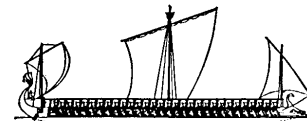


AELIUS ARISTIDES
AND
THE SACRED TALES

by
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32. p. 217, 20 P a nurse means death for a sick man. I 45, 78.
 33. p. 242, 8 P for the orator, another orator signifies his professional career. IV 61 (see III no. 6).
 34. p. 248, 25 P crowns impede travel. V 35; cf. I 44, 45, III 31.
 35. p. 279, 6 P viper means a rich man; cf. p. 127, 14 P. IV 5.
 36. p. 283, 20 P dreams have nothing to do with the dreamer's horoscope, nor do the benevolent planets, when unable to do any good, give pleasure through dreams. IV 58.
 37. p. 285, 19 P the dreamer's country signifies his parents. I 43, IV 28, 48, V 10; but cf. III 13 with III 16.
 38. p. 293, 3 P what a god says when not in his proper form, is a lie. IV 50. (see III no. 4).
 39. p. 294, 6 P an ascent to heaven is deadly for a sick man. III 48. (see I no. 30).
 40. p. 318, 16 P a god apparently granting a request by nodding down signifies for a sick man death; p. 318, 22 P a god apparently refusing a request by nodding up signifies safety. I 71.

THE SACRED TALES: I*

Winter I believe that I shall speak like Homer's Helen. 1
 170/1 A.D. For she says that she would not tell all "the toils
 of stout hearted Odysseus (*Odyssey* 4. 241)." But
 she selects, I think, some one deed of his and narrates it to Telemachus
 and Menelaus. And I myself would not tell all the achievements of
 the Savior, which I have enjoyed to this very day. Nor at this point
 shall I add that Homeric phrase, "not if I had ten tongues, ten mouths
 (*Iliad* 2. 489)." For this were too little. Not even if I should surpass
 all human strength, speech and wisdom, could I ever do justice to
 them. I have never been persuaded by any of my friends, who have 2
 asked or encouraged me to speak or write about these things, and so
 I have avoided the impossible. For it seemed to be the same as if I
 should swim under water through every sea and next be compelled to
 render an account of how many waves I encountered, and how I found 3
 the sea at each of them, and what it was that saved me. For each of
 our days, as well as our nights, has a story, if someone, who was
 present at them¹, wished either to record the events or to narrate the
 providence of the God, wherein he revealed somethings openly in his
 own presence, and others by the sending of dreams, as far as it was

* Since no Greek text has been included, I have not provided an apparatus. I have noted only those places where I differ from the text which is printed by Keil; but I have not thought it necessary to indicate my disagreements with Keil's interpretations. Four manuscripts comprise the tradition of the *Sacred Tales*. In order of quality, they are A (Laurentianus LX 3, written in the 10th century for the Bishop Arethas); S (Urbinae Graecus 122, also from the 10th century); T (Laurentianus LX 8, from the 11th century); and D (Laurentianus LX 7, from the 12th century). In my estimation, the most serious corruptions in the *Sacred Tales* are misreadings of "an uncial" bookhand, and are therefore quite early. Lacunae occur, but much less frequently than Keil suspected. Occasionally in some or all manuscripts, there are traces of the annoying habit of tidying up textual corruptions, and thereby making them harder to detect.

¹ I 3 I accept *παρών* mss.; cf. II 56, IV 20. Keil emended *παρ' ἔν*.

possible to obtain sleep. But this was rare, due to the tempests of my body. Therefore, in view of this, I decided to submit truly to the God, as to a doctor and to do in silence whatever he wishes. 4

January 4 to February 15 166 A.D. But now I wish to indicate to you the condition of my abdomen. I shall reckon each matter day by day. It was the month of Poseideon, and what a winter it was! During those nights my stomach was upset and I had extraordinary insomnia, so that I could not digest the smallest morsel. Not the least cause was the continuous succession of stormy weather, which it was said even the tiling did not sustain. But I perspired all this time, except when I bathed. 5

January 4, 5 & 6 On the twelfth of the month, the God instructed me not to bathe, and the same on the next day, and the day after that. I passed these three days in a row, both night and day, wholly without perspiring, so that I did not even need to wear an undershirt², and never before did I perceive myself to be more comfortable. I passed the time in walking about the house and in games, as these were holidays. For the Vigil of the God followed upon the preceding holiday in honor of Poseidon. 6

January 7 Night & Day And after this, there was a dream which contained a notion of bathing, although this was far from certain. *I dreamed that I had been in some way befouled.* Nevertheless I decided that I would bathe and that if I had actually experienced this befouling, there was need of water. And immediately thereafter I was somewhat uncomfortable in the bath and when I came out, everything seemed to be full and my breath was like that of a man gasping for air, so that right at the beginning I stopped taking nourishment. After this at night, stomach trouble, which reached such a pitch, that it scarcely stopped a little before noon. But there was a dream vision somewhat as follows: *I was in the warm bath, and bending forward I saw that my lower intestinal tract was in a rather strange state. I determined to persist in not bathing. But someone said that the trouble which had appeared was not in the* 7

² I 6 χιτωνισκου--μεταλαβειν A; χιτωνισκον STD. But a correction to μεταβαλειν is not likely; cf. II 78. 8

bathing itself and that it was not reasonable to guard against bathing as the cause.

January 8 I bathed at evening and at dawn I had pains in my abdomen, and the pain spread over the right side down to the groin.

January 9, 10 & 11 On the seventeenth no bathing after a dream, and on the eighteenth no bathing. On the nineteenth, *I dreamed that some Parthians had got me in their power, and one of them approached me and made as if to brand me. Next he inserted a finger in my throat and poured in something, according to some native custom, and named it "indigestion."* Later I recounted these things as they had appeared in the dream. And the audience marvelled and said that the cause of my thirst and inability to drink was this, that my food turned sour. Because of this vomiting was indicated and the Parthian ordered that I abstain from bathing today and produce one servant as a witness of this. No bathing, and vomiting, and comfort. 9

January 12 On the twentieth, *I dreamed that I was at the entrance of the Temple of Asclepius, and a certain one of my friends met me, embraced me, and greeted me warmly, since he had not seen me for a long time. I said to him that I had been nauseous; and as the conversation continued, I recalled how many things had been disturbed around the Temple. And while we were speaking, we went in. And when we were by the statues of the Good Fortune and the Good God, we stopped and were still conversing. And seeing one of the temple servants, I asked him where the priest was. He replied, "Behind the Temple."* For it was about the time of the Sacred Lamps, and the temple warden was bringing the keys. And at this time the Temple happened to have been closed. Still in such a way, so that though closed, a kind of entrance remained and the interior was visible. I went up to the doors and saw, instead of the old statue, another with downcast eyes. And as I marvelled and inquired where the old statue was, someone brought it to me, and I seemed not wholly to recognize it, but I worshipped it eagerly. Afterwards, while walking about, we met the priest and I began the fol- 10 11 12

lowing conversation with him: "I also had dreams in Smyrna that I had spoken with you about the Temple, and believing the matter too great for me, I kept silent. And now recently I have had dreams concerning these very matters." And at the same time, I intended to speak about putting the statue in its old place. While I was walking about, a slipper fell off one of my feet, and the priest picked it up and brought it to me. And I was pleased by the honor. And wishing, as it were, to requite and honor him, I bent over to receive it. At this time, a bull came up to me by the God's Ears. I was afraid and tried somehow to protect myself. Yet he did nothing else but press against my right knee. Theodotus took a lancet and cleansed it. Therefore I intended to say to him, "that you yourself made it a wound." This was what appeared and here my fear ceased. And there was a small sore, like a carbuncle, beneath my right knee, and it seemed to be good for the upper part of the digestive tract.

January 13 On the twenty-first, I dreamed that I had the clothes of a priest and that I saw the priest himself present. I also dreamed that when I saw one of my friends limping because of some trouble about his seat, I said to him that rest would cure this. Vomiting was also ordered through many tokens, and this was the fifth day in a row without bathing. It is worthwhile also to tell of collateral dreams. I dreamed that as in my accustomed practice of rhetoric, I was studying some Demosthenes³ and spoke to the Athenians as if I were he: "You ask through the herald, 'Who wishes to speak?' But I would rather ask you. Who wishes to act?⁴" And I said, in reference to the Telemessians of Aristophanes, that there someone contended with words but not deeds (CAF I 529).

January 14 On the twenty-second, I dreamed that, as it were, in Smyrna, I went at evening to the Temple of Asclepius, which is in the Gymnasium. And I went with Zeno. And the Temple was larger and covered as much of the portico as was

³ I 16 I accept Δημοσθένη mss.; cf. LS sv. II 6 b. Keil emended Δημοσθένους τινα.

⁴ I 16 I accept Büchner's deletion of the words after πράττειν: ἢ κομῶδία γε τὸ λοιπὸν ἔστιν, AST.

paved. At the same time, I also pondered about this, as it were, about a vestibule. And while I prayed and called upon the God, Zeno said, "Nothing is more gentle." And he himself addressed the God and named him a refuge and such things. I noticed, as if in this vestibule, a statue of me. At one time I saw it, as if it were of me, and again it seemed to be a great and fair statue of Asclepius. And I recounted to Zeno himself these things which appeared to me in my dream. The part about the statue seemed to be very honorable. And again I saw the statue, as if in the long portico of the Gymnasium.

And concerning the bath, I dreamed the following: First, as if in the middle of rubbing myself down, I entered a private bath where admission is charged. Then I said, when I had entered unawares, "These now are days of not bathing⁵." Next it seemed to me that Phoebus was present and encouraged me, so that I entered the water now without hesitation.

Again I dreamed that at the Temple of Asclepius a certain young athlete, still beardless, was talking about bathing establishments, praising the great ones and assuming that such were the pleasures of life. Therefore I showed him the sea and asked him if it were also better to bathe there or in a small space. "In a small space," he said. After this, I showed him a lake and asked him if it were also better in so great a lake or a small space. Here also he agreed that bathing in a small space was preferable. "Then," I said, "the greater is not everywhere preferable, but there is a certain charm in the small." And at the same time, I thought to myself that if I were declaiming somewhere it would be fair to say that the pleasures of other men are in danger of being the pleasures of pigs, but that mine would be purely that of a man, as I attend to and delight in words. The youth seemed to say these things about the bath by the Ephesian Gates. Finally it seemed to me fitting to try. When else to be bold, if not now? Thus I decided upon the noon hour as then it is safest to move about. When the hour came, I accused Bassus of procrastinating. "You see," I said, "how the shadow is passing by?," indicating the shadow of the columns. We went, and when we arrived, standing at the pool of cold water without⁶, I tried the water. Unexpectedly it seemed to me not

⁵ I 18 I accept ἡδῆ mss.; cf. surprise in I 50. Keil emended ἡδε.

⁶ I 21 I accept τοῦ ἕξω A.; cf. Pseudo-Lucian Hippias 5. It is omitted by STD and by Keil.

to be very cold, and bluish and pleasant in appearance. And I said, "Fine," since I acknowledged the goodness of the water. When I went in, again I found the other water in the warmer bathhouse milder. And then I was in the warm bath and was undressing. I also bathed with much pleasure.

January 15 On the twenty-third, vomiting again in the evening according to a dream.

January 16 On the twenty-fourth, I dreamed that I was in the warm baths. Some men with daggers and otherwise behaving suspiciously, happened to be near by. Finally some of them approached me, as if desiring some protection, for they said that they were accused by certain men. When I had been surrounded, I was greatly disturbed, neither trusting nor wishing to show that I was distrustful. Then I went along some path, and next there was a very large vault, where I was terribly afraid that they might attack me. But when to my relief I got through, I appeared to be in the city of Smyrna, in the market place, and I considered how many people might be assembled as quickly as possible and I might present a descriptive declamation. And afterwards, I took a torch, and all those in the market place bore torches, and they recited this verse of Euripides (Phoenissae 3): "O Sun, on swift horses, turning thy flame." For I dreamed that I arrived at the rising of the sun. I also dreamed that later I recounted these things, as they appeared in the dream, to the Governor Quadratus, and that he said, "Do so." No bathing, and a torch was raised⁷.

January 17 On the twenty-fifth, I dreamed that with my teacher Alexander, I approached the Emperor, who sat upon a dais. When Alexander, since he was a long time friend and acquaintance, first saluted him and was saluted by him and his retinue, I approached. And when I saluted him and stood there, the Emperor wondered why I too did not come forward and kiss him. And I said that I was a worshipper of Asclepius. For I was content to say so much about myself. "Therefore in addition to other things," I said,

⁷ I 22 I accept the reading of AS. Keil transposed: ἡ λαμπράς ἤρθη. ἀλουσία.

"the God has instructed me not to kiss in this fashion." And he replied, "It is well." I was silent. And he said, "Asclepius is better than all to worship."

January 18 On twenty-sixth, there appeared the Temple of Apollo, which is on Mount Milyas. Certain buildings seemed to have been added and the name of the place to be Elephantine from Elephantine in Egypt. I was pleased, both because of the buildings and because of the similarity of the one place to the other. And the priest of the God was the priest of Isis in Smyrna, and I was staying with him. And I thought to myself that we had long been fast friends. And I happened before to have bought something from him. Then having some credit due me, I wished to make a trade. [After this, I dreamed that someone said, "Kuphi with wine." I immediately took it as a medicine and considered whether it was necessary to apply it on my face or internally. And when someone said that it would burn wherever it was applied, I thought that it would be all the more suitable to be a drug for a cold.] And somehow after this, I said to the priest that it was clear from what I had read that there would be no need to eat. Thereupon I intended to pass the day in fasting. I fasted.

January 19 On the following day, there was no bathing again.

January 20 On the twenty-eighth, I dreamed that after my food had not digested properly, I consulted Zosimus, my foster father, about bathing and asked if it were necessary to bathe more. But he did not agree. After this, I bathed and then had stomach trouble, and said to Zosimus, "Was it necessary to have fasted?" And he said, "It was necessary." Again I fasted.

January 21 And on the following day, I vomited again at evening. There was a dream that a bone was annoying me and there was need to expel it, and a notion of drawing blood from the ankles. And I did so, and there was a very slight discharge.

January 24 On the first of Lenaeon, I dreamed that I was

anointed in the Hadrianeion, but had not bathed. And when I came out, I said to one of my friends that I did not bathe, but anointed myself. And he said, "I too have only anointed myself." There had been no bathing for six days.

January 25 On the second, I dreamed that I was in the Temple of Asclepius at dawn, having come straight from some journey, and was glad that it was quickly opened. I dreamed also that the boys sang the old song, which begins:

"I celebrate Zeus, the highest of all,"
and were in the following part of the song:
"The moderate life means much to me,
To sing of the Gods and in joy
To soothe my heart, under such a teacher."

Therefore I marvelled that the song appeared spontaneously. Again since my birthday was approaching, I sent servants to the Temple conveying certain offerings, and I also wrote down inscriptions on that which they conveyed. And I used artifice for a good token, so that my speaking might succeed in all that was necessary.

January 26 On the third, the lamps appeared to be brought into the Temple by the porter in accordance with a prayer on my behalf, and it was necessary to vomit. I vomited.

January 28 On the fifth, I dreamed that I prayed to the Gods, some things in common, to those to whom I am wont to pray, and again privately to Zeus and Ares, and the Gods who hold Syria. And the habitations there appeared nearly the same as those at home. And after this, there was a procession to the Emperor. But I took part in the procession to the Emperor, who was then in Syria. And it turned out well.

January 30 On the seventh, I dreamed that I saw, in some dressing room of a bath, the orator Charidemus, from Phoenicia, shining and just bathed, and I said to him, with my greeting, that he bathed too early, and at the same time I also undressed myself. I bathed.

February 2 And again on the tenth of the month, Antoninus, the son of Pythodorus, seemed to me to discourse on the praises of the Nymphs. Therefore I too said that the Goddesses were not more charming, and that a proper person could assuredly enjoy them, even if he did not bathe much, but moderately. I dreamed that I said these things and also some praise of Hygieia.

February 4 On the twelfth, I dreamed that Antoninus, the elder Emperor, and the King of our enemies made a treaty of peace and friendship with one another. Vologases' retinue talked not a little as they advanced, and they seemed to speak Greek. Next they both came to me in their royal trappings. And Antoninus was well in his prime, and the other somewhat imposing to look upon. He sat not far from me, and on the other side, upon a throne Antoninus. And the Mede seemed to me to have some experience in medical affairs. And greeting me, he said, "When are you going to read to us?" And I was pleased by his remark and said, "Whenever you two bid me." And they prepared to listen, but I went off to select some of my writings. And I decided to compose hastily a prologue for them, and it went somehow so — in my dream I recalled the whole composition, but this alone I have preserved: "Now somebody who wished to indicate his pleasure, when some good thing happened to him, said, 'that he was more than doubled with joy,' and somebody else, 'that he seemed to be in the Isles of the Blest.' And such are also my feelings through the good fortune of the present day." And at the same time, I considered whether it were fitting to share the speech between them, or to give the greater portion to our Emperor, and next deal with that for the other party. I spoke somewhat as follows: "Therefore," I said, "if I had not been trained in divine visions, I think that I would not easily endure this spectacle, so wonderful does it seem to me and greater than man's estate." I said "divine visions," especially indicating Asclepius and Sarapis. So much for that. Meanwhile I judged it proper to select one of my writings. Next I decided to bring in the casket and permit them to take whatever they wished. For this otherwise had a certain charm, and at the same time thus especially astounded them. I also dreamed that I recounted later word for word to Pelops how these dreams appeared. Later I thought that there was brought to me, when I had bathed,

first cold water, then milk. Therefore I was in doubt and said to Zosimus that I was neither thirsty nor hungry, "Why then should one eat?" And after this fasting was sanctioned, for the priest seemed to drain my lips. This was a day of fasting.

February 5 & 6 And the following of not bathing, and the day after that of not bathing and vomiting.

February 7 On the fifteenth, I dreamed that the Governor 41
sent me a letter and addressed me so: "Greetings to Aristides the Priest." And this too was a day of not bathing.

February 8 On the following day, it was necessary to over-
turn some casks⁸. Next no bathing.

February 10 On the eighteenth, Metrodorus, the poet, seemed 42
to me to be in a contest of poets in Smyrna, which was taking place almost on that very day. Before he entered, he spoke to me about certain things and at the same time ate leek leaves and an egg with bread, and left a portion of the egg. I, moreover, after a slight pause, said to him⁹, "Take care to contend well." There was also a discussion about the Temple in Pergamum and the Well, how it was to approach it oneself, and drink from it, how to see another person drink from it, how to see it itself. I dreamed that I thus discussed these things and that I happened to have heard that if I should be in the God's hands, there would be hope. And somehow at the same time 43
I stood, as it were, at home, on the porch, and since my foot was numb, I went into the main house. And one of those from the Temple of Olympian Zeus came in. I recounted to him how I had dreams from the God, and ordered him to serve me. But he too said that he had had a dream, that he took a ham hock and when he had prepared it in the way which I am accustomed to employ, he put it to sleep in

⁸ I 41 I emend καταχέσαι for καταχέσθαι mss. Aristides understood this as a token not to bathe.

⁹ I 42 Keil placed a lacuna after εἶπεν and referred ἐπισηνών to Aristides' instructions to Metrodorus.

the Temple of Asclepius. After this, I dreamed, as it were in Pergamum, that I sent a large sized crown to the God, the sort which men particularly bring to Asclepius. And I ordered the man who took it — his name was Agathion — to bring back another to me from the temple warden. But when he brought it, I put it on, while I happened to be lying on the right side of the bed. After this, I thought that I was somewhere or other. But getting up, I sought my nurse. She was living opposite me. And someone answered that certain obstacles had arisen for her, before in fact I saw my nurse herself approaching and my foster sister, Callityche, following behind. My nurse bore, as I first conjectured, apples. Next they were three boiled and peeled eggs, as if I now were going to eat. When she brought them, she said, "Some things from the country." And I marvelled and said that the eggs came by the will of God. "For the God bade," I said, "that today I use eggs, and greens, and put on a crown from the God." I did these things. The crown was from the Temple of Zeus Asclepius. No bathing was also indicated through many tokens.

February 11 On the nineteenth, I dreamed that I was staying 46
in the Palace, and that the care and honor of the Emperors toward me was marvellous and unsurpassable in all the various things which I was doing. For I alone was granted everything, and no one else had even a small part of these honors. And in this way I passed my time within and shared their lodgings, and none of those fearsome sophists was present. Later they took me along on a tour. They went off to inspect some drainage ditch, which they happened to be putting about the city, to prevent the inundation of the river from causing harm. I also saw the excavation of this ditch taking place. They acted marvellously toward me during the trip. For 47
many times I was between the two of them, and whenever I wished to go to one side so that the elder stood in the middle, the younger himself did this. And I remained always in the same place. He also seemed to have the age of a boy. And this happened many times. And when, as it were, a ladder must be placed at some steep point, 48
first the younger one assisted me up, and I exclaimed how grateful I was. Next above at the end of the ladder, the elder Emperor assisted me. And when he asked, "How did he help¹⁰?" I said, "In all and

¹⁰ I 48 I accept πῶς mss. Keil emended πῶς.

everything." And after this, desiring to leave, I now spoke: "I thank you," I said, "O Emperors, for your providence and the honor which you have paid me." But they said in reply "We then thank the Gods to have known such a man. For we also believe him to be an equally capable orator." And after this, the elder Emperor began to say that it was an attribute of the same man to be morally good and a good speaker. The younger continued with the saying of someone that "words follow character." And I said that "I wished that this were so. For it would profit¹¹ me in speaking, if indeed in other things I am so regarded by you and if at the same time I would have two goods instead of one." I answered them somewhat in this manner. But there were countless other things which happened and which were said, greater than I could tell or hope.

Next after this, having fallen asleep again, I dreamed that an acquaintance, named Diophanes, spoke to me as if he were present and witnessed these exceedingly great honors. And one of my younger companions was also present and marvelled when he heard that I was so distinguished among all men.

After this, I appeared to be in some bath. And first of all it occurred to me what sort of thing I had done, that I had bathed before I saw the Emperors. For I seemed to have met them yesterday. Next when I massaged myself and began to perspire, I said, "Let us go in." So I bathed and vomited at evening, for I took note of the dumping of the excavation.

February 12 Nevertheless I still was considering making a journey to Pergamum because of former dreams. Now it was clearly indicated that I stay here. On the one hand¹², I moved at evening, changed my mind, and said that it was impossible to reach Hadrianutherae. And on the other hand, I dreamed that someone came from Hadrianutherae, bringing some work of Menander, and he said that the mud was unmanageable and the marsh was also impossible to get through. Again I thought that it rained and that someone came to me and said that one of my adversaries in a lawsuit was at Hadrianutherae and that I had to go down there to handle

¹¹ I 49 I accept λωσιτελεῖν (sc. ἔν) mss. Keil emended λωσιτελεῖ.

¹² I 51 The infinitives after τοῦτο μὲν depend on ἐδηλώθη.

the matter. And I said, "Why is it more necessary than the God declaring that I stay?" Again I thought that I spoke to certain people and that I thus apprehended everything, in that when I was rather angry about staying, the God, wishing to change my mind, so that I might stay with more pleasure, gave me a sign for departure. There were also in the dream tokens for not bathing. And afterwards at evening, there was rain and a hard storm.

February 13 On the next day, there was no bathing and vomiting of food. And when I vomited, my condition was such that I was glad if I could suffice for the day following.

February 14 On the day following, fasting was enjoined, but enjoined in this way. I dreamed that I was in Smyrna, distrusting everything plain and visible, because I was not aware that I had made the journey. Figs were offered to me. Next the prophet Corus was present and showed that there was a quick acting poison in them. After this, I was full of suspicion and eagerly vomited, and at the same time considered what if I should not have vomited completely? Next someone said that there was also some poison in some other figs¹³. Therefore I was still more distressed and angry because I did not hear it sooner. After these things were seen, I suspected that fasting was indicated, but if not, still I preferred it. But I asked the God to show more clearly which he meant, fasting or vomiting.

I slept again and I thought that I was in the Temple at Pergamum and that now the middle of the day had passed and I was fasting. And Theodotus came to me with some friends, and having entered, he sat down beside me while I was lying thus upon a couch. I said to him that I was fasting. But he indicated that he knew, and said that "after all the things which these men are doing, I have put off performing a phlebotomy on you. For there is an aggravation of the kidneys and fasting", he said, "is sort of a bastard outlet, which goes through the chest, for the inflammation". And while he said this, two sparks appeared before me. And in wonder I looked at Theodotus and felt it an omen of his words, and I asked him what these were. He said that they were from the inflammation, and he indicated what

¹³ I 54 I accept σάκων mss. Keil emended σιτίων.



was troubling me. Then I awoke, and I found that it was that very hour, in which I thought that Theodotus spoke to me, and friends had actually now come to visit me.

These dreams appeared to me while the doctor had arrived and had prepared himself to help, as much as he knew how. But when he heard the dreams, being a sensible man, he also yielded to the God. And we recognized the true and proper doctor for us, and we did what he commanded. 57

February 15 Now my night was comfortable in every way and everything was without pain.

c. December Later he gave me goose fat in the form of the 58
166 A.D. temple warden, Asclepiacus, and told me to inquire of the God, "for whom they make assembly in the Mysian plain." For he said that I would learn from that God whatever I wanted. And the God declared that nothing would be difficult.

Winter Why should one speak of not bathing? I have 59
171 A.D. now not bathed for five consecutive years and some months besides, unless, of course, in winter time, he ordered me to use the sea or rivers or wells. In the same way, the purgation of the upper intestinal tract has taken place for nearly two years and two months in succession, together with enemas and phlebotomies, as many as no one has ever counted, and these things with little nourishment and that forced. And we spent the whole period of fasting¹⁴, both that still before these things and that which came afterwards, nearly to this winter¹⁵, beyond reason in writing and speaking and correcting that which had been written. And mostly we worked on¹⁶ until no less than midnight. Next on each following day, having performed our usual routine, we took some little food. And when fasting followed upon vomiting, this work and study was my consolation. So that whenever I consider Socrates who passed the day in the Lyceum after the symposium, I think that I should owe no less thanks to the God for such endurance and strength. 60

¹⁴ I 60 I accept τὰς γε δαιτίδας mss. Keil added παρά before τὰς γε.

¹⁵ I 60 I punctuate ἐν τῇ χειμῶνι τούτῳ σχεδόν; cf. I 59, II 16, IV 34.

¹⁶ I 60 I accept παρετείναι mss. Keil emended παρετείναντες.

October to January So much for my abdomen. But like the matter 61
148 A.D. of the abdomen, many years before, occurred that of the tumor. For the God predicted for a long time that I should beware of dropsy, and he gave me various drugs and Egyptian slippers, which the priests are accustomed to use. And it seemed best to him to divert the discharge downwards. And a tumor 62
grew from no apparent cause, at first as it might be for anyone else, and next it increased to an extraordinary size, and my groin was distended, and everything was swollen and terrible pains ensued, and a fever for some days. At this point, the doctors cried out all sorts of things, some said surgery, some said cauterization by drug, or that an infection would arise and I must surely die. But the God gave a 63
contrary opinion and told me to endure and foster the growth. And clearly there was no choice between listening to the doctors or to the God. But the growth increased even more, and there was much dismay. Some of my friends marvelled at my endurance, others criticized me because I acted too much on account of dreams, and some even blamed me for being cowardly, since I neither permitted surgery nor again suffered any cauterizing drugs. But the God held quite firm, and ordered me to bear up with the present circumstances. He said that this was wholly for my safety, for the flow of this discharge was 64
upwards, and these gardeners did not know where they ought to turn their channels. Wonderful things kept happening. There were approximately four months of this kind of life. But during these, my head and upper intestinal tract were as comfortable as one could pray for. There was also, as it were, a national assembly in the house. For my friends, who were the foremost of the Greeks of that time, were always coming to see me and were present for my speeches, which I delivered right from my bed.

