

# The doctrine of the Terms

by Lucia Bellizia

*It is the stars,  
The stars above us, govern our conditions.*

W. Shakespeare - *King Lear* (Act 4, Scene 3)

Between the planets and the signs of the Zodiac there is a relationship of συνουκία<sup>1</sup> (Ptolemy, *Tetrábiblos*, I, 18,1) that is of *coexistence*, or *connection* if you prefer, which is expressed through the so-called *essential dignities*, through the *domicilie*, the *exaltation* (or elevation), the *triplicity*, the *boundry* (or term), the *dean* (or face). These are conditions of strength<sup>2</sup> in which the planet can be found, called *essentials* as they are linked to the celestial sphere: they do not vary like the *accidental* ones, which, on the other hand, depend on the position of the epicycle (brightness, direction and speed of motion) or in the local sphere (domification) and respect for *hairesis*. In the case of *domicile*, *exaltation* and *triplicity*, the lordship concerns the entire sign, while with the *border* and *decan* only a certain number of degrees. The *boundaries* (ὅρια, *finis*) that will be examined in this essay, are a subdivision of each sign into five or more parts of unequal length<sup>3</sup>: the doctrine is quite ancient, since there are traces of it in the Babylonian world.<sup>4</sup>

Ptolemy (*Tetrabiblos* 1.21) writes that the Egyptian and the Chaldean were the most commonly used systems (περὶ δὲ τῶν ὁρίων δισσοὶ μάλιστα φέρονται τρόποι); in reality, however, a greater number is attested by the sources. Such systems, as we will see, disagree on the order of planets (τάξις) and on the quantity (ποσότης) of degrees assigned to them:

- \* The system that Ptolemy calls Egyptian, which is by far the most attested, assigns boundaries only to the five planets Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn: both their ordering and the quantities in degrees have been secured by the verse exposition of Dorothy of Sidon, which has allowed us to correct the errors of the copyists of the tables of other authors.<sup>5</sup> When presenting the Egyptian boundaries, Ptolemy is not pleased with the order, as the first place was sometimes assigned to domiciles, sometimes to exaltations,

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<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy, *Tetrábiblos*, I, 18,1 Συνοικεῖοῦνται δὲ καὶ οἱ πλάνητες τοῖς τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ μέρεσι κατὰ τε τοὺς καλουμένους οἶκους καὶ τρίγωνα καὶ ὑψώματα καὶ ὅρια καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. On this occasion, Ptolemy does not talk about the dean; he prefers the configuration even in calculating the οἰκοδεσπότης, the (lord planet) (*Tetrábiblos*, III, 3)

<sup>2</sup> Dignity, from Latin *dignitas*, a word that express a condition of prestige, λόγος in Greek, which we could translate as relationship, right to speak, right of dominion

<sup>3</sup> The way of counting the length also differs. Neugebauer and Van Hoesen (1959, p. 20, p. 41, p. 46, p. 146) argue that there are two ways to calculate it: according to the *lower boundary*, all the degrees assigned to the boundary are taken into consideration, except for the last one, which is equal to 0° 00' of the next. E.g., Aries, Egyptian boundaries of Jupiter: 6. First mode: from 00 up to 5° 59'; second mode from 00 to 6.

<sup>4</sup> In 2011, Jones and Steele highlighted that the discovery of two cuneiform astrological tables from the fifth or fourth centuries (BM 36326 and BM 36628+ 36817+37197) provides evidence that the Babylonians knew the doctrine of terms

<sup>5</sup> Hephæstion of Thebes, 1.1; Manetone, p.114 (Ed. Koechly).

sometimes to triplicities, and sometimes to planets that have no right of dominion when in a sign, as it happens to Mercury in Capricorn. Ptolemy is also not pleased with the quantity, which appears devoid of any principle: it is said, in fact, that the sum of the terms of each planet in all the sign (Saturn 57, Jupiter 79, Mars 66, Venus 82, Mercury 76)<sup>6</sup> is equal to the time of life assigned to the planet itself, a doctrine that he does not share.<sup>7</sup> Not to mention that if such numbers were ever believed, they could also be reached by varying the quantity of boundaries of each sign. Others, he adds, assert that the time assigned to each single planet depends on the ascensions of the signs and it is the same for each terrestrial latitude. Here Ptolemy has no problems in reiterating that the signs, according to the places, ascend at different times. We must ask ourselves, given that he seems to refer to a consolidated opinion, namely that the times assigned to each planet are *anaphoric*, what was the link between sign and planets. The domicile? The anonymous commentator, saying that the ἀναφοραί of the two signs of each star<sup>8</sup> were added together, seems to suggest that it is indeed the domiciles.<sup>9</sup>

♈	26	96	88	5	5
♉	88	66	88	5	3
♊	66	26	55	7	6
♋	7	66	66	7	4
♌	26	55	7	66	6
♍	7	10	44	7	2
♎	6	88	7	7	2
♏	7	44	88	5	6
♐	12	55	44	5	4
♑	7	27	88	4	4
♒	7	66	27	5	5
♓	12	44	3	9	2

