



Durham E-Theses

Dreams in the Homeric poems

Bowcott, Ernest

How to cite:

Bowcott, Ernest (1959) *Dreams in the Homeric poems*, Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online: <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/9830/>

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a [link](#) is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

ERNEST BOWCOTT

DREAMS IN THE HOMERIC POEMS

A dissertation submitted for the
degree of Master of Arts

November 1959.

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author.
No quotation from it should be published without
his prior written consent and information derived
from it should be acknowledged.

I L L U S T R A T I O N S

S L E E P A N D D E A T H W I T H S A R P E D O N

πέμπε δέ μιν πομποῖσιν ἄμα κραιπνοῖσι φέρεσθαι
 ὕπνῳ καὶ Θανάτῳ διδυμάοσιν, οἳ ῥά μιν ὤκα
 κάτθεσαν ἐν Λυκίῃς εὐρείῃς πτόνι δῆμῳ.

Iliad, 16. 681 - 683.



E. 12

BRITISH MUSEUM. E 12.

The subject of this painting is disputed, but very possibly we see Sleep and Death with the warrior Sarpedon. (See Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, Oxford, 1942. p. 101). Sleep and Death are in full armour.

An alternative view is that the dead warrior is Memnon (See Robert, *Thanatos*, Berlin, 1897, p. 9 and also Heinemann, *Thanatos*, Munich, 1913, p. 63. For a similar view see also *The American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 42 pp. 242 - 3). Robert sees the two young men as Wind gods (Boreas and Zephyrus) with Iris standing to their left and Eos, the mother of Memnon, to their right.

There can be no certainty in the matter. At least it is possible that the vase painter, like Homer, saw Sleep and Death not only as abstract conditions, but also as divine beings. Homer treats the dream similarly, but unfortunately we have no painting of this.

The cup is placed by Beazley among the Early Archaic examples. He says that it may be "by the Nikosthenes painter, unusually good work of his prime". Fairbanks (*Athenian Lekythoi*, New York 1907

p. 258) assigns it to Pamphaios. (See also Heinemann, *op cit.* p. 56, No. 3). It is undoubtedly a fine piece of work, and well in accord with the spirit of Homer's Sleep and Death.



BRITISH MUSEUM. D 58.

There is a greater degree of certainty about the subject of this picture. (See Beazley, op. cit. p. 808, also Heinemann op. cit. p. 77 and Robert, op cit. p. 24). Thanatos and Hypnos bring the dead warrior to the tomb. The tomb is a plain stele. R.C. Bosanquet (Some early Funeral Lekythoi, J.H.S. 1899, pp. 169 et seqq) writes: "The uncouth figure of Death with lank hair framing his face, and mysterious plumage clothing his body, stands in deliberate contrast to his brother Sleep, whose smooth limbs have the ruddy hue of life and health". Fairbanks (op. cit. p. 258) is not quite so certain, and admittedly Boreas would be depicted in much the same way as Death. A.S. Murray (White Athenian Vases in the British Museum, London, 1896) mentions a later and different tradition. Euclid of Megara (preserved by Stobaeus, Florilegium vi, 65) describes Sleep as boylike and young, while death is a hoary old man. In Homer, they are twin brothers. The late writer Nonnus (5th century A.D.) describes Sleep as *μελανόχρως* (33. 40) and he may be following the same tradition as this vase-painter.

It is not surprising that artists wished to portray the

remarkable picture of Sleep and Death caring for the body of Sarpedon. The artist, like Homer, here treats Sleep as an objective god or person. Both know sleep as a physical state but to relate their story they choose to personify it. In both cases the effect is moving and strangely mysterious.

DREAMS IN THE HOMERIC POEMS

Illustrations		1
Introduction		8
Chapter One. Dreams in the <i>Iliad</i>		
(a) 1.	62	10
(b) 2.	6	19
(c) 5.	149 - 150	31
(d) 10.	496 - 497	35
(e) 16.	234 - 235	41
(f) 22.	199 - 200	46
(g) 23.	62 - 107	52
(h) 24.	677 - 689	66
Chapter Two. Dreams in the <i>Odyssey</i>		
(a) 4.	787 - 841	72
(b) 6.	13 - 51	84
(c) 11.	207 & 222	92
(d) 14.	495	105
(e) 15.	9 - 45	108
(f) 19.	535 - 604	111
(g) 20.	87 - 90	140

(h) 21.	79	147
(i) 24.	1 - 14	148
(j) 4.	440	157
Conclusion		161
Appendix. Bibliography		164

Note Generally the Oxford Classical Text has been followed in the quotations from the poems.

Homeri Opera, Vols. 1 & 2, Monro and Allen,
Third Edition, Reprinted 1956.
Vols. 3 & 4, Allen, Second
Edition, Reprinted 1954.

DREAMS IN THE HOMERIC POEMS

I N T R O D U C T I O N

"To occupy oneself with dreams, however, is not merely unpractical and superfluous but positively scandalous: it carries with it the taint of the unscientific and arouses the suspicion of personal leanings towards mysticism" - so speaks the common man, according to Sigmund Freud (Introductory Lectures on Psycho-analysis: Pt. 2, Chapter 1, English translation).

At the risk of appearing unpractical and superfluous this study is concerned with the dreams in the Homeric Poems. It is often said that literary criticism reflects the spirit of the age and that a work of art requires fresh interpretation for each generation. Now if it is true to say that the nineteenth century occupied itself with the rational, it is equally true that the interest of the twentieth century is in the irrational. Ever since Freud emphasised the importance of the subconscious, literary criticism has concerned itself more and more with that field of thought and action which lies below the surface. Perhaps nowhere in Homer is the psychology so finely drawn as in the dreams.

After all, a dream shows the true state of the inner man, and no matter how much we have been told, we know much more about Agamemnon, Penelope, and Nausicaa after their dreams than we did before. Homer often describes his dreams as though they were completely external to the recipient, but a second glance shows that however objective in appearance they may be, the dreams are no more than a projection of the internal state of a man's mind. To stress the objectivity of the dreams too much is to rob the characters of their inner being.

It is the purpose of the present discussion to take a second look at the various dreams in the Epics, and it is hoped to show how the dreams bring the characters into sharper focus.

One final word needs to be said about the Homeric Question. The problem as such, I believe, lies outside the scope of this discussion; nevertheless, it is bound to affect it. Whilst the dream passages differ widely in form and content, there is in my view a unity of thought which argues a unity of authorship based on an ancient oral tradition.

CHAPTER ONEDREAMS IN THE ILIAD

(a) Iliad, l. 62.

The first reference to a dream in the Iliad is of the greatest importance in considering Homer's view of the subject. The poet begins the epic by describing the angry parting of Agamemnon and Achilles. Agamemnon refuses to return the girl Chryseis to her father, and consequently Apollo brings a plague on the Greek army. On the tenth day of their troubles the Greeks are called to an assembly. Achilles rises and points out the twofold danger of battle and plague. He suggests that they should consult Zeus in order to discover the cause of the anger of Phoebus Apollo.

ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τινα μάντιν ἐρείομεν ἢ ἱερῆα
ἢ καὶ ὄνειροπόλον - καὶ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν -
ὅς κ' εἴποι ὅ τι τόσον ἔχῳσατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων

Iliad, l. 62-64.

He suggests three possible mediators between Zeus and Man: a prophet, a priest and an interpreter of dreams. The last Achilles explains more fully, and it is this line which is the key to the understanding of Homer's view.

The passage raises three important questions. What if any, is the significance of the order in which the holy men are listed?

What was the work of the ὄνειροπόλος? And last, what force do the particles give to Achilles' statement? The first problem was discussed by the Scholiast in the Codex Venetus A.

63. ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ τινα μάντιν] ἢ διπλή, ὅτι μάντις γενικῶς, ἱερεὺς δὲ καὶ ὄνειροπόλος εἰδικῶς, εἶδη μάντεων. Ζηνόδοτος δὲ ἠθέτηκεν αὐτόν. μήποτε δὲ ὄνειροκρίτην ὑπέιληφεν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς.

The priest and dream interpreter are types of prophet: they belong to that class, he says. But this can hardly be right, for as we shall see in Homer, each of the three has his own task to perform. Nevertheless, we are told in the Codex Venetus B. that Herodian (floruit A.D.150) placed a colon after the verb to emphasise the class of prophet and its types - the priest and dream interpreter. Porphyry (A.D. 232/3 - c.305) gives an explanation which is much more faithful to the poet (apud Cod. Ven. B.)

