

## XX. Artemidorus and His Waking World

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Though students of folklore have always paid some attention to Artemidorus Daldianus,<sup>1</sup> he has suffered more neglect than most ancient authors, even those who wrote subliterate treatises like his *Onirocritica*, for this work has not been edited for the greater part of a century,<sup>2</sup> and the text has never been translated into English. No doubt many readers have taken Artemidorus up and quickly abandoned him, repelled by those passages in which he catalogues various aberrant forms of behavior as possible stuff for dreams. The subject may conceivably have been imposed upon him by his sources but, if so, he gives no hint that he finds it painful. On the other hand, he treats it without ribaldry but rather with clinical detachment, in a spirit not Rabelaisian but Freudian. Yet surely few would claim that here his diligence was well applied. Indeed, some might feel that his whole work was an idle undertaking, now that oniromancy, in the opinion of all but certain psychotherapists, primitives, and folk of a superstitious bent, has joined the company of such false or "fossil" sciences as alchemy, astrology, and physiognomy. But only by modern standards does he offend against taste or intellectual honesty, and his work deserves to be judged in relation to his own times. Viewed in this light, the figure he cuts is by no means contemptible.

In the age of the Antonines, when Artemidorus was studying and practicing his profession, most men considered their dream-experiences significant and prophetic, even if their message was not always clear to be read. The dream-interpreters, trusting that these experi-

<sup>1</sup> This brief essay is intended as a modest supplement to E. Riess's biography in *RE* s.v. "Artemidoros," col. 1334-35, the content of which need not be repeated here. Professor A. D. Nock has kindly supplied some useful criticisms.

<sup>2</sup> R. Hercher's text (Leipzig 1864) has become virtually a rare book. The groundwork for a new edition has been well laid by the Swedish scholar Claes Blum (obit 1947) in his dissertation, *Studies in the Dream-Book of Artemidorus* (Uppsala 1936; cited below as *Studies*), and in "Manuscript Studies in Artemidorus," *Eranos* 39 (1941) 56-63. The present writer has obtained photographs of the requisite manuscripts and hopes eventually to produce a revised text with brief illustrative notes. K. Latte, *Gnomon* 5 (1929) 156, has stressed the potential value of a new edition.

ences would yield their meaning to rational analysis, found themselves forced to elucidate them piecemeal: though they had worked out several classifications of dreams,<sup>3</sup> they had failed to discover a small number of general principles that would serve to explain them all. The raw materials of their science were embarrassingly abundant, because one of its basic assumptions, and that doubtless a correct one, was that man, as a resident of the two worlds of *onar* and *hypar*, can dream about any object or activity known to him in a state of consciousness. So it is that Artemidorus employs as much a descriptive as a theoretical method and gives us a picture of a whole world, one almost as strange as that of the elder Pliny. This he does by stages, fearing, when he has supposed his task finished, that he may incur unfriendly criticism because he has neglected some department of life and its significance to the dreamer.<sup>4</sup>

The bulk of his dream-book, all, that is, except his introductions and epilogues, his digressions and reports of actual dreams, is written in terms of a traditional<sup>5</sup> and endlessly reiterated formula in which the two worlds intersect. "If a slave dreams that he is an ephebus he will be free, since the law permits only free men to be ephebi (51.5)." "To dream that you are carrying one of the demons

<sup>3</sup> See Blum, *Studies* 52-60; E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley 1951) 107, 124; W. H. Stahl, *Macrobius: Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* (New York 1952) 88, note. Artemidorus' classification (4.25-6.11) is the same as that in Macrobius, *Somn.* 1.3.2-10; scholars assume a common source but disagree as to what it was.

(As the numbered divisions of the text are often quite long, it is convenient to cite the *Onirocritica* by page and lines in Hercher's edition; and in order to save space only the initial lines of the briefer passages have been given here.)

<sup>4</sup> Book 3 was intended to supply omissions in Books 1-2 (see 169.7-14, 194.19-24), to prevent anyone from making them an excuse for writing a rival dream-book. When critics complained of omissions even after that, the author added Book 4, but this he addressed to his son, urging him, a bit inconsistently, not to distribute many copies of it but to keep it for his personal use, as it would assure his success (198.11-27; cf. 253.13); thus Book 4 and, in fact, Book 5 as well, have a rather esoteric character. It is interesting to find that Artemidorus begs his readers not to tamper with his text (167.24). Vettius Valens says that he has deliberately repeated some parts of his astrological work, so that if such a passage is damaged by jealous rivals it will still have a chance of survival (*Anthologiae*, Proem to Bk.6, p.242, Kroll).