Then we were ordered to do many strange things. Of what I 65
remember, there was a race, which it was necessary to run unshod in winter time. And again horse back riding, a most difficult matter. And I also remember some such thing. When the harbor was stormy from a south west wind and the boats were being tossed about, I had to sail across to the opposite side, and having eaten honey and acorns, to vomit, and the purge was complete. All these things were done while the inflamed tumor was at its worst and was spreading up to my navel. Finally the Savior indicated on the same night the same 66

thing to me and my foster father — for Zosimus was then alive —, so that I sent to him to tell him what the God had said, but he came to see me to tell me what he had heard from the God. There was a certain drug, whose particulars I do not remember, save that it contained salt. When we applied this, most of the growth quickly disappeared, and at dawn my friends were present, happy and incredulous. From
 → here on, the doctors stopped their criticisms, expressed extraordinary admiration for the providence of the God in each particular, and said that it was some other greater disease, which he secretly cured. They considered in what way the loose skin (left from the tumor) would arrange itself. Now it seemed to them that there was full need of surgery, for it would not otherwise go back to normal. And they thought it right that I grant this, for now the God's part had been done. He did not even allow them this. But there was a remarkably
 67 great lesion and all my skin seemed to change. And he commanded me to smear on an egg and so cured me. And he brought everything back together, so that after a few days had passed, no one was able to find on which thigh the tumor had been, but they were both unscarred in every respect.
 68

late summer It was this Zosimus, to whom a great gift was
 148 A.D. given by the God later on. It was thus. We were going through Mysia to Pergamum, but because of a dream which stopped me on the road, I waited for several days, while the same dream reoccurred. Meanwhile he ran back to some farm of ours, which required something, and soon after fell sick. It happened that the condition of my stomach, palate, all my head, and whole body was such, that I was nearly dead, and was prevented from taking nourishment. And whatever I took, straightway turned sour, and I could not breathe, and my strength was gone. We were
 69 approximately 120 stades apart. And it happened that when we learned how each of us was, we were much more troubled by what we heard than by our own circumstances.
 70

When the God appeared, I grasped his head with my two hands in turn, and having grasped him, I entreated him to save Zosimus for me. The God refused. Again having grasped him in the same way, I entreated him to assent. Again he refused. For the third time I grasped him and tried to persuade him to assent. He neither refused nor
 71

*assented, but held his head steady, and told me certain phrases, which it is proper to say in such circumstances since they are efficacious. And while I remember these, I do not think that I should reveal them purposelessly. But he said that when these were recited, it would suffice. One of them was — Take care! What happened
 72 to him after this? First of all Zosimus recovered beyond expectation from that disease, being purged with barley gruel and lentils, as the God foretold to me on his behalf, and next he lived four months besides. So we met one another and feasted together, since the God also helped me much, continuously and strangely. One example
 73 of this is the following. When I was faint and wholly at a loss, I wrote a poem about the marriage of Coronis and the birth of the God, and I stretched the strophe to great lengths. And thus I wrote the verses peacefully and reflectively, and was now entirely oblivious of all difficulties. And I was enjoined to take enemas, so that the doctor did not have the courage to apply them, when he saw the thinness and weakness of my body. But he believed that he would, as it were, kill me. I persuaded him with difficulty, and immediately recovered. And he gave me as nourishment, wild greens, which provided me with some means of digestion and strength.*

November So this happened. But Zosimus was felicitated
 148 A.D. by all, and he did not know what to do, being both thankful to the God for his providence and to me for my service. And I think that he would have lived longer, were it not because of a brave act of his. For when he learned that one of my most useful servants was sick, he went off in winter time 40
 74 stades to take charge and to help however he could. For he was also skilled in medicine. And having fallen from his carriage into much snow and ice, and having suffered many terrible things, both coming and going, he fell most seriously ill a second time, so that at first he did not have the heart to reveal to me any of the things which had happened to him. And when I learned of it, I did not go to him, since I was angry because I had not persuaded him. For during the
 75 previous night, I had the following dream vision: *The temple warden Asclepiacus seemed to say to me, "It was necessary that Zosimus regain his strength while it is possible."* Therefore, after this dream, I did not allow him to move about, when the message about the
 76

servant came. But he disobeyed me and went, and because of this he died. So his additional life was due to the grace of the God, who truly kept him for me, and he died because he had moved about contrary to my dreams. And thus ended what in the beginning was indicated by the God, when I grasped his head and supplicated him. 77

January 148 A.D. Then he saved countless times beyond expectation, my old nurse, named Philumene, than whom nothing was dearer to me. Once when she was in bed, he restored her by sending me from Pergamum and foretelling that I would make my nurse easier. And at the same time, I found a letter lying before my feet in the Temple of Zeus Asclepius, and made it an omen. Then I discovered every particular written in it, all but explicitly. So I departed in great joy, and I found my nurse with strength enough only to recognize me approaching. But when she recognized me, she cried out and got up very soon thereafter. 78

THE SACRED TALES: II

170/1 A.D. Come let us also recall earlier events, if we are able. From the first it did not occur to me to write anything about these, because I did not believe that I would survive. Next my body was also in such a state that it did not give me leisure for these things. And again as time passed, it seemed to be an impossibility to remember each thing and to tell it precisely. Therefore I thought that it was better to keep completely silent than to spoil such great deeds. And for these reasons I made many excuses both to the God and to my friends, who were ever asking me to speak and write about these things. Now so many years afterwards, dream visions compel us to bring these things to light. Still I can say this much that straight from the beginning the God ordered me to write down my dreams. And this was the first of his commands. I made a copy of my dreams, dictating them, whenever I was unable to write myself. However I did not add in what circumstances each took place nor what resulted after them. But I was satisfied, as it were, piously to fulfill my duty to the God, both because of the weakness, as I said, of my body, and because I would never have expected that the God would be so providential. I invoke him and Adrasteia! Moreover, as if annoyed by the fact that I did not start to write down all things from the first, I also neglected the rest, some willingly, and some unwillingly. But I found other ways of thanking the God¹⁷, since I believe that at least three hundred thousand lines are in my copy book. But it is neither easy to recount them nor to fit them into their proper chronology. And besides, some have also been scattered through various losses and confusion at home during these times. Therefore the only thing left is to speak in summary fashion, as I remember different things from different sources, however the God will lead and stimulate me. We call on him even in this, as in all things. But he is surely to be called on in all things, if any of the Gods. 1 2 3 4

¹⁷ II 3 Keil placed a lacuna after τὸν θεόν.

October When I was brought from Italy, I had contracted 5
144 A.D. by ill luck many varied ailments from constant
sickness and the stormy weather which I experienced while departing
through Thrace and Macedonia, for I left home while I was still sick.

→ The doctors were wholly at a loss not only as to how to help, but 6
even to recognize what the whole thing was. But the hardest and
most difficult thing of all was that my breathing was constricted.
With much effort and disbelief, scarcely would I breathe forcibly
and rarely, and a constant constriction in my throat followed and I
had fits of shivering, and there was need for more covering than I
could bear. Besides, other unspeakable things troubled me. It seemed 7
best to use the warm springs, if ever I could be a little more com-
fortable or somehow tolerate the climate. For it was now winter time,
and they were not far from the city.

c. December Here first the Savior began to make his reve-
144 A.D. lations. *He ordered me to go forth unshod. And I*
cried out in my dream, as if in a waking state and
after the accomplishment of the dream: "Great is Asclepius! The
order is accomplished." I seemed to cry out, while I went forth.

summer After this an invitation and a journey from 8
145 A.D. Smyrna to Pergamum with good fortune. To narrate
what came next is not within the power of man.
Still I must try, as I have undertaken to recount some of these things
in a cursory way. But if someone wishes to know with the utmost
precision what has befallen us from the God, it is time for him to
seek out the parchment books and the dreams themselves. For he
will find cures of all kinds and some discourses and full scale
orations and various visions, and all of the prophecies and oracles
about every kind of matter, some in prose, some in verse, and all
expressive of my gratitude to the God, greater than one might
expect. Now let us begin at some place or other, since when we were 9
in the Temple on the first night, the God appeared to my foster father,
in the form of Sabinus¹⁸, the present consul. But then we did not
know who Sabinus¹⁸ was, but he happened to be applying to the God

¹⁸ II 9 I emend Σαβίνου and Σαβίνος for Σαλβίου and Σάλλιος mss.; see Note 1 to Chapter III.

at that time. My foster father said that in this form he discussed with 10
him other things concerning these speeches of mine, I believe, and
signified his approval of the project by calling them "the Sacred
Tales." So much for this. After this, he gave me medicines, of which
the first was, as I remember, the sap of the balsam, and he said that
it was a gift of the Pergamene Telesphorus. I had to use¹⁹ it while
bathing and going from the warm water to the cold. Next there was
soap mixed both with raisins and other things, and next thousands
upon thousands of things. But perforce passing all these by, I wish
to recall strange events.

January Where should one begin, when there are so many 11
149 A.D. different things and at the same time, when all are
not remembered, only the gratitude because of
them? He sent me to Chius, saying that he sent me for a purgation.
Therefore we went off on the road to Smyrna, in much discomfort
and believing that we were without a protector, and that we truly
sailed alone, once we were outside the Temple. Why should one 12
describe the way that everyone in Smyrna was astounded, when they
saw my un hoped for appearance? When we were at Clazomenae, it
seemed fated to cross straight to Phocaea. For when we were near the
islands, Drumussa and Pele, a breeze from the east arose, and as
we went further, the east wind was now sharp, and finally a porten-
tous gale broke out. And the ship rose at the prow and sank at the
stern, and nearly capsized. Next it was awash everywhere. Then it
turned out to the open sea. The seamen sweated and shouted, and
the passengers screamed. For some friends were sailing with me.
But I was content to say only, "O Asclepius!" After we had faced
many kinds of danger and finally near the landing were turned²⁰ and
driven back countless times and had caused much anguish to the
spectators, scarcely and hardly were we saved. *When night came, the* 13
God ordered me to perform my purgation, and showed me from what.

¹⁹ II 10, 74, 75, III 21 I accept χρῆσθαι TD; χρῆσθαι A. Keil emended χρῆσθαι, perhaps rightly. But in IG IV² 1, no. 126 (T 432) χρῆμα, etc. is used throughout. Herzog, *op. cit.*, p. 45, regards this as only a matter of orthography. Still in III 24 and 36 χρῆμα is used.

²⁰ II 12 I emend ἀναστραφέντες or ἀποστραφέντες for ἀνατραπέντες mss., which can only mean "were capsized." Cf. similar confusion in 26. 86 K.

And it was nothing less than by hellebore, as those who had experience in this said, since everything was stirred up by the waves. And he declared everything, how it was fated for me to suffer shipwreck. For that reason these things happened; and now it would be necessary for my safety and in order to fulfill my destiny, to embark in a skiff and to arrange it so that the skiff overturn and sink in the harbor, and that I myself be picked up by someone and brought to land. For thus my fate would be fulfilled. Of course, I did this quite gladly. And the contrivance of the shipwreck, which occurred after a real danger, seemed wonderful to all. Wherein we also knew that it was even He who saved us from the sea. An additional benefaction was the purgation.

January 27 After this, he kept me in Phocaea and sent me 15
149 A.D. marvellous symbolic dreams, which pertained not only to my body, but also to many, many other things. And we heard in advance about the winds which would probably occur, so that whenever our host, Rufus, heard our dreams — in other respects he was the first of the Phocaeans, and himself also not ignorant of Asclepius —, he was greatly amazed to hear these things from us indoors, which he had left without, when he entered. 16
Once at the God's command, there was need of milk. And there was none, for it was near a fourth in²¹ the month of Dystrus, according to our usage in Asia. But it seemed necessary to search for it. And Rufus went out to the end of his estate and found a sheep, who had given birth that very night. And he brought and provided the milk. 17
Finally the God remitted our sailing to Chius, both with signs and other prophecies, and after all these I thought that the ship had been smashed to pieces and was no more. There is a region called Genais, not far from Phocaea. He diverted us here for some days, at the warm springs, and then brought us back to Smyrna.

Then when we were in Smyrna, he appeared to me in some such form. He was at the same time Asclepius, and Apollo, both the Clarian, and he who is called the Callitecnus in Pergamum and whose is the first of the three temples. Standing before my bed in this form, when he had extended his fingers and calculated the time, he said, 18

²¹ II 16 I delete δέκα in ἐπὶ δέκα, see Note 40 to Chapter IV. Keil emended Δύστρου for δευτέρου mss.

"You have ten years from me and three from Sarapis," and at the same time the three and the ten appeared by the position of the fingers as seventeen. And he said that "this was not a dream, but a waking state (Odyssey 19. 547)," and that I would also know it. And at the same time he commanded that I go down to the river, which flows before the city, and bathe, and that a young boy lead the way. And he pointed out the boy. This is a summary of the divine manifestation, and I would place a high premium on being able to recount exactly each particular of it. It was the middle of winter and the north wind was strong and it was icy cold, and the pebbles were fixed to one another by the frost so that they seemed like a continuous piece of ice, and the water was such as is likely in such weather. When the divine manifestation was announced, friends escorted us, and various doctors, some of them acquaintances, and others who came either out of concern or even for the purposes of investigation. And there was also another great crowd, for some distribution happened to be taking place beyond the gates. And everything was visible from the bridge. There was a certain doctor, Heracleon, a companion of ours, who confessed to me on the day after, that he had gone having persuaded himself that if I should fare as well as possible, I should be afflicted with recurvation of the spine or some other such thing. When we were at the river, there was no need for anyone to encourage us. But being still full of warmth from the vision of the God, I cast off my clothes, and not wanting to be massaged, flung myself where the river was deepest. Next, as in a pool of very gentle and tempered water, I passed my time swimming all about and splashing myself all over. When I came out, all my skin had a rosy hue and my body was comfortable everywhere. And there was a great shout from those present and those coming up, shouting that celebrated phrase, "Great is Asclepius!" Who could indicate what came next. During all the rest of the day and night till bed time, I preserved the condition which I had after the bath, nor did I feel any part of my body to be drier or moister, nor did any of the warmth abate, nor was any added, nor again was the warmth such as one would have from a human contrivance, but it was a certain continuous body heat, bringing an even power throughout the whole of my body and during the whole time²².

²² II 22 I accept χρόνου mss. Haury emended χρότος.



My mental state was nearly the same. For there was neither, as it were, conspicuous pleasure, nor would you say that it was like a human joy. But there were certain inexplicable high spirits, which counted all things second to the present moment, so that when I saw other things, I seemed not to see them. Thus I was wholly with the God.

But now it is your task, O Lord, to make clear what came next and to reveal, by saying what and by turning where, we would do what is gratifying to you and would best continue our tale. Since I have mentioned the river and the terrible winter and the bath, am I next to speak of other things of the same category and am I to compile, as it were, a catalogue of wintery, divine, and very strange baths? Or dividing up my tale, shall I narrate some intermediate events? Or is it best to pass over all the intermediate things and give an end to my first tale, how the oracle about the years held and how everything turned out? For the God also gave me many other signs when he snatched me from the dangers, which ever beset me, and which were frequent every night and day, different ones confronting me at different times, sometimes the same ones reoccurring, and whenever one was quit of them, others taking their place. And antidotes for each of these things came from the God, and he consoled me in various ways by word and deed.

end of March
146 A.D. This one thing, I remember, was also done by him once. *He said that it was fated that I die in two days, and that this was inevitable. And at the same time, he gave me tokens about certain events on the following day, and the state of the weather, and where the constellation of the Charioteer would appear, and he gave me other tokens of his truthfulness. But he said that it was necessary to do the following. First having mounted a wagon, to go to the river which flows through the city, and when I was at the place where it is outside the city, to make sacrifices "at the trench" — for so he called them. Therefore it was necessary to dig a trench and to make sacrifices in it to whomever of the Gods it was necessary. Next upon turning back to take some small coins, to cross the river and cast them away. And he ordered some things, I think, in addition to this. After this to go to the Temple and make a full sacrifice to Asclepius, and to have sacred bowls set up, and to distribute the sacred portions of the sacrifice to all my fellow*

pilgrims. Also it was necessary to cut off some part of my body for the sake of the well being of the whole. But since this was difficult, he remitted it for me. Instead of this, he ordered me to remove the ring which I wore and dedicate it to Telesphorus — for this had the same effect, as if I should give up my finger — and to inscribe on the band of the ring, "O son of Cronus." And if I did this, I would be saved. After this it is impossible²³ to imagine our condition, and into what kind of harmony the God again brought us. For we engaged in all this, almost as if in an initiation, since there was great hope together with fear.

Winter
146 A.D. But in conformity to this, both being to the same purpose and occurring later on, was the cause of my drinking wormwood. It is obvious that it would be in every way more terrifying and clearer to narrate the simple visions themselves, but in most things it is necessary to use the basis which I have determined, and to give cursory summaries, however they come out in the tale. The other temple warden was Philadelphus. On the same night this man had a dream vision which I too had, but somehow a little different. Philadelphus dreamed — for so much can I remember — that there was a multitude of men in the Sacred Theater, who wore white garments and were assembled because of the God, and that standing among them, I spoke and hymned the God, and that I said many different things, and how many another time he averted my fate and recently when he found the wormwood and commanded me to drink it diluted with vinegar, so that I might not be nauseated. And he reported a certain sacred ladder, I believe, and the presence and certain wonderful powers of the God. Philadelphus dreamed these things. But the following happened to me. *I dreamed that I stood at the propylaea of the Temple. And many others were also gathered together, as whenever there is a purificatory ceremony. And they wore white garments, and the rest was of an appropriate form. Here I cried out other things to the God and called him "the arbiter of fate," since he assigned men their fates. And my words began with my own circumstances. And after this there was worm-*

²³ II 28 I add *ὄν* before *ἐξεστίν*; cf. II 49.

²⁴ II 31 I accept *πρέποντα* AST. Keil emended *πρέποντι*.

← "magical
med. line"

wood, made clear in some way. It was made clear as possible, just as countless other things clearly contained the presence of the God. For there was a seeming, as it were, to touch him and to perceive that he himself had come, and to be between sleep and waking, and to wish to look up and to be in anguish that he might depart too soon, and to strain the ears and to hear some things as in a dream, some as in a waking state. Hair stood straight, and there were tears with joy, and the pride of the heart was inoffensive. And what man could describe these things in words? If any man has been initiated, he knows and understands. After these things had been seen, when it was dawn, I summoned the doctor Theodotus. And when he came, I recounted my dreams to him. He marvelled at how divine they were, and was at a loss as to what he should do, since he feared the excessive weakness of my body in winter time. For I lay indoors during many successive months. Therefore we thought that it was no worse to send also for the temple warden Asclepiacus. At that time I was living in his house, and besides I was accustomed to share many of my dreams with him. The temple warden came. And we did not get the chance to begin the conversation, but he began to report to us. "Just now," he said, "I have come from my partner" — meaning Philadelphus. "He himself summoned me. For he saw at night a marvellous vision, important to you." And thus Asclepiacus recounted what Philadelphus saw. When he was summoned by us, Philadelphus himself recounted it again. Since the dreams agreed, now we used the curative, and I drank as much as no one before, and again on the next day as the God gave the same signs. Why should one describe the case in drinking it, or how much it helped? Therefore to return to my argument, — for as it were he arranged my fate as well — many other oracles before and afterwards were revealed with such help in both ways by similar dreams²⁵.

summer
165 A.D. But come now, let us finish the first story, and add how the oracle concerning the years held. For they understand, as many as know even a little of our situation, that during all this time he was my Savior and gave me one day after another, and moreover even now is my Savior.

²⁵ II 36 I emend ἀμφοτέρως for ἀμφοτέροις mss. (i.e. single dreams as in II 26-28, or in pairs as in II 30-35). Ἰπρὸς is an adverb. With γενομένοις sc. δυνέσται.

But when the time of the prediction elapsed, the following happened. I shall go back a little. I happened to be in the suburbs at the height of summer. A plague infected nearly all of my neighbors. First two or three of my servants grew sick, then one after another. Then all were in bed, both the younger and the older. I was last to be attacked. Doctors came from the city and we used their attendants as servants. Even certain of them who cared for me²⁶, acted as servants. The livestock too became sick. And if anyone exerted himself, he was immediately laid out dead before the front door. Therefore in view of the circumstances it was no longer possible to enjoy fair sailing. Everything was filled with despair, wailing, groans, and thorough gloom. There was also terrible sickness in the city. Meanwhile I persisted in my concern for the safety of the others, no less than for my own. Then the disease increased and I was attacked by the terrible burning of a bilious mixture, which troubled me continuously day and night, and I was prevented from taking nourishment and my strength failed. And the doctors gave up and finally despaired entirely, and it was announced that I would die immediately. However even here you could say that Homeric phrase (*Iliad* 11. 813), "Still his mind was firm." Thus I was conscious of myself as if I were another person, and I perceived my body ever slipping away, until I was nearly dead. During these circumstances, I happened to have turned to the inside of my bed, and I seemed, as it were in a dream — it was then the end — I seemed even to be at the end of the play and to put aside my buskins, and to be going to take my father's shoes. And while I was about this, Asclepius, the Savior, turned me suddenly to the outside. Then not much later, Athena appeared with her aegis and the beauty and magnitude and the whole form of the Athena of Phidias in Athens. There was also a scent from the aegis as sweet as could be, and it was like wax, and it too was marvellous in beauty and magnitude. She appeared to me alone, standing before me even from where I would behold her as fairly as possible. I also pointed her out to those present — they were two of my friends and my foster sister²⁷ — and I cried out and I named her Athena, saying that she stood before me and spoke to me, and I pointed out the aegis. They did not

²⁶ II 38 Cf. vol. 3, p. 399, line 29 on 45, p. 48, 10 D.

²⁷ II 41 I emend σύντροφος for τροφός mss.; cf. V 19.

know what they should do, but were at a loss, and were afraid that I had become delirious, until they saw that my strength was being restored and heard the words which I heard from the Goddess. And some things I remember as follows: *She reminded me of the Odyssey and said that these were not idle tales, but that it was fitting to judge even by the present circumstances. Therefore it was necessary to persevere. I myself was indeed both Odysseus and Telemachus, and she must help me. And I heard other things of this sort.* Thus the Goddess appeared and consoled me, and saved me, while I was in my sick bed and nothing was wanting for my death²⁸. And thereupon it occurred to me to take an enema of Attic honey, and there was a purge of the bile. And after this came curatives and nourishment. First, I think, goose liver after frequent refusal of all food. Then some sausage. Then I was brought to the city in a long, covered carriage. And thus little by little, with trouble and difficulty, I recovered. The fever, however, did not completely leave me until the most valued of my foster children died. He died, as I later learned, on the same day as my disease ended. Thus I had my life up to this time as a bounty from the Gods, and after this, I was given a new life through the Gods, and as it were, this exchange occurred. And thus took place the prediction concerning the years, and my later sickness, which agreed with this, and the divine manifestations about these things.

summer
145 A.D. Perhaps now it would be fitting to speak about the baths, which he had me use, since even from the beginning, together with his prediction, he commanded bathing in the river. I had catarrhs and difficulty with my palate, and everything was full of frost and fire, and my stomach trouble was at its peak, and there were many other different things, and I was confined to the house in summer time. And these things happened in Pergamum, in the house of the temple warden Asclepiacus. *First he commanded that I have blood drawn from my elbow, and he added, as far as I remember, "sixty pints."* This was to show that there would be need of not a few phlebotomies, but that appeared from later things. For the temple wardens, being of such years, and all who were worshippers of the God and who served him, confessed that they knew of no one at all who had been operated on so much,

²⁸ II 42 I accept ἐλλείποντος mss. Kaibel emended ἐλλείποντι.

except Ischuron, and that his case was among the strange ones²⁹, but even so that mine surpassed it, without the other strange things which were added to the phlebotomies, as for example even then immediately happened. For one, I think, or two days later, *he commanded me again to draw blood from my forehead.* And he commanded the same also to one of the Roman Senators, who was consulting him, and indicated that it also had been enjoined upon Aristides. His name was Sedatius^{29a}, the best of men, and he himself recounted these things to me. In the middle of the phlebotomies, *he ordered me to bathe in the Caicus. And it was necessary to journey there and bathe, after I had cast away pieces of wool. He said that I would see a horse bathing and the temple warden Asclepiacus standing on the bank.* He predicted these things, and these things happened. While still approaching the river, I saw a horse bathing. While I bathed, the temple warden was present and standing on the bank, saw me. The comfort and relaxation which ensued was very easy for a God to understand, but not at all easy for a man to conceive of or write about.

c. December
144 A.D. Moreover another bath in Smyrna was ordered when winter began. *It was necessary to travel to the warm springs and not to use the warm water, but the river which flows by.* And the whole day was rainy and cold, and the water was so sparse that it could be forded. And this was the first miracle. It was late afternoon, and the bath took place, and the northwind blew without mitigation³⁰.

winter
145/6 A.D. These things³¹ again in Pergamum, in winter, and while my body was remarkably weak, so that for a long time I did not at all leave the room where I lay. *He ordered*

²⁹ II 47 I accept παράδοξον mss. Keil emended παραδοξότατον.

^{29a} II 48, IV 16, 43 I emend Σηβάτιος for Σηβάτος mss.; cf. Note 25 to Chapter III.

³⁰ II 50 Keil placed a lacuna after ἀκραής. But he has misinterpreted the passage, since the bath was the first miracle which Aristides received; cf. Note 18 to Chapter II. For the different expression for the first part of a miracle, cf. II 74.

³¹ II 51 I accept ταυτί mss. and keep the punctuation after κατελείμην. Keil emended τοιαυτί, removed the punctuation, and put it after ἐσομένων. But this separation of τοιαυτί from its alleged verb ἐκέλευσε is not in Aristides' manner.

me to wash in the river which flows through the city — but it was rising high from the rains — and he predicted that there would be three baths. When they learned of this command, the most serious of my friends assembled, both to escort me and through their concern about what would happen, and at the same time because they desired to see these events instead of hearing another's report. And the day was stormy. First it rained on us during the journey, and this was the first of the baths. And since we wished to find pure water and that which had not been contaminated by the city, we went up along the road to Hippon. When we were at the river bank, none of my friends had the heart to encourage me, although the temple warden himself was present and some of the philosophers, noble men. But nonetheless it was clear that they were all troubled and in anguish. I cast off my garments and having called upon the God, dove into the middle of the river. Within it rocks churned and timber was carried along, and waves rose as if from the winds. And none of the river bed was visible, but there was a loud roaring sound. Here rocks, instead of leaves, whirled about, but the water was calmer than any crystal stream, and I dallied for as long as possible. When I emerged on the bank, a warmth went through my whole body. And much steam rose up, and I was red all over, and we sang the Paean. And when we went back, it rained again, and thus ended the third of the baths.

winter
145/6 A.D. Moreover another thing happened in Elaea here. He sent me to wash in the sea, and he foretold that the ship Asclepius was lying at anchor in the mouth of the harbor, into which I had to throw myself, and some remarks of the sailors, and other things, all of which I do not remember in sequence, but which agreed with what happened in broad daylight. Therefore when we went down to Elaea, we were outside the city at the harbor, and immediately a ship was found with the name Asclepius, and the sailors immediately cried out to the God, when they saw what was taking place. The northwind was sharp, so that when I emerged, I needed covering. Again on the following night, he ordered me to use the sea in the same way, and when I emerged from the water, to stand before the wind and thus to cure my body.

And I know that such things have been prescribed for many people. But first of all, in itself, the action of the God is rather wonderful,

since he often and frequently revealed his power and providence, and next if someone would consider my general condition. And yet who could comprehend in what state we were then? Those, who were present at each event, know how I was both externally and internally, and besides for how many days and nights the flow from my head and the turmoil in my chest continued, and how my breath encountered the flow above and was caught in my throat and seared, and that my expectation of death was always so great that I did not even have the courage to call for a servant, but believed that I would call in vain, for it would all be over with first. In addition to this, there were various symptoms in my teeth and ears, and a general throbbing of my pulse, the inability to retain any nourishment, and the inability to vomit. For whatever small morsel would touch my throat or palate, closed the passage, and then I could not recover. There was the fiery pain, which penetrated to my brain, and all the attacks, and the impossibility of reclining at night, but I had to raise myself, and persevere bent forward, with my head on my knees. But with this and, I believe, countless other such things, there followed of necessity being wrapt in wool and other coverings, and being strictly confined, with everything shut up, so that day was equal to night, and the nights were sleepless instead of the days. "What mortal man might tell all these things?" (*Odys.* 3. 113). "For neither five nor six years" are sufficient, but the narration perhaps needs no less time than that, in which the events took place. If someone should calculate these things and consider with how many and what sort of sufferings and with what necessary result for these, he bore me to the sea and rivers and wells, and commanded me to contend with the winter, he will say that all is truly beyond miracles, and he will see more clearly the power and the providence of the God, and will rejoice with me for the honor which I had, and would not be more grieved because of my sickness.

January
144 A.D. Perhaps someone would desire to hear the origin of such great troubles. It is beyond or like the story told to Alcinous, but I shall try to speak cursorily. I set out for Rome in the middle of winter, though I was already sick at home from the rain and a cold. I paid no heed to my present ailments, but trusted to the training of my body and to my general good luck. When I had got as far as the Hellespont, my ears troubled

me greatly, and in other respects my condition was not normal. And feeling a little easier, I went on. After this, there was rain, frost, ice and much wind. The Hebrus just now had been chopped up, so that it was viable by boat, but if it had not been, it was all solid ice. The fields swampy as far as the eye could see. There was a dearth of inns, and more rain came in through their roofs than from the sky without. And in all this, there was my haste and speed contrary to the season and the strength of my body. For not even the military couriers overtook us, to say no more, and the majority of my servants travelled leisurely. I myself sought out the guides if there were need, and this itself was no easy matter. For it was necessary to drag the men, who fled like barbarians, sometimes by persuasion, sometimes even by force. From all these things the disease increased. And I was very worried about my teeth falling out, so that I held up my hands to catch them. I was absolutely prevented from taking nourishment, except only milk. Then first I noticed the shortness of breath in my chest, and I was attacked by strong fevers and other indescribable things. And I lay at Edessa by the cataract, and with difficulty, on the one hundredth day after I started from home, I was in Rome.

spring
144 A.D. And shortly thereafter my intestines swelled, I trembled with cold, shivering ran through all my body, and my breath was impeded. And the doctors produced purges, and I was purged for two days, by drinking squirting cucumber, until finally there was a bloody discharge. And fevers attacked me, and now everything was despaired of, and there was not any hope even for my survival. And finally the doctors made an incision, beginning from my chest all the way down to the bladder. And when the cupping instruments were applied, my breathing was completely stopped, and a pain, numbing and impossible to bear, passed through me and everything was smeared with blood, and I was excessively purged. And I felt as if my intestines were cold and hanging out, and the difficulty in my respiration was intensified. And I did not know what to do, for in the midst of taking food and of talking, there was an attack, and I thought that I must choke. And my other physical debilities were in proportion to these things. Antidotes and various other things were given in vain.

autumn
144 A.D. It seemed fitting to be taken home, if I could somehow endure. It was impossible by land, for my body would not bear the shaking. We attempted sailing. Some of the pack animals, which we had brought, had died in the bad weather, and we sold the survivors. And a sort of *Odyssey* happened. Right at the start in the Tyrrhenian sea, there was a squall, darkness, a southwester. And the sea was uncontrollably rough, and the steersman let go of the rudders, and the captain and the sailors poured ashes on their heads, and bewailed themselves and the ship. The sea rushed in full fury over the prow and stern, and I was deluged by wind and waves, and these things happened day and night. It was nearly midnight when we were born to the Peloric promontory of Sicily. Then we wandered and ran in the strait, sometimes forwards, sometimes backwards. We crossed the Adriatic in two nights and a day, escorted noiselessly by the current. When it was necessary to put in at Cephellenia, again the waves grew high and the breeze did not carry the ship, but we wandered up and down. My body was troubled in various ways and broke down.