Fig. 1: The *Egyptian* terms

In any case, while Ptolemy disagrees with the *Egyptian* authors (παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις συγγραφεῦσιν), he also recognizes that their boundaries, through the collected experience, generally agree with the *geniturae* presented as examples. He does not specify who these *Egyptians* are. Modern scholars<sup>10</sup> are incline to suggest that the writings of Nechepso and Petosiris are the ultimate source with regards to this system, which, as said, is the most attested primarily through ostraka,<sup>11</sup> papyri,<sup>12</sup> but also Greek and Latin literary evidence:

<sup>6</sup> The benefits are therefore awarded 161 degrees, against 123 for malefics

<sup>7</sup> Ptolemy, *Tetrábiblos*, 3.11 sets the calculation of the life span on a completely different basis

<sup>8</sup> Wolf, 1559, p. 43

<sup>9</sup> Bouché-Leclercq (1899), p.209, n.1

<sup>10</sup> Heilen (2006), p.47; Jones (2011)

<sup>11</sup> The ANAsh. Mus. D.O. 633, coming from Athens but dating back to eight year of Cleopatra VII (so, 44 BC, it contains the oldest known demotic horoscope and the oldest attestation of boundaries in the Greek-Egyptian context (see Escolano-Poveda, 2022, p. 50)

<sup>12</sup> There are numerous papyri in Greek that refer to the Egyptian boundaries, the most ancient of which is the Oxy II 307 (mid-first century); there was no evidence of it in the demotic language until the discovery of the P. Carlsberg 81 and P. Carlsberg 89, both second century papyri from Tebtynis in Arsinoite (see Jones 2011).

Dorotheus of Sidon in Hephaestion of Thebes I, 1; Teucros of Babylon in Rhetorius;<sup>13</sup> Critodemus;<sup>14</sup> Firmicus Maternus II 6; Vettius Valens I.3; the *Liber Hermetis* 25,<sup>15</sup> the Antiochian philosopher George.<sup>16</sup> It is not surprising to find variations in the numbers of degrees attributed to the single planet, probably due to the corruption of texts.

- \* Next, we have the system called *Chaldean* by Ptolemy, of which, however, we have no information from any other source. The terms are only assigned to the five planets and inserted in a regular scheme in order and length within the context of the zodiac signs divided into Triplicity (τρίγωνα). This system has a day and night version. Jupiter takes priority in the first trine (fire signs), then the lord of the second, which is Venus, then Mercury and Saturn, the lords of third trine, and finally Mars, the lord of the fourth trine. The second trine (Taurus, Virgo, Capricorn) begins with Venus, continues with Mercury, Saturn, Mars, and ends with Jupiter. And so on. Each element begins with the sign of its trine and then follows the Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Mercury, Mars sequence during the day and the Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, Saturn, Mars during the night. The quantities attributed are 8, 7, 6, 5, 4; the sum of the terms is Saturn 78 during the day, 66 during at night, Mercury 66 during the day, 78 at night, Jupiter 72, Venus 75, Mars 69 during both day and night.<sup>17</sup> Ptolemy regards this system to be simple but, at the same time, less trustworthy than the *Egyptian* one.
- \* Then there is the so-called *Ptolemaic* system, which the Alexandrian claims to have found in an ancient, mutilated, and damaged manuscript. The lordship belongs only to the five planets and the total number of boundaries for each star does not vary from the *Egyptian* system. What varies, on the other hand, are their arrangements and the number of degrees within each sign. Elevations, trines and domiciles are taken into consideration. The rule to follow is:
  - The star with two dignities in the same sign has priority, even if it is a malefic;
  - If this is not the case, then the malefic will occupy the last degrees;
  - If there is no star with two dignities, the lord of elevation is taken into consideration first, the one of the trine next, and finally the one of the domicile;
  - Mars rules the first degrees of Cancer, Saturn those of Leo, (domiciles) of the (luminaries);<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> CCAG VII, pp. 194-213

<sup>14</sup> CCAG VIII, 1, pp. 257-261

<sup>15</sup> Feraboli (1994, p. 79 ss.). In his 2010 essay, Heilen offers a list of literary sources, ancient, medieval and more recent, on boundaries

<sup>16</sup> CCAG, XII, 217,26 – 218,9

<sup>17</sup> The malefic planets are assigned a higher number of degrees by this system, and a greater number of places than in the *Egyptian* or *Ptolemaic* ones (see Bouche-Leclercq, 210)

<sup>18</sup> Mars (hot and dry) has priority in Cancer (cold and wet sign), Saturn (cold and dry) in Leo (hot and dry). In this case, Ptolemy follows the criteria of equilibrium which induced him in 1.7 to insert Mars between the nocturnal and Saturns among the diurnal ones, so that the dryness of the first is tempered by the night and frigidity of the second by the day. So A. Nifo too (1513, II, p. 38<sup>r</sup>) “propter factionum similitudinem”: respecting the hairesis.