<sup>5</sup> The earliest known dream-book is preserved in a papyrus said to date from the Twelfth Dynasty (ca. 2000-1790 B.C.); see A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Third Series: Chester Beatty Gift* 1 (London 1935) 9-23. Here the natural conditional form appears, but without probative clauses — e.g., "If a man see himself in a dream, (with) his teeth falling out, — bad; it means a man's dying through his dependents." For this common dream, see Artem. 31.17-32.19, 158.12; Hdt. 6.107 (an omen); and the discussion by C. Bonner, *CP* 1 (1906) 235-38.

of the lower world, Pluto or Cerberus or some other one of those in Hades, signifies for a wrongdoer the carrying of his cross; for the cross is like death, and he who is to be nailed to it first carries it (153.19).” In these examples the protasis or its grammatical equivalent relates to *onar*, while the probative clause gives a datum relating to *hypar*, and this retains a certain validity even when the conclusion drawn from it is wholly absurd. By reading through the work — actually a somewhat penitential exercise — one can glean from the successive probative clauses some vivid impressions of Artemidorus’ waking world, but of course the material lacks cohesion because *hypar* is subordinated, by the logic of the situation, to the treatment of *onar*, and to this alone has our author imparted a rough conceptual unity. Reality belongs to the distinct episodes rather than the mass impression.

We find distortion as well as incoherence. For one thing, the curiosities of natural science, as in Pliny, play a disproportionately conspicuous role — to choose three examples from scores, we have the hibernating bear said to sustain life by sucking its paw, the wolves that cross a river in single file, or the vine that refuses to twine around a cabbage.<sup>6</sup> Normally the animal and vegetable species do not loom so large in our awareness: we are duly taught that they can be found in their several habitats, but we seldom encounter them in numbers and variety. At the human level as well, where Artemidorus seems to show us a struggling, insecure society,<sup>7</sup> there is a false emphasis, though of a different kind, resulting from the fact that these dreads and aspirations were the very matters that concerned him professionally: similarly, a physician’s world would appear to be populated by none but the ill. These hopes and fears are commonplace in so far as they are timeless and universal. Workmen fear unemployment,<sup>8</sup> the exile sighs for his homeland (18.3), the invalid is apprehensive of death (18.7, 32.10); athletes, of sickness (20.24); soldiers, of the physical hardships of their service (21.25); politicians, of insults from the mob (21.22). The rich man wishes to rule his household and safeguard his possessions (17.18,

<sup>6</sup> For these three examples, see 263.3, 104.5, 62.3, and compare respectively Ael. N.A. 6.3, 3.6, Plin. H.N. 20.84, 24.1.

<sup>7</sup> A. D. Nock, *Gnomon* 15 (1939) 360, has observed the same gloomy view of existence in the astrological texts, which also reflect an “unfashionable milieu.” On the hopes and fears related to death, and their symbolism, see Nock, *AJA* 50 (1946) 159–61.

<sup>8</sup> 17.17, 25.12, 41.8, 12. It would be easy but pointless to multiply the references in this paragraph.

28.18, 37.18), the poor man hopes that someone will look after him (17.15), the slave would like to be loved by his master, to have his mistakes forgiven, and to win his freedom (17.25). Brides need dowries (19.20); sophists, many students (25.18); money-lenders, many accounts (28.16); merchants, a speedy disposal of their cargoes (32.18); and men of letters, goodly speech (33.2). In general, grave anxieties attend upon domestic affairs, illness, litigation, imprisonment and other penalties of the law,<sup>9</sup> exile, navigation, and travel to distant lands.<sup>10</sup> Many are the sensational events reported as foretold by dreams, especially cases of immorality and violent death. Their actuality need not be challenged, but they seem in large part the result of selection for striking effect, for dramatic proof that onirolgy is infallible.

