position or in sign of detriment (another way of “falling”)
6. When benefics make partile aspect to malefics
7. Retrogradation.

III.1.5 On recognizing the hilāj (Dykes pp. 53-54).

Procedure for choosing the hilāj:

1. Choose the in-sect luminary if cleansed and safe; if not
2. Ascendant (if free); if not
3. Lot of Fortune (if free) if not
4. Prenatal syzygy

Sun is preferred if located in 1st, 10th, 11th houses; and in a male sign or quadrant. Māshā’āllāh states that the Sun in a feminine sign placed in the quadrant between the 1st and 10th is allowable because that quadrant is male. This is based on the argument given by Dorotheus, which Māshā’āllāh restates next, that the Sun in a feminine sign cannot be the hilāj if located in the 7th, 8th, or 9th houses because that quadrant is feminine. This placement renders the Sun twice feminized.

Moon is allowable as hilāj if in angular or succedent houses, preferably in a female sign below the horizon in a nocturnal nativity; if diurnal, then above the horizon.

Ignore sign or quadrant sex when the hilāj is the Ascendant, Lot of Fortune, or the prenatal syzygy.

III.1.6 What the recognition of the kadukhudābāh is, [and] by what procedure it could be found (p. 55-56).

1. Choose the bound lord of the in-sect luminary, especially if that planet also rules the sign of the Ascendant, Lot of Fortune, or prenatal syzygy.
2. Kadukhudābāh must regard the hilāj by Ptolemaic aspect; if not, no kadukhudābāh.
3. How to choose between competing candidates for the kadukhudābāh:
   If the 1st planet rules the Sun’s sign and bound and a 2nd planet rules the Sun’s triplicity and exaltation, choose the sign and bound lord over the exaltation and triplicity lord.
   If three candidates: 1st planet rules the Sun’s bound and triplicity, 2nd planet rules the Sun’s sign, and a 3rd planet rules the Sun’s exaltation, choose the 1st planet as the kadukhudābāh.
4. If the Sun or Moon is the hilāj but there is no kadukhudābāh, directions of the Sun and Moon to malefics and their rays portend distress and death.

III.1.7 On the quantity of life (pp. 56-60).
III.1.8 On the years of the stars (pp. 60-61).

In these two sections, Māshā’āllāh draws heavily on Valens to discuss a wide variety of permutations of primary directions and other techniques for timing death. Many of these are not discussed outside of Valens’ Anthology and Māshā’āllāh’s Book of Aristotle.
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Citations: On Nativities

2. When there is a hilāj in the nativity, or not (pp. 395-396).

Diurnal Figures

1. Sun if angular/succedent, masculine sign/quarter, aspected by one of her (five) lords. Māshāʾallāh lists this order: sign, bound, exaltation, triplicity, decan.
2. Moon if angular/succedent, feminine sign/quarter, aspected by one of her (five) lords.
3. Lord of prenatal syzygy.
4. Lord of Lot of Fortune’s sign.
5. Ascendant

No instructions are provided for nocturnal figures but most later authors reverse steps 1 & 2.

3. On the acquaintance of the time from the kadukhūdāh (pp. 396-397).

States that from the kadukhūdāh one learns the computation of life. Once the hilāj is found, examine the rulers in this order: bound, triplicity, sign, exaltation, decan. If a ruler aspects the hilāj it is the kadukhūdāh. If there are more than one, consider strength and degree proximity as deciding factors.

If a luminary is the hilāj and the luminary is in the sign of its rulership or exaltation, it is also the kadukhūdāh.

Years given by the kadukhūdāh depend on angularity, essential dignity, and solar phase.

North Node adds 25% if conjunct the kadukhūdāh within 12 degrees; South Node deducts 25%. South Node partile conjunct the Sun or Moon deducts nothing. Sun elongated from the South Node deducts years.

Jupiter with Venus in the Ascendant each add their own lesser years, unless malefics impede or one of these planets rules the 8th of death.

4. How many years the planets add to the kadukhūdāh (pp. 397-398).

Benefics which aspect the kadukhūdāh “from a sextile aspect or some good one” add the lesser years if the benefic if fortunate. Weak benefics only add lesser years as months. Retrograde benefics impeded by malefics add lesser years as weeks. Two other sets of serious afflictions are described which reduce lesser years to days or hours. Mercury adds its lesser years if in a good place; subtracts, if in a bad place. Aspects from Mars to the kadukhūdāh have the strongest effects of any planet. Death is timed by directing the malefic which impedes the kadukhūdāh to the kadukhūdāh itself.

5. What kind of will the native has (pp. 398-401).

For knowing the native’s will, consider the Lord of the Ascendant and Mercury. Consider the planet’s sign by quadriplicity and whether the planets are angular and oriental (good) or cadent and occidental (bad). Provides a delineation of the native’s will for each of the seven planets when ruling the Ascendant.
Citations: On Reception

Chapter 11: On discovering the hilāj of the native.

Diurnal figures:

1. Sun, if not removed by more than 5 degrees behind the house cusp of 1st, 10th; if received by sign or exaltation ruler by conjunction or aspect. Receiving planet is the kadukbudbāh “who is in charge of the nativity.”

2. Moon, if not removed by more than 5 degrees behind house cusp of angular or succedent houses (e.g., 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 11th); and conjoined [or aspected] to sign or exaltation ruler.

3. Lot of Fortune, if not more than 5 degrees behind house cusp of angular or succedent houses and joined to bound or sign ruler.

4. If figure is conjunctional, consider the conjunctional degree using the same criteria in #3.

5. If “the boy were born in the conjunction,” consider the conjunctional degree using same criteria in #3.

6. If the figure is preventional, use the preventional degree using the same criteria in #3. But, if the bound or sign ruler is not joined to the preventional degree, still use the preventional degree as the hilāj.

7. Consider the Ascendant as hilāj and either the bound or sign lord as kadukbudbāh, no matter if they are joined to the Ascendant degree.

Nocturnal figures:

“And you will operate in the night just as you operate in the day, equally in all hours, but you will begin in the day from the Sun, after that from the Moon…..” which seems to be in error. The pattern of other authors starts with the Moon, then from the Sun, swapping steps #1 and #2 in the above list for diurnal figures.

Indicates when the Ascendant is the hilāj that life expectancy is shortened unless two things occur:

1. Aspects of the Sun, Venus, Jupiter, or the Moon to malefics or their aspects break the virtue of malefics.
2. If the one who is “in charge of the nativity” (e.g., kadukbudbāh) is strong, the native will not perish.

Provides adjustments to longevity based on house placement, essential dignity, and solar phase.

As long as benefics are not retrograde, combust, or placed in the 6th or 12th, benefics add years by all aspects. Years added are one year for each degree based on the planet’s hourly times.
Malefics deduct years by any aspect “according to the number of the degrees which are in the time of the hours of that degree in which it is in the clime in which the nativity was, one year for every degree of the degrees of the hours” (see p. 487).

States that both the North and South Node deduct 25% of years if within 8 degrees of the kadukhadhah.

States that benefics or their aspects liberate from death during primary directions; vice versa for malefics.

If the *kadukbudbāb* is strong, then directions of malefics or their aspects to the *bilāj* will not kill until the native has lived out years given by the *kadukbudbāb*.

Chapter finishes with a discussion of the Hellenistic doctrine of hurling of the rays and repeats the effects on longevity when the *bilāj* encounters benefics and malefics during primary directions.

*Comments.*

Together with “Umar Al-Tabarī, Māshāʾallāh was influential in establishing natal doctrines which influenced many subsequent astrological authors and translators working under the auspices of the House of Wisdom translation project.

With three different texts giving slightly differing sets of rules for the computing the *bilāj* and *kadukbudbāb*, it is impossible to draw firm conclusions on Māshāʾallāh’s treatment of longevity, the *mubtazz* and *nafs*.

For the *nafs*, Māshāʾallāh loosely follows Ptolemy’s model. Māshāʾallāh alters Ptolemy’s significator list by adding the Ascendant lord, dropping the Moon, and retaining Mercury.

Māshāʾallāh’s delineations for the will of the native are primarily moral, with a few examples of profession identified by planet.
II. Abū ‘Ali Al-Khayyāt (ca. 770 – ca. 835 C.E.)

In brief. Abū Ali was a student of Māshā’ālāh.

Text. Al-Khayyāt, Abū ‘Ali. Translated and Edited by Benjamin Dykes. The Judgments of Nativities in Persian Nativities. Volume I: Māshā’ālāh and Abū Ali. Minneapolis, Minnesota: The Cazimi Press, 2009. Of his astrological works, The Judgments of Nativities is best known for its popularity as a manual for beginning astrologers. During the 12th century translation wave, it was translated into Latin by Plato of Tivoli (1136) and John of Seville (1153). Dykes argues that The Judgments of Nativities is comprised of a compilation of Māshā’ālāh’s On Nativities, Abu Ali’s own abridged notes from Māshā’ālāh’s Book of Aristotle, and sections from Māshā’ālāh’s On the Significations of the Planets in a Nativity and What the Planets Signify in the Twelve Domiciles of the Circle. It offers little new material but does help clear up some transmission threads; in addition, as a popular text it is representative of the type of astrology practiced in the Latin West.

Citations.

Chapter 2. On the hīlāj and the knowledge of the space of life, pp. 231-233.

Diurnal figures:

1. Sun, if placed in angles or succedent houses, in a masculine sign or quarter, and if aspected by any planet with any dignity in the place of the Sun (sign, bound, exaltation, triplicity, decan) OR

2. Moon, if placed in angles or succedent houses, in a feminine sign or quarter, and if aspected by any planet with any dignity in the place of the Moon (sign, bound, exaltation, triplicity, decan) OR

3a. If the figure is conjunctional, choose the Ascendant “just as you have sought [it from] the Sun and Moon,” which implies at least one Ascendant ruler has dignity, aspects the Ascendant by whole sign houses, and is placed in an angle or succedent house OR

3b. If the figure is preventional, Abū ‘Ali gives us no instruction.