September 22
144 A.D. You could not put in words what happened again in the Achaean straits, during the equinox, when the good sailors put out from Patrae, though I was unwilling and opposed it from the first, in all of which my chest and the rest of my body were more injured. And what took place in the Aegean sea, was nearly the same, and occurred through the incapacity of the steersman and the sailors, who decided to sail in unfavorable winds and did not wish to listen to me. Again there were fourteen stormy days and nights, and we were carried through the whole sea, and during these days there was not a little fasting.

October
144 A.D. And with difficulty we put in at Miletus. And I was unable to stand, and my ears had become quite deaf, and there was nothing which did not trouble me. And proceeding by short stages, thus we arrived at Smyrna, beyond all expectation.

November
144 A.D. And now it was winter, and my palatal region was in very bad condition, and the rest as well. Doctors and gymnastic trainers assembled. Neither ←

could they help nor recognize the variety of my disease. Therefore so much did they agree on, that I be brought to the warm springs, since I was not even able to bear the climate in the city. What came after this, I narrated a little before. From such great origins, to speak briefly and obscurely, my disease formed and grew, ever progressing as time went on. 70

c. summer And when a year and some months passed, we
145 A.D. came to the Cathedra (period of inactivity) in Pergamum.

before March 22 Now let us return to the divine baths, whence
146 A.D. we digressed. Let the pains, the diseases, and all the dangers be forgot. I was lying, in accordance with a dream vision, between the doors and the latticed gates of the Temple, and the God gave me the following verse as an oracle: "*In the evening they flourished by the grassy springs.*" Then I anointed myself in the open air, in the enclosure of the Temple, and bathed in the Sacred Well, and there was no one, who believed what he saw. And I almost got rid of all my disease, save that when the God gave me signs and now changed my regimen, I was ready to act in this way, but "the evil counsel of my comrades prevailed," (Odyssey 10. 46), who pretending to wisdom and seeming to have a certain cleverness in these matters, explained my dreams rather unnaturally and said that the God expressly indicated that it was necessary to keep to the same things. And I yielded, though unwilling and suspicious, and believing that I myself knew better, but in order that I might not seem to be one who trusts only in himself. And by experience I learned well that I was right. But whatever errors my advisers³² made, let them be put aside. Yet even these things seem to belong with that which has strong reference to the God. For whenever the God prescribed and clearly stated them, the same regimen and the same actions brought to my body and to my spirit salvation, strength, comfort, ease, high spirits, and every good thing. But when some other person advised me and missed the intention of the God, they brought everything opposite to this. How is this not the greatest sign of the God's power? 71

³² II 73 Herzog, *op. cit.*, p. 145, wrongly suggested *σύμβολοι* for *σύμβουλοι* mss.; cf. Note 43 to Chapter II.

March 22 Come let us again recall his commands. It was
146 A.D. the vernal equinox, when they daub themselves with mud in honor of the God, and it was impossible for me, if he should not give a sign, to stir myself. Therefore I hesitated. The day, as I remember, was also thoroughly warm. Not many days later, there arose a storm and the northwind stirred up all the heaven, and many black clouds gathered together, and again anew winter weather. In these circumstances, *he commanded me to use¹⁹ the mud by the Sacred Well and to bathe there.* Therefore even then I afforded a spectacle. So great was the coldness of the mud and air, that I regarded myself lucky to run up to the Well. And the water sufficed me, instead of other warmth. And these things are the first part of the miracle. 74

On the following night, *he commanded me again to use¹⁹ the mud in the same way, and to run in a circle about the Temples three times.* And the strength of the northwind was indescribable, and the icy cold increased. Thus you would not find thick clothing to be suitable covering, but the wind passed through and fell on the ribs like a spear. Therefore some of my comrades, as if wishing to console me, although I did not want this, decided to face the danger and imitate me. I smeared myself with mud and ran around, and permitted the northwind to card me well and fair, and finally going to the Well, I bathed. Of them, one immediately turned back, one was seized with convulsions, and having been taken quickly to a bathhouse, was warmed with much difficulty. But after this, we felt the day as spring. 75

winter Again in winter time, with ice and the coldest
146/7 A.D. wind, *he ordered me to take some mud, pour it on myself, and sit in the courtyard of the Sacred Gymnasium, calling on Zeus, the highest and best God.* This also happened before many spectators. 76

winter Then there was an affair which caused no less
146/7 A.D. wonder than what has been said. For when I had continual fever³³ for forty days and more, and even some of the harbors were frozen, and all the Elaeian littoral from Pergamum on down, then *he commanded me to put on a small linen* 78

tunic and nothing else, but to persevere in this, and going from my bed to wash at the spring without. It was hard work to reach the water. Everything was frozen solid, and the water flow immediately congealed, and was, as it were, a pipe of ice, and whatever warm water you might pour on, froze on the spot. Nevertheless we approached the spring, and the linen sufficed. And all the others were much colder. And nearly all of my regimen was done around the Temple.

Akin to these things was my continually going unshod in winter and my incubations throughout the whole Temple in the open air and wherever it might be, and not least frequently, on the Temple road, under the Sacred Lamp of the Goddess. I also wore my clothes without a tunic, I know not for how many days. And it would be impossible to tell how often again he commanded me to use the rivers or the springs, or even the sea, either before or after this, sometimes at Elaea, sometimes at Smyrna, and in what circumstances each of these things took place.

August But when recently he sent me to Ephesus to 81
170 A.D. speak, during the journey on the third day, we were much exposed to rain. For he himself stopped us on the second day, and the rain happened to start right then. However, what appeared in my dreams pertained not only to that day, but also to the following day, and I foretold these things to those, who were with me. But they, on the contrary, decided to continue, especially when they noted how zealously men behaved toward us. For when some people, who were going to Pergamum for the festivals, saw us³⁴, they hastened back to Ephesus. And so this turned out. But after I had been exposed to the rain and was in anguish, not many days later when I was in Ephesus, he ordered a cold bath and I bathed in the gymnasium by the Coressus. And the spectators wondered no less at the bath than at my speeches. But the God was the cause of both.

³³ II 78 I accept *πυρετών* mss.; cf. IV 59. Wilamowitz emended *παγετών*.

³⁴ II 81 I accept *εἰσὶν γάρ* mss. Keil emended *ἦσαν γάρ*.

THE SACRED TALES: III

spring I happened to be staying in Aliani³⁵ since the 1
146 A.D. God had sent me. Then I also had many frequent difficulties. I could neither take nourishment nor retain that which I had tasted, but it immediately met³⁶ with much burning and tore at my throat and cut off my breathing, and fiery spasms arose to my head. My attempts to vomit had no result, but even a drop was like a tempest, because the stuff was held within and was causing suffocation. But I would hardly be free of it with much disturbance and utter exhaustion, nor bloodlessly, but the whole passage was ripped and became a wound. My sickness and the general weakness of my body and its purgation³⁷ were in proportion to the circumstances. And none of my friends and acquaintances was present, but each was off in a different place, except that one happened to be using the warm springs then, of whom I formerly dreamed that when I lay alone on the road, after the horse which I rode had stumbled, he said to me that this too was fated, that I be left alone. This 3
had taken place in Pergamum, a little before my departure. Then when I was in hard straits at Aliani³⁵, I remember that I had the following dream. I dreamed that I was carried alone on a raft in the Egyptian sea. And I was at the edge near land³⁸. While I was distressed, my foster father Zosimus appeared on land, with a horse. And I somehow disembarked and gladly took the horse. Thus it was. But 4
I also dreamed that passing through Alexandria, I saw a children's

³⁵ III 1, 3 I emend *Ἀλιανούς* for *Ἀλλιανούς* mss.; cf. REG III, p. 51.

³⁶ III 1 I accept *συνίστατο* mss. Keil emended *προσίστατο*.

³⁷ III 1 I accept *κάθαρσις* AS. Keil accepted *καθαίρεισις* TD.

³⁸ III 3 I delete *τῆς σχεδίας* mss., which was copied from *ἐπὶ σχεδίας* in the preceding line; and I emend (after Keil) *ἀκροτάτῳ* for *ἄκρῳ τε καὶ τῆ* mss.

school. They recited and sang the following verses, echoing them most sweetly:

"He has saved many from manifest death,
While they even stood at the inflexible gates
Of Hades."

These are some of our verses, almost the first which we wrote for the God. Then I marvelled how they had now come to Egypt, and I was exceedingly pleased that I happened to have found my own compositions being sung.

This is a summary of the dreams. When day broke, I mounted my horse, for I happened to have one at hand. And I, who one would not think sufficient for this first exertion, raced the horse and felt more comfortable while it was still running, and much of the heaviness of my upper intestinal tract left me, and a certain strength was collected, as it were, in such circumstances, and again I had hope. At night, I even heard the voice of someone saying: "You have been cured," and this when I was in the most extreme difficulty. Because of the abundance of stories and actions, I must omit in what way I got back safely to Pergamum, and under what sort of regimen I lived after that.

summer I went on another journey to the warm springs
148 A.D. in the height of summer, and it was foretold to me to return immediately, once I had bathed and had chopped up some cassia and smeared it about my neck. I accomplished the two hundred and forty stades both ways, while it was remarkably stiffling, and I endured the thirst more easily than someone going home from the baths. Again he sent me, after commanding me to drink cold water. And I drank it all³⁹. And so much for now about these things.

September As to what happened in Lebedus: I was sent from
147 A.D. the incubation which I was performing in the Temple of the Saviors⁴⁰, at his command, though I was so weak that I could not even endure in bed at home. And the

³⁹ III 6 Keil placed a lacuna after σῶματι.

⁴⁰ III 7 I accept Σωτηρίων mss.; cf. Note 27 to Chapter II. Keil emended Σωτήρος.

doctor Satyrus, a sophist, as was said, of no mean rank, was at this time in Pergamum. This man visited me while I was lying in bed, and felt my chest and abdomen. When during the course of the conversation, he heard how many purges of blood I had had, he ordered me to stop them and not to undermine my body. "But I," he said, "shall give you a very light and simple ointment, which you should put on your stomach and abdomen, and you will see how much it will help." He advised these things. And as regards my blood, I denied that I had the authority to do one or the other, but that while the God commanded the letting of my blood, I would obey whether willing or not, and moreover never unwillingly. Still I did not ignore Satyrus' prescription, but took and kept it. It was no cornucopia.

October When I was taken to Lebedus, and very unex-
147 A.D. pectedly and scarcely survived, then everything seemed to be of value. I needed constant help, and approached the warm springs with difficulty and sparingly. Therefore I decided to put Satyrus' drug on my stomach and chest, as Satyrus had prescribed, for I thought indeed that I was not departing much from the cure which came from the God. Straightway the first application did not please me, but it seemed to be too cold. Nevertheless I decided to persevere and to entrust to the drug, if in time it might accomplish something. And so I developed a terrible chest cold, and a constant and strong cough ensued, and I was in difficulty. And the God showed that it was consumption. And on the following day, there was a pressure in my temples and the whole of my face, and my jaws were locked together, and then, if ever, there was confusion.

When I was a little relaxed⁴¹, it occurred to me to consult the God in Colophon both concerning my present troubles and general weakness. Colophon is not far from Lebedus, and the Sacred Night happened to be near. These things decided, I sent Zosimus. When night came, Zosimus received the following oracle, which pertained to me:

"Asclepius will cure and heal your disease
In honor of the famous city of Telephus,
Not far from the streams of the Caicus."

⁴¹ III 12 I accept ἐχάλασα mss. Keil emended ἐχάλασε. But "the pressure" was only one symptom.

And the following happened to me on the same night, to recollect 13
it in summary fashion. *I dreamed that I was at the ancestral hearth.*
On the wall where the statues of the Gods are, was the following
inscription: "Such and such, saved from death, offer thanks to all
the Gods." And there appeared to be the traces of sacrifices. And this
vision inaugurated for me a series of sacrifices, for I not only con-
sidered the dream, but at the same time I was receiving such great
things from the Gods and was also so inclined. Therefore we left
Lebedus in high spirits when it seemed best to the God, and I enjoyed
a comfort worthy of description.

late January As to what I said⁴² about the consumption, the 14
148 A.D. God confirmed it later by signs to the temple
warden, as Asclepiacus himself recounted to me,
having heard before nothing from me. For he said that he heard the
God say that he had got rid of my consumption and catarrh, and
cured my stomach.

February He also revealed, approximately at the same 15
148 A.D. time, very wonderful things in the person of
Neritus, one of my foster fathers. For I believe that
he dreamed that the God, together with Telesphorus, said to him,
in regard to me, that it was necessary to remove my bones and put in
nerves, for the existing ones had failed. Then he was in great fear and
anguish, when he heard these things about me, but the God said,
in consolation and instruction, not directly to knock out the bones
and cut out the existing nerves, but that there needed to be, as it
were, a certain change of those existing, and thus there was need of
a great and strange correction. And he gave a cure to Neritus, to tell
me⁴³: unsalted olive oil three times a day. And I did as the God
instructed, and when I tried it, it proved helpful.

⁴² III 14 I accept εἴρων mss. Keil emended εἴρε.

⁴³ III 15 Keil placed a lacuna after ἔχοντι. But probably χρῆσθαι is to be under-
stood.

c. February These other things happened to me at the an- 16
148 A.D. cestral hearth, in the height of winter and my
disease. I was reclining at lunch, and strong and
terrible pains occurred in my head, and there was a pressure in my
face, and my lips were locked together, and I was in great difficulty.
Doubled up, as I was, I rushed into my bedroom, and lay down in
some fashion, and a great and strong fever arose. I was unable to
breathe, and my mother and nurse and the other servants started to
wail, and Zosimus was also upset. And somehow I nodded to the 17
majority to leave, and made ready for what would happen. And after
this, when the sun set, or even still later, a convulsion was added to
the fever, neither describable nor such as one might conceive. But
my body was drawn in every direction. My knees were born upwards
to my head, and dashed against it. It was impossible to control my
hands, but they beat against my neck and face. My chest was thrust
forward, and my back drawn backward, as a sail billowed in the
wind. No part of my body was still, nor did it change a little from its
natural condition, but mostly there were convulsions and the unspeak-
able state of pain, which did not let me be silent, and ever more ended 18
in screams. These things continued up to midnight or later, and abated
not a bit. Then it lost some of its force, however it did not wholly
stop. I was laid upon and wrapt all about in warm wool, and every
kind of fomentation was used, and with difficulty thus I survived.
And before it was daytime, someone ran to summon the doctor. He 19
came, either on the following day or even a day later. And at noon,
I think, I again had an attack, and not much later black bile spread
downward. And while I was sitting on a chair, there came over me a
terrible feebleness and perspiring and faintness. And the doctor was
disturbed and decided that I should be fed. But this was not the 20
trouble. Night arose, as in a pitching, rolling sea, and I slept only
enough to dream. *I received a command to go to the hearth of my*
foster fathers and make obeisance to the statue of Zeus, by which I
was brought up. And there were certain utterances, I think, and the
kind of supplication was defined. There was not a little snow, and
everything was thoroughly impassable. And the small house was more
than a stade from the main house. I mounted a horse, went, and
made obeisance, and even before I returned, everything settled
down.

August 21
148 A.D. After he cured my difficulty in breathing, he immediately healed in the following way the trouble above⁴⁴ my throat and the pressure in my ears and the recurvation of the spine, which was now fully developed. *He said that is was a royal ointment*¹⁹. *It was necessary to get it from his wife. And somehow after this, a servant of the palace, clad in white and girdled, appeared at Telesphorus' Temple and statue, and escorted by a herald, went out by the doors where the statue of Artemis is, and bore the remainder of the ointment to the Emperor.* This more or less was the dream, to recollect it unclearly. When I went to the Temple and was walking about the statue of Telesphorus, the temple warden Asclepiacus came up to me. And while he happened to stand by the statue, I told him the vision which I had, and I asked him what the ointment was, or who should use it. But when he listened and marvelled, as he was accustomed, he said, "the search is not long nor need there be much travelling, but I bring it to you right from here. For it lies by the feet of Hygieia, since Tyche just now put it there, as soon as the Temple was opened." Tyche was a noble lady. And going to the Temple of Hygieia, he brought the ointment. And I anointed myself, where I happened to stand. The ointment also had a wonderful smell, and its power was immediately manifest. For faster than I have said it, the pressure relaxed. Later after asking the temple warden, I learned that the purgative⁴⁵ was compounded of three ingredients, of fig sap, with which I anointed myself, of myrrh of nard, and of another expensive myrrh, named, I believe, after its leaf (malobathrum). Thus I made a preparation of it and used it in the future, and all those symptoms abated. And at night, *Telesphorus also appeared dancing about my neck, and a light shone on the opposite wall, as if from the sun.*

22
23
24 About this time, I had the following dream, either when I had now begun the practice of vomiting at evening, or the vomiting had not yet taken place. *On arising from bed, I had*⁴⁶ *to eat nuts, dried*

⁴⁴ III 21 I accept ὑπέρ mss. Keil emended περλ. But Aristides refers to III 16, not to the later III 23.

⁴⁵ III 23 I accept καθαροίς mss. Keil emended κρῆσις.

⁴⁶ III 24 I emend ἔδει τοῦ ἐξ εὐνής for ἐδείτο ἐξ εὐνής mss.; cf. τὸ εἰς εὐνήν, II 22, τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, III 41.

*figs, date nut, and some bread in addition to these things. Afterwards I used these things beside the ointment*⁴⁷.

25 He also gave me a drug for my stomach, abdomen, and this general region, which, I think, was plastered above these places. He gave it by providing the following sight: *I dreamed that the doctor Asclepiacus visited me and upon examining me, made a poultice of a drug called by the name dittany, and at the same time prescribed that I use it for thirty days.* I used it, and the thirtieth night came, and again I dreamed that Asclepiacus came and removed the poultice.

26 Later he applied something, which he compounded of four ingredients, of which I remember two, pitch from wine and sheep's wool grease, and we shall add the other two, if ever the dreams turn up. And concerning the drinking of the antidote, I remember the following. I happened, on the whole⁴⁸, to eat only after much of the day had passed. *But he ordered me, upon getting up, to dine and drink this drug.* And this continued for five days, when I knew that the doctors ordered the opposite: whenever one intended to drink the drug, not to dine; and up to this time, this had been my wont. *Again he ordered me to eat this same drug with bread,* and I ate it at the Sacred Tripod, and made this a start for my health.

27
28
29 There is, I believe, a certain mixture of Philo. Formerly I was not even able to smell this. But when the God gave me signs that I should use it, and at the same time the hour when it was necessary, I not only drank it with pleasure, but after I drank it, I was immediately more comfortable and easier.

30 Then it would be possible to tell countless other things, pertaining to drugs, some of which he compounded himself, some public and known, which he gave as a cure for my body, however things stood on each occasion. When I had frequent catarrhs and my palate was seared, and my uvula appeared swollen, and my veins did not cease to throb, *I thought that I read an excellent book, the particulars of which — for I shall say the same thing again — I would not be able to tell. How could I so much later, especially since my record removed the need to memorize them? But at the end of the book, there was,*

⁴⁷ III 24 Keil placed a lacuna after χρῆματι. But he has misunderstood the construction; for ἐχρῶμην τε, cf. ἐγὼ τε ὤς, I 75.

⁴⁸ III 27 I emend τοῖς ἀπαισιν for ἀπας AST, ἀπαξ D; cf. I 68, IV 15.



indeed, the following, — it was said, as it were, concerning some athlete: "When the God had considered all these things and saw that the flow came abundantly, he commanded him to drink water and abstain from wine, if he desired at all to be victorious. 'For if you imitate this,' he said, 'it is possible for you to win the crown of victory or to share in it.'" Here it ended. Next the title of the discourse was subjoined as "The Crown Lover" or "The Crown Desirer." I also cannot say for how long I endured water drinking, but it was easy and pleasant, though before I always found water somehow disagreeable and disgusting. 32

When this also had been performed, he took me off water, and assigned me a measure of wine, the word was "a demiroyal." It is clear that he meant a half pint. I used this, and it sufficed, as formerly twice the amount did not. Sometimes there was some wine left over, since I was sparing through fear that it might be harmful. Nor did I add this residue to the next day, but I had to be content anew with the measure.

When he had made this experiment too, he now permitted me to drink as much as I wished, and made some sort of joke, to the effect that they are foolish men who are rich in material goods and do not dare to use them freely. And this book which I mentioned seemed to be Antisthenes' On Use (of Wine or On Intoxication). It pertained to wine, and there were certain tokens of Dionysus besides. I became so accustomed to it that, although the God granted it, I changed but slightly the measure of my drinking. And in some way, I longed for the stewardship of those times. 33

170/171 A.D. And it has been sometime since I have abstained from all living things, except chicken, and all greens, except wild ones and lettuce, and I have abstained from all sweets. Now occasionally he has commanded me to eat one whole chicken⁴⁹, and I have done so, I, to whom even the act of eating was prescribed with difficulty. And we endured some of these things without bathing and with phlebotomies and enemas, and some, as each circumstance might be. For six years I have abstained from all fish. I do not know how long from pork. Again when he allowed it, I used 34 35

⁴⁹ III 34 I emend ελην ενι <αλεκτροβονι> for βλωζ ενι mss.; and I delete αλεκτροβονι after εχρωμηην.

both. Then, in turn, I was kept from somethings, and would use some according to each particular circumstance. And he has kept me completely from fish sauce, for he said that it was not safe for my head, and least of all for my teeth. He gave me remedies for my teeth. First there was: Burn the tooth of a lion, and chopping it up, use it as a dentifrice. Second: Rinse⁵⁰ with the famous substance, sap of silphium. After this, pepper, which he added for warmth. After all these things, came Indian nard, this also as a dentifrice. And these are dreams which have recently appeared. 36 37

36 Dental Remedies

c. spring I have been kept from beef in this way. I 149 A.D. dreamed that an oracle had fallen to Zosimus, "that he would live as long as the cow in the field lived." And then I said to him: "Do you know what the oracle means? It commands you to abstain from beef." Zosimus was said, in addition to the cold from which he died, to have been harmed also by touching some beef from a sacrifice. Therefore there was, as is likely, much exactitude and care not even secretly to touch it with the tip of my finger.

after September And later, when Albus was Governor of Asia, 149 A.D. there were many, frequent earthquakes, and Mitylene was nearly all thrown down and in many other cities there was much disturbance, and the villages were wholly destroyed. The Ephesians and the Smyrnaeans ran to one another in confusion. But the series of earthquakes and terrors was extraordinary. And on the one hand, they sent emissaries to Clarus, and the Oracle was fought about, and on the other, holding the olive branch of supplication, they went about the altars and the market places and the circuit of the cities, no one daring to stay at home. And finally they gave up supplicating. In these circumstances, the God commanded me, who was then living in Smyrna, or rather in the suburbs of the city, to sacrifice publicly an ox to Zeus the Savior. While I hesitated being both suspicious and fearful of that former prophecy, some such notion occurred also to me, that I was not going to sacrifice a cow, and that it was not even necessary to taste it. But 38 39

⁵⁰ III 36 I accept διακλωσειν mss.; for intransitive use, cf. V 62 (Note 86). Keil emended διακλωσειν.



I had the following dream, which was most clear and by which emboldened, I sacrificed. For I thought that while I stood by the very altar of Zeus in the market place, and was asking him to give me a sign if it were better to sacrifice, a shining star darted through the market place and sanctioned the sacrifice. So I boldly sacrificed. ^{As} 40
 to what happened next, who is wont to have faith, let him have faith, and who is not, to him I say farewell! For the earthquakes came to an end, and after that day there was no longer any trouble, through the providence and power of the Gods, and by my necessary ministrations.]

And there is a matter⁵¹ no less marvellous than this, if not even more. For on about the sixth or seventh day before the earthquakes began, he ordered me to send to the old hearth, which is at the Temple of Olympian Zeus, and make a sacrifice, and to establish altars on the crest of the hill of Atys. And these things were just finished, when the earthquake came and so ravaged all the other land in between that not an inn was left standing, except some small ruin. But it did not proceed up the Atys, nor to our Laneion Estate at the south of the Atys, except only to perceive it, and ravaged nothing beyond. And I became so bold that, almost in the midst of the earthquakes, as I was returning from the warm springs to the city in accordance with my dreams, and saw men in supplication and distraught, I intended to say that there was no need to be afraid, for there would be nothing harmful. For under these conditions, I would not be summoned to the city. Then I stopped, so that I might not seem to be some demagogue, but I asserted to those who were with me, how "I was situated with safe conduct," using these very words. 41
42
43

145 A.D. I have finished concerning the earthquakes, and 44
 to how we first sacrificed an ox during them. Once
 147 A.D. when the God gave a sign, during the Cathedra in Pergamum, we sought a goose egg. And it was found nowhere in the market place. But there was a certain Milates from the Acropolis, and those engaged in the search finally came to him both by chance and by report. And Milates said to them that he had the egg, but that he was keeping it for a remedy, for so the

⁵¹ III 40 I accept Canter's addition of <β δ'> before οἶχ.

God had foretold to him. "Indeed, this is our purpose," the searchers said, and he, making obeisance, gave them the egg. How I used it, when I got it, I do not know because of the multitude of years.

winter Nearly the same as this, still at the beginning 45
 144/145 A.D. of my sickness, was the command of Isis, which 45
 concerned geese themselves. I was staying at the warm springs, and the Goddess ordered me to sacrifice two geese to her. I went to the city, having first sent ahead men to look for them, and having told them to meet me at the Temple of Isis with the geese. On that day there were no other geese for sale, except for only two. When they approached and tried to buy them, the man who raised the geese said that he was not able to sell them, for it was foretold to him by Isis to keep them for Aristides, and that he would surely come and sacrifice them. When he learned the whole story, he was dumbstruck and making obeisance, gave them to them. And I learned these things at the sacrifice itself. *There was also a light from Isis and other unspeakable things which pertained to my salvation. Sarapis also appeared on the same night, both he himself and Asclepius. They were marvellous in beauty and magnitude, and in some way like one another.* 46

winter When Zosimus' misfortune occurred — for I 47
 149 A.D. pass by those things which he predicted and said in consolation when it was going to happen — but when it happened and I was miserable with grief, it seemed to me that Sarapis, in the form of his statues⁵², took some sort of lancet, and shaved around my face, and somehow under my neck^{52a}, as it were removing and purging refuse, and changing it to its proper state.

So even later, I had a vision from the Gods of the Underworld, that if I gave up my strong grief for the dead, it would be to my advantage.

⁵² III 47 I emend ἄπερ for ὄπερ mss.; cf. IV 50. Possibly there is a lacuna.

^{52a} III 47 I emend ἐπὶ τε πῶς τὸν τράχηλον for ἐπ' αὐτὸ πῶς τὸ δριζήλον mss. cf. p. 248. Probability is hopeless in any attempted restoration of this very corrupt passage.

c. April 25 But that which appeared later, contained some- 48
 149 A.D. thing much more frightening than these things,
*in which there were ladders, which delimited the
 region above and beneath the earth, and the power of the God on each
 side, and there were other things, which caused a marvellous terror,
 and cannot perhaps be told to all, with the result that I gladly beheld
 the tokens. The summary point about the power of the God was that,
 both without conveyance and without bodies, Sarapis is able to carry
 men wherever he wishes.* Such was the initiation, and not easily
 recognized, I arose.

And in addition to these things, a certain sacrifice was indicated,
 which is due to Zeus and is publicly announced, but here was paid, as
 if it belonged to Sarapis. But it was also paid to Zeus, and I can say
 even on the Sacred Days, which the city of Alexandria celebrates for
 the God, for he gave many signs, many times, on each single day,
 and while the day of the feast was still approaching.

But if it is necessary to recount something even more frightening, 49
 I had sacrificed to Isis and Sarapis in the Temple of Isis, I mean the
 one which is in Smyrna⁵³. As I went out the propylaea, two of the
 sacred geese rushed up, and going before me, they led me so exactly
 in the way in which I intended to go, that it became quite apparent
 to me. And I comprehended the action and I said to my friends and
 those who were accompanying me, "Look, even these accompany me
 in the chorus of my friends." And at the same time, I spoke about the
 vehemence of the God, and how great was his power both in oracles
 and omens, and that many times up to now an answer had come to my
 prayers. "And now," I said, "he has sent us these guides for my 50
 journey." We discussed such things, and at the same time observed
 what they would do. When we had gone, I do not know how far from
 the Temple, I, showing off to my friends, made sport of the geese and
 said, "You have done enough, sirs. Go!" I had not finished speaking,
 when they turned and went.

⁵³ III 49. I delete γενομενον miss. after Σιδωνη.

THE SACRED TALES: IV

c. December 22 At the beginning of the tenth year of my illness, 1
 152 A.D. a vision came and said the following: "*Sick with
 the same disease, at the start of the tenth year, by
 the will of Asclepius, I went to the places where the disease began,
 and was rid of it.*" Such was what was said, and it seemed to have
 been written. Then too we were staying at the Temple of Olympian
 Zeus. It was winter, a little after the solstice, but the air was gentle.
 When these oracles were given, I was, as is likely, joyful and wonder- 2
 fully eager to depart. The Aeseopus and the warm springs near it
 are a two days journey from the region of the Temple. And there my
 body first slipped away through a cold in winter time, when I had been
 subjected to a strong rain after many baths, and at evening had
 gone off to an estate and a farm house of mine, which was near, so to
 speak. Moreover, contrary to the season, and in the circumstances of 3
 my return, I had done more than I should, and in addition to these
 things there was a difficult trip to Italy a few days later. These
 things took place nine years before.