So much by way of defining the sort of material that Artemidorus provides for those who would know his world. Many details would doubtless repay study for their own sake,<sup>11</sup> but here our concern is rather to place our author against this background, and we shall attempt to do it by considering the nature of his professional activity, the roster of his acquaintances, and those few incidental comments of his which have some social bearing.

His self-portrait is that of an earnest, conscientious man, sensitive to criticism and ready to lash out at his rivals<sup>12</sup> or those who deny providence and therefore reject all divination (1.5). He complains that his immediate predecessors<sup>13</sup> merely copied one another's treatises or else abused the sound early writers by either misinterpreting them or padding them with untruths which they im-

<sup>9</sup> Thoughts of crucifixion seem to have caused nightmares even for those who ran no risk of such punishment (152.4, 153.21, 223.21, 231.14). Readers of Boswell's *London Journal* will recall how its author, who was in some respects anything but sensitive, lay sleepless with horror after he had witnessed an execution.

<sup>10</sup> On the disagreeable associations of residence abroad, see Nock, *JEA* 40 (1954) 80.

<sup>11</sup> The material has been painstakingly classified by S. Laukamm, "Das Sittenbild des Artemidor von Ephesus," *Angelos* 3 (1928) 32-71. Franz Cumont has given us a similar, but far profounder study of the astrological texts in *L'Égypte des astrologues* (Bruxelles 1937).

<sup>12</sup> One of his rivals may have been the "contemporary" (*kasis*) who, he says, invented many medical prescriptions (*syntagai*) and treatments, especially "in the third book of his composition." "Though I know his name well, I shall not mention it (214.20)." O. Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder* (Giessen 1909) 184-87, defends the reading *kasis*, which some have wished to emend: Hesychius explains it as *hēlikīōtes*.

<sup>13</sup> Much of Artemidorus' proem is undoubtedly conventional, e.g., his need of showing that he is improving upon the work of his predecessors; cf. the proem to Bk. 6 of Vettius Valens (p. 242, Kroll). Diodorus also speaks of omissions in the earlier historians, and the difficulty of obtaining their works (1.3).

provided. Some of them were forced to invent because they did not possess all of the early literature, as some texts were rare and others lost.<sup>14</sup> He, for his part, has made a complete collection of the available dream-books (2.10), though he urges the would-be onirolgist to use his native intelligence and not rely solely on his reading (16.16); "experience" is the watchword.<sup>15</sup> He advises his son, of the same name and calling, to extend his acquaintance with local customs through travel and general reading (207.2). In brief, study, observation, and travel are the elements of his professional preparation and continued performance. In keeping with his empiricism, he tells us that he has consorted with the diviners of the market place, whom the haughty scorn as beggars, charlatans, and buffoons; he has gathered records of dreams in cities and at festivals, in Greece, Asia, and Italy (2.12, 253.9).

This general statement of the geographical range of his inquiries is confirmed by scattered references in his treatise. Of the cities of Asia Minor, he mentions Daldis in Lydia, his mother's native town which he wished to honor by inscribing himself "Daldianus,"<sup>16</sup> Ephesus, his own place of residence, with its bullfights (14.19) and its famous cult of Artemis (132.24, 207.4), Smyrna, with its festival for Hadrian,<sup>17</sup> Perga in Pamphylia, with an Artemis of its own (132.25), Cyzicus (202.21), Laodicea (202.8), and Miletus (218.5). He reports only one dream from Pergamon (224.7), possibly due to his distrust of the sort of book-medicine practiced both there and in Alexandria (213.22). In Greece, he visited Cyllene (43.6), where he saw the peculiar Hermes described by Pausanias (6.26.3), and Corinth, where he added two dreams to his collection (201.2, 254.11): one of these concerns the priest of Poseidon on the Isthmus and the god's statue (cf. Paus. 2.1.6-7). Olympia supplied him with six dreams, all relating to athletes,<sup>18</sup> so that he must either have prolonged his sojourn there or else have found an exceptional abundance of material. In Italy he may have learned at first hand about the local tabu on killing vultures (14.17), and he seems to have attended the first production of the Eusebeia, a festival which Antoninus

<sup>14</sup> 2.1-10. On his rejection of improvisation, see 17.5, 167.16.

<sup>15</sup> 1.11, 16, 167.11. For a discussion of Artemidorus' empiricism, see Blum, *Studies* 81-91.

