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FROM LOVE TO DESIRE: THE LOT OF EROS IN HELLENISTIC ASTROLOGY

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ABSTRACT

This essay explores the history and calculation of the Lot of Eros in ancient astrological practice. It begins with a brief overview of the concept of Eros in Greek culture, especially emphasising the celestial bodies associated with Eros (primarily Venus and the Sun). The conception of Eros as a joining principle as well as a symbol of sexual union combines aspects of love both as a more abstract concept and universal symbol of communion/union/unity as well as sexual desire (especially associated with Venus). From the discussion of these two components of Eros I move to its astrological conception as a lot connected with friendship, community, union and sexual relations. Two formulae for the calculation of the Lot of Eros have been handed down in the astrological tradition: one involving the Lots of Fortune and Daimon, and the other involving the Lot of Daimon and Venus. These two traditions will also be explored in this essay.

KEYWORDS: Eros, Love, Sexual Union, Desire, Lot of Eros, Lot of Daimon, Lot of Fortune, Sun, Venus, Astrological Lots, *Panaretos*.

DEL AMOR AL DESEO: LA SUERTE DE EROS EN LA ASTROLOGÍA HELENÍSITICA

RESUMEN

Este trabajo investiga la historia y cálculo de la Suerte de Eros en la práctica astrológica antigua. Comienza con una breve revisión del concepto de Eros en la cultura griega, subrayando en particular los cuerpos celestes asociados con Eros (en principio Venus y el Sol). El concepto de Eros como un principio unificador así como un símbolo de unión sexual combina aspectos del amor en cuanto concepto abstracto y símbolo universal de comunión/unión/unidad, además de como un deseo sexual (especialmente asociado con Venus). De la discusión de estos dos componentes de Eros paso a su concepción astrológica como suerte asociada a la amistad, comunidad, unión y relaciones sexuales. Dos fórmulas para el cálculo de la Suerte de Eros se han utilizado en la tradición astrológica: una implica las Suertes de la Fortuna y el Demon y la otra implica la Suerte del Demon y Venus. Estas dos tradiciones serán objeto de estudio también en este trabajo.

Palabras Clave: Eros, Amor, Unión sexual, Deseo, Suerte de Eros, Suerte del Demon, Suerte de la Fortuna, Sol, Venus, suertes astrológicas, *Panaretos*.

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Introduction

The tradition of lots in Hellenistic astrology is very ancient. The Lot of Fortune, and quite probably the Lot of Daimon as well¹, are mentioned in texts of some of the earliest extant astrological material, the fragments of (pseudo-)Nechepso and Petosiris. Scholarship from the late 19th century to the present has catalogued the fragments of these pseudepigraphic authors², and these lots appear as well in almost all of the ancient astrological authors writing in Greek and Latin through the end of antiquity, from Manilius to Rhetorius. In addition to their literary documentation, lots are also represented in original documentary texts (ostraca and papyrus)³; we can thus conclude that they were an important part of the actual practice of astrology in antiquity.

Although the most commonly used lots are the Lots of Fortune and Daimon⁴, other lots are also found in the documentary and literary evidence; what concerns us in this article is, naturally, the use of the Lot of Eros. At present we have evidence for its use in six charts in antiquity and the Byzantine era, ranging from 138 CE to 905 CE⁵. The range of use of the Lot of Eros by astrologers, including these examples and the interpretations applied to the lot will be explored in this paper. This will correlate with the connotations of Eros within the wider Hellenistic, Greco-Roman and late antique culture. We first turn to the concept of Eros in a general cultural context. The reason for briefly examining the mythological, cosmological, philosophical and religious expressions of Eros is to show, in the second part of this article, how these conceptions are reflected in astrology and its practice. As we shall see, astrology has a unique way of demonstrating and reflecting the wider cultural principles and expression of Eros.

Greek Conceptions of Eros

Eros has a long history in Greek religion, mythology and philosophy. The idea of love as a joining principle traces back to Pythagoreanism, Parmenides and Empedocles well before Plato wrote about it. For the Orphics, Eros was embodied in the figure of Phanes or Protogonos, the god of light and creation.

¹ S. Heilen, 2015, pp. 1158-1182; D. G. Greenbaum, 2015, pp. 333-334.

Nechepso and Petosiris, 1892; S. Heilen, 2011, pp. 23-93.

O. NEUGEBAUER & H. B. VAN HOESEN, 1959, repr. 1987 (hereafter *GH*); A. JONES, 1999 (hereafter *APO*); D. G. Greenbaum, 2008; Eadem, 2015; Heilen, 2015, 'Katalog antiker Horoskope', pp. 204-333.

⁴ Greenbaum, 2008.

⁵ Greenbaum, 2015, pp. 367-77.

Sexual love as the consummate and literal symbol of union between separate bodies explains fertility and creation. It was a symbol of life and growth, opposing the death and decay of the material world, at least for a time. Thus Eros and its association with joining together, union, fertility and binding is important as a principle in the creation of the world. From its earthly expression in sexual love to its universal application in the formation of the cosmos, Eros is a necessary force in cosmogony – contrasted with the forces of separation and compulsion, represented cosmologically by *neikos* (strife) and *anankē* (necessity).

To give an idea of some of the ways Eros is treated by the Greeks, I shall offer a representative sampling of texts, from Hesiod to the *Hermetica*. Early on, Eros is involved with cosmology and is one of the first gods, according to Hesiod, created just after Chaos and along with Earth (*Theogony* 116-120). He is called 'most beautiful among the deathless gods'⁶. His relationship to Aphrodite also appears in Hesiod and other early texts: 'And Eros accompanied her, and beautiful Longing (or Desire: Himeros) followed at her birth...'⁷. Aphrodite as well is called 'beautiful'⁸. Beauty is thus connected with each of these deities, Eros, Aphrodite and Himeros, at a very early stage. The concept of desire, personified by Himeros, here has the sense of longing or yearning, different from the later word, *epithumia*, 'appetite', associated with Venus as an astrological planet⁹.

In the Orphic theogony, the name of Eros attaches to their creator deity, also called Protogonos ('first-born'), Phanes ('shining one' and 'appearance' –as in 'come to light'), Erikepaios, Metis and Dionysus. Phanes/Eros is born from an egg and becomes the creator of all. He is beautiful, shining and golden-winged, 'longed-for Eros' Night, his daughter, becomes his partner in creation.

In Parmenides, a daimon who 'rules over hateful childbirth and (sexual) union'¹¹ is, in fact, the creator of Eros: "First of all the gods she crafted Eros"¹². Plutarch

⁶ Theogony 120: κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.

⁷ Theogony 201-202: τῆ δ' Ἔρος ὡμάρτησε καὶ Ἵμερος ἔσπετο καλὸς / γεινομένη....

⁸ Theogony 194: καλὴ θεός.

⁹ E.g., in Vett. Val., I, 1.28, p.3.28 PINGREE.

Aristophanes, The Birds, 695-696: Έρως ὁ ποθεινός, / στίλβων νῶτον πτερύγοιν χρυσαῖν. Cited by M. L. West, 1983, pp. 111-12 in connection with the Orphic Phanes. For more discussion of Eros in an Orphic context, see Greenbaum, 1015, pp. 350-53.

 $^{^{11}~}$ H. Diels and W. Kranz, 1951, repr. 1966, I, B12, 243.4: < η̂> στυγεροῖο τόκου καὶ μίξιος ἄρχει. (Hereafter D-K.).

(Amatorius 756e-f), quoting Parmenides as above, names this daimon as Aphrodite, but he adds that Eros is responsible for the qualities of affection (φιλότης) and commingling $(σύγκρασις)^{13}$.

Philotēs (or *philia*) reappears in Empedocles (*On Nature*) as the great joining principle (opposed to the separating principle, Strife [*neikos*]). Plutarch, again, associates Empedocles' *philotēs* with Aphrodite and Eros: "So they were until desire came upon nature providentially, for Affection arose, and Aphrodite and Eros, as Empedocles says, and Parmenides and Hesiod"¹⁴. In the *Purifications*, Empedocles calls love by yet another name, Charis; but the concepts are very similar. Ananke (Necessity) causes Charis and Neikos to take turns ruling, which prompts the remark that "Charis hates hard-to-bear Ananke"¹⁵. The role of Ananke as a counterpart to Eros is repeatedly seen both in general culture and astrologically¹⁶.

Thus the act of physical union represented by Eros becomes, by a kind of metonymy, the great creative principle of the universe. Its cosmological implications will be reflected, as we shall see, in the rationale and formula of one of the Lots of Eros (whose mirror image will be the Lot of Necessity).

Plato brings new dimensions to the understanding of what Eros is. The *Symposium* provides a long discussion of Eros, with different viewpoints being expressed by the participants. For Phaedrus, he is the oldest god. He repeats the Parmenides' fragment: "First of all the gods she crafted Eros" (*Symp.* 178b). Pausanias's speech differentiates two Aphrodites, a heavenly one, daughter of Ouranos; and an earthly, daughter of Zeus and Dione. Each has an offspring: Eros Ouranios and Eros Pandemos, the Heavenly and Earthly Eros (180d-182a). The earthly Eros is sexual desire, corporeal and hedonistic, while the heavenly Eros is a 'rational' desire, which is pure and focused not on the body but on the soul (note that this Eros comes from the Aphrodite who has no mother). In some ways this is the encapsulation of the Eros dichotomy. Eros as pure, harmonious, virtuous and rational has been deliberately separated from the earthly Eros, concerned only with sexual union and physical pleasure.

This last word is commonly used in astrology for the mixture of planetary qualities.

Empedocles, ap. Plutarch, De facie 926f-927a: ... ἄχρι οὖ τὸ ἰμερτὸν ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐκ προνοίας, φιλότητος ἐγγενομένης καὶ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἔρωτος ὡς Ἐμπεδοκλῆς λέγει καὶ Παρμενίδης καὶ Ἡσίοδος Trans. Cherniss, in Plutarch, De facie quae in orbe lunae apparet, Moralia XII, Cambridge, MA, 1957, repr. 2001.

¹⁵ D-K, Ι, 358: [Χάρις] στυγέει δύστλητον Άνάγκην.

We shall see some of the astrological connections below. For an extensive discussion of Eros and Ananke, see Greenbaum, 2015, pp. 339-367.