Then we set out, in high spirits, as on a pilgrimage. The weather 3
 was marvellous, and the road inviting. Poemanenon is a place in
 Mysia, and in it is a sacred and famous temple of Asclepius. Here
 we completed about one hundred and sixty stades, and nearly sixty
 of these at night, as we started when the day was advanced. And about 4
 this place we also met with some mud, from earlier rains, which was
 not easy to cross. The journey was made by torch light. Here I was
 completely consecrated, as it were, and possessed. And I composed
 many lyrics to the Savior himself, while I was sitting in the carriage,
 and many to the Aeseopus, the Nymphs, and Artemis Thermaea, who
 keeps the warm springs, to free me from all my troubles, and return
 me to my original state.

When I was at Poemanenon, the God gave me oracles and kept me 5
 there for some days, and he purged my upper intestinal tract and not

quite for the last time⁵⁴. And a farmer, who did not know me, except by reputation, had a dream. He dreamed that someone said to him that Aristides had vomited up the head of a viper. Having seen this vision, he told one of my people and he told me. So much for this.

When he sent me to the Aesepus, he ordered me to abstain from the baths there, but he prescribed other regimens every day. And there were purifications at the river by libation, and purgations at home through vomiting. And when three or four days had passed, *there was a voice in a dream, that it was over and it was necessary to return*. It was all not only like an initiation into a mystery, since the rituals were so divine and strange, but there was also coincidentally something marvellous and unaccustomed. For at the same time there was gladness, and joy, and a cheerfulness of spirit and body, and again, as it were, an incredulity if it will ever be possible to see the day when one will see himself free from such great troubles, and in addition, a fear that some one of the usual things will again befall and harm one's hopes about the whole. Thus was my state of mind, and my return took place with such happiness and at the same time anguish.

Since the Gods so granted, from this time, the change in my whole body and regimen now became clear, and it was easier to bear the climate and to travel more or less the same as those who were extremely healthy. And I dispensed with excessive covering, and the nameless catarrhs, and pains in my head, and throbbing⁵⁵ of my pulse and nerves ceased. My eating habits now became in some way more regular, and we engaged in full scale rhetorical contests at home and in public. And under the guidance of the God, with good fame and fortune, we visited the cities.

summer And years later that plague occurred, from which 165 A.D. the Savior and Lady Athena manifestly saved me.

And for some six months after this, my condition was wonderful. Then I became very constipated, and other things troubled me, all of which the God settled, and to say it by his grace, he still settles them by daily regimens and predictions.

⁵⁴ IV I accept *αγεδον οχι εισαπαξ* mss.; cf. V 20. Keil regarded these words as corrupt, but the cure was not complete.

⁵⁵ IV 8 I add after *σφακελοι* <εις την κεφαλην και ταις>; cf. II 57 and III 1.

c. January Then on my return from the Aesepus, just as 10
153 A.D. I was drawing near, both children and others made propitious remarks, and in their play, they cried out, "Hail to the Master!" And my nurse immediately got up and met me, and regained her strength, and behaved as is likely in such circumstances.

Then the God commanded — since this must be done in place of being buried — to sprinkle some white earth on myself, in the manner of the wrestling ground, for security and so that in some way the burial also might be fulfilled. And also to bathe in cold water, that is, to bathe in snow. So snow covered everything, the ground, the trees, and the springs. And it is clear that we gladly obeyed these things.

152/153 A.D. Such happened in my journey to the Aesepus 12
and my return again from there. The Governor of Asia was then a close acquaintance of mine, Severus, a man from Upper Phrygia, during whose time wonderful things, of special importance to me, were done by the God. Concerning these, it would probably be best to speak next. First, as I said, it was my intention to recount immediately his benefactions in this matter. Then it seemed best to go back to former times and to preface, as far as possible, the other honors from the God, first as many as there were in regard to my speeches, and then those which pertained to legal actions in each governorship. Then whenever the past events⁵⁶ are settled with, an end will be set to the first part of the speech, to which it will be necessary to connect the rest.

144/145 A.D. During approximately the first year of my 14
sickness, I gave up the study of rhetoric, since I was in such great physical discomfort. And at the same time, I became despondent.

c. autumn While I now rested in Pergamum because of a 145 A.D. divine summons and my supplication, I received from the God a command and exhortation not to abandon rhetoric. It is impossible to say through the multitude of years whatever dream 15

⁵⁶ IV 13 I emend *τακ των <δνω> χρονον* for *των χρονον* mss.

came first, or the nature of each on the whole. Here is one of those exhortatory dreams, which occurred at the very beginning. *It befits you to converse with Socrates, Demosthenes, and Thucydides. And someone who was distinguished before our time was pointed out, so that I was especially moved to speak. And he commanded me to go to the Temple Stoa, which is at the Theater, and to offer to him the very first fruits of these improvised and competitive orations.* And so it happened. There was a very magnificent spectacle in the city, either a bull hunt, I think, or some such thing. Therefore all those from the Temple had rushed down, and the city was engaged in these things. We had been left alone in the Temple, two of the more distinguished worshippers, I and a Nicean, a man⁵⁷ of praetorian rank, called Sedatius^{29a}, but originally Theophilus. Therefore we were sitting in the Temple of Hygieia, where the statue of Telesphorus is, and we were asking one another, as we were accustomed, whether the God had prescribed anything new. For some of our diseases were also the same. Therefore I said that I did not know what I should do, the prescription was like an order to fly, the practice of rhetoric, for one who could not breathe, and this here — I meant the Stoa — and I recounted the dream to him. And when he heard it, he said, “What will you do, and how do you feel about it?” “What else,” I said, “than I shall do whatever I can? Put on my cloak, stand so, make a note of the problem to myself, begin some little thing, and then I shall stop. And so my religious obligation has been fulfilled.” “Not at all,” he said, “not so. But you have me here as a listener. Then contend with all zeal. Strength will be the God’s concern. How do you know whether your dream portends even more?” And at the same time, he told me a marvellous deed of the God, how he commanded some sick man to contend in this way, and by causing him to perspire through the exercise, brought an end to the whole disease. It seemed necessary to do this. And while we were talking and taking counsel, Maximus the Libyan⁵⁸ entered in the third place, a worshipper of the ancients, and in a fashion zealous about rhetoric. It was he who

⁵⁷ IV 16 I punctuate after Νικαεύς, ἀνὴρ τῶν κτλ; cf. 47, p. 415 D; for the other word order, cf. 46, p. 304 D.

⁵⁸ IV 18 I emend <Μάξιμος ὁ> Λίβυς for Βύβλος ASD; cf. Note 26 to Chapter III. For the form, cf. 47, p. 415 D and IV 16. Cf. 45, p. 46 D βιβλίου perhaps for Λιβυκῶν.

proposed the problem. And the problem was as follows, for I remember it, since it was the first, which I received: “While Alexander,” he said, “is in India, Demosthenes advises that it is time to act.” Therefore I immediately accepted the omen of Demosthenes speaking again and of the subject, which was about empire. And pausing a little, I contended, and my other strength was such as is the God’s devising, and the year seemed not to belong to silence, but to training.

Then this was the beginning of the practice of rhetoric for us, and so we returned to it. But there were also many other dreams which pertained to the same, and the following was particularly encouraging. Rosander was a philosopher and especially diligent in the service of the God. *This man seemed to me to come from a gentleman who was a distinguished philosopher and who had just now lectured, and to stand before my bed, as it were, inspired and very serious. Next he spoke about the great improvement of my speeches. He remembered Plato and Demosthenes, for whatever he remembered each. Finally he added, “For us you have surpassed Demosthenes in dignity, so that not even the philosophers can scorn you.”* This remark kindled all my later ambition. This made me feel that everything, which I might do in rhetoric, was less than I should do. Moreover, the God himself set his seal to this in a waking state. For after that night which brought the dream at dawn, I immediately began practicing, still at the beginning, as I said. And those present, having learned nothing of the dream before, but hearing my words then for the first time, especially approved of their dignity, and this caused them much excitement.

Later I had the following dream, which pertains to Rosander. *I dreamed that, during some lecture on the grounds of the Temple of Olympian Zeus, either I thought to myself, or someone indicated and said to me, that Rosander (“Man-Strengthened”) has the equivalent meaning of the God. And he gave a demonstration of this through some diagram, as the geometers, by drawing in equal proportion upon the earth two successive names, the one, “Rosander,” the other “Theodotus.” And somehow in writing this was “Theodótēs” (“God-Giver”). But this was clear, that the doctor Theodotus meant the God. Therefore “Rosander” also has the equivalent meaning, since “Rosander” and “Theodotus” are equal. Such did he reveal concerning the name “Rosander.”*

It was often my experience that when I received my problems and stood ready for the contest, I was in difficulty and scarcely recovered from the failure of my breath; but as I proceeded in my introduction, I now became more comfortable and was able to breathe; and as my speech proceeded further, I was filled with strength and lightness, and strung my words together so well that the audience scarcely followed them. And in my estimation greater things were seen than heard.

And others also had dreams about me, which pertained to the same end. On the one hand, Euarestus of Crete, one of those who studied philosophy, came from Egypt in search of information about the God. He was an acquaintance and companion of mine during my stay in Egypt. And he said that the God commanded him to exhort me to take up rhetoric, since it befitted⁵⁹ me more than anything. On the other hand, Hermocrates of Rhodes, the lyric poet, had this dream, as Hermocrates himself said to me, — I had given up speaking, I think, for one or two days: "Then Aristides will be angry, and not wishing to speak, will say that he has pains in the stomach." Thus this business came from every side and was continual; and in many ways, it solidified and increased my strength. For he told me which of the ancients it was proper to study, I mean poets as well as the others, and he even fixed the period for which I was to use certain of them. And after that day, they all almost appeared to me as comrades, through the God's introduction.

And indeed the greatest and most valuable thing for my training was the arrival and communion of my dreams. For I heard many things which excelled in purity of style and were gloriously beyond my models, and I dreamed that I myself said many things better than my wont, and things of which I had never thought. As many of these as I remembered, I put in the copies of my dreams, among which is the speech given *In Defense of Running*, when he commanded me to practice running, and many other things. And there is scattered in our books, a speech in praise of *Athena* and *Dionysus*, and of others, according to the circumstance. Many problems also came up, and it was shown how it was necessary to handle each one, apart from phrases which have been memorized with precision. There was also the technique of unseen preparation, which led to improvement. For I

⁵⁹ IV 23 I accept *προσηκοντος* mss. Keil emended *προσηκοντας*.

had to arise fully stimulated and prepared, from the night before, to speak, just like the athlete who works out at dawn. Once even the following command came, *to weave a speech through mere thought, just as we do through phrases, and it was clear to me that the God was introducing thoughtfulness*. Therefore as to the state of our rhetoric, to speak by his grace, even if for the most part it was not terribly despicable before, we ourselves were aware and it was recognized by those acquainted with the facts, that it was continually developing. And once that famous Pardalas, who, I would say, was the greatest expert of the Greeks of our time in the knowledge of rhetoric, dared to say and affirm to me that I had become ill through some divine good fortune, so that by my association with the God, I might make this improvement. But it lies outside my plan and intention to tell of the many other things, which either he was accustomed to say in praise of our speeches, or the best and most distinguished of the other elderly men of those times.

But I wish to speak of a dream. I dreamed that I was at the estate where I was raised. Rufinus was present, to whose generosity are due the great offerings at Pergamum and the Temple with the many cult statues⁶⁰. Then he was otherwise greatly delighted with me and said aloud, "If so and so, the 'declamator' were alive, where would he be now?" For he used this expression, meaning "the Chorus-master of our age." And I comprehended and said to Bassus⁶¹ here, "Do you see what the God says about me, that is Rufinus?"

But he also ordered me to compose speeches, not only to contend extemporaneously, and besides sometimes to learn them word for word. And the matter afforded me much difficulty, for neither was I able to conceive of any of the things which were to follow, nor could I trust his purpose. For in my circumstances, I must be saved before declaiming⁶². Yet, as it seems, these contrivances were for the present

⁶⁰ IV 28 I accept the emendation of Hepding, *op. cit.*, p. 92 *πολυεθής* for *πολυειθής* mss.

⁶¹ IV 28 I accept *τουτοι* *Βάσσου* mss. Keil punctuated after *τουτοι*, and emended *Βάσσε*. But Bassus could not be "the declamator;" cf. Note 33 to Chapter I and Note 30 to Chapter III.

⁶² IV 29 I emend *τοδ ενδεξασθαι* for *ποδ δε εξεσσι* mss., and delete *αχολάσαι* as a gloss. Dindorf, followed by Keil, placed a lacuna after *εμοι*.

moment, but at the same time he had better plans than salvation alone. Therefore he saved me by means worth more than the act of being saved.

170/171 A.D. And once I happened to have a toothache, and was unable to open my mouth, and was in terrible difficulty. But he commanded me to summon a gathering of my friends and to read to them one of the speeches which I had written. Then I had in hand the third of my speeches to him. I read this through, and before I had completed all of it, I was rid of the pain.

July 13 He also urged me to the composition of lyric poetry. I began composing in Rome on account of Apollo. For I had a dream which declared that it was necessary to write a paean to the God, and at the same time its beginning. And it was something like this:
"I shall praise Paeon, king of the lyre."

I was at a loss, as to what I should do, for I had no previous experience in these matters. But I thought that it was absolutely impossible. Nevertheless I tried. And holding firm to the beginning, as it were the first step of the ladder, I finished the song in two strophes, and I added, I think, a third, which the grammarians, I believe, call an epode. And just when the song was completed, someone announced to me that it was the feast of Apollo, the Apollonia, in which the Romans have chariot racing for the God.

* c. September 30 So this happened. And when we were carried back from Greece, during stormy weather, by some divine good fortune, first we got safely to Delus, then to Miletus, both places sacred to Apollo. This is also worthy to attribute to Delian Apollo, the Savior, since we have come to this point in our speech. For when I disembarked at Delus, I was angry at the helmsman who was mentally disturbed and sailed against the winds, and acted as if he were on dry land. Immediately I swore that I would not set sail for two days. "But if he wanted to, let him sail," I said, "by himself." And when I had sacrificed to the God and spent as much time as I could at the Temple, I went to my room and told the servants, if someone came from the ship, to tell him to go

away, and I rested in the harbor of Delus. But the sailors came, "heavy with wine" (*Odyssey* 3. 139), at about the beginning of night, and stood by the door and knocked, and told me to come out and set sail, for it was an excellent time to depart. When the slaves answered that they were talking nonsense and that I would not move for any reason, they departed in anger, as if they were being greatly inconvenienced. Cock crow was near, when an extraordinary hurricane broke out, and the sea was stirred up by a fierce whirlwind, and everything was deluged, and some of the small ships in the harbor were cast up on land, and others collided and were crushed. The merchant ship, which was carrying us, had its cables broken, and was tossed up and down, and with much shouting and confusion on the part of the sailors was scarcely saved. And besides there was a great and violent rain storm, and the confusion on the island was the same as on the ship. At dawn, my friends, whom I happened to have taken along at my own expense for the voyage, came in haste, calling me, "Benefactor and Savior," and rejoicing in the providence of the Gods. The sailors also came, now grateful, and marvelling at the nature of the impending evils from which they had been saved. So great was the gain and profit of my song, just as they say it befell to Simonides to be saved alone by the Dioscuri for the hymns which he had written to them, except that then not only we, but also our friends were saved with us. Let it be, however one wishes, whether⁶³ this was the reward and thanks for the paean and through this salvation occurred, or this in any case would have happened so, but the God, foreseeing all future events, gave a sign, on the one hand, that dangers would befall on the sea and salvation from these, and on the other hand, that he himself would be the healer of my body's troubles, as well as the first of his sons, who knows how to stop all things of which men are sick.)

145 A.D. Tale follows tale, and let us say again that along to with other things, Asclepius, the Savior, also commanded us to spend time on songs and lyric verse, and to relax and maintain a chorus of boys. There would be no end of saying how many other things we also enjoyed from this advice, for high spirits and self-sufficiency. But the children

⁶³ IV 37 I accept ἐπότερα mss. Keil emended ἐπότερος.

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37
Billet
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Aon-
6th. 27.

Song to the
Gods
at
Lysias

sang my songs; and whenever I happened to choke, if my throat were suddenly constricted, or my stomach became disordered, or whenever I had some other troublesome attack, the doctor Theodotus, being in attendance and remembering my dreams, would order the boys to sing some of my lyric verse. And while they were singing, there arose unnoticed a feeling of comfort, and sometimes everything which pained me went completely away.

And this was a very great gain, and the honor was still greater than this, for my lyric verse also found favor with the God. He ordered me to compose not only for him, but also indicated others, as Pan, Hecate, Achelous, and whatever else it might be. There also came a dream from Athena, which contained a hymn to the Goddess, and the following beginning,

"Young men come to Pergamum."

And another from Dionysus, where the refrain was,
"Hail King, ivy crowned."

While this was sung in my sleep, a marvellous sound also flowed about my ears. And I had to bend my right knee, and to supplicate and call upon the Lysian God. And these things are in the copies of my songs.

And another dream came from Zeus, but I cannot remember which of these was first or second, and another again from Dionysus, which said to address the God, as "curly haired."

And Hermes was also seen with his dog skin cap, and he was marvellously beautiful and extraordinarily mobile. And while I was singing of him and feeling pleased that I had easily said the proper things, I awoke.

I also thought, concerning the Goddesses of Smyrna, that I heard, I think, from my foster father that I happened not rightly to have neglected them, for it was fitting to take the trouble to write a hymn for these.

But most things were written for Apollo and Asclepius through the inspiration of my dreams, and many of these nearly from memory, as whenever I was riding in a carriage, or even was walking.

And a Macedonian man, one of my fellow pilgrims, had a dream — as Theodotus reported to me, for he himself was not an acquaintance of mine — which pertained directly to me. "He dreamed that he sang a paean of mine, in which there was the invocation, 'Hail

Paean, Heracles Asclepius.'" And so I presented the paean in common to both Gods.

August
147 A.D. And then I also gave public choral performances, 43
ten in all, some of boys and some of men. And the following took place, when I was going to bring

on the first chorus. Rufinus, whom I mentioned a little before, was in the Temple. Seeing him, I said, "You have come at the right moment, if you have some spare time. For I am going to give a choral performance for the God, and it is clear that you will hear it for our sake." "But it is not necessary," he said, "for me to be invited by you, but I have been previously invited by the God. Judge," he said, "even the hour⁶⁴. For I did not formerly arrive at this time, but I was accustomed to come much later. But I have been invited," he said, "for this reason in good fortune, and we shall stand by your side," meaning himself and Sedatius^{29a}, who was our fellow pilgrim then. And this took place at my first staging of the chorus. Again after the completion of the tenth performance, in which I happened to have omitted some song, because it was written entirely impromptu, with the greatest of ease, and, as they say, almost by itself⁶⁵, a dream came, which demanded this too, and we also presented it. When these things were accomplished, it seemed fitting to dedicate a silver tripod, as a thank offering to the God, and at the same time as a memorial of the choral performances which I gave. And I prepared the following elegiac couplet: 44 45

"Poet, judge, and backer all in one,

Has dedicated to you, O King, this monument of his choral performance."

Then after this, there were two verses, one of which contained my name, and the other that these things occurred under the patronage of the God. But the God's version prevailed. For on the day, I believe, on which it was necessary to make the dedication, or a little before it, around dawn, or even still sooner, a divine inscription came to me, which ran as follows:

⁶⁴ IV 43 I accept τῆν ὥραν mss. Keil emended τῆ ὥρα.

⁶⁵ IV 44 Possibly emend ἔσον <ἐφ'> ἀτέρ for ἔσον ἀτέρ AST; cf. Gellius 16. 8. Or <ἀτό ἐφ'> ἀτό, cf. 28. 111 K, 29. 1 K; cf. 36. 123 K ἐφ' ἀτέρ.

"Not unknown to the Greeks, Aristides dedicated this, the glorious charioteer of everlasting words."

And I dreamed that I had this inscribed and that I was going to make the dedication, as it were, to Zeus. I immediately held fast to the inscription, while I gloried in my sleep and while I was still waking. And I practiced it and studied it, that it might not slip my mind. And so I mastered it. After this, when we took counsel in common about the dedication, it seemed best to us, the priest and the temple wardens to dedicate it in the Temple of Zeus Asclepius, for there was no fairer place than this. And so the prophecy of the dream turned out. And the tripod is under the right hand of the God, and it has three golden statues, one on each foot, of Asclepius, of Hygieia, and of Telesphorus. And the inscription is inscribed, and it has been added that it is from a dream. I also dedicated to Olympian Zeus the inscription and another dedication, so that the oracle was in every way fulfilled. When the inscription was made, I became much more eager, and it seemed in every way to be fitting to hold to rhetoric, as our name would live even among future men, since the God had called my speeches "everlasting."

And so it happened in the matter of the choral performances. A little later, I do not know how much, I saw the following vision. I dreamed that I was at the hearth of the Ancestral Temple of Olympian Zeus. When there was a public assembly before noon, the sacred herald stood by the base of the God's statue and called out my name with all of its titles, as if I were being publicly crowned, as when in the assembly we are crowned with a golden crown, and he added, "because of his speeches." And he confirmed this by another addition, saying, "For he is invincible in rhetoric." When this was proclaimed, I crossed over to the garden of Asclepius, which lies before my ancestral home. And there I found on the right of the Temple, a common monument for me and Alexander, the son of Philip, which was separated by a partition in the middle. And he lay on one side, and I would lie on the other. Standing there and bending forward, I enjoyed the wonderful sweet smell of incense, and some of this belonged to his tomb, and some was set aside for me as well. I rejoiced and conjectured that we both had reached the top of our professions, he in military and I in rhetorical power. And in addition, it also occurred to me, that this man was very important in Pella, and that

those here were proud of me. I thought that I heard and saw such things, and that I spoke to myself and calculated some of these things by the statue of Zeus, and some in the Temple of Asclepius before my house. Now as to what came next, if it is fitting, let it be said and written, and if not, may you be fully concerned, Lord Asclepius, to prompt me to strike it out, without any disagreeableness. First the statue was seen, which had three heads, and shone about with fire, except for the heads. Next we worshippers stood by it, just as when the paean is sung, I almost among the first. At this point, the God, now in the posture in which he is represented in statues, signaled our departure. Therefore all the others went out, and I turned to go out, and the God, with his hand, indicated for me to stay. And I was delighted by the honor and the extent to which I was preferred to the others, and I shouted out, "The One," meaning the God. But he said, "It is you." For me this remark, Lord Asclepius, was greater than human life, and every disease was less than this, every grace was less than this. This made me able and willing to live. And now that we have said these things, may we have no less honor than before from the God.

But once I heard the following tale, which pertained to my rhetoric and divine communion. He said that it was fitting that my mind be changed from its present condition, and having been changed, associate with God, and in association, be superior to man's estate, and that neither was remarkable, either associating with God, to be superior, or being superior, to associate with God.

And the name Theodorus was given to me in the following manner. I thought that I had been addressed, as it were, by someone in Smyrna, who heartily congratulated me, "Hail Theodorus." And, I think, "Asiarch" was added to his salutation. And I received the title, since everything of mine was a gift of the God. After this, another dream occurred as follows. It was Epagathus, one of my foster fathers, who first raised me. He was a very good man, and was most clearly in communion with the Gods, and related from memory whole oracles from his dreams. They, so to speak, came true almost on the same day. Such a man was Epagathus. The dream was as follows. This man seemed to me, either when I asked him, or even moved by himself, to tell me that he had the following dream. "The Mother of the Gods will care about Theodorus." And I, understanding, said, "It is likely

that concerning me the Mother of the Gods holds the same opinion as Asclepius. For first from that source I received the name 'Theodorus.' " 55

He also gave me a demonstration concerning his nature, partly by sight, partly by word. It was as follows. The morning star had risen, when the dream occurred. I dreamed that I was walking on a certain road through my Estate, and was gazing at the star which had just now come, for my journey was towards the east. Pyrrallianus, a man from the Temple, a comrade of ours, and one highly trained in Plato's dialogues, was present. Jestng and bantering with him, as it were on a leisurely walk, I said, "Can you tell me by the Gods — we are entirely alone — why you Platonists put on this mummery and scare men?" This was in reference to his dialogues about nature and being. And he ordered me to pay attention and attend after him. Then he led and I followed. And having gone a little ways, he held up his hand and showed me a certain place in heaven. And at the same time, as he showed it, he said, "This, as far as you are concerned, is what Plato calls the soul of the Universe." I gazed up and I saw Asclepius of Pergamum established in heaven. And just after this, I woke up, and I perceived that it was the very hour, in which I dreamed that I saw these things. 56

January 148 A.D. Then too I remember the following other dreams. 57
I dreamed that I saw Plato himself standing in my room, directly across from my bed. He happened to be working on his letter to Dionysius, and was very angry. He glanced at me and said, "How suited do I appear to you for letter writing? No worse than Celer?" — meaning the Imperial Secretary. And I said, "Hush! Remember who you are!" And not much later, he disappeared, and I was held in meditation. But someone present said, "This man who spoke with you just now as Plato is your Hermes," — meaning my guardian deity. "But," he said, "he likened himself to Plato."

c. autumn 147 A.D. I had this dream in Smyrna, but another somewhat before this in Pergamum. Whoever it was who gave the reason, gave the Planet Jupiter as the reason for these dreams and the manifest care of the Gods. For he 58

said that it split the exact center of the meridian, when I was born. And moreover the astrologers say that Leo was then in meridian and Jupiter was beneath Leo and in quartile dexter aspect to Mercury, both planets oriental.

I began to behold nearly all the other ancients who were most famous in literature, both prose writers and poets alike. The affair of Lysias is also worthy to narrate. For I was sick with a very grave tertian fever, and I saw the orator Lysias, a not ungracious youth. The day of the attack came, and the fever did not occur, but at this time the disease was ended. 59

And once I thought that the poet Sophocles came to my house. When he came, he stood before the room where I happened to be living. And while he stood there in silence, his lips of their own accord sounded as sweetly as possible. His whole appearance was of a handsome old man. Then I was glad to see him, and rising, I welcomed him, and asked: "Where," I said, "is your brother?" And he said, "Have I any brother?" "It is Aeschylus," I said, and at the same time, I went out with him; and when we appeared to be at the front door, one⁶⁶ of the very distinguished sophists of our time slipped and lay to the left a little apart from the door. 60

We saw others of different appearance and form, dignified and familiar, according to the occasion. The following also contributed to my high spirits. When, in my dream, I was giving a rhetorical display and was winning much approval, and someone of my audience said in praise, "Just as so and so," whom he admired most of the ancients, I dreamed that my teacher, who was present, grew fidgety and said, "Will you not also add such and such?" And he intended to mention others in succession, since no one man should be compared to me. 61

September 153 A.D. And I had determined, when I had said these things, to bring my speech about these matters to an end, but another wonderful thing has occurred to me, if any other, worthy of no little thanks to the God. When the orator Quadratus entered upon the Governorship of Asia, I thought that it was opportune for me to address him especially since I had certain troubles from former times, which will be told immediately. 63

⁶⁶ IV 61 I accept σοφιστῆς τῶν κτλ mss. Keil added τις before τῶν.

And I wrote to him, and made it clear who I was, and what was my profession. On the day on which he was going to receive my letter — for we learned this later from reports, but it was also possible to reach this conclusion right away by calculating the days —, it seemed to me that he who is still the present priest of Asclepius and this man's grandfather, in whose time, as we have learned, the God performed many great operations — and he is still the most distinguished of all up to the present — these men seemed to me to enter the residence of Quadratus, and to be closeted with him, the one sitting by his side, and the elder sitting at the head of his bed. Then they recommended me to Quadratus with great zeal, and they said other kind remarks, and how the elder priest was taken with my speeches, which also had to be praised to Quadratus. "Concerning the speeches———," he said, somehow stressing his voice and pausing intentionally, since he intended especially to interest him in what was going to be said next. But while he was still intending to praise them, Quadratus interrupted him and said, "Then will you give the proverb, 'It is fitting either to marry such a woman or not to marry at all (CAF III Anonymus 235)?'" Some such things were said on either side. After this, I dreamed that they departed, and that I went out with them. And when we were at the postern gate, where the turn off to the Temple is, they went straight to the Temple, but taking my leave, I shook their hands and thanked them, because they honored me in every way and were much concerned with my affairs. How the letter won immediate approval, since it was read by the Governor himself to everybody, and every one fought to get it, and what he replied to it, and what he did in conclusion, when he left office, if one recounted this, it would seem to be boastfulness, because of the excessive praise which was involved; and in another way, it would be a kind of pettiness to linger over these things, after the honors from the Gods. But thus indeed did that happen, which pertained to the present subject.

170/171 A.D. And these things took place in former times. But when I reached this part of the speech, and I intended to turn to the other benefactions of the God, and to write in order those which occurred under other Governors and other circumstances, in the midst of composing, I had a dream, which pertained

somehow again to these things. It was as follows. I thought that I was giving a rhetorical display and spoke among certain people, and in the midst of the speech with which I contended, I called on the God in this way: "Lord Asclepius, if I excel in rhetoric and excel much, grant me health and cause the envious to burst." I happened to have seen these things in the dream, and when it was day, I took up some book and read it. Then I found in it what I had said. In wonder, I told Zosimus, "Behold, what I dreamed that I said, I find written in the book." Thus these new things have been added to the old. If we have hit upon God's will, he himself would know well.

As to the practice of rhetoric, how he brought us to it anew, and what was his verdict about my career, and how many oracles he gave which pertained to this, and how he added "Theodorus" to my old name, and what sort of things he revealed concerning his nature, and as much as there is of this character, not nearly all has been said, but as much as was ringing in my ears, and from which it is possible to conjecture about the rest.