<sup>16</sup> 196.18-26. Apollo Mystes of Daldis had inspired him in a vision to write his dream-book (168.2).

<sup>17</sup> 58.23; *RE* s.v. 'Αδριάνεια, col. 2165.

<sup>18</sup> 126.22, 232.12, 262.30, 264.1, 269.7, 16.

Pius inaugurated at Puteoli in honor of Hadrian,<sup>19</sup> but the only other city from which he reports dreams is Rome itself.<sup>20</sup>

His travels naturally brought him into contact with people in various walks of life. Of the many contemporaries whom he mentions, some are so obscure that they have not found their way into the standard prosopographies,<sup>21</sup> but others have been identified with fairly well-known figures. According to a conjecture that has met with wide acceptance, the Cassius Maximus to whom Artemidorus dedicated his first three books was Maximus of Tyre, author of the extant philosophical disquisitions, who may have received the style of "Cassius," along with a grant of Roman citizenship, from Avidius Cassius, governor of Syria possibly as early as 165.<sup>22</sup> Fronto "the arthritic" (215.10) was almost certainly Marcus Cornelius Fronto, who often speaks of his gout in the correspondence with his imperial pupil.<sup>23</sup> The Plutarchus whose death was forecast by the dream that Hermes was escorting him to heaven (246.20) was probably Plutarch of Chaeronea himself.<sup>24</sup> Aristides *ho nomikos* dreamt that he was wearing white garments and died in consequence, because the dead are customarily dressed in white for burial (205.9).

<sup>19</sup> 27.13; see *IGRR* 1.153 (lines 22–23), 442; *RE* s.v. "Aurelius," col. 2500. In Italy a dream about an elephant signifies a lord, king (or emperor), and magnate (103.9). Hercher queries "Italy" and suggests "India"; but there were elephants in Italy, the imperial herd kept possibly at Ardea in the time of Domitian (Juv. *Sat.* 12.105–7), and such an allusion would suit the interpretation. Another dream from Italy, 103.18.

<sup>20</sup> 226.23, 267.16, 268.1, and possibly 223.15.

<sup>21</sup> For example, there are no articles in *RE* on Chrysampelus, a lyre-player (246.9), Chrysippus, a Corinthian who won two decisions in hearings before the emperor (222.15), Leonas, a Syrian wrestler (249.18), Menander of Smyrna, a victor at Olympia (250.3), Menander, a priest of Zeus Polieus (231.17), Menecrates of Alexandria, a grammarian (248.17), Menippus, a pancratiast from Magnesia (226.23), and Paulus, a pleader (249.2). Diocles, a grammarian (245.4), was possibly identical with the Diocles cited four times in the Homeric scholia (see *RE* s.v. "Diokles" [54], col. 812–13). These all occur in the fourth book, addressed to the author's son, and there we find many even more cryptic identities, such as "the fuller's wife" (224.4), "the man in Pergamon" (224.7), and "the Bithynian youth" (224.11). Perhaps these are references to Artemidorus' case-books, to which his son must have had access. We might have expected that some of these names would recur in Book 5, the collection of actual dreams, but there no names are given.

<sup>22</sup> O. Hirschfeld first proposed the identification; see H. Diels, *Hermes* 23 (1888) 287; K. Duerr, *Philologus*, Suppl. 8.4; M. Wellmann, *RE* s.v. "Cassius" (76), col. 1742; H. Hobein, *Maximi Tyrii Philosophumena* (Leipzig 1910), Praefatio, LVII.

<sup>23</sup> See *RE* s.v. "Cornelius," col. 1317, where the passages are cited; cf. Gell. 2.26, 19.10.

<sup>24</sup> *RE* s.v. "Plutarchos," col. 641. His interest in dreams is shown by *Quaest. conv.* 2.3.1 (*Mor.* 635E).