For Diotima, Eros is the *daimōn megas*, 'the great daimon' who, like all *daimones*, interprets and mediates between gods and mortals (*Symp*. 202d13-202e1). He is an Eros born of Poros and Penia (Provision and Poverty) (*Symp*. 203a-c). In function he sounds more like the heavenly Eros, seeking the ideals of wisdom, beauty and the good. He moves in a middle world between the want of Penia and the resourcefulness of Plenty.

In Plutarch, we find some accommodation between these two conceptions, for in the *Amatorius*, Eros represents body *and* soul, in that it feeds the soul through the body: "...for the soul is persuaded that beauty and value exist nowhere but here, unless it secures divine, moderate $(\sigma \acute{\omega} \phi \rho o v o \varsigma)$ Love to be its physician, its saviour, its guide. Love, who has come to it through the medium of bodily forms..."¹⁷.

Plutarch also connects Eros with the Sun, supposedly following Egyptian lore: "...the Egyptians recognise two Loves, just as the Greeks do, Heavenly and Earthly (Common), but they believe that the sun is a third Love..." He goes on to compare the moon with Aphrodite, suggesting that the similarities of sun and moon to Eros and Aphrodite are stronger than those of other planets:

It is, then, likely that the resemblances of the moon to Aphrodite and of the sun to Eros are much stronger than those which these stars have to the other gods; yet they are by no means identical, for the body is not the same as soul, but different, just as the sun is visible while Eros is noetic¹⁹.

(These links with the sun, moon and Venus find a parallel in astrology: both of the two formulae used to calculate the Lot of Eros include the Lot of the Sun (a.k.a. the Lot of Daimon), and one of these formulae uses the position of Venus in its construction of the lot).

In the *Hermetica*, we find a more universal role for Eros in the realm of the material world, in which Eros and Ananke (Necessity) are masters over the souls who are bound to bodies: 'It is Eros, O souls, and Ananke, who will be masters over you, for after me [the primary God, described as μόναρχος] they are the masters and orderers

¹⁷ Plutarch, *Amatorius* 764f: πᾶν ἐνταῦθα πειθομένη τὸ καλὸν εἶναι καὶ τίμιον, ἄν μὴ τύχη θείου καὶ σώφρονος Ἑρωτος ἰατροῦ καὶ σωτῆρος καὶ ἡγεμόνος ὃς διὰ σωμάτων ἀφικόμενος.... Trans. W. C. Helmbold, in Plutarch, *Amatorius*, *Moralia IX*, Cambridge, 1961, repr. 1999.

¹⁸ Amatorius 764b: ...Αἰγύπτιοι δύο μὲν Ἔλλεησι παραπλησίως Ἔρωτας, τὸν τε πάνδημον καὶ τὸν οὐράνιον, ἴσασι, τρίτον δὲ νομίζουσιν Ἔρωτα τὸν ἥλιον.... Trans. W. C. Helmbold, slightly modified.

¹⁹ Amatorius 764b: Έσικέναι μὲν οὖν' Ἀφροδίτη σελήνην ἥλιον δὲ Ἔρωτι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν μᾶλλον εἰκός ἐστιν, οὐ μὴν εἶναι γε παντάπασι τοὺς αὐτοὺς· οὐ γὰρ ψυχῇ σῶμα ταὐτὸν ἀλλ' ἔτερον, ὥσπερ ἥλιον μὲν ὁρατὸν Ἔρωτα δὲ νοητόν. Trans. W. C. Helmbold, slightly modified.

of all things' in the physical world²⁰. A similar universal role for Eros appears in the Chaldean Oracles, where Nous and Divine Will are joined by Eros as a third power, which tames and binds all things:

(The Father) mixed the spark of soul with two unanimous qualities, Nous and Divine Will, to which he added a third, pure Love, as the tamer and holy bond of all things²¹.

In these texts, love as a cosmic and cultural principle is contrasted with an individual and sexual love. The idea of two kinds of Eros, an earthly, sexual one contrasted to a heavenly, spiritual one, will travel into the development of eros as a part of human life in astrology. Astrology thereby accommodates both physical and spiritual creation. It deals both with physical desire centring on the body as well as more reasoned desire for union and community.

Astrological Conceptions of Eros

As might be expected in astrological texts, love $(er\bar{o}s)$ as a characteristic is frequently associated with the planet Venus, but Jupiter also can have love as one of its attributes (and Mars can negatively affect matters to do with love or sex). Eros represents universal qualities like community and friendship, as well as love as a joining principle, but represents as well the physical characteristics involved with love. The following examples will serve to demonstrate these connections.

Vettius Valens tells us that Venus is desire and love (*Anthology* I, 1.28: ἐπιθυμία καὶ ἔρως; I.1, 47: ...ἔρωτος δὲ καὶ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ κάλλους ὁ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης...) and also produces friendships (I, 1.29: φιλίας). But Jupiter too signifies desire, love and friendship (I, 1.17). Thus both benefics can confer characteristics associated with the concept of love. Teucer of Babylon states that Venus signifies things to do with desire or yearning (ὄρεξις) and communion (κοινωνία)²². For Rhetorius, probably quoting Antiochus, Venus means these as well, but in addition it signifies mothers

²⁰ SHXXIII.38 (CHIV, 12.11-12, 15-17 Nock and Festugière): Έρως ὑμῶν, ψυχαί, δεσπόσει καὶ Ἀνάγκη, οἵδε γὰρ μετ' ἐμὲ πάντων δεσπόται τε καὶ ταξίαρχοι.θνητοῖς καὶ αὐταὶ προσμεμοιρασμένον χῶρον σπλάγχνοις καταδικασθεῖσαι ἐνοικήσετε. See also Hermetica: The Ancient Greek and Latin Writings which Contain Religious or Philosophic Teachings Ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus, ed. W. Scott, Oxford, 1926, I, 478-79. My paraphrase of the second part here excerpted.

Julian, Fr. 44, pp. 66-67 Majercik: '... ψυχαῖον σπινθῆρα δυσὶν κράσας ὁμονοίαις, / νῷ καὶ νεύματι θείῳ, ἐφ' οἶς τρίτον ἀγνὸν ἔρωτα, / συνδετικὸν πάντων ἐπιβήτορα σεμνόν, ἔθηκεν.' Trans. ΜΑJERCIK, modified.

²² In *CCAG* IX/2, 181.5-6.

and younger sisters, various kinds of sexual union, marriages and, in general, things that give pleasure²³.

Hephaestio, in the *Apotelesmatika*, states that someone who has the first decan of Gemini as an Ascendant will be, among other things, fond of good cheer, erotic and taking a wife from love or friendship, but will also be engaged in 'heavenly learning²⁴. While it is uncertain why the first decan of Gemini would confer these conditions (it may have something to do with the characteristics of the Egyptian decan 'Thosolk', which rules this section of Gemini), the attributes do seem connected with Venusian qualities. In his chapter on friends and enemies (II, 23), Hephaestio quotes Ptolemy (Tetrabiblos IV, 7), and the usual qualities of love, friendship and associations are involved when Venus is prominent. But tellingly, the Lot of Eros is also involved in matters of friendship²⁵ –Hephaestio cites Dorotheus for this claim. In the Ages of Man, discussed by both Hephaestio (II, 26) and Ptolemy (IV, 10), Aphrodite, ruler of the third age (ages 14-23), governs adolescent growth after puberty, primarily the unruly physical desires of sexual contact and matters of love. For Hephaestio and Dorotheus, the Lot of Eros also plays a role in katarchic astrology. as we shall see in the next section. For Hephaestio, statues of Eros or the Charites should be consecrated when the Moon is in the signs or exaltations of Venus²⁶. Cosmas of Jerusalem names Eros as one of the thirty-six airs²⁷.

Thus qualities assigned to the astrological expressions of eros can be cosmological or universal in nature, in addition to the common and prosaic reflections of physical joining. These qualities of love, especially physical love and desire, are often ascribed to the presence of Venus, but another astrological position, the Lot of Eros, also has to do with matters of love and friendship in a more general way. The rationale behind the formulae for the Lot of Eros will reflect both the general themes of love and friendship, and physical expressions of desire and love. This lot, as we shall explore next, itself has connections both with Venus and the lots of body and Moon (Fortune), as well as with soul and Sun (Daimon). It becomes an important vehicle for applying the ways in which astrologers can allow for all things linked to love to be interpreted in the chart, whether natally, katarchically, or in predictive techniques.

²³ In *CCAG* VII, 220.4-10.

^{24 &#}x27;...οὐρανίων μαθημάτων...': Hephaestio, Apotelesmatica I, 1.51 (vol.1, p. 9.14-18 PINGREE).

²⁵ Hephaestio, II, 23.10-18 (vol. 1, pp. 183.17-184.10 PINGREE).

²⁶ Hephaestio, III, 7.16 (vol. 1, p. 259.14-15 PINGREE).

In CCAG VIII/3, 122.6. For both the consecration of statues in Hephaestio and Cosmas's assignment of 'airs' to the signs, see A. Pérez Jiménez, 2007, diagram of airs p. 130; also W. Gundel, 1936, pp. 72, 81 (Table).

The Lot of Eros and its Astrological Tradition

Before we explore the astrological tradition of the Lot of Eros, a brief explanation of what a lot is and how it is formulated will be useful. The tradition of lots in general is quite ancient—our earliest material, on the Lot of Fortune and (probably) the Lot of Daimon, appears in the pseudonymous material ascribed to Nechepso the king and his priest Petosiris²⁸. Lots are not physical bodies like planets, but points designated by the zodiacal sign and /or degree in which they fall. They are created by taking the arc between two zodiacal points in a chart, and projecting that arc from a third point, usually the Ascendant. This can be demonstrated by showing how the Lots of Fortune and Daimon are created using the positions of Sun, Moon and Ascendant.

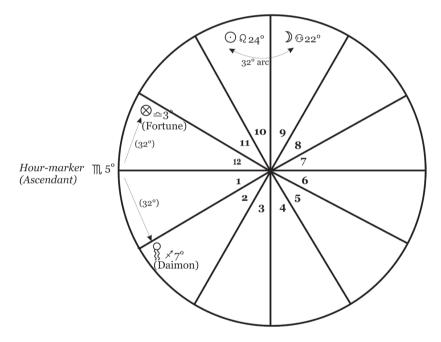


Fig. 1. Positions of the Lots of Fortune and Daimon created from the arc between the Sun and Moon (author's diagram)

Descriptively, the formula for the Lot of Fortune in a day chart is defined as the arc from Sun to Moon in zodiacal order (whether the shorter or longer arc), projected in this same order from the Ascendant, while the Lot of Daimon does the same using the

See above, nn. 1 and 2.

arc from Moon to Sun in a day chart²⁹. Effectively, this means that the shorter arc can be projected from the Ascendant in one way (for the Lot of Fortune) and the other (for the Lot of Daimon), as the above diagram illustrates. (In this case, the diagram also demonstrates that the Lots of Fortune and Daimon are in a mirror image relationship to each other, projecting in an equal amount of degrees from the Ascendant).