January I shall return to where, a little before, I said that 153 A.D. I would check my speech and leave the tale about how clear were his other signs and deeds and that he was in every way my protector. Severus ruled as Governor of Asia, I think, a year before our comrade. He was a man proud in his ways, and he would not concede to anyone whatever he decided and approved. While I was staying at the Aesepeus and again at the Temple of Zeus, he did the following. In those times there was sent to the Governors from each city each year the names of the ten leading men. The Governor had to examine these and appoint one, whomever he approved, from each group, as Police Commissioner. From a town in Mysia, whose name I have no need to say, the preselected names reached him. Knowing nothing certain of my affairs, I except that he had heard that I had possessions in this place, and I suppose, that my other rank was not undistinguished, he ignored and dishonored all the names which had been sent, and chose me to hold office, and considered neither that it had been Smyrna's right⁶⁷ to submit my name long before the others had hopes of being a city, nor

⁶⁷ IV 73 I accept the emendation of Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 333, προσήκον for προσήκει mss.; cf. 53. 3 K.

that our circumstances were wholly different. And he sent a letter to the officials of the city, but did not address it to them, but to me. They came and gave it to me. The letter ordered me "to champion the peace." Therefore I was in great difficulty. For it was possible neither to appeal the case, since there was no legal adversary, but it was the Governor himself who proposed the name and confirmed it, nor to find with what one might contend, or against whom, and how one might arrange the matter. But this alone seemed best to us and the officials when we took counsel together, to make an appeal, as it were, against the officials who gave me the letter. Evening came, and I asked the God what this meant, and what should be done. And I received the verse from Delphi:

"These things will be a care to me and the white maidens." How was this fulfilled? Not many days later, letters came to me from Italy, from the Emperors, the Emperor himself and his son, which praised me in other ways and confirmed to me immunity because of my rhetorical career, provided that I practice it. I also received, together with the Imperial letters, letters from Heliodorus, who had been Prefect of Egypt, one for me myself and another on my behalf to the Governor. They were very ennobling and honorable, and had been written much before this need, but arrived then opportunely. Therefore I immediately referred "the white maidens" to the letters. Though encouraged by the oracle and by this chance occurrence, I was unable to move since the God restrained me, but I sent a letter to the Governor, and made clear the nature of this whole affair of mine, and that those who told him my name seemed in every way to say nothing more than the name. I made clear who they were who exempted me, and the letters which had newly arrived. And at the same time, together with my own letter, I also sent these, both the ones of recommendation and exemption.

While the matter was still pending, all sorts of orders kept coming from the notaries, as many as seemed to be friendly toward me, and at the same time to see correctly the necessities. For they pointed out the great power of the man, and that he was one of the Imperial judges, and especially his tenacity and strength of purpose, and that for no reason would he change whatever he had once approved. And they begged me not to offend him in vain. I also intentionally wrote to them rather long and audacious letters, since I knew well that these

would fall into Severus' hands, for I heard that they were rather close to him. But the principal argument, which I also wrote to him, was that they requested impossible things.

February 153 A.D. After this, Severus went down from the Upper Districts to Ephesus, to hold the assizes. After he read my letters, he commanded me to appear there. But I sent others. When the appointed day arrived, and my name was called, the public prosecutors approached. And before they even spoke, Severus said: "I have long known of Aristides, and I marvel at his reputation, and I agree that he holds the first place in rhetoric, and these things have also been written to me by my friends in Rome. I ask him," he said, "to share in my administration. But I also confirm to him the rights of immunity, and they remain in force." He said these things publicly. He inscribed them in the minutes. When the verdict turned out thus, those whom I had sent for the suit believed that they had accomplished something, since the public prosecutors offered congratulations for the honor and the others made much of the fact that Severus said that he did these things in the measure of a request and that he confirmed the immunity for all future time for me, even when I was absent. And they believed that they returned not completely without results, as it seems, and on the other hand, they did not know how it was proper to make the appeal, when a man was not imposing the office by right of judicial authority, but, as it were, asking a favor and beginning a sort of friendship. But having acquiesced in the present circumstances, they returned to me and recounted the whole affair.

In this, the day fixed for the appeal also passed. Therefore we were still worse off than before, for I was not satisfied to have received empty honors. Again I solicited the God, and asked and inquired how one should handle this matter. And he gave to me a very wonderful dream, the particulars of which I would not be able to tell, but the sum of it, as it were, was as follows. I dreamed that I spoke to the clerk of the Governor about these things. He had come to me. When he heard everything, he promised that he would undo and change the verdict, and he ordered me to pay about five hundred drachmas. When I had had the dream, in one way I became happier because there appeared to be some kind of promise in it, and there

was no outright refusal. But in another way, it seemed to me to incline to the same thing as a refusal. For how would someone buy off so great a matter for five hundred drachmas, and from a man so incorruptible, that one might sooner stay the courses of the rivers than bribe him, a man again so clever in affairs, and who would least of all be deceived? The promise seemed to be a refusal, for it lacked any possibility. I was troubled by these things.

And in this, the God called me again to Pergamum, and Rufinus 83 happened to be in town. It was his care to honor us as much as he was able. Meeting him, I recounted what had been done and I asked him to help. I said that even Severus himself had fully agreed that my immunity was legal. But the written verdict was not enough. For it would be possible for every other governor to command some different thing of me, with this same clause, and so the immunity would be undone through the addition of "it remains in force." I wanted not a specious phrase, but the fact. For such was my physical condition. I seemed to Rufinus to speak justly, and he gave me a letter to 84 Severus, which he had written in his own tongue as zealously as possible, and in which he reviewed this and other matters, with some recommendations and some advice. And he hinted concerning the future, how it would be, if he would not willingly exempt me.

March 3 To conclude, we were in Smyrna, at the Dionysia, 85 153 A.D. and Severus was present for the festival. Now there was one of those who are called legates, who in other respects was remarkably close to him, and almost like his secretary. For he had authority over all correspondence. And then since we met him first, for he was in charge of the financial administration at Smyrna, we showed the letter to him. And I told him 86 everything, as much as it was necessary to say extemporaneously, so that he might know and inform the Governor exactly. And when I saw that he received my speech and was swayed to my rights, I remembered the voice of the dream, how the secretary promised that he would aid me. And I recounted the dream itself to him and I asked him to obey the God, for I said that this man was the man who promised, meaning him. He was pleased by the speech, brought us to the Governor, and joined us in giving him the letter. And while he was 87 still reading it, it was clear that he sought evasions and in many parts

of the letter stopped and turned back. But after Pardalas, who was our comrade and a close friend of his from childhood, had written to him many great things about my rhetorical career, and when he also received this letter and went over both, "No one," he said, "is investigating rhetoric, but it is one thing to be first of the Greeks and supreme in rhetoric," — for so he called me — "and another to be engaged in this and have pupils." And pausing a little, he said, "Go to the Council and persuade the citizens." And then also he encouraged and advised me to accept young men as pupils at some time. And I answered only that I had no need of a request, but the God had sent me for this very purpose, so that I must obey.

July Such was the beginning and state of the affair, 88 153 A.D. and my first appearance after the verdict which was given at Ephesus. When the matter was still pending, a second difficulty took place as follows. Before I came to the Council and there was any discussion about these things, the Council, at the suggestion of two or three men proposed me as Prytanis — the election for them was held at that time. And the affair had a strange reversal. For instead of persuading them of that for which the Governor sent me, I was compelled again to appeal from them to the Governor's court, and there were now two suits instead of one, and the judge was the same as in the beginning.

August And we went to Pergamum. To be brief, none 89 153 A.D. of us knew when the suit would be called. For the day had not been announced. But a dream, which came at dawn, said this much:

"*Citizens of Cadmus, it is necessary to say timely things.*"
(Aeschylus *Septem 1*).

Therefore it was immediately clear that it would be necessary to contend, and so I prepared myself. And not much later someone came and reported that my name was now being called. While I was going 90 down from the Temple to the city, when there was a delay and my name was called again, they said that Severus remarked very courteously that I would come and that there was no need to be impatient. And after this, when he saw me drawing near, he immediately sent his lictors to make my approach easy — for I had requested this of

him before. And when I came forward, I received all due respect from him and from the ranks of the assessors, as well as from the pleaders who stood by, and from all the others who were present, and there was more of the air of a rhetorical display than of a lawsuit. For their goodwill was wonderful, and then they signified their eagerness for my speech both by their hands and voices, and they behaved entirely like a lecture audience. Five measures of the water clock (an hour and a quarter) were used up, and I spoke rather freely and insinuated how one would behave while making this speech in the presence of the Emperor. Then after one of the public prosecutors from the city appeared briefly and deferentially against us, finally Severus, out of respect for the Council and in the belief that it would be the same for me, and that this was the best decision, sent me again to the Council with an honorable letter. And it befell to me not only to have my immunity confirmed, but with such great honor and pomp, that I seemed to share this privilege with no one else. He did not even mention to me the other office to which he himself nominated me, nor did we to him, but he wrote of his own accord to the officials and ordered them to appoint another instead of me. Thus the God's prediction was fulfilled. And when I calculated what had been spent, both as fees for the notaries and as travel money for my servants, if I sent any somewhere because of these matters, the sum turned out somehow at about five hundred drachmas.

July
152 A.D. Again a similar thing happened nearly a year before these things, when Pollio was Governor of Asia. I had just now gone to the Council Chamber, after a long rest, as I said, since the God was encouraging me in rhetoric. All were in hopes that I would now also teach the young. The wretched sophists were dying with fear, not all, but those who had the sense to be distressed. I was chosen tax collector. The matter came to the Legate. He confirmed the election, in my absence, in the courts in Philadelphia. After this, the Legate's verdict was read in the Council. And an appeal was made by us to Rome, and letters were sent — what they said can be imagined — to Pollio himself and to the Legate. But the God gave the following sign. *I dreamed that my steward Alcimus, whom I had sent for this purpose, returned and brought me Demosthenes' oration On the Crown, which was not as*

now, but otherwise and differently composed. And again there were promises, that the consul ordinarius Glabrio would lend a hand in setting everything to rights. He happened then, I think, to be in town. I also received oracles from Sarapis and Isis. *They said that "the matter would be accomplished, and you will make friends with your enemies."* And such, in summary, were the oracles and dreams. Those, whom I had sent, came to Philadelphia, and, as they said, it was an holiday when they presented my letters. But Pollio read them, and — when there was an opportunity, it was made clear by those present at the appeal how Festus, the former Governor, had exempted us⁶⁸, — recognizing the simplicity of the Legate, he ordered him to come immediately, hold court and correct his verdict. The Legate did this and convened his court for this single purpose and gave another decree to the Council. When this was dispatched, the President, who had opposed me with the utmost vigor and had read out the opposite decree before, was now disturbed and frightened, and inquiring what to do, sent to the Governor's staff⁶⁹. But they gave no answer. Then he came to me and begged my pardon. And I went to the Council, was exempted from the service, and obtained immunity. First then, and afterwards, the President was my closest friend, and the Legate too was my closest friend.

September 23
147 A.D. Come now, as if we were ever ascending a ladder, let us recall another of the things before this. Festus⁷⁰, whom I mentioned a little before, was Governor. When the year began and the first assembly was being held, men came from the People to summon me, since I had come to Smyrna after a long time, and at the same time they announced that they intended to sacrifice publicly on my behalf, which they had also done many times before. When I came to the assembly and the People shouted their customary approval, those, who had prepared themselves, held to their work, applauding and offering me the

⁶⁸ IV 98 I emend and supplement <ἐβηλώθη ὡς ἀφίει ἡμᾶς ὁ Φῆτοτος δ> πρὶν ἡγγεμόν for περι ἡμῶν mss.; cf. Note 17 to Chapter IV.

⁶⁹ IV 99 I emend τοῦ τοῦ ἡγγεμόνος for τοῦς ἡγγεμόνας mss.; cf. V 46 (Note 81).

⁷⁰ IV 100 I emend ὁ Φῆτοτος for σοφιστής mss.; cf. Note 17 to Chapter IV and Note 39 to Chapter V.

Common Priesthood of Asia, and they won over the People without any difficulty. And at the same time, the officials stood about me, each from a different place praising me and shouting out and vying with the People in their request. But I had had from my dreams clear and manifest signs, in which I was thoroughly confident. Having 102 asked the right to speak, I was so persuasive that the People gave up this demand, but they unanimously voted me with great pleasure the priesthood of Asclepius. The Temple at the outer harbor was then still under construction. And I know that I found approval with my reply. For I said that it was impossible for me to do anything, either important or trifling, without the God, and therefore it was not possible to think even of serving as a priest, until I had learned this from the God himself. They marvelled and yielded. When this took place, I received honor and emulation in the public speeches, and I thought that I was over my troubles. But the God in no way was minded⁷¹ to have it end here. He had a concealed dagger.

January 1 And it happened after this, that the delegates 103
148 A.D. of Smyrna went to Upper Phrygia and intended to nominate me in the Provincial Assembly, but that I got wind of it in advance and sent my foster father Zosimus. And I was elected in the third or fourth place.

After this, there was an appeal, a summons of the Governor, and a summons of the Savior to Pergamum.

August During this time I was staying at the estate
148 A.D. where I usually live, since he had sent me there.

On the day after I had started out, a man, who 104 was bringing the Governor's letter, met me. When I read the letter, I said, "But I have been summoned first by the God, and you rouse a running man." What need is there to delay? I was exempted from all tasks, "because I was living⁷² in the precinct of the Temples of Asclepius." So the Governor was disposed toward us, but no more, I think, than he, who is truly and forever Governor.

⁷¹ IV 102 I emend $\nu\omicron\epsilon\tau$ for $\sigma\tau\epsilon$ mss. Canter $\epsilon\lambda\alpha$.

⁷² IV 104 I add e.g. $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\delta\iota\eta\gamma\alpha\gamma\omicron\nu$ before $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\theta\delta\omicron\phi$ cf. Note 28 to Chapter IV.

August Similar to this was that which happened first 105
146 A.D. of all these things. There is, not far from the Temple of Zeus, the Laneion Estate, which I also mentioned in the tales above. After my people had purchased this estate for me, during my stay in Egypt, certain Mysians, first saying and next even doing many underhanded things, tried to appropriate it. When they despaired, not to slander myself, they gathered together as many servants and hired men as they could, and attacked, armed with every weapon. Then some of them from a distance threw and cast stones and clods, and some came to blows, some entered into the house and treated the contents, as if they belonged to them. Everything was full of confusion and wounds.

When these things had been reported in Pergamum, my physical 106 condition was such that I scarcely breathed. The assizes were being held, but I was at a loss as to what I should do. However, the God found me admittance to the Governor and arranged an opportunity. And the last of my dreams was *the Emperor Hadrian in the court of the Temple, honoring me, who had just now become acquainted with him, and offering great hopes*. The following happened right after this vision. I went to the Temple, as best I could. And while 107 I was still lingering there, the Governor Julianus arrived and with him, Rufinus. Recognizing the opportunity, I told my troubles to Rufinus, and approached Julianus, who turned around, somehow in the very place, which I saw in the dream. And I said as much as I had the opportunity to, and Rufinus was not wanting in zeal. But he became so inspired, that he immediately embraced me, as if he were an old, close friend. And taking me by the hand, he told me to have courage and to attend to the God, and he said that he would take care of these things. And finally, he declared, "They will not scorn us." He 108 held court, and when he had called the suit and not many words had been spoken, he grew angry over what had happened and even threw into jail one of those who had participated in the attack. And he adjudged the estate to us, and we entered into it under court order. Armed men, slingers, and that whole affair yielded to the God.

THE SACRED TALES: V

August
165 A.D.

In summer time, my stomach was upset, and I was thirsty night and day, and perspired unspeakably, and my body was weak, and scarcely would two or three men drag me from my bed, when I desired to get up. And while I was in Smyrna during this time, *the God indicated a journey to me*. And I had to leave immediately. And we went on the road to Pergamum. But while the carriages were being got together, noon arrived, and a clear, burning heat arose. Therefore we decided to stay in the suburbs and so pass the peak of the heat. We started out for Myrina, and the pack animals proceeded us here. But since the weather was stifling, and at the same time the place was delightful and there were certain business matters besides, we wasted a great part of the day, so that at sunset we only reached an inn before the Hermus. And I was at a loss as to what to do. Since upon entering I did not endure the disagreeableness of the rooms, and my servants were not present because I had sent them ahead, it seemed fitting to push on. And now that I had crossed the river, the night was clear, and a light and cool breeze struck me, and somehow my body recovered and my will power was imbued by a certain energy and high spirits, and I found the weather pleasant, and at the same time contrasted how much the present circumstances had changed from the day past.

Now in the depths of evening, I came to Larissa, and I was happy to find that I had not caught up with the carriages and that the conditions of the inn were no better than those before, but that it remained necessary to hold to the road and persevere. And now it was midnight or still a little later, and we were in Cyme, and everything was closed, which was satisfactory as far as I was concerned. Exhorting my attendants, who were escorting me from my estate, to endure also the remaining distance, where everything would not be closed to them⁷³, and saying that it was very brief and it was not a little better

⁷³ V 5 I emend ὁ κεκλεισμένον for ὄκ εισόμενον mss.; cf. IV 97 and 30, p. 579, 28 D.

not to seem to go astray from our plan, I went out of the gates, and now the cold was damper, so that I required some means of warmth.

And reaching Myrina, at about cock crow, I saw my people before one of the inns, still packed up for the journey, because, as they said, they did not find anything open. There was a small couch at the entrance of the inn. We passed the time moving this all over. For no matter where it was put, it was everywhere uncomfortable. There was no profit in knocking on the doors, either of friends or of any one at all. For no one heeded us. It was late when finally we found means of getting into the house of an acquaintance, but through the evil genius of the doorkeepers the fire went out and there was no other, either small or great. We entered in darkness, and were led by the hand, unseeing and unseen. While the fire was being brought and after it had been brought, while I intended to use it and to drink, the morning star arose and shone forth the light of day. I thought it best not to be soft and sleep, when it was day, but to pile work on work, and to walk to Gryneion, to the Temple of Apollo, as it was my custom to sacrifice to the God, both when I went and when I returned.

When I was at Gryneion, and had sacrificed to Apollo and spent my time as usual, I came to Elaea and rested. And when I was in Pergamum on the following day, my intention was, as can be imagined, to delay there, but a dream came, whether right at that evening or a day or two later, *and ordered me to press on and not do otherwise*. "For they are in pursuit." And with this, the window shutters, which were very well closed, both inside and out, opened in a gust of wind, which had never happened before, and the door emitted a sound. When I awoke, I no longer lingered, but telling the servants to follow, I got in my carriage and drove until I reached my destination. And the northwind pressed hard, stirring up everything. During this time, my throat was bothersome, for it was pressed by a continuing lesion and was torn by everything which ever came in contact with it. Then although much sand was blown in my face by the wind and clouds of dust fell thickly from all sides, it happened that I was no more anxious than I was confident, partly, as it were, through a certain desperation and obstinance — for there was no escape — and partly since I endured contrary to all likelihood. The doctors before ordered gargling and prescribed very careful covering and such things. On the second or third day, I passed by our ancestral

home and was in the Temple of Olympian Zeus. And I sacrificed, before I ended my journey, since I was ordered right at the start in Smyrna, to go straight to the land of Zeus. And now after this, my way of life was manifestly more comfortable.

late summer 166 A.D. After a little under a year and a month, the Cyzicenes celebrated the Sacred Month of the Temple. My sleep was troubled, and I could scarcely digest anything, though resting for a great part of the following day, but not sleeping. Then when the dream came, it had long been day and I had got only as much sleep as to dream what I dreamed. It was as follows. *The doctor Porphyrio seemed to me to come to the Cyzicenes and to say nearly the same things as Athena said to the Phaeacians, extolling me and soliciting their attendance for my speech. They were persuaded. And at the same time there was a theater and I was in the theater. And there were some other things which pertained to this.* I got up and told the servants to pack, and to leave immediately. I rode out not much sooner than noon. Since I was waiting for the servants, I proceeded rather leisurely, and some of the day was consumed in this. And in late afternoon, I reached the warm springs, and the whole place was packed with a noisy multitude, so that it was impossible to find shelter, but I had to ride past. And few now followed me. I went forty stades to some village, and as nothing there attracted me, I decided to make use of the night. I had determined to ride to Cyzicus itself, but my attendants — there were about two left — were exhausted, so that I was compelled to stop at the lake one hundred and twenty stades from the city. I had completed three hundred and twenty stades. I entered my room, and found myself in possession of a small couch and a clean mattress, and I was glad for them, since I had nothing with me. I passed the night, sitting mostly on the couch, just as I was from the journey, thirsty and full of dust, in the clothes which I wore sitting in the carriage. When the stars were turning toward day, I got up and waiting for no one, I finished the trip.

And I consoled myself during my journey by giving my attention to the speech which I had to present to the Cyzicenes, in accordance with the prophecy of the dream, so that I even composed it in this way by always taking up the ideas which I had conceived during the trip.

Therefore those who were present, or those who heard about it from these, would know the enthusiasm which was shown toward my speech, not only when it was presented in the Council Chamber, but also later in the festival. It is not too pleasing for me to linger over such things.

autumn 166 A.D. But when he commanded me to return, by praising the water at Laneion, almost as if in choral responson, we returned somehow in nearly the same way both in the hour of departure, because then too we left immediately after the command, and in the fact that the journey was uninterrupted. For without stopping or eating, I reached, a little before midnight, some farm of mine, four hundred stades in all, and on the next day from there to Laneion. And thus took place my first journey to Cyzicus and my stay there.

December 166 A.D. When winter came, he led me again on the road to Smyrna, and the first day was very mild. On the following night, when I descended to the plain, I had other dreams which restrained me, and *I dreamed that I was studying the Clouds of Aristophanes.* And at dawn, there were clouds and it rained not much later, so that some congratulated me because I had not gone on, and some marvelled at the precision of the prophecy. When I had remained here for some days, it was reported to me that the daughter of my foster sister was ill and in a dangerous condition. I sent a doctor to her. I myself, as soon as it was possible, held to the journey. And as I proceeded, the weather now changed a little, as if it were going to rain and storm. And there was fear that we might be caught, especially when things were impassable. Nevertheless the weather held except for the last two stades to the Temple of Apollo. Then a deep mist descended and it drizzled, and when we went into the Temple, it was now raining sharply. Therefore we made it a holiday. Since my dreams also held me here, I remained.

December 27 166 A.D. In addition to those which restrained me, I also had the following dream. *I dreamed that having immolated a sacrificial animal, I inspected what was called, I think,*

"the God and Deliverer"⁷⁴. And when some one of the seers arrived, I asked what "Deliverer" meant, whether it delivered something once and for all, or made it smaller instead of greater, and was a sign of delay. He seemed like one who did not at all believe very strongly⁷⁵ that it meant delivery once and for all, but he laid the responsibility on the climate, stars and such things.

And at this time, it was announced that the girl had died. Therefore 21
it immediately seemed to those who heard it that it was a divine thing that I did not happen to be present at the misfortune, but had gone on ahead. It became still more clear from later oracles that all this did not take place without some divine agency.

December 29 For when I descended from the mountain two 22
166 A.D. nights later, the following was seen — I stayed longer since the God continued to restrain me.

Telesphorus was a muleteer. This man seemed to me to come back 23
from there and to report oracles which had been given about Philumene, for this was the girl's name. He said that they had been given to Alcimus, the father of the girl. And he had a letter, either sealed or not, which he said that Alcimus, after he had heard about⁷⁶ her at night, noted and copied down; and it was marvellous in length and power, and pertained to me, so that I wondered how he even noted 23
it down. But the sum was, that her whole trouble had been inscribed on the very body of Philumene and on her insides, just as on the entrails of sacrificial animals. There also seemed to be several intestinal tracts, and somehow I saw them at the same time. The upper parts were healthy and in good condition, but what was diseased was 23
on the extreme lower end; and they were all exhibited by one who stood by, whoever he was. And I asked him, "What causes my hesitation and inability to exert myself?" He exhibited that place. 24
The oracles were as follows. My name had been inscribed in the following way: "Aelius Aristides." And there was, almost at intervals, one title after another. "Sosimenes" (Safe-Abiding) had been added,

⁷⁴ V 20 Keil placed a lacuna after θεόν; but cf. Note 2 to Chapter I.

⁷⁵ V 20 Keil placed a lacuna after ἡγούμην. But this is an easy ellipsis.

⁷⁶ V 22 I emend περὶ for παρ' mss.

and other such things, which heralded safety and that Philumene had given a soul for a soul and a body for a body, hers for mine. And other things which pertained to the same were in the dream, all written in certain books, all of which Alcimus wrote and Telesphorus seemed to carry back in its entirety⁷⁷. There was also in it advice of the doctor Porphyrio, as it were to her mother, particularly to bathe, 25
but if not, to take nourishment. The brother of this girl was that Hermias, who, when the Goddess also appeared to me, died in the great plague and nearly, so to speak, instead of me. For he died, as I later learned, on the same day as I was freed of a fever of very long duration. Both were the children of my foster sister Callityche. And so much for this.

December 29 I stayed five days at the foot of the mountain, 26
to and used the regimen which he⁷⁸ prescribed, but when he moved me on the sixth, I went to 26
167 A.D. Pergamum.

January 3 And it was the Vows⁷⁹, which the Romans 27
167 A.D. celebrate as the first of the year. The winter was so violent, that I could not easily endure it, even when I stayed at home. And a most divine thing happened on the 27
journey — for that saying of Homer was clear, that some one of the Gods led, whoever the God was (*Odyssey* 9. 142). A very cold north-wind was pressing from behind, and it drove along thick black clouds. On the right everything was covered with snow, on the left it was raining. And this was during the whole day's travel. Through the 28
whole sky, one zone, as it were, extended right over the road and led to the Temple, and provided both shelter and light. And drawing far 28
apart from the others, I went toward the Temple with one attendant, and ran no less than three hundred stades. It was the time after

⁷⁷ V 24 I emend <οἴκοθεν> οἴκαδε for οἴκαδε mss.; cf. 45. 25 K; 30. 10 K; probably to be read in 27. 30. K.

⁷⁸ V 26 Keil added ὁ θεός after ὄς. But Apollo is clearly understood in any case.

⁷⁹ V 26 I emend <αὶ> ἐπευχάι for ἐπιβόαι mss.; cf. Note 14 to Chapter IV and Note 27 to Chapter V.

the Sacred Lamps. While I waited for those who had been left behind, and an inn was being got ready, I spent my time, just as I was from the road, walking about the Temples and going up and down about the sacred precinct. Now, in the late evening, I found my servants and I washed here by lantern light, and after some very little food, I rested. And other things took place clearly with the God's help, the eagerness of the people, the assemblies to hear me speak, and the fear that we might leave too quickly. 29

167 A.D. These same things also happened later, when we were in Smyrna. Moreover before I even entered the city, people came to meet me as in the oracle which I had received, and the most distinguished young men offered themselves as students. And now a certain kind of lecturing had been arranged, and the summons was exact in every detail. About this time, a certain little Egyptian danced into the city and corrupted some of the Councillors, and caused even some of the private citizens to think that he would take part in the government and exercise his wonderfully great ambition through bribery. He burst into the theater somehow, and great shame held the city. I did not know of these things, except that I heard about them afterwards, since I was conversing with friends at home. Just now he was intending to go to the Odeon by the harbor and hold a lecture there, either through a public decree or in some other way. And I had a dream. *I dreamed that I saw the sun rising from the market place, and had on my lips, "Aristides will lecture today in the Council Chamber at ten o'clock."* When I had said and heard these things, I woke up, so that I considered whether it was a dream or a waking state. I summoned the most important of my friends and told them the command. And then the notice was posted, and the hour according to the dream drew near, and we were present immediately thereafter. Nevertheless despite my sudden entrance and the fact that many people were taken unawares, the Council was so packed, that it was impossible to see anything except men's heads, and there was not even room to insert a hand between the people. And the shouting and good will, moreover, if it is fitting to tell the truth, the frenzy was so great from all sides that no one was seen to sit either during the introduction or when I arose to contend, but they stood from the first word, felt the emotions of anguish, joy, and fear, 30 31 32 33

assented to what was said, cried out things which were never heard before, and every man counted it his gain, if he should bestow some very great compliment on me. When we left the Council Chamber and were engaged in bathing, then someone reported to me that that fellow three days before also had put up a public notice for this day, and had collected at the Odeon seventeen people in all. And moreover from that day he began to exercise moderation. More I shall not say, nor would I have mentioned these things, if I had not wished to show how clearly my dream came to pass and that the God also had a care for these things. And at the same time, it was consistent with the original tale of how he raised me up and set me in Smyrna. 34

167 A.D. Not much later, he brought me to Ephesus, *by predicting crowns, as if for an athlete, and by preparing me so that I awoke shouting, "Ephesus."* However, it is not seemly for me to tell the things which were done there, but there are many who will recount them to those who desire to know. 35

But as much of my rhetorical career as pertains to the God, it is necessary to try to say and to omit nothing, as far as I can. For it is strange that both I and another would recount whatever cure he gave to my body even at home, but to pass by in silence those things which at the same time raised up my body, strengthened my soul, and increased the glory of my rhetorical career. I have fairly persuaded myself and many men that no human accomplishments ever puffed me up, and that I was not elated when I worsted either few or many, and that I do not believe that I should be proud over such things any more than I should be ashamed of my pride. 36 37

January But the continual activity of the God is marvellous, as for example the matter of that great rhetorical display, which took place later in Smyrna. 38

170 A.D. *For he commanded me to go to the Council Chamber, but to go when I had eaten.* And I did this. There was a certain "custodian" of the Council Chamber, a man most remarkably obtuse⁸⁰. When this man saw my people approaching, he requested that they grant to him first, in his customary way, to lecture to his students, and caused a delay

⁸⁰ V 38 I emend *κατάβερμα* for *κατὰ βέρμα* mss.; cf. the form *καταβερματοῦν*; and cf. Note 40 to Chapter V.

until noon. Then I entered, and having gone in, I made a long speech
 against the sophists, and regarded this the sweetest of all days because
 of the speech. For I felt a kind of relaxation, and exploited it gladly
 and the audience vied not to miss anything which was said. Whatever
 you might conceive or declare, you will say less than what happened
 then. When I finished, I got up to leave, for I believed that even
 these things were beyond every contest. But they did not endure it,
 but as if with one voice, they all ordered me to stay and to receive
 problems and contend wholly a second time. And meanwhile I refused,
 especially because of the lateness of the hour. When their request
 became more violent, I considered the dream, and that the God had
 also foretold these things, not to enter without eating, so as to
 avoid fatigue. Therefore I undertook the contest, and as it advanced,
 I was unable to repress the prediction of the God, but confessed it,
 and that I came prepared. They marvelled at all of these things.
 When I had fully contended to the limit of my strength, I left, a
 little before sunset. And I again contended on the following day
 among the same people, since during those times the God led me in
 this way.

late summer Come now, let me tell of a recent trip to
 170 A.D. Cyzicus, which took place on the same month and
 almost on the same days, four years later, in the
 following Olympiad. It was not different from the former trip. For
 on the first day I fasted, and the water was bad. And at the same time,
 it became clear through the multitude of mosquitoes that I would
 have to forego sleep. And on the following day, after having eaten a
 little gruel, I travelled at early dawn. And on my return, I stopped at
 the warm springs, since it rained, and this too was foretold. But when
 I came back, I concluded the fasting, which had been imposed until
 the following day. And moreover the matter of my stay in the city
 happened nearly as had been foretold. For the following appeared in
 my dream. I had asked the God to give a sign, since there were
 lawsuits and my friends begged me to come. *I dreamed that I was*
looking for an opportunity of approaching the Emperor, and that
while he was sacrificing I happened to be lying down. When the
gasping cock was near my hands, I grabbed it and received the omen,
and as I held it in my hands, I began my address. And all of this was

*inspired from the Homeric passage when Odysseus, having filled
 his cup, addresses and speaks to Achilles. But the words ran some-
 what as follows. "For the good of the Emperor, for the good also of
 both Emperors, as even for all of us." He marvelled; and when he
 had tested my rhetoric, he said that he valued it at any price, and
 added "if there is also an audience of about fifty present at this
 speech." And I said in reply, "If you wish, Emperor, there will also be
 an audience and," I said, "so that you may marvel, these things which
 you now say have been foretold to me by Asclepius." And I was
 prepared to show him what had been written. After this, he turned
 away somewhere, and I considered that this was the best occasion for
 the rhetorical display. After this, I dreamed that I was walking toward
 Cyzicus. This was what prompted me.*

Then when I was in the city, the Governor's staff⁸¹ as well as the
 other men were very eager. Nevertheless I did not make a public
 appearance, although they expected me daily and did marvellous
 things. But I lectured at home to the most distinguished and the
 prophecy of the dream was nearly fulfilled, for the gathering was
 about fifty men.