4. If the Ascendant fails, choose the Lot of Fortune (if one of its rulers meets above ASC qualifications) OR

5. If the Lot of Fortune fails, choose the prenatal syzygy (if one of its rulers meets above ASC qualifications).

Nocturnal figures:

1. Moon, if placed in angles or succedent houses, in a feminine sign or quarter, and if aspected by any planet with any dignity in the place of the Moon (sign, bound, exaltation, triplicity, decan) OR

2. Sun, if placed in angles or succedent houses, in a masculine sign or quarter, and if aspected by any planet with any dignity in the place of the Sun (sign, bound, exaltation, triplicity, decan) OR
3a. If the figure is preventative, choose the Lot of Fortune. Assumed: as long as one of the Lot of Fortune rulers has dignity on its own accord, aspects the Lot of Fortune by whole sign aspect, and is placed in angular/succedent houses OR

3b. If the figure is conjunctional, Abū ‘Ali gives no instruction.

4. Abu ‘Ali skips the Ascendant as a releaser candidate, though Dykes inserts the Ascendant here; OR

5. If the Lot of Fortune fails, choose the prenatal syzygy (if one of its rulers meets the above specifications).

Additional:

1. If steps 1-5 fail to yield a *kadukhbdhāb* for the *bīlāj*, reduced longevity is expected.

2. Sign sex does not matter if the *bīlāj* is the Ascendant, Lot of Fortune, or the prenatal syzygy.

3. If the *bīlāj* is the Lot of Fortune, consider only its sign, exaltation, and bound rulers as candidates for the *kadukhbdhāb*.

*Chapter 3. On the kadukhbdhāb and what it would signify about life,* pp. 233-234.

Qualifies the choice of *kadukhbdhāb* by listing the bound ruler of the *bīlāj* as the first choice, followed by the sign, exaltation, triplicity, and decan rulers. States that as long as one of these rulers aspects the *bīlāj*, it is the *kadukhbdhāb*. For multiple *kadukhbdhāb* candidates, proximity of aspect and the dignity of *kadukhbdhāb* is considered as a second condition.

Sun in Aries/Leo is both *bīlāj* and the *kadukhbdhāb*, if some of the Sun’s rulers do not aspect.

Moon in Cancer/Taurus is both *bīlāj* and *kadukhbdhāb*, if some of the Moon’s rulers do not aspect.

Angularity of *kadukhbdhāb* gives major years; succedent houses, middle years; cadent houses, lesser years.

Years of the *kadukhbdhāb* are progressively diminished if the *kadukhbdhāb* is occidental, peregrine, retrograde, and combust.

Moon’s North Node increases years of *kadukhbdhāb* by 25%; South Node, diminishes by 25%.

If the *kadukhbdhāb* indicates a short life, benefics placed in the angles may offer more years unless the Ascendant or Moon’s bound are impeded or benefics rule the 8th house.

*Chapter 4. How much the stars would add to or subtract from the years of the kadukhbdhāb,* p. 235.

Presents a table of years of the planets (greater, middle, lesser).

Modifications to years of longevity granted by the *kadukhbdhāb*:

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Benefics in sound condition, in aspect by trine or sextile add lesser years; if middling, lesser years as months; if unsound, lesser years as days or hours. Square or opposition aspects (benefics) add nothing.

Malefics which aspect by square or opposition deduct lesser years. Sextile or trine aspects (malefics) neither add nor subtract years.

Mercury adds his minor years if with benefics; subtracts his minor years if with malefics.

Once longevity is computed, direct the bilāj to the bodies or rays of malefics to determine death.

Chapter 5. On the quality of the native’s mind, pp. 236-239.

Moon and the Ascendant signify the body; Lord of the Ascendant and Mercury signify the soul.

Cardinality of significators of the mind is considered next.

If the Lord of the Ascendant and Mercury are oriental and placed in angular/succedent houses, the mind and morals are good. If the Lord of the Ascendant and Mercury are occidental and cadent, “they signify the trouble and brashness of the mind, and great greed; ravenousness, and excessive speed.”

Descriptions are given for each of the seven planets as “Lord of the Ascendant” or those which “hold onto the dominion of the Ascendant.” Good/bad attributes are determined if the Lord is placed in a good/bad place.

Delineations are given for Mercury’s position with, and application to, the six remaining planets.

States that additional qualities, such as manliness/womanliness, strength/unsoundness, increase or decrease the qualities of the soul depending on the nature and quality of the sign where significators of the soul are placed.

Comments.

Given his teacher Māshā’llāh’s conflicting set of rules for the bilāj and kadukhdbh in various texts, one wonders if this set of rules by Abū ‘Ali Al-Khayyāt is closer to Māshā’llāh’s actual thinking.

Insertion of the Ascendant as a bilāj candidate in step #4 for nocturnal nativities by Dykes needs to be highlighted. Though most authors include the Ascendant as a bilāj candidate for both nocturnal and diurnal nativities; we must keep in mind that since the Ascendant is an enemy of the Moon it may not actually be a viable bilāj for nocturnal nativities.

There is the possibility that planets which “hold onto the dominion of the Ascendant” refers to planets which hold an anticia relationship to the Ascendant degree.

Like his teacher, Abū ‘Ali Al-Khayyāt does not define a mubtazz for the horoscope as a whole. The closest statements he makes which are similar to how other authors treat the mubtazz are found in Chapter 5: “On the quality of the native’s mind” which is virtually identical to Māshā’llāh’s “On the will of the
native” in On Nativities. Abu ‘Ali adds a few sentences on manliness or womanliness; e.g., gender confusion. Gender confusion (and its related topic of sexual preference) is a topic which is greatly expanded by Ptolemy under the heading Of Diseases of the Soul (Robbins III.14).
III. ‘Umar bin al-Farrukhan al-Tabarī (died c. 815 C.E.)

In Brief. Like Māshā'allāh, ‘Umar Al-Tabarī belongs to the first generation of Persian astrologers who operated under the caliph al-Mansur’s House of Wisdom translation project. With Nawbakht the Persian and Māshā'allāh, ‘Umar al-Tabarī participated in casting the electoral chart for the foundation of Baghdad. Astrological works include texts on natal, horary, and mundane astrology. These include an untranslated Arabic text named Treatise on the Discovery of Innermost Thoughts by the Way of the Stars which Dykes suspects is a source for Hermann of Carinthia’s The Search of the Heart (See D-X of this literature review). In addition to works of his own pen, ‘Umar al-Tabarī made a paraphrase of Ptolemy’s Tetrabiblos and also made what is the most complete surviving translation in any language of Pentateuch by Dorotheus of Sidon.


Citations.

1.4.1. The hilāj, pp. 7-8.

Diurnal figures:

1. Sun qualifies if placed in 1st, 10th, 11th (masculine or feminine signs); 8th, 9th (masculine only) OR
2. Moon qualifies if placed in 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 11th (feminine signs only) OR
3a. For preventional figures, choose the Lot of Fortune OR preventional degree.
3b For conjunctional figures, choose the Ascendant OR Lot of Fortune OR conjunctional degree.

At each stage of consideration, hilāj candidates are qualified by one of ruler making an aspect to the hilāj: by sign, exaltation, bound, or triplicity (Note: decan is specifically excluded).

If more than one ruler of the hilāj has equal authority, choose the one with the closest aspect to the hilāj. If one candidate has 2 or 3 authorities, choose it as the kadukbūdāb even if its aspect is wider than another candidate.

Death is timed by directing the hilāj to an infortune by body or rays, unless a fortune directs it rays to the bound of the directed hilāj.

Makes an analogy of the hilāj/kadukbūdāb to the wife/husband.

Defines hilāj as “place of life” and the kadukbūdāb as “giver” or “significator” of years.

States alternate opinions of Ptolemy and Dorotheus on the Sun and Moon as hilāj candidates based on the sign’s sex and placement in houses in and opposite to their respective houses of joy.
Provides the logic behind preference of Lot of Fortune or Ascendant based on type of prenatal syzygy.

- Lot of Fortune preferred for preventional figures “because then the Moon is full, having the power of the night with her perfection.”

- Ascendant preferred for conjunctional figures “because the Moon is without light in the conjunction, and then the whole light will belong namely to the Ascendant of the Sun.”

Section concludes with another complete set of hilāj rules. Includes requirements that Lot of Fortune or prenatal syzygy as hilāj candidates must be placed in angular or succedent houses, though the sign’s sex is irrelevant.

1.4.2. The kadukhdbḥ, pp. 10-12.

Begins by quoting Dorotheus that the bound ruler of the hilāj should be considered as the first candidate for the kadukhdbḥ, followed by sign, exaltation, and triplicity rulers. Decans are excluded.

States explicitly that the candidate for the kadukhdbḥ must “project its own rays to that bound [of the hilāj]” which implies a tighter aspectual configuration between hilāj and kadukhdbḥ than a mere whole sign aspect. In fact, since some bounds are as narrow as 2 degrees (such as the bound of Saturn/Virgo occupying the final two degrees of Virgo), the required aspect orb can be as little as 2 degrees.

Gives rules for choosing against competing candidates for the kadukhdbḥ based on angularity, essential dignity, and solar phase. Two other techniques for choosing the kadukhdbḥ are proposed (Note the similarity between these methods and Stage I candidates for choosing the mubtazz using the Antiochus/Porphyry model):

- A planet in the Ascendant or Midheaven which has essential dignity in the place of the hilāj.