ὁ δὲ Πορφύριος τρία ἀποδέχεται, μάντιν λέγων τὸν διὰ οἰωνῶν ἢ σημείων ἢ τεράτων μαντευόμενον, ἱερέα δὲ τὸν διὰ θυσιῶν, ὄνειροπόλον δὲ τὸν ὄνειροπολούμενον, θεατὴν ὄνείρου γεγονότα.

The three types are seen in Homer - though it should be

remembered that the third appears only twice. Priam, when he is facing a crisis, also links the first two:

ἢ οἱ μάντιές εἰσι θουσκοῖοι ἢ ἱερεῖες

(Iliad, 24. 221)

Both were authorities on the relations between gods and men.

We cannot agree with the Scholiast Ven. B.

ἄλογον ἴητεῖν παρὰ ἱερέως πυθέσθαι περὶ τῶν μέλλοντων.

The priest was clearly consulted about the future.

The work of the three holy men mentioned by Achilles quite obviously overlapped. To divide the list into genus and species, although ingenious, is not warranted by the evidence of Homer.

I suggest that Achilles gives the list in a natural order - he begins with the most obvious expert and ends with the least important. In actual fact the advice is given by Calchas who is introduced as οἰωνοπόλων ὄχ' ἄριστος (1. 69) and is later referred to as μάντις ἀμύμων (1. 92). He is also addressed by Agamemnon, as μάντι κακῶν (1. 106). Zenodotus (born c. 325 B.C.), we read, rejected the line concerning dream interpretation. This outlook towards the dream in Homer will be discussed in a later chapter: to quote J.F. Lockwood on Zenodotus "the extremely subjective nature of his criteria made him sometimes rash in emendation" (O.C.D. p.965).

The second question - what was the work of the dream interpreter? - raises a much larger one: did Homer know of Incubation? There are in fact two ways of understanding ὄνειροπόλος. Either the holy man interprets the dream of his client, or he is a specially favoured dreamer who, by his extraordinary gift, can foretell the future. The question was of great interest to the early commentators, as the practice of incubation or temple sleep, as it is sometimes called, had a great vogue under the Christian Church which carried on the traditions of the early chthonic shrines. The growth of the practice is traced by Mary Hamilton in her book "Incubation or the cure of disease in pagan temples and Christian Churches", (London 1906).

The Scholiast of Venetus B. influenced perhaps by later tradition, has no doubts on the question:

τὸ δὲ ὄνειροπόλον οὐ σημαίνει τὸν ὄνειρο-
κρίτην, ὡς τινες ἔξεδέξαντο, τὸν περὶ τοὺς
ὄνειρους διατρίβοντα, (οὐδὲν γὰρ ὄναρ ὠφθη)
ἀλλὰ σημαίνει τὸν ὄνειροπολούμεν, τὸν κάτοχον
ὄνειροῖς καὶ θεατὴν ὄνειρου εἰς αὐτὸν
ἔλθόντος γεγονότα.

The word does not mean an interpreter of dreams, he says, as some have taught. (This surely demonstrates that the ambiguity of the word was an old problem). No dream has been seen. The

word means a dreamer of dreams, a man possessed by dreams, one who has become a spectator of a dream that has visited him. The strongest argument in favour of the incubation theory is that Achilles at no point suggests that a dream has been seen by any of the Greeks. He merely suggests a dream-man and reminds his audience of the origin of dreams. The same MS. also contains the bald comment:

οἱ δὲ ὄνειροπόλοι μηδενὸς ὄνειρου νῦν ἴητουμένου
παρέλκουσι. λύεται δὲ ἐκ τῆς λέξεως τὸν γὰρ
νῦν λεγόμενον θύτην ἱερέα φαίνονται καλοῦντες
πάλαι..... ὁ δὲ ὄνειροπόλος αὐτὸς ὄρα
ὑπὲρ ἑτέρων ὄνειρους.

The dream men are redundant as no dream is in question. The Greeks appear to have been calling for sometime for the priest-diviner who is now mentioned (Calchas). The dream man himself observes dreams on behalf of others.

The comment is useful in that it defines the work of the dream man and shows, in the opinion of the Scholiast, why the ὄνειροπόλοι are not needed in this situation. Eustathius gives a choice (47, 18)

ὄνειροπόλος δὲ διχῶς, ἢ ὁ βλέπων αὐτὸς ὄνειρους
καὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς προλέγων, ὡς ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων
ἐν τῇ β' ῥαψωδίᾳ, ἢ ὁ τοὺς ὑπ' ἄλλων
βλεπομένους διευκρινῶν, ὡς τοὺς τῆς
Πηνελόπης ὁ Ὀδυσσεύς.

Professor Dodds (The Greeks and the Irrational. p.123, note 22) has allowed that ὄνειροπόλος "may mean a specially favoured dreamer." It is difficult to see what else it could mean, paying due regard to the difficulty noted by the Scholiast that in fact no dream has been seen. Hey (Der Traumglaube der Antike, Munich 1908, p.10.), disagrees "Aus eben diesem Grunde kann ὄνειροπόλος Iliad l. 63, nicht der Traumdeuter heissen, weil dies die Auffassung der Träume als seelisches Innenbild, den sog. allegorischen Traum, voraussetzen würde. Das Wort bedeutet vielmehr 'Traumseher', zu dem der ὄνειρος vorzugsweise 'kommt! √πελ " But in fact, as we shall see, early dreams - the so called objective dreams - are psychic in so far as they are all ex animo dormientis hominis. It is the epic tradition which clothes them in their peculiar external form. Monro (Iliad p.250) has no doubts: "one who is 'conversant with dreams', who gets divine direction in dreams. Ameis (Homers Ilias Leipzig 1877 p.6) explains even more fully: "ein Traumseher, ein Ausleger seiner eigenen Träume, die ihm durch incubatio als göttliche Verkündigungen für Andere zu Theil werden." And Paley (Iliad P.8) writes similarly: "Huius loci ratio fert ut ὄνειροπόλοι οπε suorum ipsorum somniorum sive imaginum divinarum per noctis silentium ad ipsos missarum vaticinati fuerint".

There seems to be, therefore, fairly general agreement among ancient and modern authorities on the function of the dream-man. The difficulties raised by the use of the word in *Iliad*, 5. 149 will be discussed in a later section. As to the larger question whether Homer knew of incubation it is clearly more sensible to reserve judgment until other passages have been considered.

The last question deals with the statement on dreams which is perhaps most often quoted. The particular problem which faces the reader is to know precisely what force the particles give to Achilles' statement: $\gamma\acute{\iota}$ και ὄνειροπόλον — και γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστίν. On γάρτε Denniston (Greek Particles p.528) writes "but the great majority of passages in which τε is coupled with another particle contain general propositions, or describe habitual action". He gives the present passage as an example. The force of the first και is more difficult. Again Denniston offers help: "Further when the addition is surprising, or difficult of acceptance, and when a sense of climax is present, 'also' becomes 'even'. (Greek does not, like English, express the distinction between these two ideas.)" The marked difference of the English may be seen between the following translations:

"But could we not consult a prophet or priest, or even some interpreter of dreams - for dreams too are sent by Zeus"

"But come, let us now inquire of some soothsayer or priest, yea, or an interpreter of dreams - seeing that a dream too is of Zeus."

Lang, Leaf and Myers.

and best of all,

"Come, let us ask some priest or soothsayer, Ay, or a dream-expounder, since of Zeus Come also dreams."

Marris.

I feel that Dr. Rieu in striving "to make Homer easy reading" has missed the true spirit of Achilles' suggestion. As we shall see, to Homer there was nothing particularly novel about consulting a man conversant with dreams. Lang, Leaf and Myers better resist the temptation to make the suggestion sound odd. Sir William Marris reproduces faithfully the original suggestion. It is a gentle reminder of a general truth, not a controversial debating point. We should note the feeling of this meeting of the Greeks and the complete faith of Achilles in Divination. It is in sharp contrast with the views of Telemachus at the beginning of the Odyssey. He is quite certain that his father will not return and he has no patience with the diviners on whom his mother calls.

οὔτε θεοπροπίης ἐμπάγομαι, ἦν τινα μήτηρ
ἔς μέγαρον καλέσασα θεοπρόπιον ἔφερέηται.