But when my stay grew long, although I was
 autumn pleased both by the place and the present circum-
 170 A.D. stances, I had other dreams which uprooted me, and
 were quite clear that the upper part of the Hellespont was not suitable
 for a stay. Therefore we returned. For the national sacrifice of
 Olympian Zeus was drawing near, and there were additional in-
 dications from all sides that I must be present and sacrifice. It also
 happened, during this time, that my body was in the most comfortable
 and cheerful state from the time that I first was sick. For as long as
 we were in Cyzicus and afterwards, when we returned, for six whole
 months in a row, my condition was at its strongest, and I arose at
 dawn, and took long walks many times during the day, and I was as
 close as possible to my old nature. And nothing of my accustomed
 practice was neglected, so that all congratulated me, both privately and
 publicly.

⁸¹ V 46 I emend τῶν τοῦ ἡγεμόνος for τῶν ἡγεμόνων mss.; cf. IV 99 (Note 69).

autumn
170 A.D. In so far as even in this time I happened to fall
ill for some days, the God cured me most miracu- 49
lously and in his usual way. For there was an
autumnal northwind, and I was unable to move, so that I shrunk
from even getting up. But he ordered it. Perhaps it is better to narrate
the dream itself, for it is still ringing in my ears and there is no need
to omit it. *Two doctors came and at the doorway discussed other things,*
and, I believe, cold baths. One inquired, and the other answered.
"What does Hippocrates say?" he said. *"What else than to run ten*
stades to the sea, and then jump in?" I dreamed that these things
had appeared in my dreams. After this, the doctors themselves, in 50
fact, came in, and I marvelled at the precision of the dream, and said
to them, "Just now I dreamed that I saw you and just now you have
come. Indeed, which one of you," I said, *"was the one who inquired*
and which one, the one who answered, I cannot say. But the answer
was as follows: "That Hippocrates ordered one who intended to take
a cold bath, to run ten stades." At the same time, I changed⁸² in my
own interest the phrase "to the sea," and I made clear the descent⁸³
to the river. And so I said, "to run ten stades, by running parallel
to the river." I thought of this because of being in the interior. It 51
seemed to me clear and to be necessary to do this. Then somehow
after this, I thought that I was reclining for lunch. And remembering
that it was first necessary to bathe with cold water according to the
prediction, I got up and ordered the others. When one of the doctors
asked about the time of the bath, I said that I must be moved at eleven
o'clock, for it would take place at twelve. I added that it is troubles-
ome either to bathe or eat earlier than is suitable, for it does not
contribute to that feature which seems to be useful in it, to have an
easier digestion, for insomnia comes from it. "Why then," said the 52
doctor, "did you not declaim for us in the meantime?" "Because, by
Zeus," I said, *"it is more important for me to revise some things which*
I have written. For I must also converse with posterity." And at the
same time, I indicated that I was pressing myself, lest something
happen first. But he augured many years for me. And I said, "I would

⁸² V 50 I accept Canter's emendation μετέβαλον for μετέλαβον mss.

⁸³ V 50 I emend δηλοῦντι τὴν κατάβαϊν for δηλοῦν τὴν κατὰ φῶσιν ST.

wish to live many years, if I should be engaged in rhetoric." Such 53
was the dream.

A river flowed by the estate where I was staying, but the descent to
it was rather rough and steep, and at the same time less than ten
stades. It was not possible to run by running parallel to the river, but
only obliquely and in the direction of the bank. Then, however, the
river proceeded to flow by another estate, where there was now a fair
and picturesque spot for wading. I contrived the following. I ordered 54
that the distance of one estate from the other be measured by a rope,
and that a marker be left at each stade. When the whole distance
appeared as sixteen stades, I left the last ten stades for the race, but I
proceeded over the first six in a carriage. Then I alighted and ran,
and I scarcely dragged my feet, and at the same time a raging north-
wind drove my cloak back⁸⁴, and caused a remarkable amount of
perspiration. Therefore when there was no end of it, I allowed it to
chill me as much as it wished. When I reached the bank, I gladly 55
threw myself into the water. And when I emerged and stood up,
since I was covered with sand, I bathed again for a second time in
the middle of the stream. I also had the opportunity of rubbing
myself down and the rest, on the opposite bank, under a fair sun
and a gentle wind. I went to the neighboring estate, and stayed long
enough to consider some of the things which happened, and I returned
before even taking the time to drink, and enjoyed a marvellous warmth
and a wholly different constitution.

winter And after this, everything was easy until the
170/171 A.D. middle of winter. He cured what happened in winter
with certain kinds and sorts of regimen.

I reckoned up how much time I was away from Smyrna, and this 56
when honorary decrees had come, and that I was now also middle
aged, and in addition the many former times when it was possible,
if one was healthy, to go to the cities, and that there was fear that I
be deprived even of my existing reputation through long idleness.
I calculated these things, as it is likely that a man would, but I knew
well that everything was foolishness in comparison to obeying the

⁸⁴ V 54 I accept Wyttenbach's addition of ἰμπτίων before εἰς; cf. Pseudo-Hippocrates *De Insomniis* 89, 18.

God. No longer was I troubled by loneliness, but I counted it more profitable.

When I was in this state, I had the following dream vision. I dreamed that I had just come to Athens, and that I was living behind the Acropolis in the house of the doctor Theodotus, and that it was the first house on the east side. The back chamber of the Temple of Athena was visible from it, and the house was very much below the Acropolis. A procession in honor of Eros happened to be taking place outside the gates, and Theodotus and certain others who had been assigned thereto, were busy about these things. But I stayed inside at this time. And one of my comrades, Lucius, happened to be present and others who were interested in rhetoric. And Lucius, as he was accustomed, urged me to maintain my studies in rhetoric and to admit young men as students. And a certain slave of his said other complimentary things about me to him, and arranged his praise somehow as follows. "This man," he said, "is Plato and Thucydides, and Plato and so and so." And thus he listed many men, while he always joined someone with Plato, as if I had the powers of all these men. And I looked at the slave and said, "I think it right that you trust Lucius in everything except this." And it seemed to me that Lucius praised the facility of my answer, but that he did not bear happily my retirement. Again when the slave replied and declaimed skillfully to me, I interrupted and jestingly said, "But if you are able to speak thus, I should wonder if you would need me as a teacher."

After this, I dreamed that I went out of the house with some young acquaintance, and noticed and approved the thinness of the air. But when there were many sudden changes, and at the same time the southwind also blew up, and sometimes it was stormy, sometimes very hot, I remarked that the air here is thin, but that at home is more stable.

After this, we went in the direction of the Lyceum, and next there was a certain temple, no less great and fair than the Hecatompedus. And I had to go up some steps to the temple. Men stood round about, it seemed to me, like those holding out olive boughs for sale⁸⁵. Then when I ascended, a small boy offered me three eggs. And I had an uneasy feeling — for I passed by without taking them — that it was

⁸⁵ V 61 Keil placed a lacuna after δρέγοντες.

necessary to take them for the sake of the token. Therefore having turned around and taken them, I went up. And when I was at the temple, I gave the eggs to one of those in charge of the sacred precinct, who stood by a certain pillar. But he intended, on his part, to add one. When I was at the entrance, I saw that it was a temple of Plato the philosopher, and that a great and fair image of him was erected there, and a statue of someone was erected on his right. A very beautiful woman sat upon the threshold and discoursed about Plato and the statue. Some others also took part in the discussion, and at the same time discoursed as if it were ancient. And I said, "It is not possible to say that it is ancient. For the form of the workmanship shows⁸⁶ that it is rather recent, and there was not much regard of Plato in Plato's own life time, but," I said, "his reputation grew later." But when someone said that there ought to be three temples of Plato, "Why not," I said extravagantly, "eighty of Demosthenes, and of Homer at any rate, I think." And still speaking, I said, "But perhaps it is proper to consecrate temples to the Gods, but to honor famous men with the offering of books, since," I said, "our most valuable possessions are what we say, for statues and images are the monuments of bodies, but books of rhetoric."

When I had said and heard these things, I returned. And when I saw my foster brother approaching, I recollected the times in which we were formerly together at Athens. And when I turned toward the Acropolis, so that I might go home, a light darted by from the right and skimmed the edge of my hair in such a way, that I wondered if it had not been set on fire. I was anxious, but I took the sign more as auspicious, for the youth who was with me said that it portended glory for me, especially since it was on the right. It seemed to me that the majority of the buildings had certain ladders attached, and that I had to go up and down these, so that I grew somewhat annoyed at this. Nevertheless somehow I was inside.

And at this time, those who were making the procession in honor of Eros had returned, and the interpreter, having learned of the sign, also said that it was auspicious and that as far as I was concerned the sacrifices had correctly taken place. It seemed to me that there had been a dream before that I had made sacrifices to Zeus and Artemis and some other Gods.

⁸⁶ V 62 I accept ἐλέγχει mss.; cf. III 36 (Note 50). Keil emended ἐλέγχεται.

And after all these things, I dreamed that I called Eudoxus to copy them down, because they were rather long and I wished to preserve them exactly for myself. These things, in addition to many other things, were shown to me both about my later glory and the necessity of staying here. 67

THE SACRED TALES: VI

after April 155 A.D. Thus the God directed us in many things, giving signs as to what should be done, and having us obedient, if ever any other man was obedient to the God. In the second year after I left the Aesepus, and in the twelfth from the time I was first sick, many marvellous visions came to me, which led me to Epidaurus, sacred to the God. And one, which was among the first, was the following. *Someone, encouraging me to be brave, told a story of Musonius. "When that man," he said, "wished to raise someone who was sick and had given up, he spoke some such thing assailing him: 'Why do you stay? Where do you look? Or until God himself stands by you and makes an utterance? Strike out the dead part of your soul, and you will know God.'"* Such things he said that Musonius said. And in addition to these things, there were voices, "Save yourself for the city of Athens," which meant for the Greeks. And there were great predictions about things in Italy —

(RELIQUA ORATIONIS DESUNT)

ABBREVIATIONS

- Abh Berl Akad Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
- AE L'Année Épigraphique
- AM Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
- Aristides———D (see Bibliography under editions, Dindorf)
- Aristides———K (see Bibliography under editions, Keil)
- Artemidorus———P (see Bibliography under Pack)
- BCH Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
- CIG *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, edited by A. Boeckh, Berlin, 1828-77
- CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, 1862-
- CP Classical Philology
- Galen———K *Galen's Opera*, ed. C. G. Kühn, Leipzig, 1821-33
- Gött Abh Abhandlung der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
- Gött Nachr Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
- IBM *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, vol. 3, section 2, Ephesos, edited by E. L. Hicks, 1890
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*, 1873-
- IGRR *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes* vols. 1, 3, and 4 edited by R. Cagnat et al., 1906-27.

powers and did not balk at administering his prescriptions²⁶. For these men, Theodotus and Porphyrio in particular, Aristides had great affection, which is shown by associating their interest, real or imagined, in his rhetorical career.

²⁶ "The doctor Asclepiacus," III 25, combines the concept of medicine and religion. For Theodotus: II 34, IV 21, 38, 42, *cf.* I 13, 56, V 57 (for the last, see Note 34 to Chapter I). Porphyrio: I 57, V 12, 24; and *cf.* the two unnamed doctors in V 49-52.

VIII

The Interpretation of Dreams in Antiquity

The theories of modern psychology can be an overwhelming interpretative aid in studying the 130 dreams of the *Sacred Tales*, and they are highly useful in gaining insights into both the dream mechanism and the personality of the dreamer. But to expect these theories to be a trustworthy device in applying them consistently to Aristides' dreams is perilous and an affront to sober criticism. For neither has the universality of dream symbols been proven, nor can allowances be made in respect to the variations in culture and identity which Aristides' personality must reflect, nor is it certain which school or eclectic school of psychoanalysis one should choose to employ¹. Therefore I have preferred to eschew the pitfalls of a consistent psychoanalytic interpretation, which I myself should not have undertaken in any case. But though the subject and his culture are dead, I am convinced that there is enough general validity in the operative theory of psychoanalysis, if not in its specifics, to permit its employment in the mechanics and recognition of the importance and limitations of Aristides' dreams.

Modern science classifies dreams according to their cause or stimulus. Such "scientific" classification was also accepted in antiquity, but it was of very minor significance². The distinction between ancient and modern dream interpretation and classification was the ancients' belief that certain of their dreams had the ability to predict the future. Consequently dream interpreters in antiquity were mostly concerned with identifying and isolating the predictive dreams from those dreams which had no predictive value and arose from imbalances of the body or mind. In other words, the position was mostly reversed. Antiquity was interested more in the

¹ On the difference between attitudes in dreaming as well as the symbols in dreams of various cultures, *cf.* Dodds, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104; on the difference in reporting dreams, *cf.* Björck, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

² See Notes 12, 13, 14, 17.

outcome and less in the cause. By Aristides' day every facet of the science of dream interpretation had been developed and widely promulgated. As was to be expected, there were many divergent and conflicting theories, for it is in the nature of dreams, "the makers of miracles," to be elusive³. But some of these theories, either pure or tinged with eclecticism, were certainly followed by Aristides and the menage which surrounded him.

Predictive dreams might have many sources, and all authorities did not accept all of them. But there was universal agreement that the soul of the dreamer, either acted upon by these sources, or by its own intuitive power, portrayed all dreams⁴. Hence it was generally thought that the state of the dreamer's soul, its purity and education, strongly determined the ability to receive predictive dreams and the clarity of the dreams themselves⁵. For many, including Aristides, the soul was only an intermediary, and received its dreams from a divine source, or from the spirits of the dead⁶.

As will be seen, when Artemidorus is discussed, dream classification was carried into the most minute details. These categories were not idle speculation, but served a practical end. The science of dream interpretation, if it was not to be fraudulent, was of necessity deductive. The validity or worthlessness of the dream could only be determined after the event. But this procedure is totally unsatisfactory. Therefore in order to deal with the multifarious number of possible dreams and to try to

³ Lucian, *Somnium Luciani* 19.

⁴ e. g. Artemidorus p. 5, 17 P; Synesius, p. 176, 8 T (cf. p. 150, 17 T; p. 152, 19 T; p. 154, 15 T; p. 163, 12 T; p. 167, 17 T), although for most the *pneuma*, the soul's carriage, received dreams; Macrobius *Somnium Scipionis* 1. 30. 20; Ammianus 14. 11. 18; Chalcidius *Timaeus* 256; Cicero *De Divinatione* 1. 64; Philo *Quod a Deo mittantur somnia* 1. 2; 2. 1; Galen 6. 834 K; Pseudo-Hippocrates *De Insomniis* 86, 3.

⁵ cf. Plato *Republic* 571C-572B; Artemidorus p. 239, 14 P; *SVF* Arnim 605; Cicero *De Divinatione* 2. 129; Synesius p. 176, 15 T; Maximus of Tyre 10. 1 (Deubner).

⁶ From God: Aristides 45, p. 23 D; Artemidorus p. 16, 4 P (but cf. p. 246, 21 P, p. 284, 6 P). For Aristotle's denial that dreams were God-sent, see Note 9; cf. similar doubts in Pliny *NH* 10. 211. On spirits of the dead, cf. Homer *Iliad* 23. 65 *et sqq.*; *Odyssey* 24. 12, possibly 4. 809, 19. 560; Aeschylus *Choephoroi* 40; Sophocles *Electra* 459; Cicero *De Divinatione* 1. 64; Vergil *Aeneid* 5. 719-39, 6. 896; Tibullus 2. 6. 37; Diogenes Laertius 8. 32; *Carmina Epigraphica* 1109 Buecheler; cf. Everett, CR 14, pp. 153-4; Norden *Aeneis Buch* VI, p. 339.

conjecture their nature beforehand, clinical records of other dreams and their outcomes were kept, and to facilitate comparison classes and subclasses were devised. Further these classifications guided and perhaps represented the mental processes of the interpreter himself. Only in retrospect are they artificial. The major classes also mirrored the culture and aspirations of the dreamer, and the dreams in turn doubtless reflected the classes, if not in initial appearance, then in retelling through the now well known process of secondary elaboration.

Early in the interpretation of dreams the need was felt for a clear distinction between non-predictive and predictive dreams, and the two-fold classification is rooted in Homer's description of the Gates of Ivory and Horn⁷. After the generalities of Herodotus, Plato is the first known authority who systematized the arguments and arrangements of this classification. He traced the cause of non-predictive dreams back to disordered bodily states and that of predictive dreams to the agency of daemons who transmitted dreams to the soul of the dreamer. The soul, depending on the degree of its contamination with the bodily passions, reproduced these dreams within a spectrum which varied between great clarity and fidelity down to confused, enigmatic, and symbolic dreams⁸. Aristotle, who had no belief in a divine origin of dreams, nonetheless admitted that some dreams might be true and grudgingly followed the Platonic terminology and classification⁹. The two-fold system of Plato

⁷ *Odyssey* 19. 560; cf. Björck, *op. cit.*, p. 307. For interpretations of this passage of the *Odyssey*, cf. Synesius, p. 173, 1 T (see Note 10); Aristides 28. 117 K (see Note 64); Maximus of Tyre 16. 2; Tertullian *De Anima* 46. 2; Macrobius 1. 3. 17-20; Servius *Ad Aeneidem* 6. 893; Nicephorus, p. 611; Eustathius ed. Romani, p. 1877.

⁸ There is a simplified but technical distinction in Herodotus 7. 16. Daemons: *Epinomis* 985 A. State of the soul: *Republic* 571 C-572 B (cf. Cicero *De Divinatione* 1. 60-61; Chalcidius 253); *Timaeus* 71 D *et sqq.* Plato offers no direct statement on dream classification cf. *Charmides* 173 A on the Homeric Gates. Chalcidius, 254, 256, under the influence of the three-fold system, without warrant attributes such a classification to Plato (see Note 11 A), just as he later expands the three-fold system into the five-fold one (see Note 11 F).

⁹ cf. Aristotle *De Divinatione* 463 b 14 on the *daemonia physis*, on the alleged significance of which, cf. Synesius, p. 163, 18 T, cf. also p. 155, 18 T, p. 171, 22 T, and Dodds, *op. cit.*, p. 134, n. 12. At best, it seems a concession to Plato. Aristotle openly denied that dreams were God-sent, 462 b 20, cf. 463 b 13, 464 a 22 (on grounds answered by Synesius, p. 152, 14 T); and cf. *De Philosophia* frg. 12 A. Ross.

maintained itself throughout antiquity. Artemidorus, Iamblichus, and Synesius all follow it¹⁰.

However, the two-fold system took no special account of the God-sent, dream oracle, but indifferently relegated it to the predictive class, an example of a dream operating in a highly purified soul. This neglect was an affront to the religious significance popularly attributed to the dream oracle, and consequently a three-fold system was also in vogue, whose third category was simply dream oracles sent by Gods as distinct from predictive dreams sent by daemons. This formal classification is certainly older than the doctor Herophilus, of the fourth century B. C., who seems to have tampered with its definitions¹¹. It was employed by

10 For Artemidorus' two-fold system and his divagations from Plato see Notes 37, 37 A. and 41. It is almost always wrongly said that Artemidorus used the five-fold system (cf. Deubner, *De Incubatione*, pp. 2-3; Blum, *Dreambook*, pp. 53 et sqq.; Dodds, *op. cit.*, pp. 107, 124 n. 24; Pack TAPA, 86, p. 281 n. 3, and in his edition of Artemidorus, pp. xxiv-xxv). But Artemidorus, p. 6, 13 P, regarded the *phantasma*, and the *horama* together with the *chrematismos* as subordinate classes to the *enypnia* and *oneiros* respectively, and dismissed them as obvious. Further as will be seen, he employs no such concept in his book. Waszink, *Mnemosyne*, 9, p. 71, alone seems to have recognized that Artemidorus used an "andere Gruppierung." Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis* 3. 2 (pp. 103-106 Parthey) distinguished between non-predictive human dreams and God-sent dreams. Like Artemidorus he stresses the subclassification of dreams from the soul and dreams from the mind, the distinction between reality and becoming, *De Mysteriis* 3. 3, pp. 106-9., cf. the rejected concept in 9. 7, p. 281. Synesius followed to the end the implications of Plato's arguments on the disruptions caused by the impure soul, and ideally argued that no dreams are false, cf. p. 173, 1 T where he abandons the conception of true and false dreams as expressed in the Gates of Horn and Ivory (see Note 7); cf. also Cicero *De Divinatione* 1. 60 for a similar view. Synesius' argument seems to have been an extension of a suggestion of Porphyry that the inherent falseness of the dream was not at issue, but only that the image was too imperfect to convey any insight into true being; cf. Macrobius 1. 3. 17-20. For common borrowing from Porphyry, cf. Synesius, p. 173, 12 T; Macrobius 1. 7. 6 (from Porphyry's *Timaeus*, cf. 2. 3. 15, or possibly from the *Commentaries* on Homer). So in essence, Synesius's statement that there are no false dreams is merely a semantic argument, since some dreams can be so obscure that they mislead and hence are false. Among predictive dreams, Synesius distinguishes gradations, which range, depending on the purity of the soul, from the highly sanctified and restricted "presentation of being," through dreams whose unreal images are distorted in various degrees, cf. e.g. p. 163, 12 T, p. 176, 15 T, p. 177, 3 T.

11 Cf. Aristotle's objections to God-sent dreams, Note 9. For the term, cf. also Artemidorus, p. 16, 3 P, p. 247, 10 P; Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis* 3. 2. For Herophilus, cf. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci* 416 (from Aetius *Placita* 5. 2. 3). Herophilus divided dreams into *thecopempti* (dream oracles); *physici* (the predictive dreams of the soul, for *physis* cf.

the older Stoa, and later is known to us from Hermippus of Berytus, Tertullian, Cassianus, and Chalcidius^{11a}. It was presumably the classification which Aristides himself employed^{11b}.

In the first century B. C., the Stoic Posidonius further refined the three-fold system by the addition of a fourth class^{11c}. He gave a more precise

Artemidorus, p. 5, 10 P; p. 5, 21 P; Tertullian *De Anima* 47. 2. 4; Aristotle *De Divinatione* 463 b 14); and *syncrimitici*, "constitutional," (dreams from bodily states; cf. Artemidorus, p. 3, 16 P; cf. Wellmann, *Archiv f. Gesch. d. Med.*, 16, p. 72, for the correct reading, misunderstood by Dodds, *op. cit.*, p. 124, n. 28, and wrongly emended by Diels, *loc. cit.*). It would seem, if Aetius correctly reported Herophilus' classification, that Herophilus followed Aristotle (cf. Note 9) in changing the source of the *physici* from daemons acting upon the soul, to the private contemplations of the soul itself, a distinction in part later taken over by Posidonius, see Note 11 C. For the customarily regarded origin of this class, daemons, see Note 11 A. Herophilus has been badly misunderstood and defrauded of his system by Wellmann, *loc. cit.*, Dodds, *loc. cit.*, Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 69, and Waszink, *Tertullianus De Anima* p. 502.

11a For the older Stoics, cf. *SVF*. 3, 605. Hermippus of Berytus, a contemporary of Aristides, who wrote five books on dreams and was the source of Tertullian *De Anima* 44-49, 57. 11 (cf. Waszink, *De Anima*, pp. 44*-45*, pp. 475, 488, 503, 506, 514, 575) also employed the three-fold system, cf. *De Anima* 47. 1-4. Tertullian has taken over Hermippus' classification without change, except that he has interposed his Montanist concept of "ecstasis" into the act of dreaming. He sums up his view in *De Anima* 47. 4, which is obscurely expressed and so liable to misinterpretation (as in Waszink, *op. cit.*, p. 500): "Moreover, dreams which will appear to come from either God, daemons, or the soul, and within our capacity of recognition, interpretation, and description, will properly be classed under ecstasy and its reason." The words "neque a ..." must be closely joined with "et praeter ..." "Opinio, interpretatio, and enarratio" should be regarded as parallel, abbreviated descriptions of the three interpretative methods. There is no inconsistency, nor a fourth class. For dreams from God as ecstasy, cf. *De Anima* 11. 4, 47. 2, 48. 4, and 49. 3; for daemons, 46. 12-13, 47. 1 (cf. Augustine *Epistle* 162, 5; *De Civitate Dei* 18. 18. 2, for this Christian concept). The "tertia species," *De Anima* 47. 3, is the well known, non-predictive dream activity of the mind (cf. Note 13): 45. 1-6, 47. 3-4. This is not a prophetic class, nor is it related to Posidonius' theories, as presented in Cicero *De Divinatione* 1. 125-126; for the contrary view, cf. Reinhardt, P. W. su. Posidonius, p. 802, and Waszink, *Mnemosyne*, 9, p. 77, *De Anima*, p. 500; and cf. Norden, *op. cit.*, p. 42, hesitantly accepted by Waszink, *De Anima*, p. 505. Cf. Cassianus *Collationes*, p. 508 (PL 49). For Chalcidius, 254, 256, see Notes 8 and 11 F.

11b For Aristides, see Note 64.

11c cf. Cicero *De Divinatione* 1. 64, descriptions which fit the *visio*, *somnium*, and *oraculum* in that order. Had this system gone back to Chrysippus, Cicero would have noted it. The wide variation in nomenclature (see Note 11 F) indicates that Posidonius

distinction to the clear and enigmatic predictive dreams, and argued, as Herophilus had done, that the soul is capable of receiving dream-images through its own divine connections and without other external aids. To this source he attributed the clear, predictive dream. Posidonius was followed by Philo^{11d}. Finally by the first century A. D., under the influence of medical theories on the disruptions caused by the digestive processes, the non-predictive dreams were also divided into two classes^{11e}. A standard terminology for these classes was late in developing^{11f}.

only defined and did not apply specific terms to these categories. However he may be credited with first employing *enypnion* in the technical sense of a non-predictive dream; for it already has that meaning in Vergil *Aeneid* 6, 896 "falsa ... insomnia," where the adjective translates the noun, cf. "pluviae Hyades," etc. However, *enypnion* continued to be used by non-professional dream interpreters, such as Aristides, also for predictive dreams, see Note 65.

^{11d} Philo *Quod a Deo* 1. 1, citing a lost book, speaks of a "first class" which refers to the *oraculum*; 1. 2, of a "second class," which refers to the *visio*; 2. 1, of a "third class", which refers to the *somnium*. In the last Philo slightly modified Posidonius' system because his religious feelings could not accept the notion of the impress of vagrant spirits upon the mind. But his use here of *κορυβαυτιζ* and *αναδονοδωα* agrees perfectly with the confused and obscure content of the *somnium*. Philo has been misinterpreted by Waszink, *Mnemosyne*, 9, 1949, p. 79; Colson, Loeb ed. of Philo, vol. 5, p. 593.