There are two reasons that I have used the Lots of Fortune and Daimon as examples in this explanation of lot construction. First, these were the two lots most often described and used in practice in astrological texts (Valens is our chief source for this), and they appear most frequently in ancient documentary charts. The Lot of Fortune appears most frequently; secondmost in use is the Lot of Daimon³⁰. Other lots, such as the lots of the mother, father, siblings, marriage and the like, are also mentioned in astrological texts, but these lots do not appear as often in documentary evidence. The other reason for using the Fortune and Daimon lots is because, as Olympiodorus tells us, they are used to calculate other lots³¹ (especially, in his and Paulus's treatises, the other so-called 'Hermetic' Lots)³². However, this is true not only for the 'Hermetic' version, but for both formulae used in astrology to construct the Lot of Eros.

The earliest material on the use of the Lot of Eros is found in Dorotheus, as transmitted by Hephaestio. Dorotheus speaks of using the Lot of Eros in matters concerning friendship, by examining where it falls in the chart and what relationships it has with other planets³³. (No formula is given here). In synastry, the comparison of two charts and their astrological connections, the Lot makes signs of equal-ascension sym-

See the descriptions of these formulae in Manilius (*Astronomica* 3.176-200), Valens (*Anthology*, II, 3.1, p. 58.14-21 PINGREE, quoting 'the king' Nechepso, and II, 23.7, pp. 83.28-84.1 PINGREE), Paulus (*Introduction*, ch. 23, pp. 47.15-48.12 BOER), Olympiodorus (*Commentary on Paulus*, ch. 22, pp. 47.5-49.2; 49.9-50.5 BOER).

³⁰ See Greenbaum, 2008.

Olympiodorus, Commentary on Paulus' Introduction, ch. 22, p. 47.6-10 BOER.

They are so-called because Paulus (ch. 23) claims they come from a book called the *Panaretos*, or 'All Virtue', ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus by Olympiodorus and a scholiast of Paulus. (See the discussion below, pp. 103, 106-107). The other 'Hermetic' lots, in addition to Fortune and Daimon, are those of Necessity, Eros, Courage, Victory and Nemesis. Sim. in Olympiodorus, *Commentary on Paulus*, ch. 22, p. 47.6-10 BOER.

Hephaestio, II, 23.10-11 (p. 183.17-20 Pingree): "Let us also set out again the things which have been said very well by Dorotheus. Others, he says, look upon the Lot of Eros, namely how it lies [in the chart], by what stars it is beheld, and they examine with [this lot] the things concerning friendship." Έκκείσθω δὲ πάλιν καὶ τὰ παρὰ Δωροθέω σφόδρα καλῶς εἰρημένα. ἄλλοι δέ, φησίν, ἐπιβλέπουσι τὸν κλῆρον τοῦ ἔρωτος, δηλονότι πῶς κεῖται, ὑπὸ ποίων ἀστέρων θεωρεῖται, καὶ <πρὸς> αὐτὸν τὰ περὶ φιλίας σκοποῦσιν.

pathetic if each chart contains the lot in one of those sign³⁴. The *Liber Hermetis* also quotes Dorotheus about the Lot of Eros, that parents will 'mutually appreciate' each other if the Lot is configured with the sun and moon, especially by trine or sextile³⁵.

For Hephaestio, still citing Dorotheus, katarchic astrology is also a venue for the use of four lots, namely those of Fortune, Daimon, Eros and Necessity. These are important for interpreting a katarchic chart:

The composed $katarch\bar{e}$ points out each [part of the ritual] before the opening of the animal: the Hour-marker reveals the one making the sacrifice; the Setting [place] that which is sacrificed or the sacrificial victim; the Midheaven the god or gods; the Underground [place] the reason for the altar³⁶, the completion of the matter and how it is sacrificed. One must carefully consider the stars – in what places they are, their position and phase, and the four lots – Fortune, Daimon, Necessity, Eros³⁷.

Vettius Valens is one of our most important sources on the Lots of Fortune, Daimon, Eros and Necessity. For him the lots themselves, and the places and signs in which they fall, are among the significant and most operative places in the chart. In Book II, he says:

The God [9th place] gives signs about the father, Goddess [3rd place] about the mother, Good Daimon [11th place] about children, Good Fortune [5th place] about marriage, Evil Daimon [12th place] about illnesses, Bad Fortune [6th place] about injuries, the Lot of Fortune and the Hour-marker about life and manner of living, [the Lot of] Daimon about intentional mind ($\varphi p \acute{o} v \eta \sigma \iota \varsigma$), Midheaven about action, [the Lot of] Eros about desire, [the Lot of] Necessity about enemies³⁸.

Hephaestio, II, 23.16 (p. 184.3-5 PINGREE): καὶ τὰ ἰσανάφορα δὲ ζώδια συμπαθῆ ἐστιν ἀλλήλοις, μάλιστα ἐὰν τῶν δύο γενέσεων οἱ κλῆροι τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐμπέσωσιν εἰς αὐτά.

Liber Hermetis (Hermetis Trismegisti: De triginta sex decanis), ch. 21, 13 (p. 73.41-44 Feraboli), sim. in Dorotheus, Carmen Astrologicum (p. 433 Pingree): "Oportet etiam observare partem cupidinis, si configuratur ad Solem et Lunam maxime per trinum et sextilem, et si sunt in signis oboedientibus; tunc enim <significant> quod diligunt se ad invicem."

i.e., why a sacrifice is needed.

³⁷ Hephaestio, III, 6.11 (pp. 253.20–254.4 Pingree): Ἀποδείκνυσι δὲ ἕκαστα πρὸ τῆς ἀναπτύξεως τοῦ ζώου διατεθεῖσα ἡ καταρχή, καὶ μηνύουσιν ὁ μὲν ὡροσκόπος τὸν θύοντα, τὸ δὲ δῦνον τὸ θυόμενον ἣ τὸ ἱερεῖον, τὸ δὲ μεσουράνημα τὸν θεὸν ἢ τοὺς θεούς, τὸ δὲ ὑπόγειον τὴν τῆς ἐστίας αἰτίαν καὶ τὴν ἔκβασιν τοῦ πράγματος καὶ δι' ὃ θύεται· τούς τε ἀστέρας ἐπιθεωρητέον ἐν οἶς γέ εἰσι τόποις καὶ τάξει καὶ φάσει καὶ τοὺς τέσσαρας κλήρους — τύχης, δαίμονος, ἀνάγκης, ἔρωτος.

Vett. Val., II, 16.1 (p. 67.5-9 Pingree): Ό μὲν θεὸς σημαίνει περὶ πατρός, ἡ δὲ θεὰ περὶ μητρός, ἀγαθὸς δαίμων περὶ τέκνων, ἀγαθὴ τύχη περὶ γάμου, κακὸς δαίμων περὶ παθῶν, κακὴ τύχη περὶ σινῶν, κλῆρος τύχης καὶ ὡροσκόπος περὶ ζωῆς καὶ βίου, ὁ δαίμων περὶ φρονήσεως, μεσουράνημα περὶ πράξεως, ἔρως περὶ ἐπιθυμίας, ἀνάγκη περὶ ἐχθρῶν.

That Valens has included lots with places suggests he considers them equally important in interpretation. In Book IV, he specifically includes the signs of the lots as operative places in the chart:

The operative and active zodiac signs are the Hour-marker, Midheaven, Good Daimon, Good Fortune, the Lots of Fortune, Daimon, Eros and Necessity; middling are God, Goddess and the remaining two centrepins; but the rest are barely sufficient and malefic³⁹.

Finally, Valens gives a large role to the Lots of Fortune, Daimon, Eros and Necessity in the doctrine of profections. Here is his description of outcomes for the Lot of Eros in Book IV:

[5] [The Lot of] Eros handing or taking over in profitable places, and with benefics in them or witnessing, furnishes desires with a good moral purpose and lovers of beautiful things. For some are turned toward education and bodily or musical training and, being softened up with pleasure in future hope, they believe in foresight (pronoia) as untiring; but some, being beguiled by sexual pleasures and intimacies both with women and men, believe it good. [6] And so Ares and Hermes bearing witness [i.e. aspecting] or being in the place, and especially in their own zodiac signs, make paederasts [and] either they are blamed for both⁴⁰, or they are those who love arms, hunting and wrestling, but [if] Aphrodite [is in such a condition], [it makes] sexual intimacies with women. And so sometimes also, since they have been shown affection, they show affection back. [7] And likewise, each of the stars when it has been allotted the place, either bearing witness or taking over the time, will furnish the form (eidos) of the desire according to its own nature. [8] And so generally when malefics are in them or witnessing, the things associated with the desire will come to be by extortion, penalty and danger. [9] And if in any way the [star] of Kronos is co-present with or bears witness to Aphrodite and the Moon, they are blamed for the love of licentious deeds both with men and women, and they endure scandals or, having repented $(metanoe\bar{o})^{41}$, are indifferent when conquered by suffering. [10] If in any way the [star] of Zeus is co-testifying, the result will happen in a trustworthy or powerful way, or mystically. [11] When Ares and Hermes are in them or bearing witness, or taking over the time, [they make] the love of wicked and shameful

Vett. Val., IV, 11.49 (167.20-23 PINGREE): χρηματιστικά μεν οὖν καὶ ἐνεργητικὰ ζώδιά ἐστιν ὑροσκόπος, μεσουράνημα, ἀγαθὸς δαίμων, ἀγαθὴ τύχη, κλῆρος τύχης, δαίμων, ἔρως, ἀνάγκη· μέσα δὲ θεός, θεὰ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ δύο κέντρα· μέτρια δὲ καὶ κακωτικὰ τὰ λοιπά.

⁴⁰ I am not sure what this means; perhaps, blamed for both kinds of sexual preference?