(Odyssey, l. 415-416)

The widely quoted statement that dreams are sent by Zeus is of the greatest importance. But in fact, as it stands, it raises

so many difficulties that a different reading was proposed
by the Scholiasts:

ΤΟΥ ΤΙ ἔστιν συναλοιφή, καὶ γὰρ τι ὄναρ.
οὐ γὰρ πᾶν λέγει ἀληθές, ἔπει φησιν οὐ πάντας
εἶναι τοὺς ὄνειρους ἀληθεῖς:
αἱ μὲν γὰρ κεράεσσι τετεύχονται, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντι

(Odyssey, 19. 563)

Scholiast in Codex Ven. A.

and similarly the Scholiast in Codex Ven. B.:

λύεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς συναλοιφῆς. οὐ γὰρ
ὁ τῆ συνδεσμός συναλήλιπται, ἀλλὰ τὸ τί
μόριον. ἔστι γὰρ πλήρες καὶ γὰρ τι ὄναρ
ἐκ Διός ἔστι.

Allen (Iliad, p.4.) does not note the emendation and it is
accepted by none. But it has merit in drawing attention to the
fact that the statement cannot be accepted at its face value.
As Björck says, "Dans toutes les sociétés qui croient à
l'oniromancie, on a dû distinguer entre les rêves véridiques et
les autres. Cette distinction est pour ainsi dire indispensable
pour la fonction sociale de la divination." (De la perception de
rêve chez les anciens par Gudmund Björck. *Eranos*, Vol.44. (1946),
p. 307). To say that dreams come from Zeus without making any
distinction is quite unacceptable.

Eustathius puts exactly the right interpretation on the
passage, (48. 28):

ΤΟΥΤΟ γὰρ εἰς λύσιν ἀπορίας ἐπήγαγεν ὡς τινος

ἔρωτησαντος· τί οὖν καὶ ὄνειροπόλον ἐρωτήσομεν
 τὸν περὶ ψευδῆ καταγιγόμενον, καὶ καθ' Ἡρόδοτον
 εἶπεῖν, πεπλανημένα εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐνύπνια
 περιεργαζόμενον; τοῦτο δὴ Λύων φησὶν ὅτι
 οὐ πάντες ὄνειροι ψευδεῖς, ἀλλὰ τινες ἂν γένοιτο
 καὶ ἐκ Διὸς οὐς καὶ διοπέμπτους ἐκάλουν.

Homer added this, he says, to solve the problem should someone ask 'why consult a dream man - a man who busies himself with the deceitful?'-and the questioner quotes the celebrated reply of Artabanus to Xerxes (Herodotus Book 2, 132). Eustathius, no doubt following the earlier Scholiasts explains that not all dreams are false but some come from Zeus which they used to call god-sent. This explanation is surely right. Achilles knew that his audience had experience of meaningless dreams: he now quietly reminds them that they can also be divine. There can be no doubt that this represents the view of Homer. "Le rêve homérique est un outil pour le dessein providential qui préside aux événements de l'épopée." Björck cannot agree with Mazon's celebrated dictum (Introduction to the Iliad 1942 page 294) "La vérité est qu'il n'y eut jamais poème moins religieux que l'Iliade". An examination of the part played by dreams in the Epic shows this to be grossly exaggerated, if not actually untrue.

(b) Iliad, 2. 6.

We turn now from a discussion of a dream to an actual appearance. It holds a very important place in the structure of the Iliad and as Hundt observes "Als repräsentativ für den

homerischen Traumglauben pflegt der Traum des Agamemnon in Buch 2 der Ilias angesehen zu werden." (Der Traumglaube bei Homer, Greifswald, 1935, p.44). He adds that it is the clearest example of an Aussentraum - an "Objective" dream as opposed to Innentraum "Subjective" or purely mental.

Agamemnon has compelled Achilles to surrender Briseis having followed the advice of Calchas in giving up Chryseis. Achilles is now by his hut, wretched but later comforted by his mother Thetis who promises to inform Zeus. He takes note of what has happened and pledges his support. A quarrel ensues between Zeus and Hera; but after feasting, the gods return to their homes and sleep. There follows the well-known contradiction where we are told Zeus cannot sleep. The difficulty is not a serious one: probably, as Monro (p.261) points out, we are to assume that Zeus dropped off to sleep and woke in a restless way whereas the other slept all night. The point is only of interest in so far as it helps us to understand the dream of Telemachus where similar contradictory evidence is given by the poet (Odyssey, 15. 4-8). Zeus wishes to avenge Achilles and to destroy many Greeks by their ships. His plan is to send a False Dream to Agamemnon. He summons the dream,

καί μιν φωνήσας (Iliad, 2. 6.),

and asks it to repeat his message exactly. When the Dream hears the message it hurries to the Greek ships, to Agamemnon. It finds him in his hut,

εὐδοντ' ἐν κλισίῃ τὸν δ' ἐκίχανεν (lines 18-19)

First, we notice that Zeus does not have to create the dream: it is already in existence. This, however, is not always the case, for when Athene (Odyssey, 4. 787-841), sends a phantom to Penelope, she first has to create it:

εἶδωλον ποίησε (cf. Iliad, 5. 499, ὃ εἶδωλον τεύξε).

The relationship between dream and phantom is very close and will be discussed in a later section. In many respects the Odyssey dream is like the present one, indeed Hey (page 12) maintains that it is an imitation. We need not assume that we see here a dream divinity, which is the most likely assumption if too much stress is laid on the existence of the dream before the summons of Zeus. Doederlein (ad loc) describes the dream as "res vel umbra Iovis mutu statim creata et post brevem usum interitura" (apud Dindorf). There is a close similarity between the appearance of Nestor and the other numerous theophanies in the epic poems.

The meaning of the epithet οὖλος is not too obvious. Hesychius (probably 5th cent. A.D.) gives for Iliad, 5. 461, an epithet of Ares,

ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀλετήρ δεινός

and this surely must be its meaning here. Liddell and Scott (Eighth edition) explained that the phrase meant "the very, actually existent Dream-god," adding that "the sense requires a general epithet and 'pernicious' cannot be so applied" The Ninth Edition classes it simply with Ares (Iliad 5, 461 and 717) and with Achilles (21. 536). But the dream in itself is not destructive.

Schol. D. says: οὐκ αὐτὸν ὀλέθριον ὄντα
ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ πεμπόμενον

There is confusion in the Scholiasts over the three principal meanings of the word: (a) soft and woolly, (b) whole and entire, (c) destructive, baneful. The last is to be preferred by

analogy: (Schol. Venetus B.) ΤΟΥΤΟ ΚΑΤὰ ΣΥΜΠάΘΕΙΑΝ,
ὡς οὐλομένην (Iliad, 1.2.).

The dream, after all, is a deceitful trick: its purpose is simply to bring destruction to the Greeks and to avenge Achilles (Iliad, 2. 3,4.) Like so many Homeric epithets, οὐλος describes the underlying nature and not the outward appearance (e.g. Odyssey, 16. 4, and 22. 332). The only other epithet used in the Iliad is θεῖος (Iliad, 2. 22, 56) 'having its origin from the gods'.

The fact that the dream is both 'false' and 'divine' is also notable. In the Odyssey dreams are ἀμήχανοι, and ἀκριτόμυθοι (19. 560) and ἀμενηνοί (19. 562).

The dream which "acts in many ways as do the gods" (Messer, The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy, New York, 1918, p.6) finds Agamemnon in his hut and stands above Agamemnon's head. This is a traditional position (cf. Iliad, 10. 496; 23. 68; Odyssey 4. 803; 6. 21; 20. 32). As Björck says, "On voit que la mise en scène est assez fixe" (p.309). We may compare also Herodotus, 7, 12, and the celebrated dream in the Crito 44 A-B. In the light of this strong literary tradition, it is remarkable that no painting

of it seems to have survived. Angels in mediaeval art hover above the head, and it is possible that this conception is merely a continuation of the Greek practice. (cf. *Iliad*, 15. 173, Iris appears to Poseidon: ἀγχοῦ δ' ἴσταμένη).

Why this particular position - above the head? The Scholiasts explain that the speaker is thus nearer the perceptive faculties.

ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἴσταται ὡς τῶν αἰσθήσεων
φθεγγόμενος πλησίον. αἱ δὲ αἰσθήσεις
ἀπὸ τῆς βάσεως τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου τὴν ἀρχὴν
ἔχουσιν.