- Superior planets when oriental, cazimi, or stationing (+/- 7 days from date of birth).

The section concludes by referencing Ptolemy’s method for finding the Kadukhdbḥ, which as Ben Dykes points out is a misunderstanding, as Ptolemy did not compute a Kadukhdbḥ at all. In Tetrabiblos III.10, Ptolemy includes a method for computing a hilāj candidate if neither Sun or Moon quality as hilāj. The way al-Tabari reads, it’s as if Ptolemy recommended a full-blown natal mubtazz.

Predomination calculation

Here is al-Tabari’s method for computing the victor of the horoscope (misattributed to Ptolemy):

And he[sic] said that the planet is more worthy to be in charge which had more dignity in the Ascendant and [in the places of] the luminaries, and in the Lot of Fortune, or in the degree of the conjunction or prevention which was before the nativity. Which if there were a planet having dignity in three or four places, or in two of these places (namely of the above-stated ones), we should establish it as a mubtazz which is in charge of (that is, which has dominion over) the nativity (p. 12).

1.4.3. The years of the kadukhdbḥ, pp. 13-15.
Uses the *kadukbudbāḥ* to compute longevity with these guidelines:

- Solar phase, angularity, hayyiz, essential dignity are used to determine whether the *kadukbudbāḥ* gives its greater, middle, or lesser years.

- Benefics add lesser years if they aspect the *kadukbudbāḥ*, unless they are retrograde or combust (when they add their lesser years as months).

- Malefics subtract their lesser years if they aspect the *kadukbudbāḥ* by square or opposition, or are conjoined with the *kadukbudbāḥ*.

- If with benefics, Mercury adds minor years; with malefics, he subtracts minor years.

The balance of this section contains variations of these principles.

### 1.4.4. Adding to and subtracting from the years of the *Kadukbudbāḥ*, pp. 15-17.

This section includes similar statements to those made in 1.4.3. New material includes:

- Nodes alter years given by the *Kadukbudbāḥ* by 25%; South Node deducts; North Node adds.

- Sun deducts minor years if conjoins or in square or opposition aspect to the *Kadukbudbāḥ*; if reception deducts minor years as months or days. Sun adds minor years if in sextile or trine aspect.

- If the *kadukbudbāḥ* were under the sunbeams, it cannot receive an increase from the fortunes because the *Kadukbudbāḥ* “will be practically blind” and “because it does not look at them nor do they look at it.”

The balance of Chapter 1.4 concerns directing the *hilāj* to determine length of life.

### 2.1.2. Directing the *hilāj* for the native’s condition, p. 26.

Al-Ṭabarī directs the *hilāj* to planets and their aspects in order “to know the native’s life, and his condition in the distribution of his life.”

### 3.1.1. Delineating prosperity, p. 46.

‘Umar begins his natal delineation by reviewing each planet’s solar phase. Conditions such as superior planets oriental and placed in the 1st or 10th which receive the Sun, classify the native as being royal, with high social standing. For ‘Umar, social class and rank define the native rather than the *mubtazz*.

### 3.4.1. The father, pp. 55-56.

Al-Ṭabarī’s only mention of something approximating the *mubtazz* within Book II occurs in this chapter, where he states that concord between the father and the native depends on the configuration of
the “mubtazz over the house of fathers and the mubtazz over the Ascendant.” Unfortunately, ‘Umar lists no method for computing the Ascendant mubtazz.

Comments.

Al-Tabari’s instruction in 2.1.2. to direct the hilāj “to know the native’s life and his condition” is similar to Ptolemy and others who dispense with the mubtazz concept. By this statement, al-Tabari conceives the “condition” of the native’s life to be described by the ups and downs of the hilāj directed through benefic/malefic bounds, and to the bodies and aspects of benefics/malefics. However, no definitive statements can be made on al-Tabari’s conception of the mubtazz until the Treatise on the Discovery of Innermost Thoughts by the Way of the Stars is translated (from Arabic).
IV. Al-Kindī (c. 801 – c. 870 C. E.)

In Brief. Abū Yūṣuf Ya’qūb bin Ishāq al-Kindī, known as “the Philosopher of the Arabs,” oversaw a group of translators in Baghdad’s House of Wisdom in the generation of astrologers following Māshā’allah and “Umar al-Tabarī. The Forty Chapters of Al-Kindī is primarily a horary and electional astrology guide. Of interest to this literature review is Al-Kindī’s opening discussion of universal astrological techniques which includes comments on the hīlāj, kadukhudhāh, and mubtazz. Though Al-Kindi indicates that these concepts can be used as horary and electional astrology techniques, they are presented in a similar way as other authors do when discussing natal astrology.


Citations.

Chapter 2.4 The planet in charge (p. 92).

This section ascribes authority to planets which are oriental.

Chapter 3.2 Weighted mubtazz for the querent, taken from all releasing places (p. 94-96).

Described as the mubtazz for the querent, the following significators are evaluated according to essential dignities: Sun, Moon, Ascendant, Lot of Fortune, and the prenatal syzygy. Points are assigned as follows: sign-5; exaltation-4; bound-3; triplicity-2; face-1.

Chapter 3.3 The hīlāj and kadukhudhāh (p. 94).

To determine the hīlāj:

Diurnal figures:

1. Sun, if placed in masculine sign or quarter and if a planet with any dignity makes a whole sign aspect.

2. Moon, if placed in a feminine sign or quarter and if a planet with any dignity makes a whole sign aspect.

3a. If the figure is conjunctual, choose the Ascendant if any ruler makes a whole sign aspect.

3b. If the figure is preventional, al-Kindi gives no instruction.

4. If not the Ascendant, then choose the Lot of Fortune if any ruler makes a whole sign aspect.

5. If not the Ascendant or Lot of Fortune, choose the prenatal syzygy if any ruler makes a whole sign aspect.

6. If steps 1-5 fail to yield a hīlāj and kadukhudah, then the nativity lacks them.

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Nocturnal figures:

1. Moon, if placed in a feminine sign or quarter and if a planet with any dignity makes a whole sign aspect.

2. Sun, if placed in masculine sign or quarter and if a planet with any dignity makes a whole sign aspect.

3a. If the figure is preventional, choose the Lot of Fortune if any ruler makes a whole sign aspect.

3b. If the figure is conjunctional, al-Kindi gives no instruction.

4. If not the Lot of Fortune, then choose the Ascendant if any ruler makes a whole sign aspect.

5. If not the Lot of Fortune or Ascendant, choose the prenatal syzygy if any ruler makes a whole sign aspect.

6. If steps 1-5 fail to yield a bilāj and kadukhundbāh, then the nativity lacks them.

The aspecting planet is the kadukhundbāh. Conditions with strength for the kadukhundbāh are: advancing, eastern, direct, in its own half, and in one of its own dignities.

The bilāj should be directed to rays and bodies of benefics which bestow fortunes and rays and bodies of malefics which show misfortune.

Comments:

Chapter 2.4. Like other authors, al-Kindi describes three levels of power for oriental planets; however, his classification rules are different. For al-Kindi, the strongest solar phase occurs when the planet appears visible in the morning after separating from the Sun by 12 degrees or a little more. The next level of power, described as middling luckiness, occurs when the planet is distant from the Sun by approximately 24 degrees. The final level of power, described as lesser fortune, occurs when the planet is distant from the Sun by approximately 36 degrees. Additional distances, described as 4x and 5x the original 12 degrees, lead to misfortune. Most other authors ascribe the greatest power to a superior planet between its rising position and waxing sextile; the 2nd level of power from sextile to square, and the 3rd level of power from square to retrograde station. Al-Kindi’s 12 degree multiples yield tighter degree ranges which are closer in proximity to the Sun.

Chapter 3.2. Were criteria specified in Chapters 2.4 and 3.2 combined with scoring for house position, al-Kindi’s rules for computing the mubtażz would be similar to ibn Ezra’s formula for the mubtażz.

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V. Abū Bakr al-Hasan bin al-Khasībī al-Kūfī (born c. 821 C.E.)

In Brief. Abu Bakr was an astrologer (and most likely a physician) living in the 9th century. He wrote a four volume astrological treatise. Volume III is devoted to nativities and is reviewed here.


Citations.

1.15: On the knowledge of the hilāj and the Kadukhūdbāb, pp. 125-133.

The hilāj is selected from the Sun, Moon, Ascendant degree, Lot of Fortune, degree of prenatal syzygy. One of the hilāj’s rulers must aspect it, or the hilāj is ruled ineligible.

Hilāj Checklist

1. Diurnal figures: Sun in 1st, 10th, 11th (masculine or feminine sign); 7th, 8th, 9th (masculine sign).

2. Nocturnal figures: Moon in 1st, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 9th, 10th (feminine sign).

3. Ascendant if Ascendant Lord is strong, free, and in angular or succedent houses (sign lord only?)

4. Lot of Fortune if in angular or succedent houses

5. Prenatal syzygy

A variety of exceptions given by Dorotheus and Ptolemy are listed (some misattributed).

Even if the Moon is not the hilāj, one must still direct the Moon to fortunes or infortunes for matters of illness and death (p. 127).

Indicates that when the Ascendant is the hilāj, directions of the Moon, Sun, or an infortune to the Ascendant can kill (p. 127).

Indicates that primary directions to bounds of malefics can kill unless a strong fortune aspects the malefic’s bound, or the Sun “would arrive to the one with whom the infortune is bound with,” as the Sun liberates.

That kadukhūdbāb is one of the lords having dignity in the place of the hilāj making an aspect to the hilāj.

If none of the lords aspect the hilāj, there is no kadukhūdbāb.