Though the epithet seems only vaguely appropriate,<sup>25</sup> this may have been the sophist Aelius Aristides of Smyrna, who included in his *Sacred Discourses* (*Or.* 47–51, Keil) an account of his dreams and illnesses. His death, about 181–89, would give us the latest *terminus post quem* for the composition of the *Onirotica*.<sup>26</sup> The rhetor Philagrus (202.19) may have been the Cilician sophist of that name who quarreled with Herodes Atticus.<sup>27</sup> It is believed that Apollonides the surgeon (205.14) may have been identical with a known physician from Cyprus,<sup>28</sup> and he in turn with the Apollonides to whom Fronto wrote one of his Greek letters (*Epistula ad amicos* 1.2); if so, we may possibly see in him a source for the story of Fronto's partial cure, accomplished by the use of bee-glue (*propolis*, 215.10). Alexander the philosopher (223.21) may have been the

<sup>25</sup> The Paulus who was due to plead a case before the emperor is so designated (249.2), showing that the adjective means *legis peritus* and has nothing to do with music, as some have fancied (see *TAPA* 72 [1941] 327, note 30).

<sup>26</sup> One of Philostratus' informants for his biography of Aristides was Damianus, a prominent citizen of Ephesus (*RE* s.v. "Damianos" [2], col. 2054, and "Philostratos," col. 172–73). This townsman of Artemidorus would have been a good source for Aristides' death. During his lifetime Aristides must have been well known in Ephesus due to the addresses he gave there (see *Or.* 48.82, 51.35).

Bruno Keil may have thought the identification with Aelius Aristides problematical, because he reserved it for future discussion (see his note on *Arist. Or.* 47.1: *De Artemidori testimonio accuratius alio loco dicendum*), but apparently he never returned to the subject. Three factors would seem to be these. (1) Artemidorus was probably no great admirer of the sophist, because he ridicules some features of the medical onirolgy which was practiced in Pergamon (213.21–214.16) and in which Aristides had the most childlike faith. But the latter was dead at the time of writing, and "De mortuis . . ." (2) The dream of wearing white clothing is not to be found in the *Sacred Discourses*. But the last of these (*Or.* 52) is now a mere fragment, so that we cannot exclude the logical possibility that Aristides did record it there, even though probability weighs against the recording of one's last dream if death quickly supervenes. In either case, the dream is quite characteristic; cf. *Or.* 47.15, where Aristides dreams that he is wearing a priest's clothing, and *Or.* 48.30–31, where he dreams of addressing a throng of worshippers clad in white. (3) Although the dreams described in the *Sacred Discourses* might have supplied Artemidorus with some good material for his own collections, there is no definite indication that he knew or used them. But perhaps this was natural in view of (1), above. Of Aristides' many dreams, there are really only three sorts that can be neatly related to Artemidorus, and this appears coincidental, because the simple principles involved had probably been long standard in onirolgy. Keil notes these coincidences: cf. *Artem.* 183.14 and *Arist. Or.* 47.51–52 (names like "Menandros" as advice to "remain" [*menein*]; cf. "Rhosandros," *Or.* 50.19, and "Eudoxos," *Or.* 51.66, as significant names); *Artem.* 13.23 and *Arist. Or.* 50.45, 55, 89 (and possibly 50.20, as emended by Keil: dreams most reliable at dawn, cf. *Hor. Sat.* 1.10.33, Ovid, *Her.* 18 [19].195–96); *Artem.* 95.11 and *Arist. Or.* 51.64, 67 (dream of lightning as a warning to stay home).

<sup>27</sup> Philostr. *V.S.* 2.8 (pp. 83–86, Kayser); *RE* s.v. "Philagros" (3), col. 2108.

<sup>28</sup> See *RE* s.v. "Apollonides" (24 and 33), col. 119, 121.

one called "Peloplaton," the sophist of Seleucia and *ab epistulis* to Marcus Aurelius.<sup>29</sup> Cratinus of Ephesus, styled "our townsman" (222.12) became a "*tamias* of the imperial treasury"; probably he was not one of the two procurators who administered the *fiscus Asiaticus* in that city, but rather one of their many assistants of the class known as *arcarii*.<sup>30</sup>