Eustathius (ad loc.) says that Homer guesses at the seat of sensation:

αἰνιττόμενος ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸ λογιστικὸν
εἶναι ὅπου καὶ ὁ ἐγκέφαλος, ἐξ οὗ περ ἡ
ἀρχὴ τῶν αἰσθήσεων.

There is much truth in this. In an Homeric dream, the recipient sees and hears. It is only natural therefore that the dream should station itself nearest those faculties. We need scarcely locate the Homeric λογιστικόν.

It is natural that Zeus should send a dream like Nestor (lines 20-22), for as Homer explains, Nestor was greatly honoured by Agamemnon. Eustathius taking the dream to be completely objective ingeniously suggests that it is of itself invisible and is seen only by assuming the likeness of someone. Messer too notes its

complete objectivity (p.3.) but Wetzel rightly argues that what Agamemnon dreams is nothing but his own opinion since he had persuaded himself that he would be victorious without Achilles. (J.G. Wetzel, *Quomodo poetae epici et Graeci et Romani somnia descripserint*. Thesis of Berlin 1931). It is likely that Agamemnon would dream of Nestor and plans of campaign. It is surely one of the great merits of a dream that it takes us inside the character's mind. In this light none of the Homeric dreams is unreasonable. Just as Iphthime is in the mind of Penelope, (Od. 4, 787-841) and as the daughter of Dymas (Od. 6, 13-51) appears to Nausicaa, so here Nestor appears to Agamemnon in the present passage. All these dreams, external though they are in form, are in the words of Wetzel, "ex animo dormientis hominis." As we shall see from the passages describing anxiety, Homer realised that dreams come about by the workings of a wakeful mind and he probably follows the ancient usage of the epic poets when he describes what happens in sleep as real and external. Wetzel says that to deny Homer's knowledge of psychology - the way men believe and behave - places too much emphasis on the art of the epic poet: "arti enim poeticae Homeri nimis tribuas, si putes hunc narrandi morem effectum esse inertia poetae, qui quasdam naturales res in animis hominum gestas depingere non potuerit." (Op. cit. p.10).

Dreams are described as external - and so they appear to the dreamer. But they are not "completely objective" - in each case we shall, without "importing modern psychological subtleties into

Homer," see that the dream is a likely mental experience for the dreamer. Wetzel says that "a deo incitatus" is understood by us as "cogitatione et consilio sui animi commotus." He gives as an example Iliad, l. 197-200, where Pallas Athene appears to Achilles and the ensuing dialogue can either be taken as a conversation between a divine and a man, or simply as an internal conflict in the mind of Achilles. I believe both views have an element of truth: the latter is what we must suppose to have taken place, the former is the epic way of describing it. Contrary to the practice usual in dreams Achilles opens the conversation with the divinity.

The delivery of the divine message to Agamemnon is interesting. Zeus has asked that his words should be spoken very accurately (line 10). The dream observes this, but to the five lines of instruction given by Zeus he adds five of his own as a prologue, and two more as a further reminder at the end. The first words are to reassure:

Εὔδεις, Ἀτρέος υἱὲ δαΐφρονος ἵπποδάμοιο (line 23).

Nauck, Paley and Ameis (together with the O.C.T.) punctuate with a colon: but Leeuwen, Dindorf and Ludwich give a question mark. Dr. Rieu translates it as a question. The line is repeated at line 60 and we may compare Iliad, 23. 69 where Patroclus visits Achilles:

Εὔδεις, αὐτὰρ ἔμεϊο λελασμένος ἔπλευ Ἀχιλλεύ.

A fuller version is given in Book 24 683 where Hermes appears to Priam:

ὦ γέρον, οὐ νύ τι σοί γε μέλει κακόν, οἶον ἔθ' εὔδεις
 ἀνδράσιν ἐν δῆϊοισιν, ἔπει σ' εἶασεν Ἀχιλλεύς.
 At Odyssey 4 804 the O.C.T. punctuates with a question mark.

All other editors punctuate similarly, except Ameis.

Εὔδεις, Πηνελόπεια, φίλον τετιημένην ἦτορ.

It is surely better to dispense with the question mark. In each case the dream reminds the recipient of his or her state. The audience too can mark well the nature of the message. The natural human reaction to a theophany is one of fear. The reassurance is therefore necessary, and I believe, formulaic. (See also Iliad, 24. 171 θάρσει, and Od. 19. 546. Cf. St. Luke 1. 31 and 2. 10). Messer (ad. loc) in stressing the objectivity of the dream writes "There is no statement that Agamemnon dreamed that Nestor appeared, or that he beheld him in sleep." Bearing in mind that the first word spoken to Agamemnon is "εὔδεις" this is surprising, to say the least.

We have now considered the nature of the dream, its creation, epithets, position and form. It remains for us briefly to examine its part in the plot. It comes at the crisis in the story: it is the first move in favour of Achilles after the quarrel. Agamemnon is told that the chance of capturing Troy has come. Hera has persuaded the gods, and the Trojans' fate is sealed. He is reminded

not to forget the message when he wakens. Indeed we are told:

θεῖη δέ μιν ἀμφέχουσ' ὀμφή (line 41)

surely, a very beautiful description of the strong impression left by a vivid dream. The fact that it is aural rather than visual need not worry us: such dreams are a common experience. Again, it stresses the subjective side of the dream. We may also note the convention by which Nestor in the dream introduces himself as the messenger of Zeus (line 26). Agamemnon therefore is reminded both of the fact that he is sleeping and also that despite appearances, no ordinary Nestor confronts him. This absence of illusion is marked too by Agamemnon's account of his experience:

κλυτε φίλοι· θεῖός μοι ἐνύπνιον ἦλθεν ὄνειρος
ἀμβροσίην δὶδ νύκτα· μάλιστα δὲ Νέστορι δῖω
εἶδός τε μέγεθος τε φυήν τ' ἀγχιστα ἐώκει.

Wetzel who, like Messer, wishes to stress the objectivity of the dream writes "Agamemnon se cum ipso Nestore colloqui putat" but as we have seen this is not the case, and it leads to a false conclusion "Somnia igitur sunt graves et externae res quae a cotidianis hominis vigilantis rebus hac tantum ratione differunt, quod, per somnum fiunt." It is true that waking visions and dreams are both εἶδωλα but the characters of Homer recognise each for what they are. Here Agamemnon must realise in his sleep that it is a dream, and such immediate recognition is often the case with

waking visions e.g. Achilles with Pallas Athene:

αὐτίκα δ' ἔγνω / Παλλάς Ἀθηναίην
Iliad, l. 199-200.

Agamemnon immediately summons an assembly through his heralds; but before they gather he speaks to his council. He recounts the dream verbatim - we hear the message of Zeus for the third time - and points out that the forces must be brought up in battle order. Then, very curiously, he announces that he will test his men by suggesting the very opposite. This move we must consider, but first the speech of Nestor (lines 79-83) calls for special attention.

εἰ μὲν τις τὸν ὄνειρον Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλος ἐνίσπε
ψευδός κεν φαίμεν καὶ νοσφίλοίμεθα μάλλον.
νῦν δ' ἴδεν ὅς μὲν ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν εὐχεται εἶναι.

Nestor makes no comment on the fact that his εἶδωλον appeared to Agamemnon. To him the only important consideration in dealing with a dream is the status of the dreamer. This view of the recipient must also have been held by Homer's Zeus.

ἦδε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνεται βουλή
πέμψαι ἐπ' Ἀτρεΐδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονι οὐλον ὄνειρον.

(lines 5-6)

If this were not the case then the dream could have been sent to any one in the camp. Xenophon enjoyed the most opportune dreams in the Anabasis as Commander-in-Chief, (e.g. Anabasis 4. 3. 8)

These important leaders were surely regarded by their men, both in Homer's time and later, as dreamers specially favoured. And from this position it is a short step to incubation, as we see in the story of Xerxes and Artabanus. (Herodotus, 7. 12-18) We may pity the credulity of Thoas when Odysseus recounts a dream for a most trivial reason (Od. 14. 495). The night visions of commanders were held in much the same esteem as their waking commands.