In choosing between competing lords of the hilāj as the kadukhūdbāb, he prefers rulers in this order: sign, exaltation, triplicity, bound, face.

Years granted depend on the kadukhūdbāb’s own essential dignities, angularity, and solar phase (focusing on limited longevity when retrograde or combust).

Fortunes add years by sextile or trine aspect; infortunes subtract by conjunction, square, or opposition (p. 129). In a later passage he states that infortunes can add years by trine or sextile and fortunes can add
years from any aspect (p. 130). In another passage, he states the fortunes can only add years if they receive the *kadukhudsah* (p. 131).

If the *kadukhudsah* pushes its disposition to another planet which receives it but does not return the pushing planet’s light, then choose this other planet as the *kadukhudsah*.

Discusses cases when the Sun and Moon can add or subtract years (p. 131).

Quoting Thabit (a misattribution, according to Dykes), states that North Node increases years of the *kadukhudsah* by 25%; with the South Node, decreases by 25% if the Node is in the *same degree* (e.g., not 12 degree orb).

“And if the planet which is the significator in the nativity is directed and it reached what is better, it will push the native from weakness to strength and Lot of Fortunetiness. And if it arrived [by direction] to what is worse, it decreases his strength” (pp. 131-132).

Gives several other conditions which indicate short longevity.

2.1.0. *On the native’s morals and his nature*, pp. 139-142.

Assigns morals to each of the seven planets and indicates that morality is to be judged by the strength of the planet and whether or not it is aspected by malefics or benefics.

Describes character traits of soldiers based on aspects of Mars to the six remaining planets.

Chapters 2.1.1. through 2.1.33 describe a great range of moral qualities and character traits in what appears to be observations made from individual nativities grouped into similar categories.

Comments.

Abu Bakr’s rules for the *bilaj* and *kadukhudsah* are fairly standard, but he includes a greater number of exceptions and special conditions not found elsewhere. In particular, his instruction to select another planet instead of the *kadukhudsah* if the *kadukhudsah* pushes its disposition to the other planet is a rule I have not seen elsewhere. He also mentions the necessity to direct the Moon for matters of longevity, no matter if the *bilaj* is another body.

The most significant feature of Abu Bakr’s text is his collection of aphorisms on morality. They are inserted between the discussion of longevity and social status, in a spot typically where the *mubtazz* or *nafs* are mentioned by authors of other natal textbooks. Many of these aphorisms are based on configurations of Mercury with other planets, and are similar to aphorisms for *nafs* by Ptolemy who delineates *psuchê* (or *nafs*) by the ruler(s) of the Moon and Mercury. One example (2.1.7: *On the native’s lies*) delineates Mars-Mercury combinations as lies. This is consistent with Ptolemy’s assignment of liars and thieves to Mars-Mercury (*Tetrabiblos* 3.18: Quality of the Mind).
VI. Al-Qabisi (d. 967 C.E.)

*In Brief.* Al-Qabisi was a mathematician and astrologer best known for his astrology text dedicated to the Sultan Sayf al-Dawlah (reigned c. 916-967) of the Hamdanid dynasty (northern Iraq and Syria).

*Text.* Al-Qabisi. *The Introduction to Astrology.* Edited and Translated by Charles Burnett, K. Yamamoto, and Michio Yano. London: The Warburg Institute, 2004. David Pingree dates the text to 948/949 C.E. Though containing little original material, Al-Qabisi’s Introduction was well written and was widely popular. Burnett et al., cite the work’s existence in at least 25 Arabic manuscripts and John of Seville’s Latin translation, of which 200+ manuscripts survive from twelve different printings between 1473 and 1521. Used as a text in universities in the Latin West (typically taught as part of medicine), Al-Qabisi’s *Introduction* was the most popular, and sometimes *only*, astrological text.

*Citations.*

4.4 *Determination of the hilāj* (pp. 111-115).

An overriding feature of the choice of releaser is whether a candidate for the releaser is aspected by one of its rulers (sign, exaltation, bound, term, or decan). This condition is required (at every step) as a qualification for the releaser.

When the Figure is Diurnal:
Sun qualifies if placed in 1st, 10th, 11th (masculine or feminine signs); 7th, 8th, 9th (masculine only) OR
Moon qualifies if placed in 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 7th, 8th (masculine or feminine); 4th, 5th, 10th, 11th (feminine only)

When the Figure is Nocturnal:
Moon qualifies if placed in 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 7th, 8th (masculine or feminine); 4th, 5th, 10th, 11th (feminine only)
Sun qualifies if placed in 4th, 5th, 7th (masculine or feminine); 1st 2nd (masculine only).

*Hilāj* candidates for the 1st house cannot be more than 5 degrees behind the 1st cusp.
*Hilāj* candidates for the 7th house cannot be more than 5 degrees below the 7th cusp.

If neither the Sun nor Moon qualify as *hilāj* according to these criteria, then choose from the prenatal syzygy, Lot of Fortune, or Ascendant. For these three potential *hilājes*, the sign’s sex can be either masculine or feminine. The SAN or Lot of Fortune must fall in angular or succedent houses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If the prenatal syzygy is conjunctional (follows New Moon with Moon in 1st or 2nd quarter), choose the <em>hilāj</em> from these choices in order of priority.</th>
<th>If the prenatal syzygy is preventional (follows Full Moon with Moon in 3rd or 4th quarter), choose the <em>hilāj</em> from these choices in order of priority.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>3rd choice</strong> – Conjunctional Degree if angular or succedent</td>
<td><strong>3rd choice</strong> – Preventional Degree If angular or succedent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4th choice</strong> – Lot of Fortune If angular or succedent</td>
<td><strong>4th choice</strong> – Lot of Fortune If angular or succedent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>5th choice</strong> - Ascendant</td>
<td><strong>5th choice</strong> - Ascendant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the Ascendant fails to be the *hilāj*, and both the Lot of Fortune and SAN are in cadent houses, the figure does not have a *hilāj*.

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4.5 Determination of the kadukhdbhāḥ (pp. 115-117).

Consider all rulers which aspect the releaser by aspect (assumed whole sign aspect): sign, exaltation, bound, triplicity, and decan. If more than one ruler aspects the releaser, choose the one which is “the most powerful of them in position.” If equal in power, choose the ruler nearest in degrees to the degree of the releaser (assume this means tightest aspect). Quotes view of Dorotheus to prefer the bound ruler over the sign ruler.

4.6 Additional conditions for the kadukhdbhāḥ (p. 117).

Mentions other opinions which identify solar phase as important criteria for choosing the kadukhdbhāḥ. Also gives the opinion that when the luminaries are in their signs of rulership or exaltation, the luminaries trump all other Kadukhdbhāḥ candidates.

4.7 Determining the mubtazz (p. 117).

The mubtazz is defined as the governor, which is the planet predominating over the birth, from which it indicates the conditions of the native after the hīlāj and kadukhdbhāḥ.

The mubtazz is computed as the planet having the most ‘leadership’ in the Ascendant, Sun, Moon, Lot of Fortune, and prenatal syzygy. Choose the planet which has mastery over 2, 3, or 4 positions “by the abundance of shares in them.”

States that some authors use the mubtazz instead of the kadukhdbhāḥ for determining length of life.

Chapter 2. Natures of the planets (pp. 63-89).

Includes detailed delineations for each of the seven planets. For all planets (except Saturn), a description of the planet’s temperament is listed (usually a sentence). Similar to nafs.


Comments.

The Introduction is well-written and succinct but devoid of detailed theory and application which renders the text extremely dry to modern astrology students. We learn the mubtazz is to be computed after the hīlāj and kadukhdbhāḥ and it describes the condition of the native (from the Latin esse nati). This is very similar to Ptolemy’s use of esse nati animae for being/condition of the soul, which opens his chapter on the soul (Robbins III:13).

Included among planetary delineations is a brief description of temperament, whose descriptions are similar to those provided by other authors when that planet signifies the nafs or is the mubtazz. However, al-Qabisi does not include additional rules for determining which single planet (or planet pair) describes the native’s temperament (as Ptolemy does for the psuché (or nafs) by looking the configuration of the Moon, Mercury and their rulers).
VII. Kūshyār Ibn Labbān (active c. 1000)

In Brief: Kūshyār Ibn Labbān was an eminent Iranian astronomer known for works in astronomy, mathematics, and astrology.

Text. Kūshyār Ibn Labbān’s Introduction to Astrology. Edited and Translated by Michio Yano. Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa. Tokyo, Japan. 1997. [Arabic: al-Madkhal fī Sinā’at Ahkām al-Nujūm; Yano abbreviates as “Madkhal”]. Kūshyār’s Introduction (c. 990 C.E.) draws primarily on Ptolemy’s Tetrabiblos as a model though discussion of Jupiter-Saturn cycles in mundane astrology and implies Abu Ma’shar and/or Māshā’llāh as additional sources. Kūshyār’s writing style was clear and organized, which made his Introduction to Astrology very popular with 40 surviving Arabic manuscripts compared to 22 for Abu Ma’shar’s Great Introduction and 15 for al-Bīrūnī’s Tafhim. Kūshyār’s Introduction was also translated into Persian, Turkish, and Chinese (in the early Ming period c. 1383 C.E.).

Citations.

III.6: On his life-span. A discussion of the bilāj, kadukhudbāb, and primary directions used to compute longevity, based largely on Ptolemy. Yano uses the terms prorogator and governor for bilāj and kadukhudbāb.

In 3.6.4. States that the abundance of bilājes which aspect each other “indicate the health of the native, his intelligence, his caution, and the generosity of his mind” (p. 175).