More literally, 'change one's mind'.

affairs; for they come to be forgers, robbers, burglars, gamblers, having a thinking faculty like a wild beast. [12] And if the [star] of Aphrodite also bears witness, [it makes] poisoners, adulterers, murderers, from which, being involved in evil works with securities and loans, in accordance with the times which are occurring, having the experience of imprisonment or judgement, they live dangerously. <For> the place is actually powerful (*ischuros*) in many [areas], which is why one must take it into consideration⁴².

For Paulus Alexandrinus, the Lot of Eros "signifies appetites and desires occurring by choice, and it becomes responsible for friendship and love"; a similar passage is in Olympiodorus's *Commentary on Paulus*⁴³. Firmicus Maternus, as well, tells us that the 'place of Cupid' has to do with desires⁴⁴.

To summarise, let us see how the general cultural descriptions of Eros as discussed at the beginning of this article compare with those applied in an astrological context.

 $^{^{42}}$ Vett. Val., IV, 25.5-12 (pp. 191.27–192.22 Pingree): [5] Ὁ ἔρως παραδιδοὺς ἢ παραλαμβάνων έν χρηματιστικοῖς τόποις, καὶ ἀγαθοποιῶν ἐπόντων ἢ μαρτυρούντων, εὐπροαιρέτους ἐπιθυμίας κατασκευάζει καὶ καλῶν ἐραστάς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ παιδείαν καὶ ἄσκησιν σωματικὴν ἢ μουσικὴν τρέπονται καὶ μεθ' ήδονῆς κολακευόμενοι τῆ μελλούση ἐλπίδι ἀκοπίαστον ἡγοῦνται τὴν πρόνοιαν, οί δὲ ἀφροδισίοις καὶ συνηθείαις θελχθέντες θηλυκῶν τε καὶ ἀρρενικῶν ἀγαθὸν ἡγοῦνται. [6] Άρης μὲν οὖν καὶ Έρμῆς ἐπιμαρτυρήσαντες ἢ ἐπόντες τῷ τόπω, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ἰδίοις ζωδίοις, παιδεραστὰς ποιοῦσιν ἢ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις ψογίζονται ἢ φιλόπλους τε καὶ φιλοκυνήγους καὶ φιλοπαλαίστρους. Άφροδίτη δὲ θηλυκῶν συνηθείας ἔσθ' ὅτε μὲν οὖν καὶ στεργθέντες άντιστέργουσιν. [7] όμοίως δὲ καὶ ἔκαστος τῶν ἀστέρων ὁ κεκληρωμένος τὸν τόπον ἢ ἐπιμαρτυρῶν η παραλαμβάνων τὸν γρόνον κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν τὸ εἶδος τῆς ἐπιθυμίας κατασκευάσει. [8] καθόλου μὲν οὖν κακοποιῶν ἐπόντων ἢ μαρτυρούντων, ἐπὶ βασάνω καὶ ζημία καὶ κινδύνω τὰ τῆς έπιθυμίας γενήσεται. [9] έὰν δέ πως ὁ τοῦ Κρόνου σὺν τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τῆ Σελήνη συμπαρῆ ἢ έπιμαρτυρήση, αἰσγρῶν καὶ ἀσελγῶν ἔργων ἐρῶσιν, ἐπί τε ἀρρενικῶν καὶ θηλυκῶν ψογίζονται καὶ περιβοησίας ύπομένουσιν η μετανοούντες άνεπιστρεπτούσιν ύπο τού πάθους νικώμενοι. [10] έὰν δέ πως ό τοῦ Διὸς συνεπιμαρτυρήση, ἀξιοπίστως ἢ δυνατῶς τὸ γενόμενον ἔσται ἢ μυστικῶς. [11] Άρεως δὲ καὶ Έρμοῦ ἐπόντων ἢ ἐπιμαρτυρούντων ἢ παραλαμβανόντων τὸν χρόνον, κακούργων πραγμάτων ἢ ληστρικῶν ἐρῶσιν· γίνονται γὰρ πλαστογράφοι, ἄρπαγες, θυρεπανοῖκται, κυβευταί, τεθηριωμένην την διάνοιαν ἔγοντες. [12] ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐπιμαρτυρήση, φαρμακοί, μοιχοί, αὐτόχειρες, ὅθεν κατὰ τοὺς ἐπιβάλλοντας χρόνους ἐγγύαις καὶ δάνεσι περικυλιόμενοι καὶ κακουργίαις, συνοχῆς ἢ κρίσεως πεῖραν λαμβάνοντες ἐπικινδύνως διάγουσιν· ἰσχυρὸς <γὰρ> ὁ τόπος πρὸς πολλὰ ὑπάργει, ὅθεν αὐτῷ προσεκτέον.

Paul. Al., Introduction, ch. 23 (p. 50.1-3 Boer): Ὁ δὲ Ἑρως σημαίνει τὰς ὀρέξεις καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τὰς κατὰ προαίρεσιν γινομένας, φιλίας τε καὶ χάριτος παραίτιος καθέστηκεν. Sim. at Olymp., Commentary on Paulus, p. 57.5-7 Boer.

⁴⁴ Firmicus, *Mathesis*, VI.32.45 (II, 187.3 Kroll Skutsch Ziegler; III, 125 Monat): *De loco Cupidinis et desideriorum*.

Qualities associated with Eros in cosmology, philosophy, nature	Qualities associated with the Lot of Eros and/or Venus in astrological texts
κάλλιστος, most beautiful	καλός, κάλλους
ἵμερος, longing	ἐπιθυμία, ὄρεξις, desire, appetite; cupiditas desideriorum appetite for desires
φιλότης, φιλία love, affection, friendship	φιλία
χάρις, grace, love	χάρις
οὐράνιος, heavenly	οὐράνια μαθήματα, heavenly learning (astronomy/astrology)
πάνδημος, common (earthly)	(does not appear)
νοητός, noetic, of the mind	(does not appear)
σώφρων, moderate, self-controlled	εὺπροαίτετος ἐπιθυμία, desire with a moral purpose; ἐπιθυμία κατὰ προαίρεσιν, desire by choice
ψυχή, soul	πάθη ψυχικά
σῶμα, body	ἄσκησις σωματική, physical training
σύγκρασις, mixture, fusion	ἀφροδισίοι καὶ συνήθειαι, sexual pleasures and intimacies
φυσικός, natural	(does not appear)
άρμονία, harmony, concord	συμπαθής, sympathetic; diligunt se ad invicem, mutually love each other
κοινωνία, community, association	σύστασις

In the descriptions of the Lot of Eros, we can see how the cultural specifications of Eros have transferred into the medium of astrology and astrological practice. In addition to 'love' tout court, desire ($\dot{\epsilon}\pi\iota\theta\upsilon\mu(\alpha)$) and friendship ($\phi\iota\lambda(\alpha)$) are also prominent. Hints of a spiritual concept of love more aligned with soul purpose can be seen along with the purely physical components of love and desire. For Valens, when the Lot of Eros is well-placed in the chart it provides the impetus toward 'good moral purpose'—but when combined with other planets its effect will reflect that planet's characteristics, usually in a physical manner (this method of interpreting planetary combinations is typical in astrology). Paulus's remark on the component of choice associated with Eros is interesting. Here he implies the ability to moderate uncon-

trolled appetites and desires through Eros, reminiscent of Plutarch's statement about "divine, moderate [i.e. self-controlled] Love to be [the soul's] physician, its saviour, its guide." The fact that the Lot of Eros is associated with friendship also implies a voluntary association. This can be contrasted with the force or compulsion associated with the Lot of Necessity, both in Paulus and in Valens⁴⁵.

1. Calculating the Lot of Eros, First Formula

Valens is the earliest astrological writer to give formulae for the Lot of Eros: "The Lot of Eros is taken by day from the Lot of Fortune to the [Lot] of Daimon and an equal amount from the Hour-marker, but by night the reverse"⁴⁶. The formula for the Lot of Necessity, Valens tells us, is the reverse of that of the Lot of Eros: "On Necessity. … 'Take [the Lot of Necessity] from Daimon to Fortune, but by night the reverse"⁴⁷.

Thus, arithmetically:

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Lot of Eros

Asc + Daimon - Fortune (Day)

Asc + Fortune - Daimon (Night)

Lot of Necessity

Asc + Fortune - Daimon (Day)

Asc + Daimon - Fortune (Night)
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In the fourth century, the astrologer Julius Firmicus Maternus also provides formulae. For the Lot of Eros, he says:

On the place of Cupid and desires. If you want to find the place of desires by degree⁴⁸ compute, in a diurnal nativity, from the degree of Daimon to the

For more on this contrast, see the discussion in D. Greenbaum, 2015, pp. 356-60.

Vett. Val. IV, 25.13 (p. 192.22-24 Pingree): λαμβάνεται δὲ ὁ κλῆρος τοῦ ἔρωτος ἡμέρας μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κλήρου τῆς τύχης ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ δαίμονος [Α Ž in Ms. S] καὶ τὰ ἴσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὡροσκόπου, νυκτὸς δὲ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν.

⁴⁷ Vett. Val. IV, 25.16 (p. 192.25, 30-31 PINGREE): Περὶ ἀνάγκης. ...λάμβανε δὲ ἀπὸ δαίμονος [♀ in S] ἐπὶ τύχην, νυκτὸς δὲ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν. In Kroll's edition of Valens (who also used Ms. S), p. 202.11-14, 21-22, these formulae are presented in the text without square brackets. In CCAG V/2, p. 113.4-6, 12-13, also edited by Kroll in 1906, the formulae again are not bracketed. But in Pingree's edition of Valens, the formulae are presented within square brackets. I do not know why Pingree did this (he gives no hint in the apparatus criticus for this section), since Valens gives formulae for every other lot he uses. Charles Burnett, who inspected Pingree's microfilm of Ms. S (the only one extant for this portion of the Anthology) reports that there is no change in the hand of the copyist, nor any indication this is not part of the original text. I have also inspected the original manuscript at Oxford (Arch. Selden. B. 19, fol. 88r) and can see no difference in the hand, nor any other distinctions between the other text on this page and the text which gives the formulae for the Lots of Eros and Necessity.