As soon as Nestor had finished speaking the Council broke up. The Council serves only to reinforce the importance of the dream and to relate the real Nestor with his εἰδωλον . The Assembly now gathers and remarkably we hear no more of the dream, although Agamemnon, and more particularly Odysseus and Nestor, could have made good use of it in restoring the flagging spirits of the men. This, I believe, is a mark of oral poetry: once a subject has been narrated, it is quickly dropped and the bard moves to fresh topics. In the Aeneid there is a constant referring back. Wilamowitz (Die Ilias und Homer, p. 261) looks for the same polish, 'as nearly word-perfect as midnight oil and pumice can effect', as Lawrence says "Der Traum ist zwar als Bindeglied unentbehrlich, hat aber weiter keinen Zweck, denn er ist vergessen." (Is not the dream of Nausicaa also "forgotten" when she asks her father for the waggon? Od. 6. 57-65). He suggests that the poet who finished the first book invented the dream and the following Council of leaders in order to join his work on the older poem containing Books 2, 3, 4 and 5. But surely the dream is an integral part.

Zeus wishes to avenge Achilles and to bring destruction on the Greeks (Iliad, 2. 3 - 4). He chooses the Dream as the most effective means and the books following (Iliad, 2-19) show the consequences of Agamemnon's foolish decision. The Dream is the prelude to the fierce fighting which occupies so much of the poem until Achilles relents in Book 19. For all this suffering, the will of Zeus, the wrath of Achilles and the arrogance of Agamemnon must be held responsible. We may feel sorry that Agamemnon was deceived by a false dream: not so Homer -

νήπιος, οὐδὲ τὰ ἤδη ἄρα Ζεὺς μήδετο ἔργα. (line 38)

It is the first stage in the reconciliation: Agamemnon must learn his lesson. As Wetzel argues 'hoc somnio singulas tantum fabulae partes coniungi inter se, quo res gerendae procedant, quis est qui neget?' From the point of view of the plot this dream is the most important in the Iliad. Its position may be compared with that of Nausicaa's dream in the Odyssey. Each marks a change of fortune for the outcast: Achilles in his tent, Odysseus shipwrecked in the Phaeacian shore.

Thus the Greeks are summoned, however indirectly, by a dream. It is interesting to compare this with the very similar summons delivered by Iris later in the same Book (lines 786-806). Hector, like Agamemnon, though with better grounds for his faith, recognises the voice of the goddess and acts immediately.

Ἔκτωρ δ' οὐ τι θεῶς ἔπος ἠγνοίησεν,
αἶψα δὲ λῦσ' ἀγορήν. (lines 807-8).

And so by a Dream and by a goddess the forces are brought together for the conflict which occupies the central portion of the *Iliad*.

(c) *Iliad*, 5. 149-150.

In the conflict Diomedes comes upon the sons of Eurydamas and kills them.

ὁ δ' Ἄβαντα μετώχετο καὶ Πολύειδον,
 υἱέας Εὐρυδάμαντος, ὄνειροπόλοιο γέροντος·
 τοῖς οὐκ ἔρχομένοις ὁ γέρων ἔκρίνατ' ὄνειρους,
 ἀλλὰ σφεας κρατερὸς Διομήδης ἔξενάριξε·

(*Iliad* 5. 148-151)

The passage is of great interest because the poet seems to give a wry smile at the fate of these sons of a dreamer of dreams. The ancient commentators raised three questions, none of which perhaps have been satisfactorily answered. The first is the precise meaning of ὄνειροπόλος in this context - especially considering its proximity to ἔκρίνατο and the possibility of its meaning ὄνειροκρίτης. The second is whether the negative is to be taken with the participle or the main verb, and the last problem, not of such great moment, is the use of the middle in the main verb.

The meaning of ὄνειροπόλος has already been discussed in

connexion with *Iliad*, 1. 62. The word occurs twice in Homer. Professor Dodds allows that it may mean a specially favoured dreamer in the earlier passage but has denied the possibility of such a meaning here - presumably on the strength of ἔκρινατο.

The Scholiast on Venetus A. sees no such difficulty:

ὄνειροπόλοιο] ὅτι ὄνειροπόλος ὁ διὰ τῶν ἰδίων
ὄνείρων μαντευόμενος, οὐχ ὁ ὄνειροκριτής.

Homer uses this word, he says, because a dream man divines through his own dreams: he is not an interpreter. But in Herodotus 1. 128, and 5. 56, the meaning is without doubt 'interpreter', for the dreams come to Cyrus and Hipparchus respectively, and they then submitted them to the interpreters.

Hesychius (probably 5th cent. A.D.) does not bear out the distinction; but he probably shows a preference in the order given: ὄνειροπόλος (α 62)· ὄνειροκριτής. ἢ ὁ περὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ὄνείρους πολούμενος, καὶ διὰ τούτων τοὺς πέλας μαντεύμενος· ἢ ὁ κρινῶν αὐτούς.

Incubation was so well known at this later time that it is indeed difficult to arrive at Homer's precise meaning. Some help, I believe, can be obtained by looking at the cognate forms in Homer:

οἰωνοπόλος

Iliad, 1. 69, 6. 76.

δικασπόλος

Iliad, 1. 238, *Od.* 11. 186

αἰπόλος

Iliad, 2. 474, 4. 275, *Od.* 20. 173, et saepe.

ἵπποπόλος

Iliad, 13. 4, 14. 227.

ἄμφιπόλος

Iliad, 3. 143, et saepe.

They are all defined by the lexicographer as:

ὁ (περὶ τοὺς οἰωνοὺς, ἐφ' ἵπποις κ.τ.λ.) πολούμενος

The root word πέλω is common in Homer and means 'come into existence'. In the compound nouns therefore there is the idea of 'being engaged in'

Cf. "in re difficili versabor" Cicero, Legg. 3. 15, 33.

Indeed ἄμφιπόλος the adjective was used later meaning 'busy'.

(In Homer it is only found as a feminine noun meaning 'handmaid').

It is clear that just as one can be busy with horses, goats and justice so one can be busy with birds and dreams. But it is equally clear that it is going beyond the evidence to make 'a man busy with dreams' necessarily an 'interpreter of dreams' in the later sense. (Only at Odyssey 19, 535, 555, is there a suggestion that the dream (a symbolic one) requires interpretation. In all the other Homeric examples the message is immediate. I believe that δνειροκρίτης is a more specialised word, and it is never used in the sense of 'a specially favoured dreamer'. δνειροπόλος on the other hand, is a general word meaning 'dream-man' and though it is used for a man occupied with his own dreams, by its general application it is used often for a man busy with the dreams of others.

In Homer (apart from Od. 19), there is nothing to suggest dream interpretation, and the general emphasis seems to be on the favoured dreamer (Iliad, 1. 63, 2. 79-83, Od. 4. 787-841, Od. 6.13-51)

The second question raised by this passage is how the negative is to be taken:

ΤΟΙΣ ΟΥΚ ἔρχομένοις ὁ γέρων ἔκρινετ' ὄνειρους

It can either be taken with the main verb thus:

"yet discerned he no dreams for them when they went"

or the negative can be taken with the participle immediately following:

"yet came they not home for him to discern dreams for them"

Of the two translations, the first is preferable because it avoids taking ἔρχομένοις as ἔπιανερχομένοις.

In either case, Homer is smiling at dream prophecy and we may compare the following passages:

- (1) Iliad, 5. 53, Artemis does not help a hunter.
- (2) Iliad, 2. 858, Ennomus dies despite his bird-lore.
- (3) Iliad, 2. 873, Gold armour does not save Amphimachus.
- (4) Iliad, 6. 16, Wealth and popularity do not save Axylus.

The wry humour shows us that though (1) hunting, (2) bird-lore, (3) gold armour, (4) wealth and popularity, may be good, none of these things will help a man in battle when faced by mighty warriors. And so here with dreams: though perhaps of value, they are ineffective when these sons of Eurydamas meet Diomedes. We see much the same situation with the sons of Merops (Iliad, 11. 330). Although they are the sons of the ablest prophet of the day they, too, meet their deaths at the hands of Diomedes.

The third problem raised by the passage is the use of the middle instead of the active for the main verb.

ὁ γέρων ἐκρίνατ' ὄνειρους

It is the only example of this usage. The active form is found often (Herodotus, 1. 120, 7, 19. Aeschylus, P.V. 485, etc.) But I feel we may legitimately compare the use of ὑποκρίναι (middle imperative) and ὑποκρίνασθαι (middle infinitive) at Odyssey, 19. 535, and 555. I do not believe it means here 'interpret' so much as 'expound' or discern.

(d) Iliad, 10. 496-497.