In 3.6.9. Offers another method for computing the bilāj and kadukhudbāb, which differs from Ptolemy’s version as recounted in 3.6.1 by including the luminaries’ sex (by sign or quadrant) as additional qualifying criteria. Sun is also ruled out as a candidate if located in the 3rd, 6th, or 12th houses; the Moon if located in the 6th, 9th, or 12th. Kushyar disparages the method of assigning the kadukhudbāb’s great, middle, or small years based on angularity for longevity purposes.

III.8: On the Conditions of the Soul. A discussion of the nafi based largely on Ptolemy’s method (based on the Moon and Mercury). As to what the Moon and Mercury themselves signify, Kūshyār says:

The conditions of the soul are divided into that which is intellectual and that which is moral. As for the intellectual, Mercury is in charge of it; as for the moral, the Moon is in charge of it. Thus according to the strength or weakness of the two planets and their beneficence and maleficence there occur condition in these two matters, so that a man is between the intelligent man and the prophet <on one side> and the ignorant and the fool <on the other> (p. 183).

III.13: On the Craft and Work of the Native. Includes no mention of the mubtazz. The closest Kūshyār comes to the mubtazz is descriptions given for each of the seven planets as professional signifiers. Some of these descriptions are similar to those given for victors by other authors.

Comments.

Though Michio Yano says of the Madkhal that “here we have a good example of a book of great popularity with less original contributions,” (p. VIII) I have to differ. Periodically Kūshyār inserts his own opinions which I find to be trenchant (e.g., above descriptions of the Moon and Mercury).
VIII. Abū al-Rayhān Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Bīrūnī (973 C.E. – 1048 C.E.)

In Brief. al-Bīrūnī was a scholar and polymath of the 11th century. His research interests included mathematics, astronomy, astrology, physics, geography, pharmacology, mineralogy, historical chronologies, religion, and India. His book on India was preceded by extensive travel in India between 1017 and 1030. His astrology text includes many techniques of Indian astrologers (including a mention of the Hindu decans) as well as substantial sections on geometry, mathematics, astronomy, geography, historical chronologies, and the astrolabe.


During his era, al-Bīrūnī was a well-known scholar and his Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology was widely circulated. Michio Yano states there were 15 surviving manuscripts of this text, only slightly fewer than 22 surviving copies of Abu Ma’shar’s Great Introduction. Within subsequent translation movements, Al-Biruni’s Book of Instruction occupies a curious position. Unlike many other Arabic texts, al-Biruni’s Book of Instruction did not surface in the Latin West as a part of the 12th century translation wave. However, it was the 1st book on Arabic astrology to be translated into English during the 20th Century by R. Ramsey Wright in 1934. It once occupied a prominent position on the bookshelves of early students of traditional astrology in the 1980s and 1990s and is now supplanted by the availability of many other Arabic authors.

Citations.

360. Indications of the Signs as to Morals and Nafs.
429. Indications of the Planets as to Disposition and Nafs.
430. Indications of the Planets as Activities, Instincts, and Morals.
437. Table of Years of the Planets
494. Order of Precedence of Dignities

Lists the standard five levels of dignity, assigning points to each: sign, 5; exaltation, 4; bound, 3; triplicity, 2; decan, 1. Bound is assigned a score of 3 ahead of triplicity. Planets are scored to determine which is ‘pre-eminent.’

A second scoring system is described. It differs from the first by including a reference to the "lordship of the Ascendant." It’s not clear whether al-Bīrūnī instructs us to assign points to each planet based on the planet’s rulership of the Ascendant, or whether the results of this scoring system are to be compared across planets, as before, with the winner determined to be the lord of the Ascendant. The method: lordship of the ascendant, 30; exaltation, 20; decan, 10; bound, 5; triplicity, 3 ½; hour 4 ½; luminary of time, 30. Al-Bīrūnī states this second method comes from Babylon and Persia where astrologers regard the lord of the decan more important.

Mentions the importance of aspect and other conditions, which should be included in scoring systems.

495. The Mubtazz.
Defines the *mubtazz* as the victorious planet, for which essential and accidental dignities must be compared. Essential means “dependent on dignities due to position in the orbit, or in relation to other planets or to the horizon.” Accidental means “when these dignities are referred to one of the characteristic properties of the twelve houses.”

521. *Principles of the Third Division*

Al-Bīrūnī assigns natal astrology to what he categorizes as the Third Division of astrology. He includes the *hīlāj*, the *kadukhudhāh*, and the *mubtazz* in a list of natal delineation steps. Computation is not described.

*Comments.*

Among astrologers, al-Bīrūnī is regarded more of a data collector and offers no innovations of his own. Of interest to students of the transmission of the *mubtazz* doctrine is al-Bīrūnī’s preference of bound (scored +3) over triplicity (scored +2) and an alternative scoring system imported from Babylon and Persia which ranks the lord of the decan ahead of the both bound and triplicity lords.
IX. Rabbi Avraham Ibn Ezra (1089 C.E. – 1164 C.E.)

**In Brief.** Ibn Ezra was an itinerant Jewish scholar born in Spain, who traveled widely to North Africa, Italy, France, and England. His subjects included Biblical scholarship, Hebrew grammar, poetry, philosophy, mathematics, geometry, astronomy, and astrology.

Online Biography: [http://bear-star.com/article%20%20ibn%20ezra%20life%20work.htm](http://bear-star.com/article%20%20ibn%20ezra%20life%20work.htm)

**Text.** *The Book of Nativities and Revolutions.* Translated and Annotated by Meira B. Epstein. Arhat Publications, 2008. Originally written in Hebrew sometime after 1147 C.E., this work was translated in Latin by Pater Abano in the late 13th or early 14th century and reprinted in 1507.

**Citations.**

Ibn Ezra departs from the typical presentation order of natal topics by introducing the *mubtazz,* along with temperament and physical appearance, prior to discussion of the *hilaj* and *kadukbudah.*

The First House – The Ruler of the Nativity (e.g., *mubtazz*), (pp. 13–14).

Citing Ptolemy and Dorotheus as sources (which is odd as Ptolemy did not compute a *mubtazz*), ibn Ezra outlines the following method for determining the victor:

1. Define the five “life-givers” as the Sun, Moon, prenatal syzygy, Ascendant degree, and the Lot of Fortune. Ibn Ezra specifically instructs one to use both luminaries for either day or night charts.

2. Rulers of each life-giver are scored by this system: sign, 5; exaltation, 4; triplicity, 3; bound, 2; decan, 1.

3. Assign points to superior planets, if oriental, according to this scheme: 3 points between rising and the waxing sextile; 2 points between the waxing sextile and waxing square; 1 point between the waxing square and the first retrograde station.

4. Assign points to house placements based on this scheme (house system not specified):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
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<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Points</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Sum scores from steps 2-4 across all planets. The planet with the highest number of points is the victor.

A second variation of this method is listed in a separate work *On Nativities,* printed in Latin versions in 1485 and 1537. In this alternate scoring system, points for oriental superior planets are dropped. Instead, the day ruler is awarded 7 points and the hour ruler is awarded 6 points.
Character and Personality, (pp. 18-19).

Ibn Ezra follows Ptolemy in delineating the *nafs* by analyzing the condition of Moon, Mercury, and their rulers. Here is an outline of Ibn Ezra’s main points:

- Impact of cardinality of sign placement on Moon/Mercury’s rulers.

- Superior planets, when oriental, grant an “elevated soul, brave and strong, full of wisdom and intelligence”; when occidental, “an inferior soul doing all its actions in deception; and if the ruler is combust, all his life he will be in fear, worry and anger.” Inferior planets when occidental also offer similar advantages as superior planets when oriental.

- If the Moon aspects Mercury by body or aspect, the soul “is whole and his mind will overcome his desire.” If the Moon is not properly configured with Mercury “then all his dealings will be in disorder.”

- Mercury when square or opposed to Saturn “produces sciences and intelligences”; when Mercury is in one of Saturn’s domiciles, it “indicates depth of thought and knowledge of secrets and hidden things.”

- Brief personality delineations are made for Moon’s configuration with the other six planets.

The Measure of Life – by the Years of the Planets, (pp. 19-24).

Drawing primarily on Ptolemy and Dorotheus, ibn Ezra offers little new material on choosing the *hilaj* (“measure of life”) and the *kadukbudhab*.

The Latin ibn Ezra does comment on the relationship between the *hilaj* and *kadukbudhab*:

> And the Persians have designated these five places Hyleg, and the ruler, the Alcochoden. The words for these [are] in the first instance masculine, and [the second] feminine, that is, father and mother. In a birth you should seek these out in the circle. (see p. 22, footnote 4, trans. from the Latin version by Robert Hand):

Note: Ibn Ezra seems to have it backwards with other authors assigning the mother/wife to the hilaj; the father/husband to the *kadukbudhab*.

Comments.

Ibn Ezra’s method for computing the natal *mubtazz* is taught by Robert Zoller in his Diploma Course in Medieval Predictive Astrology and has influenced many of his students (including myself). My first book, *A Rectification Manual: The American Presidency* (2007), includes *mubtazz* calculations for all USA Presidents using ibn Ezra’s formula. Zoller’s primary influence was Bonatti’s *Book of Astronomy*. Subsequent translations, many by Benjamin Dykes, have raised questions on the theoretical validity of summing points across unrelated categories to mathematically compute the natal *mubtazz*. Dykes believes the method given by Hermann of Carinthia is better because points are not indiscriminately summed across categories.
X. Hermann of Carinthia (c. 1100 – c. 1160)

In Brief: Hermann is among the most important translators of the 12th century translation wave in the Latin West, which brought Arabic culture to Europe. For a brief biography and summary of Hermann’s philosophy: http://hrcak.srce.hr/file/456

Text. The Search of the Heart. Translated and Edited by Benjamin N. Dykes. Minneapolis, Minnesota: The Cazimi Press, 2011. Dykes speculates that The Search of the Heart is related to a currently-untranslated Arabic work by ‘Umar al-Tabarî: Treatise on the Discovery of Innermost Thoughts by the Way of the Stars. If true, then Search of the Heart provides evidence favoring the existence of the natal muḥtażz at the onset of the Medieval Arabic Period.