Partiliter. This word, the adverbial form of pars, here has the technical astrological meaning 'by degree' (not 'partially').

degree of Fortune, and as much from the Horoscope (Ascendant). But in a nocturnal [nativity], you will compute by the same methods <from> Fortune to Daimon, and as much from the Horoscope, and when you have got the place reckoned by degree (*partili ratione*), every appetite for desires will be demonstrated to you from the sign and from the testimonies of the stars. But by what reckoning you may find the place of Fortune and Daimon, we have said in the fourth book⁴⁹.

For the Lot of Necessity, he says:

On the place of necessity. If you wish to find the place of necessity by partile reckoning, you will compute in a diurnal nativity from Fortune to Daimon, in a nocturnal nativity from Daimon to Fortune, and as much from the Horoscope, and when you have got this same place by that same reckoning, you will determine all the things about this place by the quality of the signs and the stars⁵⁰.

Arithmetically:

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Lot of Cupid: Asc + Fortune – Daimon (Day)

Asc + Daimon – Fortune (Night)

Lot of Necessity: Asc + Daimon – Fortune (Day)

Asc + Fortune – Daimon (Night)

Thus Firmicus as well as Valens uses the arc between the Lots of Fortune and Daimon, projected from the Ascendant, to construct the Lots of Eros and Necessity. But each author's formula is the reverse of the other's. However, both authors are still connecting the Lots of Eros and Necessity by using the same positions for their calculation, even if reversed. This automatically produces a close link between the two lots.

Firmicus, Mathesis, VI.32.45 (II, p. 187.3-12 KSZ; III, p. 125 Monat): De loco Cupidinis et desideriorum. Locum desideriorum si partiliter volueris invenire, in diurna quidem genitura a parte Daemonis usque ad partem Fortunae conputa, et tantum ab horoscopo. In nocturna vero <a> Fortuna usque ad Daemonem simillimis rationibus conputabis, et tantum ab horoscopo, et cum locum partili ratione collegeris, ex signo et ex stellarum testimoniis omnis tibi desideriorum cupiditas demonstrabitur. Sed locum Fortunae et locum Daemonis qua ratione invenias, in quarto diximus libro. Unlike Manilius, who often uses the word 'sors', and later writers in Latin who use the word 'pars' for a lot, Firmicus says 'the place of Fortune' (locus Fortunae).

Mathesis VI.32.46 (II, p. 187.13-19 KSZ = III, p. 126 Monat): De loco necessitatis. Si necessitatis locum partili volueris invenire ratione, in diurna quidem genitura a Fortuna conputabis ad Daemonem, in nocturna vero a Daemone ad Fortunam, et tantundem ab horoscopo, et cum hunc eundem locum ista ratione collegeris, onmia de eo loco pro signorum et pro stellarum qualitate definies. Monat (p. 126) has translated this wrongly as the 'lieu de l'amitié'.

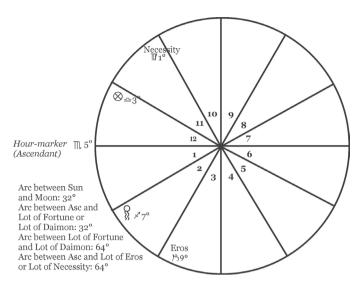


Fig. 2. The Lots of Fortune, Daimon, Eros and Necessity, Valens formula, showing a double mirror image from the Ascendant (author's diagram)⁵¹

Why connect the two lots in this way? In fact, why use the arc between the Lots of Fortune and Daimon to construct the lots? In both the Valens and Firmicus versions, the calculated Lots of Eros and Necessity reverse each other's formula, so that, like the Lots of Fortune and Daimon, their positions produce a mirror image to the other in the chart (in fact, if we include Fortune and Daimon, the configuration of the four lots produces a double mirror image; see above, Fig. 2). Why this connection among the lots? First, there is cultural evidence of a strong link between Eros and Necessity. We have seen this above in the citations of Empedocles and the *Hermetica*, but a number of other examples could also be cited⁵². Secondly, in the Orphic tradition, a theogony associates Ananke with Chronos-Herakles and mentions, in the sexual union of Zeus and his mother/sister Rhea-Demeter, a 'Heraclean knot', where 'the wand of Hermes' is a token of the intercourse⁵³. I mention this because it may be a

The Firmicus formula will produce the same mirror image for the Lots of Eros and Necessity, but the positions for the lots will be reversed (Eros will be Virgo 1° and Necessity Capricorn 9°).

See Greenbaum, 2015, pp. 342-356 for a complete laying out of the evidence for this.

⁵³ Athenagoras, Legatio pro Christianis, 20.2 (p. 61.18-20 Marcovich): Rhea resisted and "became a serpent and he, changing into a serpent himself, [and] binding her in the so-called Heraclean knot, had intercourse with her (the wand of Hermes is a token of the figure of the intercourse)". ...δρακαίνης δ' αὐτῆς γενομένης καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς δράκοντα μεταβαλὼν <καὶ> συνδήσας αὐτὴν τῷ καλουμένῳ Ἡρακλειωτικῷ ἄμματι ἐμίγη (τοῦ σχήματος τῆς μίξεως σύμβολον <ὂν> ἡ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ

partial source for a compelling piece of evidence (in terms of astrological impact) for the linkage of the Lots of Eros and Necessity, and their formulae dependent on the Lots of Fortune and Daimon. This evidence is a statement of Macrobius, in the *Saturnalia*, on the caduceus, in which he describes two snakes entwining the shaft of the caduceus, with their mouths kissing and their tails knotted. He tells us that the attributes of the caduceus represent human ' γ ένεσις', and he speaks of the

four deities [who] are present to preside over a man's birth: his *Daimōn*, *Tuchē*, *Erōs* and *Anankē*. By the first two they understand the sun and the moon; for the sun, as the source of the breath of life and heat and light, is the creator and guardian of a human life, and is therefore believed to be the Daimon, that is, god, of the newborn child. The moon is Tuche, because she is the director of bodies which are subject to the inconstancy of change. Love is signified by the kiss, and Necessity by the knot⁵⁵.

Support for this scenario having astrological implications and antecedents includes the use of the Greek astrological term for a nativity, mention of both the sun and moon and, significantly, its enumeration of the exact four lots (which Macrobius also names in Greek) whose formulae intertwine⁵⁶. When we consider Valens' (and Firmicus's) formulae for Eros and Necessity, necessarily linked to the Lots of Fortune and Daimon, we are compelled to consider that Macrobius was at least somewhat familiar with this doctrine, whether he received it from Valens, Firmicus or somewhere else. And the Orphic material with its similarities to the Macrobius passage could have been known to Valens by the contemporary account of Athena-

ράβδος).... Quoted in West, 1983, pp. 194-95; West's translation p. 195, which I have followed in part. For a more detailed discussion of this material, see Greenbaum, 2015, pp. 353-55.

Macrobius, Saturnalia 1.19,17 (I, p. 111.12-13 Willis): argumentum caducei ad genituram quoque hominum, quae γένεσις appellatur...

Macrobius, Saturnalia, 1.19,17 (I, p. 111.14-21 Willis): ...deos praestites homini nascenti quattuor adesse memorantes, Δαίμονα Τύχην Έρωτα 'Ανάγκην, et duos priores solem ac lunam intellegi volunt, quod sol auctor spiritus caloris ac luminis humanae vitae genitor et custos est, et ideo nascentis Δαίμων, id est deus, creditur: luna Τύχη, quia corporum praesul est quae fortuitorum varietate iactantur: Amor osculo significatur; Necessitas nodo. Trans. P. V. Davies (modified) in Macrobius, The Saturnalia, New York, 1969.

In reference to these four lots, this passage of Macrobius is also mentioned in A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, 1899, p. 293 n.1 (hereafter AG); G. Bezza, 1995, II, pp. 972-73. See also my analysis, GREENBAUM, 2015, pp. 340-41, 353-56, 384-88. That Macrobius himself was also cognizant of astrological practice, see in addition to this quotation, Saturnalia I, 17.42, 18.12-22, 23.22; and Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, I, 12.12.

goras (ca. 177 CE) that mentions the Heraclean knot and the caduceus⁵⁷. In any case, this passage highlights the connection between Eros and Necessity in the serpents' kiss and their knotted tails. In addition, it supplies some context for understanding why the four Lots of Fortune, Daimon, Eros and Necessity are often mentioned as important in astrological texts such as Valens, Firmicus and Hephaestio (citing Dorotheus). The Lots of Eros (and Necessity) are placed in a context that is directly relevant to human life, in an astrological expression of intertwined and universal concepts of fortune, the guardian daimon who accompanies a soul into incarnation, and the workings of love and necessity that frame a life. In interpretation, however, a universal and cosmological love that informs the purpose of the Lot of Eros may yield to the physical and emotional expression of desire.

2. Lot of Eros in Original Documents, First Formula

In four of the six extant examples of the Lot of Eros in original documentary charts, the Valens or Firmicus formulae are used to construct the position of the Lot. They are:

- 1. P. Oxy. LXI 4277 (Jones, APO, no. 4277), date: probably 2nd century CE (Valens)
- 2. PSI 23,a (*GH*, no. 338), date: 4th century CE (Valens)
- 3. P. Princeton 75 (GH, no. 138/161), date: 2nd century CE (Firmicus)
- 4. P. Par. gr. 2244, f. 279v (Pingree, *DOP* 27 [1973], 217+219-31), date: 10th c. CE The charts and their texts are in Appendix I.

Two of the original documentary charts which give the Lot of Eros, nos. 1 and 2 above, use the Valens formula for the Lot of Eros. The other two, nos. 3 and 4, use the Firmicus formula⁵⁸. Though most documentary charts do not include interpretation, one of these charts (no. 3) does provide a brief characterisation of the four lots, including the Lot of Eros as signifying friendship and association (π ερὶ φιλίας καὶ ςυςτάςεως):

- 2. [The] Lot of Fortune was found in Cancer, 13 degrees, house of [the]
- 3. Mo[on, bound]s of Hermes. This signifies a measure of fortune.
- 4. [The L]ot of Daimon was found in Capricorn, 27 degrees, house
- 5. [of Kronos, bounds of Are]s. This signifies the habit of character and conduct.
- 6. [The Lot of] Eros was found in Taurus, 4 degrees, house and bounds of
- 7. [Aphrodite. This signif]ies that concerning friendship and association.

⁵⁷ See above, n. 53.

For complete analysis of these charts, see Greenbaum, 2015, pp. 367-75.