- Quantity: 7 to the benefits, 5 to the malefices, 6 to Mercury, and 8 to the star with two dignities, whether in the sign or in the quadrant; the degree is subtracted from the other planets, primarily Saturn and Jupiter, as they are slow planets.<sup>19</sup>

Therefore, Ptolemy does not reject the *Egyptian* system in its entirety, but feels the need to make some changes, through this old and therefore authoritative manuscript which, according to him, contained a natural and coherent explanation with regards to both extension and ordering of the boundaries. Though mutilated and difficult to understand, it contained an explanatory table towards the end. However, while ancient readers did not doubt the authenticity of this find, modern scholars argue that it did not really exist.<sup>20</sup> The supposed discovery of *enlightening* books on magic, astrology or religion was a widespread phenomenon in the ancient world, especially in Egypt, and Ptolemy may have made this tradition his own; however, there is no evidence suggesting that he is lying. And the previously mentioned table did exist,<sup>21</sup> which should have clarified Ptolemy's obscure instructions and was often reported in the manuscript tradition. Was it, though, so discordant as to give rise to different editions? Hübner (1998)<sup>22</sup> agrees with Boll and Boer (1940), while Robbins (1940, p.106, n.1) states that he followed the pattern contained in the *Paraphrase* of Proclus.<sup>23</sup>

Aries	Jupiter 6	Venus 8	Mercury 7	Mars 5	Saturn 4
Taurus	Venus 8	Mercury 7	Jupiter 7	Saturn 4	Mars 4
Gemini	Mercury 7	Jupiter 6	Venus 7	Mars 6	Saturn 4
Cancer	Mars 6	Jupiter 7	Mercury 7	Venus 7	Saturn 3
Leo	Saturn 6	Mercury 7	Venus 6	Jupiter 6	Mars 5
Virgo	Mercury 7	Venus 6	Jupiter 5	Saturn 6	Mars 6
Libra	Saturn 6	Venus 5	Jupiter 8	Mercury 5	Mars 6
Scorpio	Mars 6	Jupiter 8	Venus 7	Mercury 6	Saturn 3
Sagittarius	Jupiter 8	Venus 6	Mercury 5	Saturn 6	Mars 5
Capricorn	Venus 6	Mercury 6	Jupiter 7	Mars 6	Saturn 5
Aquarius	Saturn 6	Mercury 6	Venus 8	Jupiter 5	Mars 5
Pisces	Venus 8	Jupiter 6	Mercury 6	Mars 6	Saturn 4

Fig. 2: The *ptolemaic* terms  
Hübner (1998)

<sup>19</sup> However, the need to respect the total number of degrees destined for each planet forces Ptolemy to add or subtract units here and there

<sup>20</sup> Bouché-Leclercq (1899), pp. 206-207; Festugière (1950), p. 320; Abry (1993), p. 147, n.13; Feraboli (1985), p. 392; Heilen (2010), pp. 49-52.

<sup>21</sup> Tolsa (2018) bluntly states that the Ptolemaic systems are an invention of Ptolemy (p.248) and that there was no table in the original text of the *Tetrábiblos*, which was instead the product of a systematic analysis of the late ancient commentary edited by Wolf in 1559 and which then became part of the direct transmission of the text in the Byzantine period, probably in the eleventh century through the Laurentianus gr. 28.34

<sup>22</sup> Hübner follows both Laurentianus gr. 28.34 (eleventh century), f. 149<sup>r</sup> and Vaticanus gr. 1291 (early ninth century), f. 3<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> The scheme appears in the Codex Vaticanus gr.1453 (ninth century, tenth century at the latest), on ff.50<sup>r</sup> and 50<sup>v</sup> and, in some cases, assigns alternative sequences of planets or the degrees. It may be that the copyist, beside the text of the *Paraphrasis*, also had a copy of the *Tetrábiblos* and noted both values; or perhaps the text of the transcribed *Paraphrasis* already contained them (see Heilen, 2010, 64)

As for the tradition of these boundaries, which have not been attested before Ptolemy, and to which subsequent astrologers undoubtedly preferred the *Egyptian* ones, it should be noted that it is briefly mentioned in evidence from the Greco-Roman period: beside from the aforementioned Paraphrase, it is only present (with some minor differences) in the commentary of the Anonymous<sup>24</sup> and in Hephaestion, *Theban*, 1.1, which reports, without observations, both systems. The only practical application, on the other hand, is in the didactic horoscope of Eutocius of Ascalona.<sup>25</sup>

- \* The system defined κατὰ τὸν ἑπτάζωνον (III, 6 bis ed. Pingree) by Vettius Valens. Some, he says, used an arrangement of terms that does not appear satisfactory to him, namely 8, 7, 6, 5, 4. Of the ἑπτάζωνος, so of *seven zones*, Vettius also speaks in 1.9.13, chapter in which he explains how to calculate the planet that rules each day of the week and, within the day, each hour of both day and night. The order of the planets during the day is Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, while the arrangement of their *celestial bands* is Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon.<sup>26</sup> This final arrangement can only be the one of their orbits when compared to Earth, although, when we move to assigning boundaries, it cannot include the luminaries, since the mentioned lengths in degrees (8, 7, 6, 5, 4) give 30 degrees as sum.<sup>27</sup>
- \* The system that, in the same chapter, Vettius Valens declares to prefer over the previous one.<sup>28</sup> It gives rise to a different pattern in the day and in the night, which is structured as follows:

[...] I prefer the disposition that derives from domiciles, exaltation, triplicity, which is: Leo is the Sun's domicile, Aries its exaltation, Sagittarius its triplicity. The total is 3, and so in each sign the Sun has 3 terms. Cancer is the domicile of the Moon, Taurus her exaltation, Virgo and Capricorn are her triplicity. The total is 4, and so likewise the Moon has 4 terms in each sign. Capricorn and Aquarius are Saturn's domiciles, Libra is its exaltation, Gemini its triplicity. The total is 4, and so Saturn has 4 terms in each sign. Sagittarius and Pisces are Jupiter's domiciles, Cancer is its exaltation, Aries and Leo are its triplicity. Thus Jupiter has 5 terms in each sign. Aries and Scorpio are the domiciles of Mars, Capricorn is its exaltation, Pisces and Cancer are its triplicity. Thus Mars has 5 terms in each sign. Taurus and Libra are Venus' domiciles, Pisces her exaltation, Virgo and Capricorn her triplicity. Thus Venus has 5 terms in each sign. Gemini is Mercury's domicile, Virgo its exaltation, Aquarius and Libra are its triplicity. The total is 4, so its terms in each sign will be 4. Aries, Leo, Sagittarius in the day: Sun-3, Jupiter-5, Venus-5, Moon-4, Saturn-4, Mercury-4, Mars-5. Total 30. In the night: Jupiter-5, Sun-3, Moon-4, Venus-5, Mercury-4, Saturn-4, Mars-5. Total 30. Taurus, Virgo, Capricorn in the day: Venus, Moon, Saturn, Mercury, Mars, Sun,

<sup>24</sup> Wold 1559, 42-47. This commentator is the only one who explicitly states that the *Egyptian* boundaries are false, as opposed to the *Ptolemaic* ones (p. 47)

<sup>25</sup> CCAGIV, p. 99; see Bezza e Fumagalli (2007). The attribution of this passage to Julian of Laodicea is now considered obsolete

<sup>26</sup> Paolo of Alexandria, 21 (ed. Boer, p. 42) also tackles this topic

<sup>27</sup> Jones-Steele (2011)

<sup>28</sup> As noted by Jone-Steel (2011, n.14), Bouché-Leclercq (1899, 213) and other scholars have applied the designation ἑπτάζωνος to Vettius Valens' preferred system, in which each zodiac sign has seven terms. ἑπτάζωνος is ἰνωεψε, a technical expression in Greek astrology for the sequence Moon-Mercury-Venus-Sun-Mars-Jupiter-Saturn.

Jupiter; in the night: Moon, Venus, Mercury, Saturn, Mars, Jupiter, Sun. Gemini, Libra, Aquarius in the day: Saturn, Mercury, Mars, Sun, Jupiter, Venus, Moon; in the night: Mercury, Saturn, Mars, Jupiter, Sun, Moon, Venus. Cancer, Scorpio, Pisces in the day: Mars, Sun, Jupiter, Venus, Moon, Saturn, Mercury; in the night: Mars, Jupiter, Sun, Moon, Venus, Mercury, Saturn. Thus you will see the accuracy of this arrangement of terms – you will then be able to recognize it in the winds’ nature [this is followed by the meteorological characteristics given by the passage of each planet in its terms].<sup>29</sup>

#### DAY

Aries	Sun 3	Jupiter 5	Venus 5	Moon 4	Saturn 4	Mercury 4	Mars 5
Taurus	Venus 5	Moon 4	Saturn 4	Mercury 4	Mars 5	Sun 3	Jupiter 5
Gemini	Saturn 4	Mercury 4	Mars 5	Sun 3	Jupiter 5	Venus 5	Moon 4
Cancer	Mars 5	Sun 3	Jupiter 5	Venus 5	Moon 4	Saturn 4	Mercury 4
Leo	Sun 3	Jupiter 5	Venus 5	Moon 4	Saturn 4	Mercury 4	Mars 5
Virgo	Venus 5	Moon 4	Saturn 4	Mercury 4	Mars 5	Sun 3	Jupiter 5
Libra	Saturn 4	Mercury 4	Mars 5	Sun 3	Jupiter 5	Venus 5	Moon 4
Scorpio	Mars 5	Sun 3	Jupiter 5	Venus 5	Moon 4	Saturn 4	Mercury 4
Sagittarius	Sun 3	Jupiter 5	Venus 5	Moon 4	Saturn 4	Mercury 4	Mars 5
Capricorn	Venus 5	Moon 4	Saturn 4	Mercury 4	Mars 5	Sun 3	Jupiter 5
Aquarius	Saturn 4	Mercury 4	Mars 5	Sun 3	Jupiter 5	Venus 5	Moon 4
Pisces	Mars 5	Sun 3	Jupiter 5	Venus 5	Moon 4	Saturn 4	Mercury 4