In the midst of the (central) conflict King Rhesus dreams of Diomedes and dies at his hands. Whether or not the Doloneia is a late addition is scarcely a question that can be discussed here. Despite Shewan's defence of the book as an original part of the Iliad, the great majority of scholars ("all analysts and many unitarians" to borrow the phrase of Professor Dodds) have concluded that the Book is late. A more immediate problem is the athetising of line 497 by Aristonicus and many others (See Aristonici Περὶ Σημείων Ἰλιάδος Friedländer, Göttingen 1853, page 183)

We have already noted the bias of Zenodotus against dreams and we may compare the view of Aristonicus, an Alexandrian Scholar who lived in the Augustan age. He says of line 497 that it is worthless for the plot and that when the line is not read, the audience think of Diomedes standing over Rhesus like a dream:

497 ἀθετεῖται, ὅτι καὶ τῇ συνθέσει εὐτελής·
καὶ μὴ ῥηθέντος δὲ νοεῖται ὅτι ὡς ὄναρ
ἐφίσταται τῷ Τησῶ ὁ Διομήδης.

The first point need scarcely detain us: it is true that the line adds little; but it does serve as a reminder to the audience of how Athene was taking a keen interest in the expedition (see lines 274 - 295). Diomedes and Odysseus set out for the Trojan camp at the suggestion of Nestor. Similarly, Dolon sets out from the Trojan army at an invitation from Hector. Dolon is caught and gives Odysseus full information on the Trojan positions, including the Thracian King and his famous horses. Dolon is killed and Diomedes and Odysseus come upon the Thracian encampment. Rhesus sleeps in the centre with his horses by him. Diomedes, urged on by Athene, kills the Thracians with his sword. The thirteenth man to die is Rhesus who is breathing heavily and is under the influence of an evil dream:

τὸν τρισκαίδέκατον μελιηδέα θυμὸν ἀπηύρα
ἀσθμαίνοντα· κακὸν γὰρ ὄναρ κεφαλῆφιν ἐπέστη
τὴν νύκτ', οἶνείδασ παῖς, δια μῆτιν Ἀθῆνης.

(lines 495 - 497)

The second point made by Aristonicus is very tempting. The simile of Diomedes quivering with fury and standing over the head of

Rhesus deep in slumber just like a dream (for this is the traditional position, as we have seen) is indeed striking. It is particularly valuable in that it demonstrates quite clearly what Aristonicus understood by ἐπέστη. He has in mind a man simply standing by the sleeper. But there is no need to drop the offending line. Van Leeuwen argues thus (Iliad p.371): "quae in somno cernuntur species creduntur reuera adstare cubili dormientis (cf. Ψ 62 - 101). At nunc Rheso non umbra inanis et innocua adstat, sed insomnium tristissimum, quippe verum, quo oppressus ultimum spiritum duxit, haud secus anhelans atque qui incubo urgentur. Amari risus plena est locutio; nam malum illud somnium dicitur ipse Diomedes. Nempe homines dormientes si quis eorum cubili adstet, per somnum agitari solere, nota res est. Minime autem spurius est versus 497 quam damnarunt veteres, sed quam maxime necessarius, licet displiceat neglectum F nominis Φοιβεΐδης". He draws out the full irony of the situation - an irony which is so typical of Homer (compare Iliad, 2. 858, 5. 53 and 6. 16) Homer seems to shrug his shoulders at man's pitiful condition in battle. The suggestion that men are disturbed in their sleep by a person standing near is shrewd and it throws further light on this remarkable passage.

Eustathius too finds great interest in this passage particularly the irony of it, though he asks legitimately how the story is known. If Rhesus was suffering an evil dream, surely the story would die

with him unless we are to take the poet as a vox Dei:

Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ἐν τῷ κακὸν γὰρ ὄναρ
κεφαλῆφιν ἐπέστη τὴν νύκτα, ἀστείως μὲν
ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ γλυκέως ἔφρασεν, ἤδη δὲ καὶ
ἀσφαλῶς διὰ τὸ καὶ ὑπνοῦντα βαθεῦ τὸν
Ῥῆσον καὶ ἐν νυκτὶ δὲ τῷ κακῷ ἐντυχεῖν.

Notice, he says, how cleverly and felicitously the poet speaks in the phrase "and evil dream stood over his head that night". The poet speaks sensibly too on account of the fact that Rhesus was fast asleep and met this evil at night. But Eustathius very shrewdly sees the difficulty, which is passed over by most modern editors.

ἄλλως μέντοι ἀναπτυσσόμενον τολμηρὸν
καὶ οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἔστι τὸ νόημα. τὸ μὲν
γὰρ ὄναρ ὁράται ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄνειροπολοῦντος
ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὁ οἶον ὄνειροπολούμενος
Διομήδης οὐχ ὁράται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τὸν Ῥῆσον
ὄρα. εἴ μὴ ἄρα ἡ Μοῦσα πάντα εἰδυῖα
οἶδεν ὅτι καὶ ἐν ὄνειρῳ ταῦτα τῷ Ῥῆσῳ
ἔφαινόντο. τοῦτο δὲ λύει μὲν ἀπορίαν,
ἀφανίζει δὲ τὴν χάριν τοῦ νοήματος.

In other respects, he says, the concept is naked, bold and

unsound. For the dream is seen by the dreamer. Diomedes, the subject of the dream as he is, is not seen, but sees Rhesus. Unless indeed the omniscient Muse knows that these events appeared to Rhesus in a dream. This solves the difficulty, says Eustathius, but it also destroys the point of the concept.

The double-entendre - which I am sure was intended by the poet - is indeed bold but like many literary devices it must not be examined too closely or else the point will be lost. Similes - and this is half a simile - must not be pressed too far. It is interesting especially to note that Eustathius accepts the reading as it stands and does not follow the Scholiasts on this occasion.

The Scholiast on Venetus B. offers yet another suggestion with a curiously modern ring about it. "Whenever anyone has an accident in the night we say that he has had a nightmare".

ὅταν γὰρ τις νυκτὸς κακῶ τινὶ περιπέσῃ,
φάμεν ὅτι κακὸν ὄναρ εἶδεν ὁ δεινὰ.

This too is implied by Homer. The nightmare of reality is added to the nightmare of illusion. Zuretti says of Athene "era crudele: voler l'uccisione e il dolore e la quasi coscienza d'essa, almeno in sogno, è crudeltà raffinita" (C.O. Zuretti Omero *L'Iliade* Turin 1896-1905 ad loc)

That line 497 should stand is given further support by Björck who sees "une ressemblance très frappante avec la type nordique". The Scholiasts rejected the line because they did not understand it, and knew of no parallels. Modern editors mostly followed suit:

but as we see, the situation is found too in Icelandic saga: "On reconnaît le tour d'expression typique (ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς στήναι) Mais il n'est pas douteux que Rhesos est hanté, précisément comme les héros islandais, par un présage inquiétant et que son halètement est tout à fait analogue à l'agitation de ces rêveurs." The importance of treating the Iliad as an oral epic and not a literary exercise cannot be over emphasised. Many such lines as this, which have been suspected and consequently ignored, may have great interest for the hearer of epic poetry. This particular dream obviously caught attention early, for in the Rhesus (a play probably by Euripides in the view of Gilbert Murray) we read not of Rhesus dreaming, but his charioteer. (lines 780 - 786). The dream showed how wolves rode on the backs of the famous horses of Rhesus. The charioteer woke to find Diomedes and Odysseus killing the men and stealing the horses, as in the Iliad. In other words the charioteer woke up to see the realisation of his evil dream. The device of the dream immediately presaging disaster is surely borrowed from Homer. But the dramatist wisely avoids for his purposes the complication of the vox dei (impossible in a theatre) and transfers the dream to the charioteer. If the conception in Homer were not so striking, Euripides would not have borrowed it for his play.

Two further points require notice. First, the sender of the dream and secondly the time at which it appeared. In the Iliad (1. 63, 2. 1.) Zeus is named as the sender of the dream, but here we have Athene whom we shall see in this rôle in the Odyssey (4. 787-

841, 6. 13 - 51). Even this divine element annoyed Aristonicus, and he placed the responsibility for the death of Rhesus on the shoulders of Dolon:

"Διὰ μῆτιν Ἀθήνης" λυπεῖ· μᾶλλον γὰρ διὰ
τὴν Δόλωνος ἀπαγγελίαν

The time at which the dream is sent is interesting in the light of later tradition. Dreams before midnight are false, but after midnight they are true:

post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera

(Horace Satires 1, 10)

The dream of Rhesus was near dawn (line 251), in the third part of the night (253). Was it then true? It can scarcely have been more true! Messer (p.11) suggests that ΚΑΚΟΝ may mean 'false' but the dream was plainly an evil one, and this surely must be the meaning of the Greek.