Citations. Chapter III.1: The significator of the chart and of a topic (pp. 137-140).

In this section Hermann provides a method for determining the muḥtażz for an entire horoscope and for a single topic. He begins by stating there are two kinds of planetary significations: universal and accidental. Of the two types, accidental significations are considered for determining the muḥtażz. There are three types of accidental significations: (1) essential dignity, (2) strength, and (3) regard.

(1) Essential Dignity: This step evaluates which planet has the most essential dignities among a list of significators, according to a rule-based scoring system. Hermann prefers dignity over strength and regard.

Diurnal figures: significators are the Sun, Ascendant, Lot of Fortune, and prenatal syzygy.
Nocturnal figures: significators are the Moon, Ascendant, Lot of Fortune, and prenatal syzygy.
Score rulers for each significator: sign, 5; exaltation, 4; bound, 3; primary triplicity lord, 2; decan, 1.
Sum each planet across all significators; planet with highest points “is more worthy.”

(2) Strength: Hermann defines 10 strengths earlier in The Search of the Heart II.4.2.14 (pp. 111-112). For another list of strengths, see Dykes’ Introduction to Traditional Astrology IV.1-2, pp. 217-220.

1. House placement – angular or succedent houses.
2. Essential dignities (just calculated above).
3. Direct motion.
4. Not besieged by malefics nor receiving a square or opposition aspect from malefics.
5. Not placed in houses which are cadent or in aversion to the Ascendant; nor connected to other planets which are cadent or in aversion to the Ascendant.
6. Received.
7. Superior planets are oriental; inferior planets are occidental.
8. In sect – diurnal planet in a diurnal figure; nocturnal planet in a nocturnal figure AND a male planet “in the male parts of the circle, female ones in female ones.” Sex based on sign or quadrant.
9. Sign of its own nature (Sahl says in a fixed sign).
(3) **Regard:** House Placement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House</th>
<th>1</th>
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<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scoring – Masha’allah</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scoring – Dorotheus</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>2</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Chapter III.1 concludes with an example which uses both luminaries as significators, despite Hermann’s instruction to use only the sect light. Dykes is not sure whether the example has been inserted by a later author (which means Hermann’s instruction to use the sect light remains his intent) or whether Hermann was simply inconsistent on the use of both luminaries as significators.

**III.2: The victor, releaser, and kadukhudbāh (pp. 145-146).**

The *hilāj*/releaser, *kadukhudbāh*, and *mubtazz*/victor are described as three assistants in every affair. Application is found in both horary and natal astrology.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Signification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Hilāj</em>/Releaser</td>
<td>Judge of the Beginning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kadukhudbāh</em></td>
<td>Judge of the End; partner to <em>Hilāj</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Mubtazz</em>/Victor</td>
<td>Outcome of a Matter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Instructions for computing the *hilāj*:**

**Diurnal**

1. Sun in 1st, 10th, 11th (masculine or feminine signs), 7th, 9th (masculine signs only)
2. Moon in 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 11th, (feminine signs only)
3a. If conjunctual, choose Ascendant, Lot of Fortune, or conjunctual degree in that order.
3b. If preventional, choose Lot of Fortune, Ascendant, or preventional degree in that order.

**Nocturnal**

1. Moon in 1st, 2nd, 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 11th, (feminine signs only)
2. Sun in 1st, 10th, 11th (masculine or feminine signs), 7th, 9th (masculine signs only)
3a. If conjunctual, choose Ascendant, Lot of Fortune, or conjunctual degree in that order.
3b. If preventional, choose Lot of Fortune, Ascendant, or preventional degree in that order.

All *hilāj* candidates must have a whole-sign aspect from the sign, exaltation, bound, triplicity, or decan lord.

Lot of Fortune and prenatal syzygy must be placed in angular or succedent houses to qualify.

Other than specifying that a ruler which makes an asepect to the *hilāj* is the *kadukhudbāh*, there are no special instructions for choosing the *kadukhudbāh* (e.g., selecting from one of several possible candidates).

If the Sun and Moon are placed in the correct houses and in their own sign or exaltation, the luminary qualifies as both *hilāj* and *kadukhudbāh*.

**Comments.**
If Dykes is correct that Hermann’s *Search of the Heart* is related to al-Ṭabarî’s *Treatise on the Discovery of Innermost Thoughts by the Way of the Stars*, then Hermann offers the purest model for selecting the *mubṭazz* dating back to the earliest period of astrological learning during the Medieval Arabic Period. Hermann is clear not to indiscriminately add up points for conditions of varying natures (e.g., essential dignities and house positions), a feature for which Dykes has criticized later authors like ibn Ezra. Of interest is Hermann’s higher weight given to essential dignities and strength over house position.
E. Current Reflections on Models for the Soul

When I first started this paper over a year ago, my first title was “Working Paper on Longevity, Manners, and the Soul.” Over time it became evident that all the astrological concepts discussed were different ways of delineating the soul as originally conceived by Greek philosophers who believed that “soul” made things alive. So, I renamed this paper Astrology and the Soul: History and Sources.

For starters, the astrological delination of a human can be divided into two categories: body and soul. As stated in the introduction, delineation of the body is handled through physiognomy and temperament; the soul is handled through the following models explored in this working paper:

**Epikratētōr.** This is where “aliveness” begins. Feminine.

**Oikodespotēs.** A guardian who sustains “aliveness” by overseeing the course of life. Decides on lifespan. Masculine.

**Psuchē.** Humans have rational capacities to think, remember, and reason. This is what distinguishes humans from plants and animals. Analyzing rational capacities is designed to determine the level of social conduct and morals at which humans operate. Also, it is not a bad way to describe how people behave.

**Kurios.** Describes the being (‘esse’) or condition of the soul. The most abstract of the four concepts listed here, the kurios can show ‘outcome’ of an individual’s life, e.g., life purpose, if one includes 10th house significators as candidates for the kurios.

Within these concepts, there are two principal disagreements among authors surveyed.

The first disagreement concerns whether or not qualities like morality, character, and profession are assigned to a single planet (e.g., a principal chart ruler like the oikodespotēs or kurios or whether they should be assigned to a group of planets (e.g., configuration of Moon, Mercury, and their rulers). Greek astrologers like Rhetorius/Teucer, Antiochus/Porphyry, Valens, and Firmicus Maternus took the first choice; Ptolemy took the latter. The dispute is not based on what qualities of the soul to look for, per se; it concerns which planetary significators should be used to find and delineate those qualities.

The second disagreement is based on function. For instance, the modern psychologist James Hillman envisions the daimon of Plato’s Myth of Er functioning as a guide to overall life purpose, which often manifests in career, profession, and social status. Questions of morality are not necessarily the daimon’s domain unless morality is an integral part of the the life purpose chosen by the soul and sheparded by the daimon (e.g., such as being a judge).

So far my empirical work for horoscopes of individuals cited in Hillman’s The Soul’s Code demonstrates a connection between the Antiochus/Porphyr model for the kurios and the overall life purpose of the individual. The kurios model works better than either the oikodespotēs or the psuchē models. I find Ptolemy’s psuchē model works well in delineating the good/evil question and reflects people’s general behavior (e.g., “manners” – the term of William Lilly). Finally, I agree with what became mainstream late Medieval practice: that the oikodespotēs signifies longevity, not other conditions of the soul.
Of course with the permutations possible in horoscope construction, there are always special cases. We only have so many planets to go around, and when we are talking about four different astrological methods, the odds favor that a single planet will often be the primary significator for multiple topics.

As an example, consider the nativity of Eleanor Roosevelt. For this horoscope, Mercury serves double duty as οἰκοδεσπότης and κύριος. In addition, because of the mixed mutual reception between Mercury/Libra and Saturn/Gemini (e.g., Mercury in Saturn’s exaltation and Saturn in Mercury’s sign), Mercury also functions as a significator for ψυχή.

For a discussion on choosing these significators, see http://regulus-astrology.com/victor/VOC%20-%20Eleanor%20Roosevelt%20-%20September%202011.pdf
Based on her life, how did these significators play out?

**Lot of Fortune as Epikratētōr**

At death, the Lot of Fortune was afflicted in two ways. For the 1962 solar return for the year of death, the Lot of Fortune formed the crux of a t-square with the Nodes and both malefics. By primary direction, the Lot of Fortune was afflicted by Saturn (see A Rectification Manual, p. 743 for details).

**Mercury as Oikodespotēs**

Roosevelt lived just past her 78th birthday or two years beyond Mercury’s 76 major years. However she sustained a vehicle accident in April 1960 just before her 76th birthday (hit by a car) and her health was never the same. Here, Mercury functioned as a longevity significator.

**Jupiter-Saturn as Significators for Psuché, with some contribution from Mercury**

Consider Ptolemy’s delineations for Saturn-Jupiter and Saturn-Mercury assuming favorable zodiacal state:

Saturn-Jupiter. “…..makes his subject good, respectful to elders, sedate, noble-minded, helpful, critical, fond of possessions, magnanimous, generous, of good intentions, lovers of their friends, gentle, wise, patient, philosophical.” [Tetrabiblos III.13, pp. 341-343, Robbins translation].