#### NIGHT

Aries	Jupiter 5	Sun 3	Moon 4	Venus 5	Mercury 4	Saturn 4	Mars 5
Taurus	Moon 4	Venus 5	Mercury 4	Saturn 4	Mars 5	Jupiter 5	Sun 3
Gemini	Mercury 4	Saturn 4	Mars 5	Jupiter 5	Sun 3	Moon 4	Venus 5
Cancer	Mars 5	Jupiter 5	Sun 3	Moon 4	Venus 5	Mercury 4	Saturn 4
Leo	Jupiter 5	Sun 3	Moon 4	Venus 5	Mercury 4	Saturn 4	Mars 5
Virgo	Moon 4	Venus 5	Mercury 4	Saturn 4	Mars 5	Jupiter 5	Sun 3
Libra	Mercury 4	Saturn 4	Mars 5	Jupiter 5	Sun 3	Moon 4	Venus 5
Scorpio	Mars 5	Jupiter 5	Sun 3	Moon 4	Venus 5	Mercury 4	Saturn 4
Sagittarius	Jupiter 5	Sun 3	Moon 4	Venus 5	Mercury 4	Saturn 4	Mars 5
Capricorn	Moon 4	Venus 5	Mercury 4	Saturn 4	Mars 5	Jupiter 5	Sun 3
Aquarius	Mercury 4	Saturn 4	Mars 5	Jupiter 5	Sun 3	Moon 4	Venus 5
Pisces	Mars 5	Jupiter 5	Sun 3	Moon 4	Venus 5	Mercury 4	Saturn 4

Fig. 3: Vettius Valens’ “preferred” system.

- \* Vettius also preserves another system in a chapter (VIII, 9, 5-22 ed. Pingree) which deals with enemy places and stars and critical places for human life, to which a missing and corrupt table is attached.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Vettius Valens, III, 6bis ed. Pingree.

<sup>30</sup> VIII, 9, 5-22 (= III, 6, 5-22) from οὐκ ἔστω Κρόνος; the table than follows (Oxon. Seldenianus gr. 22, ff. 154<sup>v</sup>-166).

Libra	Scorpio	Sagittarius	Capricorn	Aquarius	Pisces
Sun 1°	Mars 1°	Jupiter 1°		Mercury 1°	Venus 1°
Mars 6°		Saturn 7°		Venus 7°	Sun 7°
Jupiter 13°				Sun 10°	Mars 10°
Saturn 16°		Venus 16°		Mars 16°	Jupiter 16°
		Sun 22°		Jupiter 22°	Saturn 22°
Venus 19°	Sun 25°			Saturn 25°	Mercury 27°
Aries	Taurus	Gemini	Cancer	Leo	Virgo
Sun 4°	Venus 4°			Jupiter 4°	Mars 1°
Venus 10°				Mars 5°	Sun 7°
Mercury 13°				Sun 10°	Venus 10°
Saturn 19°				Venus 16°	Mercury 16°
Jupiter 25°				Mercury 22°	Saturn 25°
Mars 28°				Saturn 28°	

Fig. 4: Vettius Valens, VIII, 9  
Pingree (1978, p. 212)

Aries	Taurus	Gemini	Cancer	Leo	Virgo
1-5° Sun	Venus	Mercury	Saturn	Jupiter	Mars
6-10° Venus	Mercury	Saturn	Jupiter	Mars	Sun
11-15° Mercury	Saturn	Jupiter	Mars	Sun	Venus
16-20° Saturn	Jupiter	Mars	Sun	Venus	Mercury
21-25° Jupiter	Mars	Sun	Venus	Mercury	Saturn
26-30° Mars	Sun	Venus	Mercury	Saturn	Venus
Libra	Scorpio	Sagittarius	Capricorn	Aquarius	Pisces
1-5° Sun	Mars	Jupiter	Saturn	Mercury	Venus
6-10° Mars	Jupiter	Saturn	Mercury	Venus	Sun
11-15° Jupiter	Saturn	Mercury	Venus	Sun	Mars
16-20° Saturn	Mercury	Venus	Sun	Mars	Jupiter
21-25° Mercury	Venus	Sun	Mars	Jupiter	Saturn
26-30° Venus	Sun	Mars	Jupiter	Saturn	Mercury

Fig. 5: Reconstruction of the Table  
Pingree (1978, pp. 212-3)

According to Pingree<sup>31</sup>, these fragmentary remains show that, through the work of Critodemus, a defined model was constantly followed: there are six celestial bodies (the planets plus the Sun); they are listed in decreasing order (from Aries to Virgo) and ascending order (from Libra to Pisces) based on their distance from Earth.<sup>32</sup> Aries begins with the Sun and each sign's first planet is the second of the previous sign. What length did each of the terms have? Pingree suggests 5 degrees for each of the bodies, which allows him to reconstruct the table as in fig.5.

Neugebauer and van Hoesen (1959, p.82: L61, X) had already conjecturally attributed the geniture in the chapter to Critodemus, and dated it to October 7<sup>th</sup> 61 AD, believing that the terms contained therein were those of the system preferred by Vettius Valens. Peter (2002, p.148-149), on the other hand, follows Critodemus' system and dates it to 2 AD: all the planets are thus in an acceptable position, while the position of Mars in 61 AD would be utterly wrong.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Pingree 1978, II, p. 212.

<sup>32</sup> Therefore, this is a ἑπτάζωνος as well, a *seven zones* system.

<sup>33</sup> See Jones-Steele (2011, n.19) and Heilen (2015, 722, n.1603); unfortunately, we have not been able to consult firsthand the work of Peter, dissertation in German.



It is necessary to remember that some manuscripts<sup>34</sup> attribute another system to Critodemus (claim rejected by Pingree<sup>35</sup>), which is none other than the *Egyptian* one. The individual boundaries receive an additional description of the qualities that man receive from the planet (dominating) them; a similar description is found in Valente 1.3 (what differs are only the quantitie attributed to Libra)<sup>36</sup> and – together with a mishmash of other information – in chap.25 of the *Liber Hermetis*.