- 8. [The Lot] of Necessity was found in Aries, 6 degrees, house of Ares,
- 9. [bounds of Zeus. Th]is signifies that concerning enemies and every kind of 10. [misfortune]...⁵⁹.

The first three charts also calculate the Lot of Necessity. The fourth, though of late date (905 CE), demonstrates a purely Hellenistic interpretation of the birthchart of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (and transmits techniques ascribed to Dorotheus of Sidon, fl. first century CE). Among other lots, it calculates the Lots of Fortune and Daimon by sign, and Eros by sign, degree and minute⁶⁰.

3. A Second Lot Tradition

The Valens/Firmicus formulae, however, are not the only extant way of calculating the Lot of Eros or the Lot of Necessity. Later in the fourth century, the *Introduction* of Paulus Alexandrinus presents a different calculation for these lots. Paulus recounts a series of seven 'planetary' lots, claiming they are from an ancient text called the *Panaretos* ('All-Virtue'); Olympiodorus supplies Hermes Trismegistus as the Panaretos's author in his *Commentary on Paulus*⁶¹. Each lot uses the arc between one of the seven planets and either the Lot of Fortune or the Lot of Daimon. Each lot appears to be named for a characteristic of its associated planet. The formulae for the Lots of Eros and Necessity are described thus:

Third is the Lot of Eros. You will count for those born by day from the Lot of Daimon to the degree of Aphrodite and an equal amount from the Ascendant, but the reverse for those at night.

Fourth is the Lot of Necessity. You will calculate it for those born by day from the degree of Hermes to the Lot of Fortune, and an equal amount from the Ascendant, but the reverse for those at night⁶².

Arithmetically, these are:

⁵⁹ Neugebauer and Van Hoesen, 1959, No. 138/161, p. 44.

⁶⁰ See complete analysis in Greenbaum, 2015, pp. 372-75.

Paul Al., *Introduction*, ch. 23 (*Panaretos* only in the chapter title): see full attribution of the *Panaretos* to Hermes in Scholium 48 (pp. 118.24-119.7 BOER); and in Olympiodorus, *Commentary on Paulus*, ch. 21 (p. 42.6-7 Boer), ch. 22 (p. 51.13-15 BOER), where the *Panaretos* is cited by name.

Paul. Al, Introduction, ch. 23 (p. 48.13-20 Boer): Τρίτος κλῆρος τοῦ Ἔρωτος, ὃν ἀριθμήσεις τοῖς μὲν ἡμέρας γενομένοις ἀπὸ κλήρον Δαίμονος ἐπὶ μοῖραν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τὰ ἶσα ἀπὸ ώροσκόπου, τοῖς δὲ νυκτὸς τὸ ἀνάπαλιν. Τέταρτος κλῆρος τῆς Ἀνάγκης, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν ψηφίσεις τοῖς μὲν ἡμέρας γενομένοις ἀπὸ μοίρας Ἑρμοῦ ἐπὶ κλῆρον Τύχης. καὶ τὰ ἶσα ἀπὸ ώροσκόπου, τοῖς δὲ νυκτὸς τὸ ἀνάπαλιν.

Lot of Eros: Asc + Venus - Daimon (Day)

Asc + Daimon - Venus (Night)

Lot of Necessity: Asc + Fortune – Mercury (Day)

Asc + Mercury – Fortune (Night)

Thus these formulae show a break with the tradition followed by Valens and Firmicus, which uses the arc between the Lots of Fortune and Daimon to find the Lots of Eros and Necessity. The symmetry between the Lots of Eros and Necessity present in the Valens/Firmicus formulae evaporates in the Paulus model. It is interesting, though, to note that Paulus lists Fortune first, Daimon second, Eros third and Necessity fourth (ch. 23, pp. 47.15-49.10, 49.17-50.16 Boer). This order conforms to the order given by Valens in his use of the four lots for interpretation, as well as by Hephaestio in his citing of the four lots in katarchic ritual. Paulus's order of the lots by the planet involved is Moon, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn. This order is Platonic (*Rep.* X, 616e-617b; also *Tim.* 38d), also known as Egyptian (see Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, 19.2). This would support the claim to have found these in a treatise by Hermes Trismegistus, who has associations with Egyptian lore (e.g. his connection with Thoth).

4. The Lot of Eros in Original Documents, Paulus Formula

Until recently, the only examples of the Paulus formulae in practice were a chart with the Lot of Eros, given in Olympiodorus's *Commentary on Paulus's Introduction* (564 CE), transmitted in very bad condition; and a chart calculated by Abū Ma'shar in a Greek version of *De revolutionibus nativitatum*, which calculates the Paulus Lots of Courage (the Mars lot), Victory (the Jupiter lot) and Intellect and Native Wit (the Mercury lot, which Paulus calls the Lot of Necessity)⁶³. In 2009 another text came to light, P. Berlin 9825 (discovered in Berlin by Alexander Jones), which contains the calculation of all seven of Paulus's lots⁶⁴. The date of this chart is 319 CE (although the chart was likely calculated after that date). Thus we have two examples of Paulus's technique for the Lot of Eros:

- 5. Olympiodorus, In Paul. comm. (ed. Boer, 59.8-15), date: 564×10^{65}
- 6. P. Berlin 9825 (unpublished), date: 319 CE

The chart and text of no. 5, and the chart data of no. 6, with the position of the Lot of Eros, are given in Appendix I.

⁶³ Abū Ma'shar, *De rev. nat.*, 3, 1, pp. 126.21-132.7 PINGREE.

At this time the chart is being prepared for publication by Alexander Jones and me, under the working title "An Elaborate Greek Horoscope from Fourth Century CE Egypt: P.Berol. 9825".

Internal evidence in the Olympiodorus commentary establishes the content of the text as taking place between May and July of 564; see p. 36.3-4 Boer.

From the dates of all the extant charts calculating the Lot of Eros (nos. 1-6) we can see that the Valens/Firmicus formulae are the earliest ones (second century CE) in use for the Lots of Eros and Necessity. The Paulus formulae only appear in the fourth century CE.

5. The Two Lot Traditions

Earlier in this essay I cited a passage from Hephaestio of Thebes that recommended examining the four ('Macrobian') lots, Fortune, Daimon, Eros and Necessity, in interpreting a katarche for a ritual. A scholion on that passage refers, in fact, to two lot traditions, one 'Hermetic' and one 'Egyptian':

That for every *katarchē* one must observe the 4 lots –Fortune, Daimon, Necessity, Eros. And it is hard to decide whether to cast out [the Lots of] Necessity and Eros according to Hermes Trismegistus or just as, in the 4th book, Dorotheus gives an account of the opinion of the Egyptians... ⁶⁶.

Given the documentary evidence of two traditions of formulation for the Lot of Eros (and Necessity) that we have already seen, it seems that both of these traditions were known in antiquity, and remembered at least by this scholiast. Therefore, I propose to call the earlier tradition (starting with Valens) the Egyptian tradition (it includes the Firmicus variant), and the later tradition (as in Paulus) the Hermetic tradition⁶⁷. In modern scholarship on these lots, scholars have overwhelmingly treated the Paulus formulae as authoritative, neglecting the previous formulae demonstrated by Valens and Firmicus which is most evident in documentary charts⁶⁸. Only Giuseppe Bezza, in his excellent discussion of lots, has provided the non-Paulus formulae for the Lots of Eros and Necessity⁶⁹.

In addition to the charts of 564 CE and 319 CE, we also have the chart in Abū Ma'shar that calculates some of Paulus's 'Hermetic' lots, as mentioned above. This text is dated after 825 CE. We find it in a Greek version of Abū Ma'shar, *De revolutionibus nativitatum*,

Dorotheus, Carmen Astrologicum, 'Fragmenta Graeca et Latina', Scholium ad Heph. III 6, 11 (pp. 433.14-434.1 Pingree): "Ότι ἐπὶ πάσης καταρχῆς δεῖ τοὺς δ κλήρους θεωρεῖν –τύχης, δαίμονος, ἀνάγκης, ἔρωτος. καὶ ἄπορον πότερον κατὰ τὸν Τρισμέγιστον Ἑρμῆν δεῖ τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα διεκβάλλειν ἢ καθὼς ἐν τῷ δ΄ βιβλίω Δωρόθεος ἰστορεῖ τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων δόξαν.... The 'opinion of the Egyptians' the scholiast describes does not appear in the Pahlavi/Arabic version of Dorotheus's Book 4.

For further coverage of this issue, see Greenbaum, 2015, pp. 360-67.

E.g. BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ, 1899, p. 306 n. 6, has mentioned them only in a note, though he provides a large table of the Hermetic lots within the text (pp. 307-308); F. Gettings, 1985, pp. 180, 233-34, 289, 338, 455, mentions only Paulus and his formulae; T. Barton, 1994, p. 81, notes Paulus's description of the Hermetic lots; J. H. Holden, 1996, pp. 76-78 quotes the Paulus excerpt on lots and their formulae, but does not include Firmicus's Eros or Necessity lot formulae (pp. 71-74).

⁶⁹ Bezza, 1995, p. 969.

and it calculates what Paulus called the Lot of Necessity (using the arc between Mercury and the Lot of Fortune), although Abū Ma'shar names it the Lot of Intellect and Native Wit. The chart of 564 and Abū Ma'shar's chart are displayed in the following diagrams:

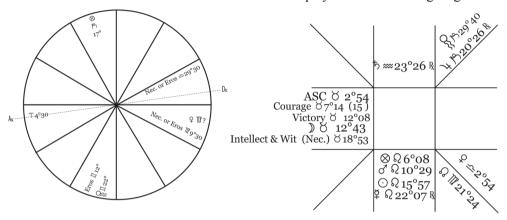


Fig. 3. (left) Extant Chart No. 5, ca. 564 CE: Olympiodorus, in the middle of a list of lot formulae; text extremely corrupt. (right) After 825 CE: chart in Abū Ma'shar, *De revolutionibus nativitatum*, 3, 1 (author's diagrams).

In the Olympiodorus chart, I have placed a hypothetical Eros and Necessity with Egyptian formula to show that this technique was *not* being used. In the Abū Ma'shar chart, the Paulus Lot of Eros is not mentioned, only the 'Lot of Intellect and Native Wit', a.k.a./i.e., the Paulus Lot of Necessity which uses Mercury and Fortune; I have calculated the Lot of Daimon to verify Abū Ma'shar's use of the Paulus formulae here).