^{11e} For medical theories, see Notes 13 and 15. In effect, this was simply the isolation of the *phantasma* or *visum* from other non-predictive dreams. For the orthodox interpreters on the effects of overeating, cf. Artemidorus p. 16, 10 P; Macrobius 1. 3. 4-7; Nicephorus, p. 608; Pseudo-Augustine *De Spiritu* 1. 25 (with which cf. Galen 6. 835 K); John of Salisbury *Polycraticus* 2. 15. Chalcidius 256 alone puts the origin of these dreams on the level of morbid psychology "poenae loco ob delictum aliquod." Because of the medical theories, only the state of falling asleep is stressed, but nightmares occur just as frequently upon waking, cf. E. Jones *On the Nightmare*, p. 27. Probably the waking nightmare is meant in Lucretius 4. 757 (with 1. 132, 4. 37, 732); see also Note 16. Gelzer, *Zwei Prinzipien der Traumdeutung*, pp. 49 et sqq., Basel, 1907 (unavailable to me but cited in Höpfer, P. W. sv. Traumdeutung, p. 2239, 5) credited Posidonius with the creation of all five categories. There is no evidence for this and Cicero (see Note 11 C) speaks against it. Artemidorus, p. 6, 15 P, says that Artemon of Miletus and Phoebus of Antioch, as well as many others, wrote on this subject. Phoebus' date is unknown; he is placed in the first century B. C. by Kroll P. W. sv. Phoebos (2) on the most improbable assumption that Artemidorus only knew Phoebus, whom he often cites, from Artemon. However, it is known that Artemon lived in Neronian times, cf. Wellmann, *Hermes*, 42, pp. 614-629.

^{11f} In its fully developed form, cf. Macrobius 1. 3. 2 et sqq.; Artemidorus p. 6, 13 P (for which misunderstood passage, see Note 10); Pseudo-Augustine *De Spiritu et Anima*

Ultimately the following terms were used: the *oneiros* or *somnium*, an allegorically predictive dream which required the art of an interpreter; the *horama* or *visio*, a straightforward predictive dream, in which the events took place as they had appeared; the *chrematismos* or *oraculum*, a dream oracle in which a god or some other personage appeared to the dreamer and foretold some future event; the *enypnion* or *insomnium*, a dream either allegorical or straightforward of no predictive value; and the *phantasma* or *visum*, a non-predictive dream containing some frightening apparition.

Dreams were also early recognized to have great significance in medical

1. 25 (PL 40); John of Salisbury *Polycraticus* 2. 15 (PL 199); Nicephorus Gregoras *Scholia in Synesii De Insomniis* pp. 607-9 (PG 149); Eustathius ed. Romani p. 1876, 38; cf. also Deubner, *De Incubatione*, pp. 1-4 (incomplete). This five-fold division also appears in Chalcidius 256. Waszink, *Mnemosyne* 9, 1941, pp. 67-8, 73 et sqq., overlooks the fact that in the *Platonicum dogma* (see Note 8) Chalcidius uses the five-fold division besides the three-fold one, a curious combination of two disparate systems. Chalcidius, who depends on Porphyry (cf. Waszink, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 83-85) also the source for Macrobius, closely agrees with the latter. So 1) dreams that arise from mental shock = *insomnium*; 2) thoughts of the rational part of soul = *visio*; 3) "in passionibus positae" = *somnium*; 4) premonitions of divine power = *oraculum*; 5) frightening apparitions = *visum*. Further Chalcidius remarks that Hebrew philosophy agrees with this Platonic system and cites a five-fold Hebrew division (certainly as Waszink, *loc. cit.*, notes third hand by way of Numenius and Porphyry, who disfigured it with his own speculations). Four of these categories fit the five-fold Greek system. 1) Hebrew *somnium* = the Greek *insomnium*; 2) the *visum* = *visio* (for "divina virtus," cf. Synesius p. 176, 15 T); 3) the *admonitio* = *somnium* ("angelica bonitate" is the equivalent of *daemonia physis* and cf. Astrampsychus 9); 4) and the *spectaculum* = *oraculum*. But 5) the Hebrew *revelatio* has no relation to the *visum* or *phantasma*. However, what has happened is clear. Chalcidius defines the *revelatio* as Philo *Quod a Deo* 1. 1. describes the *oraculum* (also translated as *spectaculum* in Chalcidius, where it is more limitedly defined as a waking-vision, for which see Note 15); and Philo uses the word *phantasiai*. In a third hand tradition, confused to some extent by the fact that Cicero, e.g. *Academica* 1. 40 (cf. Gellius 11. 5, 19. 1) used *visum*, by which Macrobius translated *phantasma*, to translate *phantasiai*, Chalcidius to harmonize the two divergent systems, split the Greek *oraculum* in two and used *visum* as it appears in Cicero; cf. also Anastasius Sinaita *Quaestiones* p. 722 (PG 89); Clement *Paedagogicus* 2. 9 (PG 8); Basil *Epistle* 22. 3 (PG 32). Anastasius Sinaita, p. 722, seems to combine the five-fold Greek system with Christian doctrine and to have increased it to six classes by distinguishing between *insomnium* sent by demons and that which arose from daily cares. So Gregory the Great *Dialogi* 4. 48 (PL 77) formed six classes by separating dreams "inanitate ventris" and "illusione," caused by demons, which classification is completely misunderstood by Blum, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-5, and Waszink, *op. cit.*, p. 502.



diagnosis, and so are interpreted in Aristides¹². These dreams could be non-predictive in the sense of the orthodox interpreters, *i. e.* the result of bodily upsets. They represented the state of the body in such obvious ways as in respect to digestion, and less obviously in the matter of daily interests, desires, and mental and physical health¹³. However, the scientists who accepted this theory, notably Pseudo-Hippocrates, Aristotle, and Galen, in no way abandoned their belief in purely mantic dreams and their interpretations of these non-predictive dreams were deeply influenced by this prejudice¹⁴. There is only a veneer of scientific investigation.

¹² For Aristides, see Note 69. Cf. Aristotle *De Divinatione* 463 a 3, 18, 23, 464 b 5, and *De Insomniis* 460 b 32; Pseudo-Hippocrates *De Insomniis* (cf. Jaeger *Paideia* vol. 3, pp. 33 et seq. for the date) and for other diagnostic dreams in the Hippocratic corpus, cf. Dodds, *op. cit.*, p. 133 n. 102; and Galen *De Insomniis*; cf. also Diogenes Laertius 8. 32 on Pythagoras' theory of diagnostic dreams; and Cicero *De Divinatione* 2. 142. Pseudo-Hippocrates 87, 1 believed that there were some dreams which only indicated the affections of the body but that even mantic dreams, which should be interpreted by professionals at their own peril (emending <εἰ> μὴ δὲ ἄδῶν ἔμαρτην), also had a bearing on the physical condition of the patient, cf. 88, 14. On the other hand, Galen 6. 833 K felt that those dreams caused by daily concerns and those of a mantic nature in no way indicated the physical state, and diagnostic could be confused with mantic dreams, cf. 6. 834 K. The mechanism of the dream was, as for the professional dream interpreters, the soul, see Note 4. Abnormal dreams show that the bodily state is unsound, cf. Pseudo-Hippocrates 88, 1. Galen 6. 835 K limits the importance of diagnostic dreams to the deficiencies, excesses, and qualities of the humors; cf. Cicero *De Divinatione* 2. 142. But Pseudo-Hippocrates applies them to the whole system, and his treatise is embroiled, like Artemidorus, in the hopeless task of defining the significance of various dream symbols; for some of these interpretations used by Aristides, see Note 69. Modern medicine still recognizes dreams as a diagnostic source, cf. J. A. Hadfield *Dreams and Nightmares*, 1954, p. 9.

¹³ For digestion, see Note 15. For daily cares: cf. Aristotle *De Divinatione* 463 a 22; Empedocles, frg. 108 D; Herodotus 7. 16 B; Lucretius 4. 962; Pseudo-Hippocrates *De Insomniis* 88, 1; Cicero *De Divinatione* 1. 45, 2. 140; *De Republica* 6. 10. 10; Petronius frg. 30 Buecheler; Fronto Loeb vol. 2, pp. 16-18; Galen 6. 833 K; Iamblichus *De Mysteriis* 3. 2; Tertullian *De Anima* 47; Basil *Homilia in Psalmum* 33, 1 (PG 29); Prudentius *Cathemerina* 6. 37-40; Cassianus *Collationes* 1, cap. 19 (PL 49); Anastasius Sinaita *Quaestiones* p. 722 (PG 89) and cf. Gregorius Nyssenus *De Hominis Opificio* 169 D.172 A (PG 44), who merges this concept with predictive dreams.

¹⁴ For Pseudo-Hippocrates and Galen, see Note 12. Galen 16. 219 K was once inspired by a dream to operate. Aristotle did not believe in a divine origin for dreams, see Note 9. But he trusted in dreams which were premonitory beyond these simple

From such medical speculation there arose among certain theorists the belief that those dreams near or at the end of sleep, and later the hypnagogic phantasy exclusively, all of which states were never fully defined but constituted a form of the orthodox *oraculum*, were endowed with special mantic significance, as opposed to all other dreams¹⁵. This selec-

physical responses, which explains the odd remark in *De Insomniis* 461 a 12, cf. 462 b 5, that after eating no dreams (*sc.* true dreams) occur. Aristotle sought a natural cause for mantic dreams (by which he meant some power between God and simple physical responses), 462 b 17. His explanation of why the melancholic have predictive dreams ... because of their impetuosity and changeableness, 464 a 32 (cf. 463 b 16 and 461 a 21) ... suits Aristides.

¹⁵ For the hypnagogic phantasy as an *oraculum*, cf. Chalcidius *Timaeus* 256, who defined the Hebrew *spectaculum* (see Note 11 F) "ut cum vigilantibus offert se videndam caelestis potestas." The idea of the hypnagogic phantasy, dreams on the threshold of waking-sleeping or sleeping-waking, may first appear in Homer *Odyssey* 19. 547 and 20. 87 in the concept of *δναι* and *επαι*, both very late passages in Homer. Frisk, *Eranos*, 48, pp. 131-5, argues that there the distinction between false and true dreams is meant, but this usage of *δναι* is inconsistent with all its other occurrences in Homer. For the meaning of *επαι*, see Note 68. Aristotle *De Insomniis* 462 a 8 et seq., first described this state. Moschus 2. 1-5 first advanced the theory that the hypnagogic phantasy at dawn was especially mantic; cf. Ovid *Heroides* 19. 195-6. But the concept must be older. Possibly Callimachus noted it at the beginning of the *Aetia*, for cf. the remarks in Propertius 2. 34. 32 and Note 17 on the effects of food; cf. also *Anthologia Palatina* 7. 42; *Scholium Florentina* to frg. 2 of *Aetia*; and note the similar qualification in Pseudo-Theocritus 21. 40. Horace *Sermones* 1. 10. 32-33 set the time back to midnight; followed in c. 475 A.D., by Cyprianus Gallus *Heptateuchos: Numeri* 281-4, CSEL, vol. 23, 1891. So too Philostratus *VA* 2. 37. Vergil *Aeneid* 6. 893 et seq. on the gates of ivory and horn, for which see Everett, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-4, also seems to place true dreams after midnight or near dawn (cf. 5. 835 and 8. 68, but 2. 268 "prima quies" is inconsistent with this). The relation of the time distinction to the gates of ivory and horn probably came to Vergil from an Alexandrian source. It is also to be noted in the comically confused version in Lucian *Verae Historiae* 2. 32-33; cf. *Somnium sive Gallus* 1, an untrue dream before midnight. The fullest and most extensive development occurs in Iamblichus *De Mysteriis* 3. 2-3, who credits the hypnagogic phantasy alone with mantic significance, cf. also Note 10. Iamblichus' insistence would appear to express his own or the Egyptian school's belief as against the Neoplatonists. So two centuries later, when Marinus *Vita Procli* 30-31 describes the hypnagogic phantasy of the dying Proclus, he attributes no special significance to it beyond a normal mantic dream. The sleeper is more receptive to the delicate divine images in the hypnagogic state (cf. Aristotle *De Insomniis* 460 b 24 on the delusion of the senses), and the apprehension of the divine presence in this state is even clearer than in waking life (cf. Synesius p. 150, 17 T). In discovering those hypnagogic dreams which were on that account regarded as mantic, care must be taken not to accept a dream simply because it occurred at dawn, as has been done by Everett,

tivity was expressly denied by orthodox dream interpreters, although negatively they followed the same premises in the creation of the *phantasma*¹⁶. It was held that the processes of digestion caused dreams to come into being and since this process was likely to be concluded towards the end of sleep, dreams which occur then and were free of digestive influence were acceptably veridical¹⁷. Aristides believed in this classification since he carefully notes his hypnogogic phantasies¹⁸.

op. cit., pp. 153-4; Norden, *op. cit.*, p. 339; Waszink, *De Anima* on cap. 48; and Pack in his edition of Artemidorus on p. 16, 13 P. So nothing can be said with certainty about: *Odyssey* 20. 91; Plato *Crito* 44 A; Propertius 4. 4. 62-6; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15. 664; Seneca *Troades* 438 *et sqq.*; *Carmina Epigraphica* 1109. 7 Buecheler (which Lattimore, *op. cit.*, p. 39 misled by "non illa quies" wrongly denied was a dream at all; it was an *oraculum*); and Pap. Lond. 121, line 943. The last is a good example of lack of discrimination, for it has nothing whatever to do with a dream, but is a magic act; cf. Preisendanz *Papyri Graeci Magici: Die Griechische Zauber Papyri*, vol. 2, Teubner, 1931, vii, 875-9; Höpfner *Griechischer-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber, Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde*, Heft 21, 1921, pp. 225-226 (no. 825). Physiologically dreams have greater frequency toward the end of sleep; cf. also Pseudo-Lucian *Philopatris* 21; Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 11. 7.

16 Höpfner, P. W. *sv. Traumdeutung*, p. 2243, wrongly confuses the superficial similarities of the *phantasma* and the hypnogogic phantasy. The two were always opposites and had nothing in common; see Note 11 E. Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 4. 27 (for the purposes of a story) denies the truthfulness of early morning dreams, but in his own case 11. 7, states the reverse.

17 On the effects of indigestion on dreams, cf.: Plato *Republic* 571 C (= Cicero *De Divinatione* 1. 60); Pseudo-Hippocrates *De Insomniis* 93, 1; Aristotle *De Insomniis* 461 a 12, 462 b 5; Cicero *De Divinatione* 1. 115, 2. 119; Plutarch *Quaestiones Convivales* 734 E; Clement of Alexandria *Stromateis* 3. 3. 24. 2, *Paedagogicus* 2. 9; *Geoponica* 2. 35. 3; Dioscurides *Materia Medica* 2. 127; Apollonius *Mirabilia* 46; Eustathius ed. Romani p. 1877; Artemidorus p. 3, 20 P, p. 17, 1 P; Galen 6. 833 K; Synesius p. 178, 14 T; Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 1. 18; Pliny *NH* 10. 211; Basil *Epistle* 22. 3 (PG 32); Maximus of Tyre 16. 2. (Deubner); Anastasius Sinaita *Quaestiones* p. 722 (PG 89); Gregorius Magnus *Dialogi* 4. 48; Macrobius 1. 3. 4; Nicephorus p. 608, p. 611; Pseudo-Augustine *De Spiritu* 1. 25; John of Salisbury *Polycraticus* 2. 15. For express statements which involve the theories of the hypnogogic phantasy, cf.: Philostratus *VA* 2. 37; Pseudo-Acro and Porphyrio on Horace *Sermones* 1. 10. 33 (with "pituita," cf. Galen 6. 833 K; for the late comment of Ascensius on Horace, cf. Pseudo-Augustine *De Spiritu* 1. 25 "fumositas," Aristotle *De Insomniis* 462 b 5, cf. 461 a 23, Artemidorus p. 3, 22 P). Tertullian *De Anima* 48 has an elaborate account of this theory as well as others related; see especially Waszink, *De Anima ad loc.* For modern theory on the effect of indigestion on dreams, cf. E. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

18 See Note 68.

Of the vast array of oneirocritic studies which existed in antiquity only a single work has come down to us, and that by some strange coincidence from a period nearly contemporary with Aristides. Artemidorus, the author of the *Oneirocritica*, was born at Ephesus, the son of Phocas, and wrote near the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius¹⁹. Artemidorus was a professional seer, and beside his works on dreams, also wrote on augury and palmistry²⁰. His sensitivity to his native tongue gives conflicting impressions about his education. His style is good when he troubles to affect one, but his choice of words is astounding. For in his work are intermingled the most vulgar words, dredged from either Old Comedy or the gutter of his day, which simply do not belong in the vocabulary of a well-bred author and reflect upon his lowly origin²¹. In the course of his labors, he travelled widely through Asia, Greece, the Islands, and Italy²². The first three books of the *Oneirocritica* were inspired by Apollo Mystes and dedicated to a distinguished Phoenician orator, Cassius

19 Ephesus: p. 235, 15 P. However, he called himself Artemidorus of Daldis, *ibid.*, and Suda *sv. Artemidorus*, to honor the home of his mother. Phocas: cf. Galen 15. 444 and Suda *sv. Artemidorus*, to honor the home of his mother. Phocas: cf. Galen 15. 444 K. *Floruit*: cf. p. 259, 19 P Jewish revolt in Cyrene (suppressed in 117 A.D.); p. 293, 21 P after the death of Plutarch, c. 120 A.D.; p. 33, 11 P the Eusebeia held by Pius for Hadrian (cf. SHA *Vita Hadriani* 27. 3, IGRR I 153, and Pack TAPA, 86, 1955, p. 285); and note that in Galen 15. 444 K he is already an authority. Artemidorus wrote long before the *Sacred Tales* were published and shows no knowledge of Aristides' works, see Appendix D.

20 cf. Suda *sv. Artemidorus*; Galen 15. 444 K; cf. p. 238, 6 P. He also had written other works on the classification of dreams, p. 3, 9 P.

21 Such as χέζειν, p. 267, 20 P; κατατιλῶν, p. 146, 9 P. Pack, *op. cit.*, ignores this feature of Artemidorus; on p. 287, he exaggerates Artemidorus' social contacts, and feels that "Plutarch, Fronto, and possibly Aristides" are cited. The reference to Plutarch, p. 293, 21 P, was hearsay (despite the claims cited in Note 25) for Artemidorus did not interpret this dream. On chronological grounds it is most improbable that Fronto, p. 257, 13 P, was M. Cornelius Fronto, but in any case the name was so common in Asia that a positive identification would be rash. Since Aristides, p. 245, 13 P, is called a *nomikos* (a lawyer), he cannot be Aelius Aristides; see also Appendix D. Pack, *loc. cit.*, does admit that Artemidorus was "of modest social standing," and on p. 290, relegates him "to the less affluent orders of society."

22 p. 2, 17 P; p. 51, 21 P; p. 301, 10 P; cf. p. 18, 4 P; p. 33, 11 P.



Maximus, who may have been the father of Maximus of Tyre; the last two to Artemidorus' own son²³.

The *Oneirocritica* was written to prove to scoffers that the interpretation of dreams was, in the right hands, an empirical science²⁴. So Artemidorus emphasizes his personal verification of the matter contained in his work, and with occasional embarrassing candor cites examples where the interpreter's art was incompetent to offer a serviceable prediction to the client, but could only explain the result of the dream through hindsight²⁵. Theory plays a distinctly secondary role, except in the introductions of the first and fourth books. The bulk of the work is given over to the tedious iteration of barren dream symbols, as for example what a dream of blindness presages for various classes of men, and to the demonstration of the correctness of the interpretation of these symbols by many desiccated precis of actual dreams, which have no likeness to any dream on heaven or earth, but represent a distillation on the part of the interpreter to isolate the significant symbols²⁶.

A moment's reflection would conclude that Artemidorus' method has involved him in a desperate task. The symbols which can occur in dreams and their diverse applicability to different individuals are infinite. The emphasis on specifics, which are unsubstantiated by a clearly stated general theory, makes the practical value of Artemidorus' work negligible. Critics of his study recognized this defect and chided Artemidorus for

²³ Apollo Mystes: p. 203, 6 P. Cassius Maximus: p. 1 title P; p. 99, 13 P; p. 100, 1 P; p. 202, 9 P; p. 204, 1 P; p. 235, 12 P; p. 236, 1 P; cf. p. 3, 4 P; p. 203, 9, 14 P (Phoenician). He is almost always equated with Maximus of Tyre, cf. Schmid-Stählin, *Geschichte d. griech. Lit.*, Teil 2, Band 2, p. 603; Pack, *op. cit.*, p. 285 and his edition of Artemidorus, pp. xxv-xxvi (for many other references). However, Suda s.v. Maximus, says that he was alive under Commodus; cf. Pseudo-Lucian *Demonax* 14, which if the passage refers to Maximus, would place him after 170 A.D., from *Demonax* 30 (the consulship of Cethegus), which is too late for Artemidorus; see Note 19.

²⁴ scoffers: cf. p. 1, 5 P; p. 2, 13 P.

²⁵ Personal verification is indicated by the frequent use of "I know," "I observed," "there has been observed;" cf. also the statements on p. 1, 12 P; p. 202, 9 P; p. 236, 13 P; p. 302, 1 P. Rarely are dreams cited from other authorities; cf. p. 131, 12 P; p. 260, 3 P. For the impracticality of many predictions, see Notes 57 to 59.

²⁶ For the importance of the symbols and their applicability on the grounds of the "six elements," see Note 52.

it²⁷. But the author had a blind spot on this subject. He felt that his theoretical arguments were sufficient for anyone who cared to study them; and he reacted to criticism of his first two books by accumulating more dream symbols in the third book, although at the end he did make a very superficial and condescending effort to show how these symbols were to be integrated in interpreting a dream²⁸. Indeed, the five books of the *Oneirocritica* not only have the appearance of a bald accretion of material, but also imply that this professional seer acquired a better grasp of his subject as he wrote. For the fourth book has a much clearer theoretical presentation than the first.

However wrong the method and however imperfect the practical results of this empirical science, Artemidorus sincerely believed that he was practicing a science, and he strongly castigates the deceptions and faulty procedures of many of his fellow practitioners who claimed to predict the future²⁹. However, he realized that in a profession such as his, an unwarranted air of competence impressed gullibly superstitious clients, and in the fourth book, which was not meant for the eyes of the general public, he advises his son to appear confident and to be ready with fabricated explanations to satisfy his customers³⁰. But in these cynical remarks, Artemidorus' essential honesty toward his profession appears

²⁷ p. 237, 17 P. Others more on Artemidorus' level blamed the omission of much trivial detail, p. 237, 1 P; see Note 28.

²⁸ The accumulation of symbols was "the magnitude of his task," p. 1, 4 P; p. 204, 1 P. This problem had already arisen before the completion of the first two books, cf. p. 177, 12 P. It led to the composition of the third book, p. 204, 14 P; p. 233, 10 P and cf. the general irritation in the introduction of the fourth book, pp. 236-237 P. The process of accretion may also be seen in the fifth book, a simple collection of dreams, which Artemidorus formerly was reluctant to make, p. 179, 11 P; but undertook to do at the end of the fourth book, p. 300, 20 P. For the single effort at explaining the integration of dream symbols, cf. pp. 233, 10 *et seq.* P; and see Note 56.

²⁹ cf. p. 195, 12 P (with which, cf. Gellius 13. 1).

³⁰ cf. p. 253, 12 P on giving a reason; p. 258, 19 P on anagrams, with a reference back to p. 20, 9 P (where he advises their actual use). The book was not meant for the general public, p. 238, 1 P. Pack, *op. cit.*, p. 281 n. 4, did not understand that Artemidorus' forthrightness was the reason for this restriction and has wrongly characterized as inconsistent the fact that Artemidorus urged his son to disseminate the fifth book to the public. Also the fifth book was issued much later, p. 301, 1 P.



most clearly, for he admonishes his son never himself to be misled by this display in arriving at an interpretation³¹.

Besides empirical observation, Artemidorus also had carefully studied all that his predecessors had written on dream interpretation³². In substance, as comparison with other writers, notably Aristides, shows, many of his interpretations of symbols were traditional, although in some cases he did introduce innovations³³. But in the major classification of dreams, as has been seen, and in the lesser classifications as well, Artemidorus' Platonism diverged somewhat from the general position of his colleagues³⁴.

Despite the eccentricity of Artemidorus' system, it remains the only complete presentation of the analysis of the dream by an ancient dream interpreter. Hence it deserves study, as a demonstration of the mental processes which transpired in assigning specific dreams to their rightful category and as an example of the futility and weakness of the method itself.

Artemidorus, following Plato, divides all dreams into the non-predictive *enypnion* and into the predictive *oneiros*. The former contains three categories and represents the qualities of the passions imposing themselves upon the soul, as for example a hungry man will dream of eating³⁵. The *enypnion* vanished at the end of sleep, and only the *oneiros* had signi-

³¹ p. 258, 3 P on avoiding showy methods in actual interpretation; cf. p. 253, 16 P; p. 259, 5 P.

³² p. 2, 11 P; p. 100, 7 P. Artemidorus' citations go back to Antiphon, the author of the earliest known Greek handbook on the interpretation of dreams, p. 131, 13 P; cf. Dodds, *op. cit.*, p. 132 n. 100 on his identification. Luria's improbable theory, *Bulletin de l' Acad. des Sciences de l'USSR*, 1927, 6th ser., vol. 21, pp. 1041-72, that Antiphon invented the Stoic distinction between natural and artificial divination (cf. Cicero *De Divinatione* 2. 26) and that much of this passed down to Artemidorus, has been refuted by Latte in his review, *Gnomon*, vol. 5, 1929, pp. 155-161.

³³ For similarities with Aristides, see Appendix D. For minor innovations, cf. p. 236, 14 to p. 237, 4 P; p. 2, 5 P; p. 68, 15 P; p. 73, 3 P; p. 110, 14 P; cf. p. 283, 20 P.

³⁴ See Notes 10, 37, 41; for the types, see Notes 42, 43; for the elements, see Note 52.

³⁵ cf. p. 3, 16 to p. 4, 9 P. The categories are "physical," "mental," and "common." For the medical interpretation of the dream cited, cf. Pseudo-Hippocrates *De Insomniis* 93, 13. Most men dreamed *enypnia*, p. 240, 26 P; cf. p. 239, 15 P.

ficance and reality after sleep was over³⁶. But *oneiros* is not a term which Artemidorus uses in the rest of his discussion. He divides predictive dreams into two great divisions, allegorical which corresponds to the Platonic theory of the predictive dream operating in the impure soul, and theorematial which is represented in the pure state of the soul. The terms may be original, for the nomenclature was never popular³⁷. In respect to the origin of the theorematial dream, Artemidorus is somewhat inconsistent. He vacillates between Plato's belief that the theorematial dream arises only in the purified soul, and apparently his own theory that this type of dream emanates from the divinity's desire to foretell immediately forthcoming events^{37a}.

The theorematial dream, in distinction to the allegorical, almost always takes place immediately after being seen, and presents an unclouded picture of a coming event, as when a man dreams of shipwreck, and in fact suffers one the next day³⁸. Thus like the *enypnion*, the theorematial dream did not require the services of an interpreter. But here was the worst flaw in the whole system. It was frequently impossible, except from hindsight, to distinguish between an *enypnion* and an *oneiros*, or between a theorematial and an allegorical dream, which would cause no little inconvenience to the dreamer³⁹.

³⁶ p. 4, 10 *et sqq.* P; cf. Macrobius 1. 3. 5 and Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

³⁷ cf. p. 4, 22 *et sqq.* P. Eustathius, ed. Romani p. 1876 on *Odyssey* 19. 558, refers to this system, although he does not mention Artemidorus and writes as if this were the ancient classification and the five-fold division the modern one, a sign that in the 12th century no one employed Artemidorus' categories. However, Eustathius was so confused on this subject that he thought that Penelope's dream of the geese was theorematial. On Plato's two-fold system, see Notes 8-10.

^{37a} cf. Notes 8, 10. cf. Artemidorus p. 5, 23 P *et sqq.* with p. 239, 14 P, the Platonic thesis.

³⁸ cf. p. 4, 22 *et sqq.* P; p. 241, 1 *et sqq.* P. It should take place immediately, p. 5, 23 *et sqq.* P; p. 241, 8 P. However, one theorematial dream took three years to be fulfilled, p. 241, 25 P.

³⁹ p. 10, 21 P; p. 15, 22 P; p. 240, 1 P; p. 283, 8 P; p. 241, 1 *et sqq.* P: e.g. to dream of being bitten by a dog can be either allegorical or theorematial. Perhaps this is why dream interpreters were consulted on the significance of patently objective dreams, cf. Herodotus 5. 56. See also Note 57, on the difficulties of utilizing the allegorical dream.

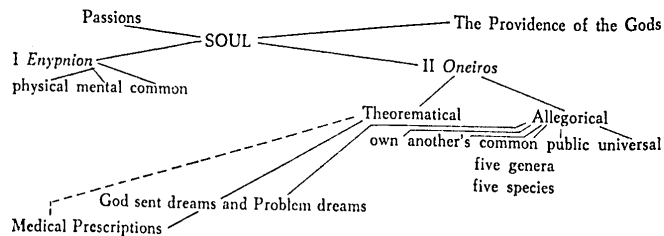


The burden of the *Oneirocritica* was to explain the symbolism of the allegorical dream, which without time limit predicted the future enigmatically⁴⁰. To achieve this end, Artemidorus, in theory at least, offers a classification of allegorical dreams, which if carried to its extreme, represents eighty possible permutations⁴¹.