- \* A system depicted by P. Michigan III 149, a papyrus written in Greek found in Egypt. Currently kept by the University of Michigan Library, from the hand that wrote it, it can be dated to the second century AD. It is divided into 22 columns and it contains an astrological treaty in which the body parts are placed under planetary protection. The zodiac is divided into 4 quadrants:

I = Leo, Virgo, Libra  
 II = Aquarius, Pisces, Aries  
 III = Taurus, Gemini, Cancer  
 IV = Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn

	Sun	Moon	Saturn	Jupiter	Mercury	Mars	Venus
Aries	2,30	2,30 - 6,30	6,30-10	10-13,45	13,45-24,15	24,15-30	
Taurus	18-20,30	20,30-24,30	24,30-28	28-30		12	12 -18
Gemini				1,45	1,45-14,15	14,15-30	
Cancer	2,30	2,30 - 6,30	6,30-10	10-13,45	13,45-24,15	24,15-30	
Leo	12-14,30	14,30-18,30	18,30-22	22-25,45	22,45-30	12	
Virgo					3,15	3,15-24	24-30
Libra	2,30	2,30 - 6,30	6,30-10	10-13,45	13,45-24,15	24,15-30	
Scorpio	18-20,30	20,30-24,30	24,30-28	28-30		12	12 -18
Sagittarius				1,45	1,45-14,15	14,15-30	
Capricorn	2,30	2,30 - 6,30	6,30-10	10-13,45	13,45-24,15	24,15-30	
Aquarius	12-14,30	14,30-18,30	18,30-22	22-25,45	22,45-30	12	
Pisces					3,15	3,15-24	24-30

Fig. 6: Papyrus III 149

<sup>34</sup> Parisinus gr. 2506, f. 138, Parisinus gr. 2424, f. 151, cap. τγ, Marcianus gr. 324, f. 204<sup>v</sup>, Angelicus gr. 29 f. 184<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> Pingree (1978, 215). Cumont (CCAG VIII, 1, p.257, n.1), while commenting on f.138 of the Parisinus gr.2506, already noted that this same excerptuom appears in Marcianus gr.324, f.204<sup>v</sup> and in Angelicus 29 f.184<sup>v</sup> as a chapter of the Εἰσαγωγή καὶ θεμέλιον εἰς τὴν ἀστρολογίαν ποίημα, attributed to Achmete the Persian, and which therefore can be suspected of having been translated into Greek from Persian and Arabic. Critodemus, a famous astrologer who certainly predated Vettius Valens, cites the work entitled Ὁρασις several times (III, 9; IX, 1).

<sup>36</sup> It may be that this depends on the fact that the only manuscript on which the chapter is based (Marcianus gr.314), at this point, is corrupted. Another chapter on boundaries attributed to Valente appears in Vaticanus gr.191 (year 1300), f.107<sup>v</sup> and in Oxon. Seldenianus gr.22 (1520 ca), f.182 (Pingree 1986: *Additamentum* 6).



The 90 degrees of each quadrant are divided into two segments of 48 and 42 degrees respectively; each segment is then divided into ὅρια, based on the measurement of the epicycles of each planet (including luminaries), according to the scheme reconstructed by Robbins and from which the table shown (fig. 6) can be obtained.<sup>37</sup>

- \* A system preserved in the demotic papyrus PYale CtYBR inv.1132 (B), written and found in Tebtynis (Arsinoites). The recto 1132 (A), in Greek, contains a list of names and can be dated between 100 and 299<sup>38</sup>; verse 1132 (B), in demotic, contains a table of terms, a list of the zodiac signs, and can be dated between 75 and 125. This papyrus is kept in the Beinecke Library of Yale University. The boundaries are assigned only to five planets in a scheme written in a tabular form which, according to Bohleke, represents a combination developed for mnemonic purposes of the *Egyptian* system with the of Critodemus.<sup>39</sup> This proves that even indigenous Egypt paid attention to this doctrine.
- \* A system described in the Sanskrit Yavanajātaka (*Horoscope of the Greeks*) by Sphujidhvaja. The treaty, composed in 269/270, is the versification of the prose translation – made in 149/150 – of a lost Greek astrological text.<sup>40</sup> The zodiac signs are divided into two groups, even and odd ones, and in each of them the five planets divide the terms according to a fixed pattern (fig. 7),<sup>41</sup> which was then followed by all Indian astrologers.<sup>42</sup>

Even signs		Odd signs	
<b>Mars</b>	<b>1-5°</b>	<b>Venus</b>	<b>1-5°</b>
<b>Saturn</b>	<b>6-10°</b>	<b>Mercury</b>	<b>6-12°</b>
<b>Jupiter</b>	<b>11-18°</b>	<b>Jupiter</b>	<b>13-20°</b>
<b>Mercury</b>	<b>19-25°</b>	<b>Saturn</b>	<b>21-25°</b>
<b>Venus</b>	<b>26-30°</b>	<b>Mars</b>	<b>26-30°</b>

Fig. 7: The system described in the Sanskrit Yavanajātaka (*The Horoscope of the Greeks*) by Sphujidhvaja

Porphyry<sup>43</sup> already mentions that there were different systems for calculating the terms and that the ancient (ἀρχαίοι) writers disagreed with the new ones (νεοτέροι): Apollinario arranged them differently from Ptolemy, while both arranged them differently from Trasillo,

<sup>37</sup> Robbins 1936, 90 and 98-99.