The dates of the documentary and literary evidence for these different lot calculations demonstrate that the Egyptian formulae for the Lot of Eros (and Necessity) predate those using the Paulus formulae. Thus the 'Egyptian' tradition for the lots seems to be earlier than that of Paulus, or at least the Hermetic formulae were lost to practice until Paulus⁷⁰. As reported above, Paulus claimed to have found his lot formulae in a book called the *Panaretos*. Paulus is the only astrologer of the 4th century CE to use formulae for the lots of Eros and Necessity different from the ones previously outlined by Valens and Firmicus. He is the only astrologer to claim the source of the *Panaretos*, mention of which appears in no other text but that of Paulus and his commentator Olympiodorus.

We should also note that wording about the qualities (*not* formulae) of these lots similar to that of Paulus can be found in Rhetorius's excerpts from the *Thesaurus* of Antiochus of Athens. Regardless of whether Antiochus and Paulus drew on a common source, or Paulus had seen an Antiochus text (I lean toward the former given the structural arrangement of the two texts), no mention of these formulations for the lots appears before Paulus (Rhetorius wrote ca. sixth century CE). For similarities in wording in Antiochus and Paulus, see Greenbaum, 2015, p. 447.

I can think of two hypotheses for the origin of these lots. First, Paulus may have invented these formulae, using a common trope of ascribing doctrine to the 'ancients'⁷¹. One might have expected that, when he lists the lots, he would have used the Chaldean Order common in astrological texts: Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn (or the reverse). That he uses an order more aligned with the earlier lot tradition, Moon (Fortune), Sun (Daimon), Venus (Eros), Mercury (Necessity)⁷² could hint that Paulus knew about the earlier practice and was trying to be consistent with the order of the first four lots. Or, possibly, the order reflected a Platonic symbolism in the lot formulae. For each lot connecting with one of the five planets, a quality associated with that planet forms the lot's name which, except for Mercury, matches each planet's qualities (it seems like a stretch to force a connection between Mercury and Necessity, even if Paulus uses the word 'logos' to describe it).

Alternatively, Paulus did truly find an old book which contained these lots, a book which was assigned by the Paulus scholiast and Olympiodorus to Hermes Trismegistus. It is interesting to note that in the extant literature the phrase 'πανάρετος βίβλος' (or variants) is rare⁷³. 'Panaretos' does not appear in the context of a book with that title until the fourth century CE. The phrase appears in Pap. Mag. Leid. J 395 (PGM XIII.979-982) where it is associated with 'Ptolemaica'⁷⁴. Its association with Hermes Trismegistus appears only in the Paulus-connected texts. Other uses of the word Panaretos appear to be restricted to later ecclesiastical writings (there is mention in the fourth century of a 'Panaretos' on the wisdom of Solomon)⁷⁵. However, this does not seem to have anything to do with the astrological Panaretos.

Conclusions

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The title of this essay, "From Love to Desire" may have seemed counter-intuitive at first glance. Certainly our common understanding is that desire comes first and love follows.

See, e.g. Ptolemy's claim to have found the Ptolemaic terms in an old, worm-eaten volume (I shall not discuss here whether this was an actual or invented scenario, but merely wish to demonstrate that Paulus would not have been the first to do this).

Poth Valens and, later, Hephaestio citing Dorotheus use this order when discussing these lots in practice.

⁷³ I searched the TLG on 'panaret-' and found nothing referring to a book called Panaretos, or described as 'panaretos' before the 4th century.

⁷⁴ ὡς δὲ ἐν / τῆ ε' τῶν Πτολ<ε>μαϊκῶν, / ℉ν καὶ τὸ Πᾶν ἐπιγραφομένη παν- / αρέτῳ βίβλῳ, '...as in the 5th [book] of the Ptolemaica, the all-virtuous book entitled 'The One and the All', in K. Preisendanz, 1973-1974, here II, p. 128. See also R. W. Daniel, 1991. The lines containing these words are written in a second hand used in the papyrus, dated by Daniel, p. xi, to 'somewhat earlier' than the middle of the 4th c. CE.

⁷⁵ E.g. Epiphanius, De mensuris et ponderibus, line 119: Ἡ δὲ Πανάρετος, τουτέστιν ἡ Σοφία τοῦ Σολομῶντος, "The Panaretos, that is, The Wisdom of Solomon", in E. Moutsoulas, (1973), 157-200. Also Epiphanius, De mensuris et ponderibus (ap. Joannem Damascenum) (excerptum Graecum 8), line 68: τοῦ Σολομῶντος, ἡ Πανάρετος λεγομένη, "the so-called Panaretos of Solomon", in P. B. ΚΟΤΤΕΡ, 1973.

However love, as a principle of creation, binding and union, may have been the impetus behind the (likely, based on present evidence) earliest technique —what I call the Egyptian tradition- for the Lot of Eros, using the arc between the Lots of Fortune and Daimon, lots whose component parts and attributes also have a universal symbolism. The second technique —what I call the Hermetic tradition- using the arc between Venus and the Lot of Daimon, is not in extant evidence before the last half of the fourth century CE. It emphasises in its formula a more Venusian concept of desire and physical love rather than a cosmic love, although the connection of Venus with love and desire is certainly present in earlier texts.

Given the qualities associated with Aphrodite, the way Paulus describes the lot that uses her position may tilt the connotation of the lot toward desire and physical, sexual love. But Paulus, in following a formula for the Lot of Eros that incorporates the Lot of Daimon and the position of Venus, is in line with cultural traditions of Eros and Aphrodite, and even the inclusion of the sun and moon (as we saw, for example, in Plutarch). He also associates the lot with choice, not compulsion. The more common interpretation of the Lot of Eros, nevertheless, conforms to the typical physical manifestations of love, although some characterisations point to more spiritual love and moral purpose. The formulae for the Lot of Eros, both Hermetic and Egyptian, reflect these considerations. In using Venus and the Lot of Daimon as arc points, we can see a combination of the physical qualities of Venus with the more noetic qualities of the Lot of Daimon. And that Paulus's system combines the benefics with the Lot of Daimon also affirms the generally positive interpretations of these lots (the greater benefic, Jupiter, is combined with the Lot of Daimon in the $\kappa\lambda\eta\rhoo\varsigma$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $vi\kappa\eta\varsigma$). But the formula using the arc between Fortune and Daimon also points to the connection between body and soul in the manifestation of love.

It is also important to note that the subsequent tradition transmits both the Paulus (Hermetic) version of the lots (and this is what modern scholarship decides is authoritative) and the Egyptian versions, but that there seems to be a conflation of both traditions so that it is difficult to disentangle their influence⁷⁶.

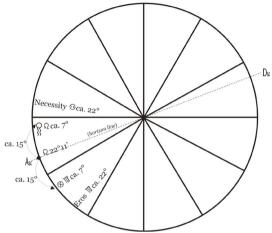
The earlier tradition, whose rationale of formation is elucidated by the Macrobius passage, follows a more cosmological and philosophical motif, relating each of the four lots to one another and harking back to both a possible Egyptian doctrine in the mention of Hermes and the caduceus, and to the cosmological aspects of Eros as seen in Parmenides and Empedocles as well as in Plato.

Both formulae, though, yield similar interpretations in practice, incorporating all of the qualities we have seen for Eros in the many commentators who have been smitten by ideas of love and what it means for us humans living on earth.

⁷⁶ See Greenbaum, 2015, pp. 365, 387 and n. 179.

Appendix I. Extant Charts Containing the Lot of Eros

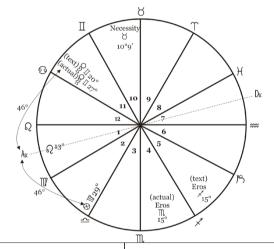
Chart no. 1: P. Oxy. LXI 4277 (Jones, APO, no. 4277), date: probably 2nd century CE



[12] κ[λ]ῆρος τύχης Fr. 1, col. ii Lot of Fortune ό πρῶτος κλῆρος ὁ καλούμενος τύ-The first lot, called forγης εύρέθη τὴν κατὰ μῆκος [κίνηςιν] tune, was found making its [motion] [15] ποιούμενος ἐν ζωδί[ω θ]η[λ]υκῷ according to longitude άνθρωποειδει Παρθένω [έν] μο(ίραις) 15 in the [f]em[in]ine, $\lceil \overline{\zeta?} \rceil$ human-formed zodiac sign Virgo [at] [7?] λεπ(τοῖς) [τῆ]ς [ἑ]ξηκοντάδ[ος]..., de(grees) [οἴκω xx min(utes) [of] the [s]ixty, [house of Her-] Έρ-] mes, its own exaltation [c. 10 letters] μοῦ, ὑψώματι αὐτοῦ [c. 10 letters] depression of Aphrodite [c. 6 letters] Άφροδείτης ταπεινώματι [c. 6 letters] 20 bounds of Aphrodite, monomoiria [20] ορίοις Αφροδείτης, μονομοιρία of Her[mes Έρ[μοῦ, in section 4, in step x, έπεὶ τμήματος δ, έπεὶ βαθμῶ -, [άνεwest [wi]nd, decan 1. μῷ Λίβει, δεκανῷ α. L[ot of Daim]on The second [lot called] Daiκ[λῆρος δαίμ]ονος 25 mon was found making [its motion ό δεύτερος [κλῆρος ὁ καλούμενος δαίaccording to longitude] [25] μων εύρέθη τὴν [κατὰ μῆκος κίνηςιν [in the solid, royal ποιούμεν[ος ἐν ζωδίω ςτερέω βαςιλι-[sign] Leo in [xx de(grees)], 16 [min(utes)] κῷ Λέοντι ἐν [μο(ίραις) - λεπ(τοῖς) of the] sixty, τῆς ἑξηκοντάhouse [of the Sun, trigon of Zeus, with δος τζ, οἴκω [ήλίου, τριγώνω Διὸς καparticipation [of Ares, bounds of?], τὰ μέτοχον [Άρεως, ὁρίοις?, 30 monomoiria of [?, in section x], μονομοιρία [?, ἐπὶ τμήματος -, [30] in step [x, in wind?...,] έπεὶ βαθ[μῷ -, ἀνεμῷ ?, δεκαdecan 1. νῶ α.