Saturn-Mercury. “…makes his subject meddlers, inquisitive, inquirers into matters of law and custom, fond of the art of medicine, mystics, partakers in concealed and secret rites, miracle-workers, cheaters, living only for the day, facile, able to direct business, shrewd, bitter, accurate, sober, friendly, fond of practical affairs, capable of gaining their ends.” [Tetrabiblos III.13, pp. 345-347, Robbins translation].

Eleanor Roosevelt’s association with the United Nations later in life – following the death of her husband Franklin when duties as First Lady no longer restricted her professional aspirations – is consistent with Saturn-Jupiter as significator for psuché. Her role as one of the first US delegates to the United Nations fully encompasses descriptors such as: respectful to elders, noble-minded, helpful, magnanimous, of good intentions, wise, and philosophical.

In social settings, Roosevelt was famous for disarming opponents with her smile and friendly countenance before cutting them off at the knees with verbal barbs launched in a stealth-like fashion. This aspect of psuché was also on full display at the United Nations, when Roosevelt chaired the committee that drafted and approved the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Character of a Saturn-Mercury nature was required to usher through this complex document which often meant debating each word individually with Russian delegates who were hostile to human rights.

**Mercury as Kurios**

Whether one considers Eleanor Roosevelt’s life calling to answer hundreds of letters a day as First Lady in order to help the downtrodden through actions of her husband’s administration, as the sponsor of White House press conferences to be attended exclusively by female journalists, or her role in creating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, there is no question that Mercury/Libra is the planetary significator of Eleanor Roosevelt’s overreaching life purpose: to write, communicate, and speak on matters
of social justice in order to create and maintain an egalitarian society. These actions of Mercury, which is also assigned to the hands, are evident in her official White House portrait.

To close this discussion of Eleanor Roosevelt, let’s reconsider the soul. Does Mercury as *kurios* signify Roosevelt’s daimon assigned to assist her soul in meeting her life purpose (following Plato)? Or do Saturn, Jupiter, and Mercury collectively signify Roosevelt’s soul based on those planets’ ability to predict her behavior in social settings and level of morality (following Aristotle)? Personally, I am tempted to say both, because at this point I am less concerned with trying to decide exactly what defines the soul. I am more interested in delineating social conduct and morality as well as an overall life purpose. Accordingly, I believe there is room for both models of soul as envisioned by Ptolemy (*psuchē*) and Porphyry (*kurios*) in delineation of the the native. To choose one over the other as the true indicator of the soul is to take sides between Plato and Aristotle. For me, this is a battle for others to fight.
On the Technical Details of the Models Themselves

*Epikratētōr* and *Oikodespotēs*

Based on this literature review, I am making no changes to recommendations made in *A Rectification Manual: The American Presidency* for computation of the *epikratētōr* and *oikodespotēs*. In Chapter 4: *The Arcus Vitae*, I detail in a step-by-step fashion the way to compute each of these. As the book is still in print, I don't repeat the material here. If there is anything I would like to revisit, it is the computations for adding and subtracting years once the *oikodespotēs* is selected. Based on what I have learned about the importance of the bounds relative to other dignities, I am curious to see if reception by bound alone is substantial enough to perfect the addition or subtraction of years.

There is another finding from *A Rectification Manual* to which this literature review gives some credence. Recall that after considering the Sun and Moon as candidates for the *epikratētōr*, one moves to the Ascendant, Lot of Fortune, and prenatal syzygy as candidates. Setting aside for the moment the prenatal syzygy (which I consider a last choice), one is left with the Ascendant and Lot of Fortune as second-tier candidates for the *epikratētōr*. The random draw suggests that for these horoscopes there is an equal chance that either Ascendant or Lot of Fortune may prove the functional *epikratētōr*. But this is not what I found. Quite often the Lot of Fortune was the *epikratētōr*, even for diurnal nativities when the Ascendant is preferred over the Lot of Fortune. In fact, the death of Dwight Eisenhower was one of the few Presidents whose Ascendant as empirical *epikratētōr* was afflicted at death. My question is this: is there a hidden bias towards the Lot of Fortune over the Ascendant as *epikratētōr* which has yet to be flushed out either in theory or practice? Within this literature review, consider Abū ‘Ali Al-Khayyāt’s instructions for the *epikratētōr* for nocturnal figures. Abū ‘Ali omits mention of the Ascendant as candidate (which Dykes inserts in order to achieve consistency with instructions for diurnal nativities which include both Ascendant and Lot of Fortune as significators). But what if Abū ‘Ali was right?

*Psuchē*

I have not yet reached a firm conclusion on the best method of defining rulers of the Moon or Mercury, except to say I think it's more complicated than just choosing the sign ruler. A numerical scoring system to choose a single ruler may be called for; which scoring method may prove more accurate is something I am tabulating for nativities surveyed in the companion working paper: *Victor of the Chart: Testing Methods of Antiochus/Porphyry and ibn Ezra*.

*Kurios*

As for the *kurios*, though my findings are preliminary, at present I favor the Antiochus/Porphyry model over ibn Ezra’s model. There are certain parameters in the Antiochus/Porphyry model which require considerable more testing. As a preliminary finding, it does appear that the ruler of the 10th sign from the Lot of Fortune is a promising significator for the *kurios*. This also speaks to a subtle favoritism for the Moon and its Lot (over the Sun) for questions of will, intent, and the soul despite the fact that Hellenistic authors define the Lot of Spirit/Daimon using the Sun. Recall that Antiochus/Porphyry does not include the Sun as a significator candidate. We should also remember the role of the *kurios* concept in horary astrology for determining the divine will even before the question is asked (as reconstructed by Ben Dykes in *The Search of the Heart*). My suspicion is the Moon’s inclusion as an additional significator for the querent in horary astrology (and not the Sun) is something we need to keep in mind for questions regarding the soul if we accept validity of the Moon as a significator of the divine will.

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Socrates

Well, I said, I will tell you a tale; not one of the tales which Odysseus tells to the hero Alcinous, yet this too is a tale of a hero, Er the son of Armenius, a Pamphylian by birth. He was slain in battle, and ten days afterwards, when the bodies of the dead were taken up already in a state of corruption, his body was found unaffected by decay, and carried away home to be buried. And on the twelfth day, as he was lying on the funeral pile, he returned to life and told them what he had seen in the other world. He said that when his soul left the body he went on a journey with a great company, and that they came to a mysterious place at which there were two openings in the earth; they were near together, and over against them were two other openings in the heaven above. In the intermediate space there were judges seated, who commanded the just, after they had given judgment on them and had bound their sentences in front of them, to ascend by the heavenly way on the right hand; and in like manner the unjust were bidden by them to descend by the lower way on the left hand; these also bore the symbols of their deeds, but fastened on their backs. He drew near, and they told him that he was to be the messenger who would carry the report of the other world to men, and they bade him hear and see all that was to be heard and seen in that place. Then he beheld and saw on one side the souls departing at either opening of heaven and earth when sentence had been given on them; and at the two other openings other souls, some ascending out of the earth dusty and worn with travel, some descending out of heaven clean and bright. And arriving ever and anon they seemed to have come from a long journey, and they went forth with gladness into the meadow, where they encamped as at a festival; and those who knew one another embraced and conversed, the souls which came from earth curiously enquiring about the things above, and the souls which came from heaven about the things beneath. And they told one another of what had happened by the way, those from below weeping and sorrowing at the remembrance of the things which they had endured and seen in their journey beneath the earth (now the journey lasted a thousand years), while those from above were describing heavenly delights and visions of inconceivable beauty. The Story, Glaucon, would take too long to tell; but the sum was this: --He said that for every wrong which they had done to any one they suffered tenfold; or once in a hundred years --such being reckoned to be the length of man's life, and the penalty being thus paid ten times in a thousand years. If, for example,
there were any who had been the cause of many deaths, or had betrayed or enslaved cities or armies, or been guilty of any other evil behaviour, for each and all of their offences they received punishment ten times over, and the rewards of beneficence and justice and holiness were in the same proportion. I need hardly repeat what he said concerning young children dying almost as soon as they were born. Of piety and impiety to gods and parents, and of murderers, there were retributions other and greater far which he described. He mentioned that he was present when one of the spirits asked another, 'Where is Ardiaeus the Great?' (Now this Ardiaeus lived a thousand years before the time of Er: he had been the tyrant of some city of Pamphylia, and had murdered his aged father and his elder brother, and was said to have committed many other abominable crimes.) The answer of the other spirit was: 'He comes not hither and will never come. And this,' said he, 'was one of the dreadful sights which we ourselves witnessed. We were at the mouth of the cavern, and, having completed all our experiences, were about to reascend, when of a sudden Ardiaeus appeared and several others, most of whom were tyrants; and there were also besides the tyrants private individuals who had been great criminals: they were just, as they fancied, about to return into the upper world, but the mouth, instead of admitting them, gave a roar, whenever any of these incurable sinners or some one who had not been sufficiently punished tried to ascend; and then wild men of fiery aspect, who were standing by and heard the sound, seized and carried them off; and Ardiaeus and others they bound head and foot and hand, and threw them down and flayed them with scourges, and dragged them along the road at the side, carding them on thorns like wool, and declaring to the passers-by what were their crimes, and that they were being taken away to be cast into hell.' And of all the many terrors which they had endured, he said that there was none like the terror which each of them felt at that moment, lest they should hear the voice; and when there was silence, one by one they ascended with exceeding joy. These, said Er, were the penalties and retributions, and there were blessings as great.