<sup>38</sup> TM 91318.

<sup>39</sup> Bohleke 1996, 11.

<sup>40</sup> Pingree 1978, I, p. 3.

<sup>41</sup> Pingree 1978, II, p. 211.

<sup>42</sup> Pingree 1978, II, p. 216.

<sup>43</sup> CCAG V, 4, chap. 41, p. 222, 13-17.

Petosiris and the older writers (who followed the Egyptian system).<sup>44</sup> Sextus Empiricus argued that there was no agreement in the astrologers' tables.<sup>45</sup> More recently, his argument will be resumed by Pico della Mirandola, who would add even more contemptuous words: astrologers quarrel among themselves about boundaries and one doctrine advises some of them, the other others. There is discord – he says – between what Ptolemy, the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Indians, and some unknown astrologer, which Abu Ma'shar recalls in his *Introductorium Maius*.<sup>46</sup> The reasons for the attributions of planets to the signs and their affinity with them are nonsense, as they are false and out of tales.<sup>47</sup>

Boundaries, however, have always had credit in horoscopic astrology: first of all, as an essential dignity, they contribute to the calculation of the lord of a signifier of a matter, planet, axis or fate. Just like in a race, the lordship is the prevailing of a planet over another: only one can be the winner, and must be chosen among the five planets, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury. In the *Tetrábiblos* (III, 3, 3), Ptolemy establishes the criteria of dominion; to rule a planet, it must have the following requirements: trine, domicile, exaltation, boundary, and configuration. Therefore, a set of *essential* and *accidental* dignities. However, which one is more important? Domicile or exaltation? Is it more important to ascend or to culminate? Neither Ptolemy nor the Greek astrologers have left us anything certain with regards to the greater or lesser weight of each dignity or accidental situation. The first evidence of the attribution of mathematical coefficients would instead be found in the Arab Al-Kindî (ninth century), who assigned 5 points to the domicile, 4 to the exaltation, 3 to the triplicity, 2 to the border, and 1 to the dean, dignity that replaced the figure, taken into consideration instead by Greek astrologers.<sup>48</sup>

Porphry (ch.49) argues that, if a planet is found in the domicile and in the boundaries of a benefactor, which has the right to speak over the geniture, it will ensure good luck. If it is found in the domicile of the beneficiary, but within the boundaries of a malefic, luck will diminish. Finally, if it is found in the domicile and in the boundaries of a malefic, fortune will become bad and dark. The action of the boundaries, just like for the decans,<sup>49</sup> changes the influence of the planets that rule the domicile.<sup>50</sup> In the same chapter, Porphry states that the ancients (οἱ παλαιοί) divided the signs into 5 unequal parts according to the *complete*<sup>51</sup> periods of the stars, with *period meaning what stated above*; however, there is no reference to these periods in the previous chapters.

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<sup>44</sup> Apollinario worked either in the first century AD or at the beginning of the second; Trasillo, perhaps, died in AD 36; the apocryphal Petosiris used the Babylonian-style arithmetic methods to obtain the ascending arcs, which are prior to the first appearance in Menelaus' *Spherica* (ca. 100) of the theorems necessary for their correct computation (see Jones 1990, 14). We know nothing of the system of terms used by Apollinario. This chapter is found *ad verbum* in Rhetorius, chap.11 (CCAG V, p. 151).

<sup>45</sup> Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. Mathematicos*, V, 37.

<sup>46</sup> Astratū (Album. *Intr. Maius*, 5,8,2); Heilen 2015, 722, n. 1606.

<sup>47</sup> Pico della Mirandola, *Disputationes*, 4.16.

<sup>48</sup> Dykes 2011, 94: *The Forty Chapters of Al-Kindi*, III, 2.

<sup>49</sup> Porphry, chap. 47, CCAG V, 4, pp. 220-221.

<sup>50</sup> CCAG V, 4, p. 222, 11-18. The chapter is present almost with the same words in Rhetorius (cap. 12), CCAG I, p. 151-152.

<sup>51</sup> The adjective used is τελειός: *completed, accomplished, therefore, maximus*.

More details on this are offered by Paulus Alexandrinus in chapters 3 and 36 of his work:<sup>52</sup> it is through the boundaries that the wise Egyptians established the principle of dominion through which it is possible to calculate the duration of life. The planet which rules the life's significator grants the completed years completed proper to him: Saturn 57, Jupiter 79, Mars 66, Venus 82, Mercury 76. If the Sun would ever be the significator and well placed within its own domain, it grants 120 years. The Moon, on the other hand, 108 years.<sup>53</sup>

Vettius Valens (IV.6) provides the following explanation on how the maximum years of life are assigned to each planet (τελεία ἔτη), though those of Venus add up to 84 instead of 82, bringing the final total to 362.<sup>54</sup>

*How many years each sign gives. And the maximum years of the stars.*

Aquarius gives 30 years, Capricorn 27; since the Sun rules a maximum period of 120, half of which is 60. By opposition<sup>55</sup>, it assigns<sup>56</sup> half of these to Aquarius, so 30 years. The Moon rules a maximum period of 108 years, half of which is 54. It gives, by opposition, half of this (so 27) to Capricorn. The total of these two signs is 57, which is the maximum period of Saturn. The rest of the stars take the maximum allotment of years from the Sun and the Moon. The Sun assigned to Jupiter, of the same sect and shares triplicity in Sagittarius,<sup>57</sup> half of its 120 years plus the length of its minimum period, [which is] 19 years. The total is 79 years. In the same way the Moon assigned to Jupiter, because both are benefactors and share triplicity through Pisces,<sup>58</sup> half of its 108 years (so 54), plus its minimum period, 25, for a total of 79.