The dream of Rhesus is remarkable for its irony. Its subtlety has baffled scholars both ancient and modern, but in the light of the imitation by Euripides and the parallels in more recent sagas we can confidently regard the lines as genuine and so increase our debt to the epic bard.

(e) Iliad, 16. 234 - 235

"Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναίε, Πελασγικέ, τῆλόθι ναίων
Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου· ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοῖ
σοι ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται ἀνπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι."

Achilles prays to Zeus before Patroclus enters the battle. The words he uses in the invocation take us far back into the early days of Greece and they have been the subject of discussion both in ancient and modern times. The ancient references are as follows:

- (1) Hesiod (Fragment 134. Scholiast on Sophocles Trachiniae 1167)
- (2) Pindar (Scholiast on Iliad loc. cit.)
- (3) Aristotle Meteorologica, 1, 14. 352b. 2.
- (4) Callimachus, Delian Hymn, line 286.

(1) In the Catalogue of Women or Ehoiai, Hesiod describes the oracle (χρηστήριον line 6) at Dodona.

ἐνθεν ἐπιχθόνιοι μαντήϊα πάντα φέρονται

(He gives the name of the district as 'Ελλοπή or 'Ελλοπή

(line 1)

(2) Pindar (according to the Scholiast on Venetus A.) also did not read the sigma.

Σελλοί] Πίνδαρος 'Ελλοί χωρὶς τοῦ σ, ἀπὸ
'Ελλοῦ τοῦ δρυτόμου, ὡς φασι τὴν περισσεύσαν
πρώτην καταδείξαι τὸ μαντεῖον.

He connected the name with Hellus the woodcutter to whom the first dove revealed the oracle.

(3) Aristotle:

(ἢ 'Ελλάς ἢ ἀρχαία) — ἔστιν ἡ περὶ τὴν
Δωδώνην καὶ τὸν Ἀχελώϊον..... ὠϊκουν
γὰρ οἱ Σελλοί ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι
τότε μὲν Γραικοὶ νῦν δὲ 'Ελληνες.

The antiquity of the oracelē was recognised by the Greeks themselves.

(4) Callimachus.

ἃ Δωδώνηθε Πελασγοί
 Τηλόθεν ἔκβαίνοντα πολὺ πρῶτιστα δέχονται
 γηλεχέες θεράπροντες ἄσιγῆτοιο λεβήτος

The epithet γηλεχέες (found only in this passage) is an admirable alternative for χαμαιεῦναι (a word used by Empedocles of lions: Fragment 127).

There is, of course, a wealth of evidence for so important an oracle (cf. Aeschylus, P.V. 658 et seq. where Inachus sends to Dodona for advice about the dreams of Io. Also Euripides, Phoenissae, 982, Andromache, 886 and Sophocles, Trachiniae 1166 et seq. where the Selloi are described as ὄρειοι and χαμαικοῖται.

From a consideration of this evidence we see that at Dodona there was an oracle of great antiquity which was attended by the local tribe of Selloi or Helloi who are variously described as ἐπιχθόνιοι, χαμαιεῦναι and γηλεχέες. The question now arises: is this an early example of incubation? There is an early tradition of this mentioned by Eustathius (1057. 64) who quotes Lycophron: (born c.320 B.C.)

χαμαὶ γάρ, φασι, δοραῖς ἐγκοιμῶμενοι, δι'
 ὄνειρων τοῖς χρωμένοις χρηματίζουσιν ἐκ Διὸς
 καθ' αὖ καὶ Λυκόφρων ἱστορεῖ.

For as Lycophron records, (Alexandra lines 1050-1) they deliver the oracles of Zeus through dreams for those who consult them and they sleep on the ground on skins. We may compare too Euripides, Iphigenia in Tauris, 1261-9, where the origins of chthonic prophecy through dreams is described, and Hecuba 70 where the earth is invoked as the sender of dreams. Important also is the testimony of Pausanias, 1, 34, 5. who describes the unquestionably ancient oracle of Amphiaraus:

δοκῶ δὲ Ἀμφιάραον ὄνειράτων διακρίσει
 μάλιστα προσκεῖσθαι· δῆλος δέ, ἥνικα
 ἔνομίσθη θεός, δι' ὄνειράτων μαντικὴν
 καταστήσάμενος.

Amphiaraus, he says, devoted himself principally to the expounding of dreams. Clearly when he was recognised as a god he set up a dream oracle.

In the light of this evidence it seems quite likely that Homer is referring to the practice of incubation. The Selloi are described as sleeping on the ground which, like sleeping on tombs, is a practice found among primitive tribes. The epithet ἀνπιτόποδες also shows, I believe, a deep devotion to the chthonic powers.

The Scholiast on Venetus A. suggests that it either is the practice of nomadic tribes who are unwilling to change their ways and wash their feet or it is a mark of respect to the divinity.

ἤτοι βάρβαροι σκληρῶς τε καὶ νομαδικῶς
 ἰῶντες, ταύτην ἔχοντες δίαιταν ὡς μηδὲ
 ἀπονίξασθαι τοὺς πόδας διὰ τὸ παραδέξασθαι
 τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου βίου μεταβολὴν, ἢ
 τοῦτο ἐκ τινὸς ἔθους ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ
 θεοῦ ποιῶντες.

The Scholiast favours the first suggestion but the Homeric epithet suggests rather the ritual avoidance of water than merely barbaric lack of cleanliness. We may compare *Iliad*, 23. 43-44 where Achilles taking an oath by Zeus refuses to allow water near his head:

"οὐ μὰ Ζῆν' ὅς τις τε θεῶν ὕπατος καὶ ἀριστος
 οὐ θέμις ἔστι λοετρὰ καρήατος ἄσπον ἴκεσθαι"

and this may be connected with the epithet of Zeus, Νάϊος which the Scholiast on Venetus B. explains as 'wet' (on *Iliad* 16 233)-

ὑδρηλά γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖ χώρια (See Halliday p.133

"the water power gives oracles in dreams: Hesychius; Βρίησι, and Athenaeus VIII 355A. "Brizo is actually a water goddess).

Eustathius makes the following suggestion: τῶν κάτω
 ταῖς διανοίαις διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς μαντεῖαις
 φιλοσοφίαν.

They have, he says, a respect for those below. They behave in

the way they do on account of their views on divination.

There is now no doubt in the light of recent study and excavations that the Dodona referred to is in Epirus and is not the one in Thessaly (see Odyssey, 14. 327. For excavations see supplement to J.H.S. 1957 etc.)

There cannot, of course, be certainty in the matter but there seems to be a great deal of evidence to suggest that this chthonic oracle was attended by an Epeirote tribe who slept on the ground and prophesied through dreams. The explanation of Odyssey 4. 440 is far less certain and must be discussed in a later chapter.

(f) Iliad, 22. 199-200

We turn now from a dream practice of the very earliest times to a description which is startling in its modernity. Achilles has now relented and comes out to meet Hector, who despite a long deliberation (lines 99-130) feels quite unable to meet the mightiest of the Greeks. He runs away, and Achilles pursues. Achilles cannot catch up with Hector: Hector cannot escape Achilles.

ὥς δ' ἐν ὄνειρῳ οὐ δύναται φεύγοντα διώκειν.
οὔτ' ἄρ' ὁ τὸν δύναται ὑποφύγειν οὔθ' ὁ διώκειν,
ὥς ὁ τὸν οὐ δύνατο μάρψαι ποσσίν, οὐδ' ὅς ἀλύξαι.

After a brilliant account of the turmoil in Hector's mind, Homer delights us with a simile which impresses his audience by drawing a parallel with what is completely familiar to all. Cf. *Iliad*, 2. 469-471 and *Iliad*, 16. 641-643. Flies round the cowsheds would be a sight common to everyone and so here, the anxiety dream of fruitless pursuit is extremely common.