The majority of Artemidorus' friends and clients had a rather modest social standing (cf. note 21, above). He assigns the eminent writers — Plutarch, Fronto, and possibly Aristides — to no distinct category, showing an interest not in their literary prowess but only in their dreams. This seems no proof, however, that he had any personal contact with them, for he may have entered in his case-books some notes derived from reading or hearsay as well as direct observation. He expresses admiration for the rhetorical ability and quick intelligence of Cassius Maximus (2.26), and evidently his motive in dedicating to Maximus the early books of his treatise was quite disinterested; at least he speaks of the other in terms of undiminished friendship when addressing the fourth book to his son. His talents were probably not much inferior to his friend's. He wrote Greek with clarity and apparent ease; he freely quoted the major poets of Greece and even had a nodding acquaintance with such comparatively recondite literature as Lycophron's *Alexandra*, the *Leschae* of Heraclides Ponticus, and the *Elegies* of Parthenius of Nicaea (241.13). In some measure his interpretation of dreams is a form of applied sophistry, because it is difficult to resist the impression that he is fabricating some of his interpretations out of whole cloth as he proceeds, even though he rejects improvisation; and his friend, assuming that this was really Maximus Tyrius, was as much a sophist as a philosopher.

No doubt most of the social attitudes reflected in the *Onirocritica* are not original with its author, but they are his in that he gives them a silent endorsement. When set forth tersely, according to the traditional formula, they are more likely to have been drawn from his sources or else from the common fund of cant or uncritical belief. A fuller expression or repetition might then be taken as a mark of

<sup>29</sup> See Philostr. V.S. 2.5 (p. 76, Kayser). For another Alexander, a Platonist, see Marc. Aurel. Ant. Med. 1.12.

<sup>30</sup> For the organization of this treasury, see *RE* s.v. "Fiscus," col. 2403; D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton 1950) 1.568, 2.1425-27. Artemidorus speaks of property confiscated by the fiscus (*phiskos*, 239.12).



more probable originality. "A stepmother would never love her stepchildren by inclination or choice" (178.20) — here we find the familiar *novercale odium*. Some of these thoughts, otherwise sufficiently ordinary, impress us by their pessimism — that the raising of children causes worry and anxiety (19.12), or that the process of learning is a childish pursuit involving fear and labor (50.14). In one case, the interpretation of a dream depends upon notions of decorum current in antiquity: it is good to dream that one is dancing privately at home, observed only by one's own family (68.10), but bad to dream that one is dancing before other men, or that a member of one's own family is dancing (68.21). "Men do not dance until they render tribute to their appetite, a harsh, relentless master."<sup>31</sup>

The literature of divination characteristically preserves an ethical neutrality, tacitly assuming that such folk as harlots, fugitives, and thieves<sup>32</sup> belong to the regular scheme of things and have as good a right as any to learn what the future may hold for them. For the most part, Artemidorus takes the same tolerant or indifferent view of the various classes and callings.<sup>33</sup> His allusions to *hai banausoi technai* (86.11, 223.5) and *hai rhyphôdeis ergasiai* (88.24, 115.16, 120.19, 188.16) show no more disdain than the terms themselves connote, and he remarks objectively that tanners are barred from a city because of the malodorous processes of their industry,<sup>34</sup> or that adulterers, forgers, and rhetoricians all practice a kind of deception (49.17). But he condemns one class, that of the tax-farmers, with a possibly significant vehemence, branding their occupation as shameful (25.1) and listing them with hucksters, robbers, and rascals who cheat with false scales or reckonings.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> 68.15. On the Greek side we have the story of Hippoclidēs and his impromptu dance (Hdt. 6.126–29). Cf. Cic. *Mur.* 6.13: Nemo fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit; *Deiot.* 9.26: Deiotarum saltantem quisquam aut ebrium vidit umquam? A *loc. class.* is Scipio Africanus *apud* Macrobi. *Sat.* 3.14.6–8.

<sup>32</sup> Artemidorus interprets dreams for *pornai*, *hetairai*, *apodidrascontes*, and *lêstai* among others (see Hercher's Index Rerum, s.vv.). Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* 1.286: Nona (sc. Luna, i.e. dies) fugae melior, contraria furtis.

<sup>33</sup> In oniromancy it was of course standard method to take a dreamer's occupation into account, because it was thought that the significance of his dream would vary accordingly. The dreamer's "person" (*prosôpon*) was related to the six "elements" (*stoicheia*) of interpretation (Artem. 9.18–10.9); see Blum, *Studies* 72–76; K. Latte, *Gnomon* 5 (1929) 155–61 (a review and refutation of S. Luria, "Studien zur Geschichte der antiken Traumdeutung," *Bull. de l'Acad. des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S.*, 1927, 441–66, 1041–72).