There was a standard sub-classification of allegorical dreams into five types: "one's own" (where the dream concerns the dreamer); "another's" (where it concerns others than the dreamer); "common" (concerns both the dreamer and others); "public" (of a public or national concern); "universal" (for natural phenomena)⁴². Artemidorus rejected these definitions as too restricting and not generally true. Still he kept the terms, though he greatly modified the system so that what had been classified as "one's own" allegorical dreams might be "another's" (for example a part of the body or a possession of the dreamer might refer to the dreamer's family); and the old "another's" and "common" might actually be defined as "one's own" allegorical dreams if the events of the dream happened through the agency of the dreamer⁴³.

40 cf. p. 5, 9 and 18 *et sqq.* P; cf. p. 240, 22 P.

41 The following chart depicts the whole of Artemidorus' system as far as he expressed it:



42 p. 7, 1 *et sqq.* P; cf. Macrobius 1. 3. 10. And for the limitations on "public" and "universal" dreams, p. 9, 19 *et sqq.* P, that they are not significant when seen only by a private individual; cf. Macrobius 1. 13. 12 (from *Iliad* 2. 80 *et sqq.*). Before they came to pass, such dreams must be seen by many private citizens, cf. Aristotle *De Divinatione* 463 b 2; cf. Note 71a. Totally different are the pair of dreams in II 30-35 with which cf. Petronius *Satyricon* 106 (referring to *ibid.* 104).

43 p. 7, 15 *et sqq.* P.

Artemidorus further subdivided the allegorical dream into four genera and four species. These were empirical guides, which could only be certainly determined after the dream had been fulfilled. Elsewhere in the *Oneirocritica* only once is a trace of this system found⁴⁴. Generically some dreams foretell: 1) many things through many symbols; 2) few things through few symbols; 3) many things through few symbols; and 4) few things through many symbols⁴⁵. The four species are determined according to the content, which must be considered in respect to the status of the dreamer, and outcome of the dream. There are those dreams: 1) which turn out well when their content has presaged good; 2) which turn out badly when their content has presaged evil; 3) which seem to presage good, but turn out evilly; and 4) which seem to presage evil, but turn out well⁴⁶.

There remains one category of dreams, that to which Aristides' mostly belong, "the god sent" (theopempti) and "the problem dreams" (merimnetici). They are not clearly classified by Artemidorus, but they appear to belong, as far as symbolism is concerned, to both the allegorical and the theorematical classes. The former are gratuitous admonitions on the part of the Gods, and the latter come in response to the dreamer's direct request of the Gods for a solution to his problems⁴⁷. Artemidorus has combined the "god sent dreams" and the "problem dreams," but he has noted that the latter employed symbolism (allegorical). On the other hand, medical dreams, which contained prescriptions from the Gods, are generally devoid of symbolism (theorematical), although they might be classified otherwise as "problem dreams" as well as "god sent." It is apparent that Artemidorus has not troubled to resolve the precise relationship of these three groups. Indeed, he only treated the subject of medical dreams to refute the false claims made by other interpreters, particularly some contemporary whose name is discretely concealed, concerning the difficulties of interpreting the alleged symbolism of medical dreams, which

44 p. 254, 16 P.

45 p. 12, 5 to p. 14, 8 P.

46 p. 14, 9 to p. 15, 18 P.

47 p. 15, 19 to p. 16, 9 P; for their symbolism, cf. p. 246, 2 to p. 247, 12 P. cf. Note 11.

were in fact plain and simple, and should be interpreted according to medical theory⁴⁸.

Equal in importance to classification were the guides and methods of interpretation. Particular care must be taken in collecting and evaluating the data of the dream. No attempt should be made to interpret dreams which are not remembered completely⁴⁹. The mood and the time in which the dreamer received the dream is very significant⁵⁰. But most important of all and absolutely necessary was personal knowledge of the dreamer's life and habits⁵¹. The better ancient interpreters, who did not believe in universal dream symbols, broke down this biographical material into essentially six elements: nature, law, custom, profession, name, and time⁵².

48 Originally intentionally omitted, *cf.* p. 179, 11 *et sqq.* P. For the occasional appearance of symbolism even in dreams in which a god prophesies (the five-fold *oraculum*), *cf.* p. 292, 4 *et sqq.* P (with p. 195, 2 *et sqq.* P). The passage on medical dreams, p. 255, 9 to p. 258, 2 P, is most important in the study of incubation, see Note 61 to Chapter II. The unknown contemporary, *cf.* p. 256, 20 P (contemporary because he is not named); the text is confused by dittography KAI TIC KACIC, which misled Hercher, p. 348 of his edition, to suggest that KACIC was a glossator's addition for the name of the iatrosophist Casius Felix; and Weinreich, *op. cit.*, p. 186, to emend to Κάσσιος "contemporary," a word which seems better suited to Callimachus; Pack, *op. cit.*, p. 283 n. 12 unhappily thought that Casius might be a proper name, but in his edition *loc. cit.*, he follows Weinreich.

49 p. 20, 18 to p. 21, 4 P; p. 247, 12 *et sqq.* P.

50 p. 21, 5 *et sqq.* P; p. 299, 15 *et sqq.* P.

51 p. 18, 16 *et sqq.* P; *cf.* p. 283, 4 *et sqq.* P.

52 p. 11, 7 to p. 12, 4 P (*cf.* Latte, *op. cit.*, p. 155 on text); p. 242, 16 to p. 246, 2 P; p. 247, 17 to p. 248, 5 P. These elements were not completely universal, and Artemidorus, p. 11, 19 to p. 12, 4 P, notes that some claimed that there were 18, 100, or even 250 of them. Synesius altogether abandoned the elements and denied that there could be any kind of universality of dream symbols, *cf.* p. 180, 9 T, p. 181, 16 T, p. 182, 8-17 T. So too, under Synesius' influence, Nicephorus, p. 609. The worst example of the rigid doctrine of universality is found in the little handbooks, which without distinction assign to each symbol one fixed meaning. The earliest surviving example would appear to be Astrampsychus, which work with its mention of angles, loose style, and neologisms, is certainly more likely to be from Byzantine times than from the 2nd century A. D., where LS place it. Some parallels from this work with Artemidorus and Aristides are noted in Appendix D. Perhaps Dio Chrysostom, 11, 129, "in dreams written and defined," refers to such handbooks.

The action of the dream must be compared to the status of the dreamer in the light of these elements. When the circumstances of the dream and the dreamer agree, the results are propitious; when they do not, the reverse. Hence the mass of detail in the *Oνειροκριτικά*.

Actual interpretation was a tricky matter. The dream must be examined from beginning to end; it was not, as is once claimed, just a simple comparison of similarities⁵³. The principal outcome of the dream should be sought, and the interpreter should not be annoyed if he misses a contingent or secondary outcome⁵⁴. Ultimately the interpreter's art depended on his ability to combine the various symbols of a single dream into a meaningful whole. Artemidorus is inconsistent on this procedure and leaves the impression that this skill was mostly a matter of common sense⁵⁵. "It is necessary to realize that nothing is so hard and difficult, as when confronted with the blending and mixture of what is seen in dreams, to make one prediction from the whole, since many times it is possible to see things in contradiction to one another and in no one thing alike. But it is impossible that the symbols be in contradiction to one another, since predictive dreams foretell everything which will take place. But just as there is an order and sequence in human affairs, so it is likely that dreams follow a certain order⁵⁶."

But if discrimination between allegorical, theorematial and non-predictive dreams was often uncertain and if the selection and combination of dream symbols was capricious, the actual prediction was so compromised by reservations that it lost any serviceable value. It was accepted that dreams might be correctly interpreted and come to pass in exactly the opposite way⁵⁷. Artemidorus' writing on the meaning of numbers seen in

53 p. 20, 1 *et sqq.* P. On various aids of varying value, *cf.* also p. 258, 19 to p. 259, 12 P; p. 295, 25 to p. 296, 18 P; and p. 195, 3 *et sqq.* P; p. 221, 7 *et sqq.* P; p. 293, 3 *et sqq.* P. On the comparison of similarities, *cf.* p. 145, 12 P. Festugière, *op. cit.*, p. 101, is oversimplified.

54 p. 298, 19 to p. 299, 14 P.

55 Commonsense, p. 20, 13 P. On p. 268, 1 P, seemingly inconsistently, Artemidorus advises his son to separate the principal sequences of the dream and interpret them separately.

56 p. 233, 15 to 23 P (quotation); the examples and selfconscious apology, which follow, are equally important, p. 233, 23 to p. 235, 11 P; but see Note 55.

57 *cf.* Pliny the Younger, 1. 18. 2-3; see Note 39.

dreams is a morass of ingenious explanations and qualifications which make it meaningless⁵⁸. In the end, it may have been satisfaction enough for the interpreter to explain the reason why the dream turned out as it did. But to the ship captain, who in a dream inquired whether he would reach Rome, was told "No", and actually arrived there 470 days later, it must have been small consolation to have learned that "No" was not to be understood as a negative response, but in its Greek form as the number 470⁵⁹. When Artemidorus, who certainly seems honorable and conscientious, could be content in the knowledge that he was practicing a science, there must have been no limit to the frauds which the average interpreter perpetrated on his gullible clients.

Aristides had a very low opinion of professional dream interpreters⁶⁰. He preferred to rely on his own interpretations, although he often discussed his dreams with the officials at the Temple of Pergamum, when he was an incubant, or with his doctors, and friends⁶¹. The last frequently disagreed with him, and occasionally misled him⁶². Aristides was, however, thoroughly conversant with the professional technique⁶³. He seems to have followed the popular three-fold classification of dreams, for he distinguished in substance between the dream oracle and the predictive dream, and has mostly avoided and misused the special terminology of the five-fold system⁶⁴. Aristides, like Synesius, does not appear to have

58 p. 196, 18 to p. 202, 6 P.

59 p. 258, 13 *et sqq.* P; *οὐ* for *οὐ*.

60 45, pp. 51-52 D; *cf.* 46, pp. 249-50 D; *cf.* note 79 to Chapter II.

61 *cf.* II 13, 34, 72, IV 16, 46, 86, *cf.* III 14. See Note 43 to Chapter II.

62 II 72, *cf.* I 63.

63 see Appendix D.

64 see Note 11 b. Aristides uses *horama* 42. 8 K, once but significantly as a summation of Asclepius' work. He speaks of "oracles," "injunctions," and "dreams" which contain symbolism, see Notes 65, 66, 67, 71, 72, and 73. Aristides never uses *chrematismos*, but he does use other terms for dream oracles: *χρησιμότης*, IV 54, 76, 98, V 21, 24 *cf.* IV 46, 98, V 22; *χρησιμωδία*, II 8, 24, 37; *χρησιματιζέει*, IV 5, 70; *φήμη*, IV 46, V 16, 46; *προρρήσεις*, IV 9, V 41, VI 3, 38. I K, 42. 6 K; *μαντεῖον*, III 12; *λόγια*, (*cf.* 45, p. 11 D, p. 18 D; 46, p. 250 D, p. 278 D; 13, p. 233 D), II 36.

had non-significant dreams; at least he does not report any. In terminology, he differs widely from the professional interpreters. His indifferent use of *enypnion* for *oneiros* is not surprising, for this distinction was artificial to the language and most laymen failed to follow it⁶⁵. But Aristides even uses *phantasma* for a significant dream, which was a very bold departure⁶⁶. His intimacy with dreams has also colored his nomenclature, and he employs strange but vivid terms, which are otherwise unusual in these contexts⁶⁷. Unlike the professionals, Aristides also stresses the "waking

For the simple direct command of the divine prescription, Aristides uses *πρόσταγμα*: II 7, 51, III 20, IV 14, V 31; or *ἐπίταγμα*, IV 26. In I 3, he discriminates between the presence of Asclepius (an oracle) and other dreams (presumably inspired by Asclepius, but where the God was not seen; *cf.* II 30, 31 on the sacred presence, felt but not seen). Aristides' distinction between the gates of ivory and horn, 28. 117 K, seems to be only a classical reminiscence, see Note 7. Aristides does not in any way specify "problem dreams," as Artemidorus (see Note 47), although he describes several which fit this category, I 55, III 39, IV 75, 80, *cf.* Synesius p. 174, 11 T.

65 *ὄναρ* occurs eighty times in the *Sacred Tales*, nineteen times in other writings of Aristides. Aside from the single quotation in 38. 1 K, Aristides never uses *ὄναρ*. Aristides also employs combinations: "a vision of a dream," I 8, 76, II 2, 3, 30, 71, V 56, 53. 2 K (see Note 66); "collateral dreams," I 16 (see Note 70); "a voice in a dream," IV 6 (see Note 67); "the prophecy of the dream," IV 46 (see Note 64); "signs from a dream," IV 101 (see Note 71). *Ἐνόντων* appears twenty one times in Aristides' writings and is always synonymous with *ὄναρ*. It is also combined: IV 54, 86, V 16, 46, 40. 22 K. On the technical distinction between *oneiros* and *enypnion*, *cf.* Artemidorus, p. 238, 20 to p. 239, 13 P. Artemidorus himself neglects the distinction on p. 236, 9 P and p. 267, 3 P. *Cf.* the despair of Nicephorus p. 607, because Synesius uses the two words indiscriminately. Lucian uses *oneiros* and *onar* sixty seven times, *enypnion* eleven times; Dio Chrysostom uses the former nineteen times, the latter six times; Philostratus VA uses the former fourteen times, the latter five times.

66 VI 1, *cf.* IV 48; *phasma* II 8 and IV 1; 28. 102 K. Both obviously suggested by various forms of *φαίνεσθαι*, which is used in connection with dreams twenty five times in the *Sacred Tales*. *Cf.* Iamblichus *De Mysteriis* 3. 3 (but Synesius p. 165, 4 T) and Philostratus VA 1. 4.

67 Aristides uses *ὄψις*, "vision," seventeen times. It is a stylistic variation and has no special connection with *horama*. Dio Chrysostom uses it in connection with dreams once, Lucian three times, Philostratus VA five times. Aristides' standard introduction to a dream is *ἐδόκουν*. From this usage comes *δόξα* to signify a dream, III 25, 40. 22 K; *cf.* Philostratus VA 1. 23. The subtle distinction of Aristotle *De Insomniis* 462 a 1 between *δοκεῖν* and *φαίνεσθαι*: nowhere appears. In the aorist, *ἔδοξα* "I thought," some distinction appears intended; and *ἔδοξα ὡς ὄναρ*, II 40, is once used to signify a state

vision," which term, when used alone, signified a real waking state in precise contrast to the dream state, and used in connection with the word "dream," connoted the hypnogogic phantasy, to which Aristides seems to have been particularly subject in the early morning⁶⁸. Aristides also employed "medical interpretations" of his dreams in the manner of Pseudo-Hippocrates and Galen⁶⁹.

of delirium, cf. II 41. The visual sensation, most prominent in ancient dreams, cf. Björck, *op. cit.*, *passim*, is also indicated by θεᾶσθαι, IV 59, V 66; cf. Lucian *Dea Syria* 19; ἐπιφάνεια, here in a muted sense, serves this purpose, II 18, 19, 45; cf. Plutarch *Themistocles* 30. 3, who also uses it in the sense of a dream oracle and Dio Chrysostom 32. 41; see too Note 66. The auditory sensation is expressed in a "voice of a dream," IV 6, 86; cf. 40. 22 K; cf. Lucian *Somnium Luciani* 5. The mysterious nature of the dream is evoked by ἐρώμενον in 38. 1 K (cf. 46, p. 282 D) and "sacred tale," in 28. 116 K. For ἔραμα 42. 8 K, see Note 64.

⁶⁸ see Note 15. For ὄπαρ as an indication of a waking state, where this fact is confirmed by an apport, cf. Pindar *Olympian* 13. 64; cf. Cassius Dio 75. 3. 3, a real act of mantic significance as opposed to a dream. On the distinction, see also F. Robert, *Epidaure*, 1935, p. 45 (cited in Roos, *op. cit.*, p. 69, n. 4.). As reality or real fulfillment of a dream confirmed by a waking act, cf. 45, p. 23 D, p. 136 D and II 18 (both quoting *Odyssey* 19. 547); II 7; IV 20; 37. 1 K; 38. 1 K *bis*; cf. the idea in 26. 69 K (with 13, p. 157 D). Synesius shows this contrast strongly, p. 143, 13 T, p. 151, 18 T, p. 164, 8 T, p. 183, 7 T, p. 185, 8 T, p. 187, 4 T; cf. Dio Chrysostom 20. 18, 32. 12, 37. 9. Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 5 oddly misses the meaning of ὄπαρ, when he calls it a true dream which will come to pass. Aristides also uses the word to define the hypnogogic phantasy, II 33, V 31. (For a non-technical account, cf. 28. 109 K). He describes this state without reference to this term in IV 45, and possibly in I 56 and IV 56. For the emphasis on the vividness of these dreams, cf. II 32, 37. 1 K. Aristides never experienced a real waking vision, where the God actually appeared to him while awake; cf. Lucian *Cronosolon* 10; Philostratus *VS* Loeb, p. 186; Arrian *Periplus Eux.* 23. Nor does Aristides describe any state equivalent to the day dream or reverie, as Dio Chrysostom 20. 18, Lucian *Navigium* 16 and Synesius p. 171, 22 T, p. 172, 17 T.

⁶⁹ see Notes 12, 13, and 14. Cf. I 55-56 (with condensation and displacement, see Note 75); I 56-57; II 13 with Pseudo-Hippocrates *De Insomniis* 89, 61, and 90, 37; V 49-50, 54, with Pseudo-Hippocrates *De Insomniis* 89, 18 and 66, cf. the citation of Hippocrates in V 50. Throughout the Pseudo-Hippocratic treatise, there are many intangible parallels both to Aristides' regimens and dream symbols. Parallel symbols are found in V 67 with Pseudo-Hippocrates 89, 82 and 100; see Appendix D I no. 3. II 81 with Pseudo-Hippocrates 89, 118, but cf. Galen 6. 832 K; see Appendix D I no. 9. II 50 with Pseudo-Hippocrates 90, 6; see Appendix D II no. 24; for the reverse, cf. Pseudo-Hippocrates 90, 28; 90, 32. Cf. II 31 with Pseudo-Hippocrates 91, 5; cf. Appendix D V no. 14. Cf. Pseudo-Hippocrates 92, 1 with Appendix D IV no. 2. And cf. I 21 with Galen 6. 834 K. Again the strange passage in II 40 seems to conform to

Unlike Artemidorus, Aristides did not descry a unity within his dreams, which are faithfully reproduced not always as great single dreams, but as a multiple series of different subjects or a progression of related vignettes⁷⁰. In interpreting his dreams, no matter how much symbolism they may contain, Aristides shows a marked bias toward treating only their direct and clear implications, as if they were a simple *horama*, or in the parlance of Artemidorus, "a theorematical dream." This unilateral interpretation was due mostly to the medical dreams, which were patently clear. It is another indication of Aristides' intense dependence on such dreams, that he carried by analogy the simple interpretation which they required into dreams which were definitely symbolic⁷¹. Still in a passage which refers to all omens, but plainly includes dreams, Aristides enumerates four means of interpretation^{71a}: Greatness of the manifestation (a reference to the generality of the omen, like Artemidorus' subclassification of "public" and "universal"), custom (an "element" in Artemidorus), similarity, and dissimilarity. Clearly this was not meant to be a full and finished system.

medical theory. The assumption would be that Aristides' bed was placed along the right wall of the room and Aristides lay upon his right side, which caused a disruptive and untrue dream through pressure upon the liver. Then Aristides turned to the outside, the left side of the bed, and the untrue dream ceased; cf. Tertullian *De Anima* 48. 2, with Waszink's notes, and Diocles frg. 141 Wellmann.

⁷⁰ This is the meaning of "collateral dreams," in I 16. For notation of sequence, cf. I 18, 19; I 39, 40; I 43, 44, 46; I 50; I 78; II 31; III 21; IV 66; V 45; V 50, 51; V-60, 61, 64, 65, 66. When the sequence of the dream was interrupted by waking and a new sequence inaugurated by falling asleep again, the two sequences were still regarded as a sequence inaugurated by falling asleep again, the two sequences were still regarded as a multiple dream, cf. I 49 and I 55. Pliny *NH* 10. 211 denied that what was seen "in redormitione" had any predictive value; this may also refer to the double dream, see Note 76.

⁷¹ On the medical dream, see Note 48. Philostratus *VA* 4. 11 speaks of obtaining εὐεσόμεθα dreams from Asclepius, though in *VA* 8. 12 the word means "with good omens." Aristides uses σύμβολα in I 31, 45, 52, II 26, III 33, 48, V 61, cf. I 15; and σημεῖα in II 72, IV 101, V 20, 64, 65, cf. II 15, 25, 35, III 14, 29, 39, 44, 48, IV 37, 39, 71, 97, V 1, 43, VI 1.

^{71a} 45, p. 52 D. The scholium on this passage, p. 404 D, otherwise well informed, curiously misinterprets the meaning of "greatness," as if it meant for example a planetary phenomenon which pertained to an individual such as a horoscope. For Artemidorus' meaning, see Note 42.



Aristides' interpretations of the symbols in his dreams, as far as he bothers to give them in his narrative, fall into two categories, the pragmatic and the theoretical. When Aristides interpreted a symbolic dream pragmatically, like the professional interpreter, he inferred the dream's significance and acted accordingly⁷². When he interpreted a dream theoretically, its meaning only became clear to him empirically after the dream had fulfilled itself, but it is evidence that Aristides accepted the predictive power of the dream⁷³.

In Aristides' generally straightforward interpretations, there is little sensational and nothing at all similar to the exotic excrescences of Artemidorus. Aside from direct injunctions and obvious collocations such as bathhouse and bathing, there remain only a few simple analogies, vomiting because a bone is stuck in the throat, or taking hellebore because it stirred up the system as the waves of the sea were stirred up. However, it must be emphasized that there are many indications that the interpretations, which are given in the *Sacred Tales*, have been edited and that there are vestiges of possible deeper meanings which have been suppressed either because they were not germane or because Aristides did not always accept them. It would be easier to evaluate the procedure which Aristides followed, if he were not so reticent in his account of his interpretations. But fragmented as they are, it is quite apparent that they went beyond obvious analogy into more subtle inferences.

There are other curious features of Aristides' dreams. The symbolism of the dream is significant to Aristides even during the act of dreaming⁷⁴. The authoritative dream figure, for the ancients the vehicle of the dream

⁷² I 7 (the word "notion," cf. I 28, I 55, and III 39, has the sense of a specious interpretation, which later proves false, cf. IV 57 and eg. 36, 64, 67 K, 46, p. 385 D.); I 8; I 9; I 21; I 22; I 26; I 27; I 28 (with "notion"); I 32; I 34; I 40; I 45; (for the "tokens," cf. the well in I 42); I 50; I 51; I 52 (for the "tokens," cf. the mud); I 54 ("suspected," i.e. the correct interpretation was doubted, I 55); II 13; II 43; III 13; III 32; III 39; IV 39; V 18; V 34; V 41; V 67. Probably I 15 and I 41 belong to this category, although the symbols which led to these interpretations have been omitted.

⁷³ I 14; I 52; I 71; I 76; I 77; I 78 (the discovery of the letter is surely part of the dream, cf. IV 69, and not an apport as in Pausanias 10. 38. 13 (T 444)); II 26, cf. II 15; IV 37; IV 75; IV 82 (cf. IV 86 and 94). And cf. Note 72 for those dreams whose outcomes proved that Aristides had misinterpreted them.

⁷⁴ cf. I 31 and V 61.

oracle and for modern psychology the representation of the father, has often become for Aristides an interpreter to explain the significance of the dream action in the same dream sequence⁷⁵. There is an extension of the role of the authoritative interpreter when Aristides narrates in a later sequence or even in another dream to a listener or interpreter the dream which is to be interpreted⁷⁶. A second and more interesting kind of dream analysis is the double dream⁷⁷. Here the preceding sequence of the dream is reiterated in the following sequence⁷⁸. For this category, Aristides developed a special terminology, often abbreviated, but which runs in full, "I recounted what appeared to me in my dream⁷⁹." This profound dream process indicates the intensity of Aristides' interest and the depth of his involvement in dream interpretation.

⁷⁵ I 26; I 27; III 2; III 37 (Aristides acts out the role in a clear case of displacement for he follows the advice himself); IV 57 (with some hesitation, cf. Note 72); V 20; V 23; V 64; V 65. IV 49 might represent a mutilated version of this, again with displacement.

⁷⁶ The narration may be either of dreams which are not reported, perhaps non-existent, or which actually preceded the dream in which the narration takes place. Cf. I 12; I 43; V 45. Cf. also I 49 where the listener tells Aristides that he has witnessed the preceding dream; and I 56, a case of condensation and displacement (cf. II 34 for the actual pattern of consultation and see Note 69).

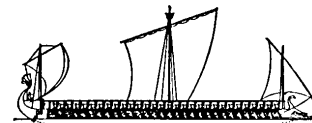
⁷⁷ First described by Aristotle *De Insomniis* 458 b 17, 462 a 5, 462 a 28; cf. 460 b 14, where the perception of this dream state by the dreamer is compared to the recognition of the sick that the images of their delirium are false. Possibly Pliny *NH* 10. 211 refers to this, but see Note 70. For Aristides and Synesius, p. 185, 14 T, the perception of this state in no way implies that it is false, and in these reflections in sleep it is accepted that the preceding events are true. As Synesius *loc. cit.*, puts it: One awakes while sleeping, shakes off sleep, philosophizes about the dream which has appeared, as far as he knows how, and this is a dream, and that a double one.

⁷⁸ cf. I 9; I 17; I 22; I 39; IV 69; V 50.

⁷⁹ In its full version, with slight variation, I 17 and I 39. In an abbreviated version, which is somewhat puzzling until this formula is recognized, I 9, I 22, and IV 69. Wholly unconnected are the expressions in II 40 (see Note 67), IV 62, and V 49.

AELIUS ARISTIDES
AND
THE SACRED TALES

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And after all these things, I dreamed that I called Eudoxus to copy them down, because they were rather long and I wished to preserve them exactly for myself. These things, in addition to many other things, were shown to me both about my later glory and the necessity of staying here. 67

THE SACRED TALES: VI

after April 155 A.D. Thus the God directed us in many things, giving signs as to what should be done, and having us obedient, if ever any other man was obedient to the God. In the second year after I left the Aesepus, and in the twelfth from the time I was first sick, many marvellous visions came to me, which led me to Epidaurus, sacred to the God. And one, which was among the first, was the following. Someone, encouraging me to be brave, told a story of Musonius. "When that man," he said, "wished to raise someone who was sick and had given up, he spoke some such thing assailing him: 'Why do you stay? Where do you look? Or until God himself stands by you and makes an utterance? Strike out the dead part of your soul, and you will know God.'" Such things he said that Musonius said. And in addition to these things, there were voices, "Save yourself for the city of Athens," which meant for the Greeks. And there were great predictions about things in Italy — 2 3

(RELIQUA ORATIONIS DESUNT)

ABBREVIATIONS

- Abh Berl Akad Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
- AE L'Année Épigraphique
- AM Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
- Aristides-----D (see Bibliography under editions, Dindorf)
- Aristides-----K (see Bibliography under editions, Keil)
- Artemidorus-----P (see Bibliography under Pack)
- BCH Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
- CIG Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, edited by A. Boeckh, Berlin, 1828-77
- CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin, 1862-
- CP Classical Philology
- Galen-----K Galeni Opera, ed. C. G. Kühn, Leipzig, 1821-33
- Gött Abh Abhandlung der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
- Gött Nachr Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
- IBM The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, vol. 3, section 2, Ephesos, edited by E. L. Hicks, 1890
- IG Inscriptiones Graecae, 1873-
- IGRR Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes vols. 1, 3, and 4 edited by R. Cagnat et al., 1906-27.

- ILS *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, edited by H. Dessau, Berlin, 1892-1916
- Ins. Perg. *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*, edited by M. Fränkel, 1890, 1895 (*Die Altertümer von Pergamon*, Bänder VIII¹⁻², königliche Museen zu Berlin).
- JHS Journal of Hellenic Studies
- JOAI Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts, Wien
- JRGS Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.
- JRS Journal of Roman Studies
- LS Liddell and Scott *Greek-English Lexicon*, 9 th ed.
- LW Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines*, vol. 3.
- MAMA *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, vol. 1, edited by W. Calder, 1928.
- Njbb Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte, und deutsche Literatur.
- NumZ Numismatische Zeitschrift
- OGIS *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, edited by W. Dittenberger, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1903-5
- Opus Ath Opuscula Atheniensiensia, Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet, Athen
- Pap. Lond. *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, vol. 1, edited by F. G. Kenyon, 1893
- Pap. Ox. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 1898.
- PAS Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens
- PG Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*
- Phil Woch Philologische Wochenschrift
- PIR *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, 2nd. ed., parts 1-3, edited by E. Groag and A. Stein; part 4, fasc. 1-2 (to Hyrcanus), 1933-1958.

- PL Migne, *Patrologia Latina*
- PW Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
- REG Revue des Études Grecques
- Rev Phil Revue de Philologie
- SB Bayer Akad Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
- SB Berl Akad Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
- SEG Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
- Syll. *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd ed., 4 vols., edited by W. Dittenberger, Leipzig, 1915-24
- Synesius—————T *Synesii Cyrenensis Hymni et Opuscula*, ed. by N. Terzaghi, Rome, 1954
- T Testimonies, vol. I of Edelstein (see Bibliography)
- TAPA Transactions of the American Philological Association
- TAPS Transactions of the American Philosophical Society

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ADDENDA

To Note 61 to Chapter III (p. 60): I have collected and discussed the remains of Porphyry's attack, as preserved in Olympiodorus, on Aristides' anti-Platonic works in a forthcoming article in *The American Journal of Philology* (October) 1968.

To Note 11 to Chapter V (p. 97): A sixth argument for connecting the events of the early portion of the fifth *Sacred Tale* to the Diary is the comparison of V 29 ("the oracle which I had received") with the dream of I 22 (cf. also V 31, the rising sun).