The Moon assigned to Mars, part of the same sect, 54 years. The Sun refused to assigned [years] to Mars because it imitates him in its fiery nature and it has a corrupting nature, therefore it gave to Jupiter, who succeeds him as lord of the triplicity, his minimum years, which are 12. The total is thus 66. Similarly, the Moon gave Venus its 54 years, for sharing the triplicity and for the nocturnal sect, and gave Saturn 30 years, as it was exalted in Libra. The total is therefore 84. Mercury gets 57 years from Saturn, the maximum period, because they are co-rules <in the Virgo, Capricorn, Taurus triangle>, and the minimum period of the Sun, 19 years. The total is 76.

Boundaries are also important in the Zodiac's directions, that is, those that, through the progress of time, lead a different ecliptic degree, or rather its ascending arc to the luminaries, to each of the planets, axes, or destinies of the geniture: their succession after birth divides time into *chronogratories* or temporal domains. Each boundary's lord, the chronocrator of the degrees included in it, is called *divider*.<sup>59</sup> Obviously, such role belongs only to Saturn,

<sup>52</sup> Boer (1958, p. 13 e p. 95 and ss.).

<sup>53</sup> In chap. 36, the count becomes more sophisticated and varied according to the house in which the lord of the significator of life is located and according to the aspects it receives.

<sup>54</sup> The explanation is resumed not *ad verbum* in Liber Hermetis (chap.23), where, however, 63 years are assigned to Mars instead of 66, 84 are assigned to Venus, instead of 82 (as in Vettius), with a final total of 359

<sup>55</sup> As it is in opposition to Leo.

<sup>56</sup> The verb used is ἐπιμερίζω, so, *to divide, to assign a part*, in this case a number of years to life.

<sup>57</sup> Jupiter, like the Sun, is lord of a sign that is in the same triplicity (Aries, Leo, Sagittarius).

<sup>58</sup> Jupiter, like the Moon, is lord of a sign that is in the same triplicity (Cancer, Scorpio, Pisces).

<sup>59</sup> Al-Biruni in the *Art of Astrology*, 136 (523): "The divider is called *qāsim*, *jān-baḥtār* in Persian, since life is temporally situated between the place of the significator of life (*hīlāj*) and that of the severing (*qāti*). This range is divided into various section which are the borders, and their lords are also lords of these sections.

Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury. When the next one arrives, each *divider* ceases its dominion and therefore its influence on the significator. This is particularly true for the axes and for the fates, which, as circles of the local space, cannot receive any direction in the Zodiac apart from the dividers' succession. The case of the degree of the planets is different, just like that of the luminaries, which can instead join or launch a ray along the ecliptic to those of nativity or reach an equal declination. They are thus called *subdividers*, as they divide the *chronocratix* of the *divisor* and cooperate with it in the government.<sup>60</sup>

The combination of ascending arches, and therefore the calculation of time in which each sign rises with the boundaries recalls what Porphyry stated in chap.41 when discussing of the duration of life: "There are two things that are needed in order to find the length of life: the distribution of the boundaries between the five planets, and the signs' ascensional times."<sup>61</sup>

Also, this is what Ptolemy, when dealing with the very same subject (III.11.13), says:

It is not to be believed, however, that these places always and absolutely destroy, but only when they are tormented; they are hindered, in fact, if they affect the boundary of a beneficial planet, and if one of the benefits brings a ray in square, in (trine), or in opposition precisely on the anaretic degree or those that follow it [...]"

While on its path, the *apheta*, the giver of life, the geniture's most important place, receives both the influences of the star that dominates the boundaries, the *divider*, and those of the nearby star with a familiarity by degree, by ray, and, by declination, the *subdivider*. However, if both *divider* and *subdivider* are dominion of the benefits, they can heal the arrival of a malefic. When the *anereta* (Mars, Saturn) reaches the boundaries of the benefits Venus and Jupiter, it can see its destructive force diminished, as well as when they launch a ray towards it.

It seems, therefore, that the highest specific weight of the boundaries is, in the most difficult sector of interpretation, the astrologer's real test, and that is the duration of life.

Genoa, 25/11/2022

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Furthermore, every planet that is within the boundaries of *hīlāj*, or directs its rays to it, becomes a participant in the government of that section." Bezza 2005, 131.

<sup>60</sup> Therefore: in the zodiac, the *divider* (lord planet of the boundary) can ascend to luminaries, planets, axes and sorts of nativity; the *subdivider* (luminary or planet), on the other hand, can only ascend to luminaries and planets.

<sup>61</sup> Porphyry, chap.41, CCAG V, 4, p.212, 10-13.

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