<sup>34</sup> 49.13. See Cumont (above, note 11) 91, note 4.

<sup>35</sup> *kapêloi*, *lêstai*, *zygokroustai*, *paralogistai* (237.3). Cf. Manetho, *Apotelesm.* 4.329–30, as quoted by Cumont (above, note 11) 48. Publicans take their stand at

We are reminded that Christ had agreed with the common people of his day in classing the publicans with harlots and other sinners, though he did not reject their fellowship.<sup>36</sup> Artemidorus once accepted a publican's dream for analysis, and its meaning turned upon the fact that the man's occupation was "unblushing" (*achrômos*, 226.10). This antipathy, whether justified or not, was most characteristic of the poorer strata of provincial society, which suffered most bitterly from fiscal exploitation. Consistent with this attitude is an expression of sympathy for the poor: "Poverty takes away even freedom of speech. Here one might mention Theognis' dictum: 'A man who is mastered by poverty can neither say nor do a thing, but his tongue is tied.'"<sup>37</sup>

Finally, we may note that our author gives an unfavorable verdict on the public baths (57.18–58.7), though it seems unlikely that he shunned them if, as he says, he used to frequent the market places. He discusses at some length the interpretations given to dreams of bathing in two earlier periods, when the facilities were cruder than at present, and at the close he comments invidiously on the luxuriousness of excessively frequent bathing in his own time. "And nowadays the public bath is nothing but a way that leads to wantonness." The passage, whether it is topical<sup>38</sup> or derived from some written source,<sup>39</sup> calls to mind the familiar letter of Seneca which describes a visit to the villa of Scipio Africanus and draws from the primitive bath-arrangements a moral damaging to the writer's contemporaries.<sup>40</sup> This sentimental appreciation of a worthier past, found only here in Artemidorus, is of course akin to

points of egress from cities (Artem. 191.7). One, a "farmer of great revenues," commits suicide when he grows financially embarrassed (259.24).

<sup>36</sup> But Jesus may have made certain concessions to the feelings of those whom he taught. For a thorough discussion, see Professor H. C. Youtie's article, "Publicans and Sinners," *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review* 43 (1936) 650–62.

<sup>37</sup> 33.23 (Theognis 177–78). Artemidorus quotes Theognis again (509–10) in a short homily on temperance in the use of wine (59.25–60.13; cf. 185.10).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Carm. Lat. Epigraph.* 1499: *Balnea vina Venus corrumpunt corpora nostra.*

<sup>39</sup> Luria (above, note 33) 1061–63, has tried to show that the passage was drawn from a polemic of Antiphon the sophist, who argued that hot baths do not impair manliness, against the Pythagoreans, who forbade their use. He compares Aristoph. *Nubes* 1044–52, where "Wrong Logic" presumably states the opinion of Antiphon, and Iambl. *V.P.* 83 for the Pythagorean interdict. Even if he is right, the moralizing addendum must be due to Artemidorus himself.

<sup>40</sup> *Ep.* 86, translated by J. Zellinger, *Bad und Bäder in der altchristlichen Kirche* (Munich 1928) 4–7. This useful study incorporates most of the secular literature on the subject, but Artemidorus is overlooked.

the "primitivistic" attitude, which has been so richly documented from classical literature.<sup>41</sup>

In summary, it is evident that Artemidorus has left us with an idea of his pursuits, his travels, his acquaintances, and his opinions, but not a complete revelation of his personality. Of course he was writing in a genre that offered no great scope for autobiography, and no biographer served him as a dutiful nephew served Pliny. The little that he tells us about himself enables us just to picture him vaguely as he cons the abundant literature of his subject or bustles through his rather sordid world. His attitudes, so far as he has disclosed them, suggest that he belonged to the less affluent orders of society yet cherished a certain independence of outlook. Unless he has gravely deceived us, he made no attempt to rise through influence, but devoted himself entirely to his chosen activity. If we think his choice ill advised we must still respect his energy and inquiring spirit.

<sup>41</sup> See Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (Baltimore 1935). Apparently there is just one primitivistic statement in Artemidorus — that barley-loaves were traditionally the first food that the gods gave to mankind (63.13); cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.25.12; Pliny, *H.N.* 18.72; Philostr. *Gymn.* 43 (texts which might be added to Lovejoy's collection).