[κλῆρος ἔρωτος?] [Lot of Eros?] ό τρί[τος κλῆρος ὁ ἔρωτος εὐρέθη The thi[rd lot, that of Eros, was found] [35] τὴν [κατὰ μῆκος κίνηςιν ποιούμενος 35 [making] its [motion according to longitude] Fr. 1, col. iii Fr. 1, col. iii έν ζω[δί]ω θηλυ[κῷ ἀνθρωποειδεῖ in the femin[nine, human-formed] zo[diac sign] Παρθένω (traces) Virgo (traces) 3-5 (*traces*) [3-5] (traces) <u>ανεμῶ Λίβε[ι</u> ... west wind, [... [6] κλῆρο[ς ἀνάγκης Lot [of necessity] [δ] τέτα[ρ]τος κλ[ῆρος δ καλούμενος The fourth lot, called [ά]νάγκ[ης εύρ]έθη τή[ν κατά μῆκος [n]ecessit[y] was found [making] its Imotion according to longitude (no further traces visible) (no further traces visible)

Chart no. 2: PSI 23,a (GH, no. 338), date: 4th century CE



- [13] κληρος τυχης παρθενω μυρ/ κθ [27] οικου ερμου οριοις κρονου διμ/ γ
- [14] κλ(ηρος) δαιμονος διδ[υ]μοις μυρ/ κ [28] οικου διος οριοις αφροτίδη διμ/ β
- [15] κλ(ηρος) ερωτος τοξ[οτ]ης μυρ/ ιε [29] οικου αρεως οριοις ερμου διμ/ β
- [16] κλ(ηρος) αναγκης τ[αυρω] μυρ/ ι λε θ [30] οικου ερμου οριοις αρεως διμ/γ Possible alternative line arrangement (to fit

with text information):

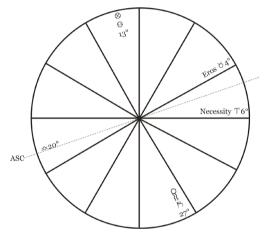
- 13. Lot of Fortune in Virgo, 29⁷⁶ degrees / 27. house of Hermes, bounds of Kronos, decan 3.
- 14. Lo[t] of Daimon in Gemini, 20 degrees / 28. House of Zeus[!], bounds of Aphrodite, decan 2.
- 15. Lo[t] of Eros in Sagit[tari]us, 15 degrees / 29. House of Ares[!], bounds of Hermes, decan 2.
- Lo[t] of Necessity in T[aurus], 10 degrees 9 minutes / 30. House of Hermes[!], bounds of Ares, decan 3.

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⁷⁶ Editors have put κθ in the text,(p. 65), but a note says they read (and translate, p. 66) κε. '29' is more probable astrologically.

- [13] κληρος τυχης παρθενω μυρ/ κθ [27] οικου ερμου οριοις κρονου διμ/ γ
- [14] κλ(ηρος) δαιμονος διδ[υ]μοις μυρ/ κ [30] οικου ερμου οριοις αρεως διμ/ γ
- [15] κλ(ηρος) ερωτος τοξ[οτ]ης μυρ/ ιε [28] οικου διος οριοις αφροτιδη διμ/ β
- [16] κλ(ηρος) αναγκης τ[αυρω] μυρ/ ι λε θ
 [29] οικου αρεως οριοις ερμου διμ/β
- 13. Lot of Fortune in Virgo, 29 degrees / 27. house of Hermes, bounds of Kronos, decan 3.
- Lo[t] of Daimon in Gemini, 20 degrees / 30.
 House of Hermes, bounds of Ares, decan 3.
- Lo[t] of Eros in Sagit[tari]us, 15 degrees / 28.
 House of Zeus, bounds of Aphrodite, decan 2.
- Lo[t] of Necessity in T[aurus], 10 degrees 9 minutes / 29. House of Ares[!], bounds of Hermes, decan 2.

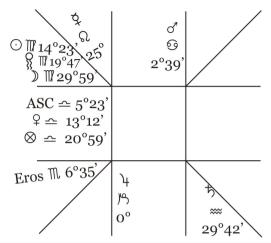
Chart no. 3: P. Princeton 75 (GH, no. 138/161, p. 44), date: 2nd century CE



- [2] [ο κ]ληρος της τυχης ευρεθη καρκινω μοιρων ιγ οικω ςε
- [3 [ληνης οριο]ις ερμου ουτος τημαινει μετρον της τυχης
- [4] [ο κλ]ηρος ο του δαιμονος ευρεθη αιγογερω μοιρων κζοικω
- [5 [κρονου οριοις αρεω]ς ουτος τημαινει τον περι ηθους και αγωγης τροπον
- [6] [ο κληρος ε]ρωτος ευρεθη ταυρω μοιρων δ οικω και οριοις α
- [7] [φροδειτης ουτος τημαιν]εί τον περι φιλιας και τυτασεως
- [8] [ο κληρος] της αναγκης ευρεθη κριω μοιρων ζοικω αρεως
- [9] [οριοις διος ού]τος τημαινεί τον περι εκχθρών και παντοδάπου
- [10] [δυςτυχημα]τος

- 2. [The] Lot of Fortune was found in Cancer, 13 degrees, house of [the]
- 3. Mo[on, bound]s of Hermes. This signifies a measure of fortune.
- 4. [The L]ot of Daimon was found in Capricorn, 27 degrees, house
- 5. [of Kronos, bounds of Are]s. This signifies the habit of character and conduct.
- 6. [The Lot of] Eros was found in Taurus, 4 degrees, house and bounds of
- 7. A[phrodite. This signif]ies what concerns friendship and association.
- 8. [The Lot] of Necessity was found in Aries, 6 degrees, house of Ares,
- [bounds of Zeus. Th]is signifies what concerns enemies and every kind of
- 10. [misfortune]....

Chart no. 4: P. Par. gr. 2244, f. 279v (Pingree, DOP 27 [1973], pp. 217+219-31), date: 10th c. CE)



The following relates to the positions of the lots:

- (p. 223) III.2, ll. 6-7: ...ή Σελήνη μετὰ τοῦ κλήρου τοῦ δαί<μονος> τυχοῦσα εὔτροφον σημαίνει τὸ τεχθὲν....
- ΙV.1, 11.2-3: Ἐπὶ τῆς προκειμένης γενέσεως ἀμφοτέρων ἀποκεκλικό<τῶν> τῶν φώτων....
- IV.3, ll. 7-8: ὑπάργει ὡροσκόπος Ζυγοῦ εκγ....
- (p. 224) V.1, II.2-5: Διὰ τὸ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ύπάρχειν ἐν Ζυγῷ καὶ τὴν Σελήνην ἐν Παρθένφ ἀνατο<λικὰς> ἄμφω καὶ τὴν ἀπόρροιαν ἐκ τοῦ Ἡλίου τὴν Σελήνην σωματικώς ποιεῖσ<θαι>, ἔσται τῆ μὲν κράσει ὁ γεννηθεὶς θερμότερος καὶ ύγρότερος....
- (p. 225) VIII.1-2, ll. 2-4: <Tη̈>ν δὲ κτητικήν τύχην ἐκ τοῦ τῆς τύχης κλήρου διαλαμβάνομεν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὖτος ὑπὸ τε Κρόνου καὶ Άφροδίτης καὶ Έρμοῦ οἰκοδεσποτεῖται....
- (p. 228) XIV.3, 1.11: ...κλῆρος ἔρωτος ...the Lot of Eros in Scorpio 6 35... Σκορπίου ζλε....

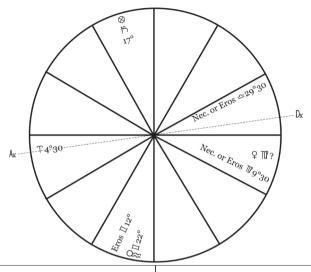
..the Moon being with the Lot of Dai<mon> signifies the child is well-nourished....

For the aforelying nativity, since both of the luminaries have declined [i.e., are cadent].... The Hour-marker is in Libra 5 23....

Due to Aphrodite being in Libra and the Moon in Virgo, both emer<ging> and the Moon making its separation bodily from the Sun, the child will be warmer and wetter in his mixture [i.e. temperament]....

We perceive the acquisitive ability of fortune from the [place of] the Lot of Fortune. And since this [place] is under the housemastership of Kronos, Aphrodite and Hermes....

Chart no. 5, in Olympiodorus, Commentary on Paulus, Ch. 22 (p. 59 Boer)



p. 59.8-15 Boer: ...κλῆρος

Τύχης Αἰγοκέρωτος ιζ΄ Ἡλίου τριγωνοῦντος Έρμῆν

Άφρο-

(10) δίτην, κλῆρος Δαίμονος Διδύμων κβ' Διὸς ἐξαγωνοῦντος Ἡλιον,

τετραγωνοῦντος ... κλῆρος Νίκης Κριοῦ κβ',

Ήλίου τριγωνοῦντος...κλῆρος Ἔρωτος Διδύμων ιβ΄

μοῦ τετραγωνοῦντος Ἀφροδίτην, κλῆρος γάμου ἐπὶ

Διì

Άρην τετραγωνοῦντι, κλῆρος ξενιτείας Διδύμων μβ'

(15) Αφροδίτης ἢ Κρόνου ἑξαγωνοῦντος Ἄρην. [lacunae in text]

...Lot

of Fortune the 17th [degree] of Capricorn the Sun

trining Hermes [and] Aphro-

10. dite, Lot of Daimon the 22nd [degree] of Gemini, Zeus sextiling the Sun,

squaring... Lot of Victory the 22nd [degree] of Aries.

Sun trining ... Lot of Eros 12th [degree] of Gemini Hermes squaring Aphrodite, Lot of Marriage on

Zeus

squaring Ares, Lot of Living Abroad the

Gemini

15. Aphrodite or Kronos sextiling Ares.

Chart no. 6: P. Berlin 9825, forthcoming 2016 in A. Jones and D. Greenbaum, 'An Elaborate Greek Horoscope from Fourth Century CE Egypt: P.Berol. 9825'

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⁷⁷ '13th' in ms. L; ms. A has '42nd'.

Date: 19 November, 319 CE, 1 seasonal hour after midnight, latitude of Syene, Upper Egypt (modern Aswan/Elephantine).

Calculation of all seven 'Hermetic' lots in the Paulus formulae by sign, degree and minute. Also included are their sign lords and bound lords. The Lot of Eros falls at Pisces 23;58, house of Zeus, bounds of Ares (using the Egyptian system).

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