Now when the spirits which were in the meadow had tarried seven days, on the eighth they were obliged to proceed on their journey, and, on the fourth day after, he said that they came to a place where they could see from above a line of light, straight as a column, extending right through the whole heaven and through the earth, in colour resembling the rainbow, only brighter and purer; another day's journey brought them to the place, and there, in the midst of the light, they saw the ends of the chains of heaven let down from above: for this light is the belt of heaven, and holds together the circle of the universe, like the under-girders of a trireme. From these ends is extended the spindle of Necessity, on which all the revolutions turn. The shaft and hook of this spindle are made of steel, and the whorl is made partly of steel and also partly of other materials. Now the whorl is in form like the whorl used on earth; and the description of it implied that there is one large hollow whorl which is quite scooped out, and into this is fitted another lesser one, and another, and another, and four others, making eight in all, like vessels which fit into one another; the whorls show their edges on the upper side, and on their lower side all together form one
continuous whorl. This is pierced by the spindle, which is driven home through the centre of the eighth. The first and outermost whorl has the rim broadest, and the seven inner whirls are narrower, in the following proportions --the sixth is next to the first in size, the fourth next to the sixth; then comes the eighth; the seventh is fifth, the fifth is sixth, the third is seventh, last and eighth comes the second. The largest (of fixed stars) is spangled, and the seventh (or sun) is brightest; the eighth (or moon) coloured by the reflected light of the seventh; the second and fifth (Saturn and Mercury) are in colour like one another, and yellower than the preceding; the third (Venus) has the whitest light; the fourth (Mars) is reddish; the sixth (Jupiter) is in whiteness second. Now the whole spindle has the same motion; but, as the whole revolves in one direction, the seven inner circles move slowly in the other, and of these the swiftest is the eighth; next in swiftness are the seventh, sixth, and fifth, which move together; third in swiftness appeared to move according to the law of this reversed motion the fourth; the third appeared fourth and the second fifth. The spindle turns on the knees of Necessity; and on the upper surface of each circle is a siren, who goes round with them, hymning a single tone or note. The eight together form one harmony; and round about, at equal intervals, there is another band, three in number, each sitting upon her throne: these are the Fates, daughters of Necessity, who are clothed in white robes and have chaplets upon their heads, Lachesis and Clotho and Atropos, who accompany with their voices the harmony of the sirens --Lachesis singing of the past, Clotho of the present, Atropos of the future; Clotho from time to time assisting with a touch of her right hand the revolution of the outer circle of the whorl or spindle, and Atropos with her left hand touching and guiding the inner ones, and Lachesis laying hold of either in turn, first with one hand and then with the other.

When Er and the spirits arrived, their duty was to go at once to Lachesis; but first of all there came a prophet who arranged them in order; then he took from the knees of Lachesis lots and samples of lives, and having mounted a high pulpit, spoke as follows: 'Hear the word of Lachesis, the daughter of Necessity. Mortal souls, behold a new cycle of life and mortality. Your genius will not be allotted to you, but you choose your genius; and let him who draws the first lot have the first choice, and the life which he chooses shall be his destiny. Virtue is free, and as a man honours or dishonours her he will have more or less of her; the responsibility is with the chooser --God is justified.' When the Interpreter had thus spoken he scattered lots indifferently among them all, and each of them took up the lot which fell near him, all but Er himself (he was not allowed), and each as he took his lot perceived the number which he had obtained. Then the Interpreter placed on the ground before them the samples of lives; and there were many more lives than the souls present, and they were of all sorts. There were lives of every animal and of man in every condition. And there were tyrannies among them, some lasting out the tyrant's life, others which broke off in the middle and came to an end in poverty and exile and beggary; and there were lives of famous men, some who were famous for their form and beauty as well as for their strength and success in games, or, again, for their birth and the qualities of their

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ancestors; and some who were the reverse of famous for the opposite qualities. And of
cwomen likewise; there was not, however, any definite character them, because the soul,
when choosing a new life, must of necessity become different. But there was every other
quality, and the all mingled with one another, and also with elements of wealth and poverty,
and disease and health; and there were mean states also. And here, my dear Glaucion, is the
supreme peril of our human state; and therefore the utmost care should be taken. Let each
one of us leave every other kind of knowledge and seek and follow one thing only, if
peradventure he may be able to learn and may find some one who will make him able to
learn and discern between good and evil, and so to choose always and everywhere the
better life as he has opportunity. He should consider the bearing of all these things which
have been mentioned severally and collectively upon virtue; he should know what the effect
of beauty is when combined with poverty or wealth in a particular soul, and what are the
good and evil consequences of noble and humble birth, of private and public station, of
strength and weakness, of cleverness and dullness, and of all the soul, and the operation of
them when conjoined; he will then look at the nature of the soul, and from the
consideration of all these qualities he will be able to determine which is the better and
which is the worse; and so he will choose, giving the name of evil to the life which will
make his soul more unjust, and good to the life which will make his soul more just; all else
he will disregard. For we have seen and know that this is the best choice both in life and
after death. A man must take with him into the world below an adamantine faith in truth
and right, that there too he may be undazzled by the desire of wealth or the other
allurements of evil, lest, coming upon tyrannies and similar villainies, he do irremediable
wrongs to others and suffer yet worse himself; but let him know how to choose the
mean and avoid the extremes on either side, as far as possible, not only in this life but in all that
which is to come. For this is the way of happiness.

And according to the report of the messenger from the other world this was what the
prophet said at the time: 'Even for the last comer, if he chooses wisely and will live
diligently, there is appointed a happy and not undesirable existence. Let not him who
chooses first be careless, and let not the last despair.' And when he had spoken, he who had
the first choice came forward and in a moment chose the greatest tyranny; his mind having
been darkened by folly and sensuality, he had not thought out the whole matter before he
chose, and did not at first sight perceive that he was fated, among other evils, to
devour his own children. But when he had time to reflect, and saw what was in the lot, he began to
beat his breast and lament over his choice, forgetting the proclamation of the prophet; for,
instead of throwing the blame of his misfortune on himself, he accused chance and the
gods, and everything rather than himself. Now he was one of those who came from
heaven, and in a former life had dwelt in a well-ordered State, but his virtue was a matter of
habit only, and he had no philosophy. And it was true of others who were similarly
overtaken, that the greater number of them came from heaven and therefore they had
never been schooled by trial, whereas the pilgrims who came from earth, having themselves
suffered and seen others suffer, were not in a hurry to choose. And owing to this inexperience of theirs, and also because the lot was a chance, many of the souls exchanged a good destiny for an evil or an evil for a good. For if a man had always on his arrival in this world dedicated himself from the first to sound philosophy, and had been moderately fortunate in the number of the lot, he might, as the messenger reported, be happy here, and also his journey to another life and return to this, instead of being rough and underground, would be smooth and heavenly. Most curious, he said, was the spectacle --sad and laughable and strange; for the choice of the souls was in most cases based on their experience of a previous life. There he saw the soul which had once been Orpheus choosing the life of a swan out of enmity to the race of women, hating to be born of a woman because they had been his murderers; he beheld also the soul of Thamyras choosing the life of a nightingale; birds, on the other hand, like the swan and other musicians, wanting to be men. The soul which obtained the twentieth lot chose the life of a lion, and this was the soul of Ajax the son of Telamon, who would not be a man, remembering the injustice which was done him the judgment about the arms. The next was Agamemnon, who took the life of an eagle, because, like Ajax, he hated human nature by reason of his sufferings. About the middle came the lot of Atalanta; she, seeing the great fame of an athlete, was unable to resist the temptation: and after her there followed the soul of Epeus the son of Panopeus passing into the nature of a woman cunning in the arts; and far away among the last who chose, the soul of the jester Thersites was putting on the form of a monkey. There came also the soul of Odysseus having yet to make a choice, and his lot happened to be the last of them all. Now the recollection of former toils had disenchanted him of ambition, and he went about for a considerable time in search of the life of a private man who had no cares; he had some difficulty in finding this, which was lying about and had been neglected by everybody else; and when he saw it, he said that he would have done the had his lot been first instead of last, and that he was delighted to have it. And not only did men pass into animals, but I must also mention that there were animals tame and wild who changed into one another and into corresponding human natures --the good into the gentle and the evil into the savage, in all sorts of combinations.

All the souls had now chosen their lives, and they went in the order of their choice to Lachesis, who sent with them the genius whom they had severally chosen, to be the guardian of their lives and the fullfiller of the choice: this genius led the souls first to Clotho, and drew them within the revolution of the spindle impelled by her hand, thus ratifying the destiny of each; and then, when they were fastened to this, carried them to Atropos, who spun the threads and made them irreversible, whence without turning round they passed beneath the throne of Necessity; and when they had all passed, they marched on in a scorching heat to the plain of Forgetfulness, which was a barren waste destitute of trees and verdure; and then towards evening they encamped by the river of Unmindfulness, whose water no vessel can hold; of this they were all obliged to drink a certain quantity, and those who were not saved by wisdom drank more than was necessary; and each one as he

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drank forgot all things. Now after they had gone to rest, about the middle of the night there was a thunderstorm and earthquake, and then in an instant they were driven upwards in all manner of ways to their birth, like stars shooting. He himself was hindered from drinking the water. But in what manner or by what means he returned to the body he could not say; only, in the morning, awaking suddenly, he found himself lying on the pyre.

And thus, Glaucon, the tale has been saved and has not perished, and will save us if we are obedient to the word spoken; and we shall pass safely over the river of Forgetfulness and our soul will not be defiled. Wherefore my counsel is that we hold fast ever to the heavenly way and follow after justice and virtue always, considering that the soul is immortal and able to endure every sort of good and every sort of evil. Thus shall we live dear to one another and to the gods, both while remaining here and when, like conquerors in the games who go round to gather gifts, we receive our reward. And it shall be well with us both in this life and in the pilgrimage of a thousand years which we have been describing.