In the light of this, it is astonishing to find that the Scholiasts, no doubt following the Alexandrian scholars, dropped these very lines. Venetus A. says:

ὡς δ' ἐν ὄνειρῳ] ἀθετοῦνται στίχοι τρεῖς, ὅτι
καὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ τῷ νοήματι εὐτελεῖς· καὶ
γὰρ ἀπραξίαν δρόμου καὶ τὸ ἀπαράβατον
σημαίνουσιν ἐναντίως τῷ
"ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀεθλόφοροι περὶ τέρματα μώνυχες ἵπποι"

(*Iliad* 22 line 162)

The three lines are considered to be without value both as regards composition and general sense, and because they describe a uselessness and immutability which is the opposite of line 162, "like powerful race horses sweeping round the turning post." He seizes on the futility of the pursuit in the nightmare and points to the fine purposeful running in a race. But surely the point in the simile is that Achilles was unable to catch up, and this is not so much ἀπραξία - non-action - as want of success.

Similarly the Scholiast on Venetus B. has missed the point:

τὸ ἄπρακτον θέλει δηλώσαι ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνα φαντασία
καὶ οὐκ ἀληθεία εἰσιν, οὕτω καὶ οὗτοι οὐδὲν ἤννον,
οὔτε οὗτος τὸ φεύγειν οὔτε οὗτος τὸ καταλαβεῖν.
δοκοῦν γὰρ ἑκάτερον γενέσθαι οὐδέτερον
γίνεται

The poet, he says, wishes to describe the impossible. Just as these dreams are illusory and untrue so these men accomplished nothing. What appears to be happening in each case does not come about. Surely the pursuit and the escape was no illusion. The poet is not comparing the chase with a dream but with the fruitless endeavours which are so common in dreams caused by anxiety. (That Homer will know of such dreams we know from Od. 4. 787-841. Odyssey 19. 515 et seq., and see also Iliad 24. 3 seq).

Eustathius, as often, understands the dream better than the Alexandrians. He asks the reader to note how the speed of the pursuit and flight of the two heroes has been clearly described by two similes. Here, he says, the poet wishes to illustrate by a simile taken from a dream the identical running of the heroes and the complete equality between pursuit and flight so that Achilles is unable to draw near to Hector, as he wishes, and Hector is unable to increase the distance between them:

ὅτι τὸ μὲν τάχος τῆς διώξεως καὶ φυγῆς
τῶν δύο ἀριστέων ἑναργῶς ἦδη ὁ ποιητῆς

ἔδηλωσε διὰ δύο παραβολῶν. ἔνταῦθα δὲ
 θέλων ἐνδείξεσθαι τὴν τοῦ δρόμου τῶν
 ἡρώων ταυτότητα καὶ τὴν οἶον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
 μονῆν διὰ ἰσότητα τοῦ διώκειν καὶ φεύγειν,
 καὶ ὡς οὔτε Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐγγύσαι εἶχε Ἑκτορι,
 ὡς ἤθελεν, οὔτε αὖ ἐκεῖνος πόρρω διεκφευγῆν,
 παραβολῇ τῇ ἀπὸ φαντασίας (1266, 1-4)

The difficulties are the lack of ΤΙΣ as subject for δύνονται (but compare Iliad 13, 287; Od. 20 88; Od. 24, 108) and the uncommon use of διώκειν which occurs again in line 200. The sense required here, as Van Leeuwen noted is assequi, 'to reach', whereas its usual meaning is persequi, 'to follow after'. I suggest as a construe: 'As in a dream one is unable to reach the pursued: the one is unable to escape, the other to capture, so Achilles was unable to catch Hector in his pursuit and Hector was unable to escape.'

Leaf (p.362) says that the inability to catch in reality is not compared to the inability to catch in a dream but to the inability even to move in pursuit. He takes διώκειν as persequi and considers this a far more effective point. Rieu interprets διώκειν similarly and his translation brings out the full implication of this view:

"It was like a chase in a nightmare, when no one, pursuer or pursued, can move a limb"

But how can it be a chase if no one is moving? This seems to be taking the view of the Scholiasts when Eustathius has already given a better explanation; for there is surely no difficulty in taking this simile with the earlier one of the race horses (line 162).

Hesychius gives for ΔΙΩΚΕΙΝ:

καταλαμβάνειν φεύγοντα

which is clearly a gloss on this passage. Christ felt obliged to follow the Scholiasts and deleted the lines but inserted

ὡς δ' ὄναρ οὐ δύναται μάρψαι φεύγοντα διώκων

This is a most tempting reconstruction, but keeping in mind the nature of oral poetry, it is unwise to expect the polish and brevity of the Augustans. Whilst there is no parallel for it, ΔΙΩΚΕΙΝ surely could mean 'reach', just as persequi sometimes is used for assequi. Pursuit does not necessarily imply failure.

We have seen too how the Scholiasts dislike references to dreams as being unworthy of notice. This is a pity because despite the rationalism of Homer, there are in his works many striking dreams. Today when dreams are taken so much more seriously, we can appreciate more fully the depth of the bard's insight. This is particularly true of the present passage. The dream is common - though, of course, it now appears in modern dress, reflecting as it does the images of waking life. Running to catch a train or bus

and just failing to succeed is surely an exact parallel. Björck (op. cit.) rightly maintains: "L'on voit que les anciens connaissaient parfaitement cette vaine répétition et cette entrave que nous éprouvons en songe."

Messer (op.cit.p.22) denies to Homer such an insight in maintaining that the dreams of the Iliad are purely "external and originate from without the sleeper". Naturally he sees these lines as a late addition. It is, of course, true that only in the phrase ἐν ὄνειρῳ (Iliad 22. 199; Odyssey 19. 541, 581 = Odyssey 21. 79) does ὄνειρος mean a dream experience; elsewhere it refers to a dream figure which can be seen. But we have already noted how dreams are within the competence of the dreamer. As Wetzel (ad. loc.) observes one cannot reject these lines on the grounds that Homer was ignorant of such dreams:

'novam hanc descriptionem ex scientia animae hominum haustam vel ea de causa reicere non licet, quod Homerus ut antea vidimus, iam noscit somnia nihil esse nisi motus animi non quies centis'.

It is interesting to note that Wilamowitz (p.101 Die Ilias und Homer) retained the lines.

And not unnaturally this remarkable passage was imitated and expanded by Vergil, Aeneid 12 908-914.

"ac velut in somnis, oculos ubi languida pressit
nocte quies, nequiquam avidos extendere cursus
velle videmur..."

It is, I believe, one of the most striking and memorable of the Homeric similes. It shows a depth of understanding which is not always accredited to the epic bard.

(g) Iliad, 23. 62-107

Achilles has now returned to the Greek camp. Hector has been dragged round the walls of Troy for the delight of Patroclus in Hades (line 19). Achilles is taken to dine in Agamemnon's hut, but he refuses to wash until he has burnt Patroclus and raised a mound. He takes dinner, and then overcome by weariness, he lies down on the open beach with the waves splashing near him. Sleep comes to him resolving the cares of his spirit:

Εὔτε τὸν ὕπνος ἔμαρπτε, λύων μελεδήματα θυμοῦ,
νήδυμος ἀμφιχυθεῖς (lines 62-63)

It is pleasant (Homer reserves this epithet for sleep) and it envelopes him. But, so true to human experience, the first delicious calm of sleep does not endure. The problems of the day come crowding in, and Achilles wakes with a start and recollects his misery:

Ταφῶν δ' ἀνόρουσεν Ἀχιλλεύς (line 101),

and there follows his lament over the disembodied spirits of the underworld.

There is no doubt at all about the problem uppermost in Achilles' mind. It is Patroclus. Knowing, as we do, Homer's

deep understanding of the human mind, it comes as no surprise to read of the dream of Achilles. As the Scholiast Ven. A. brilliantly remarks: the figure of his friend was fresh in the mind of Achilles

ἔναυλος γὰρ τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ ὁ τοῦ φίλου τύπος

In actual fact, the word ὄνειρος is not used at all of this appearance, but the familiarity of the formula used shows unmistakably the true nature of the visitation:

ἦλθε δ' ἐπὶ ψυχὴ Πάτροκλῆος Δειλοῖο,
πάντ' αὐτῷ μέγεθος τε καὶ ὄμματα καλ' εἰκῦτα,
καὶ φωνήν, καὶ τοῖα περὶ χρόϊ εἶματα ἔστο·
"στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν·
εὐδεις

(lines 65 - 69)

"It is an impious necessity" says Halliday "which forces one to treat so noble a passage of poetry with Philistine analysis". It is indeed a remarkable passage in every way.

Eustathius (1287, 49) noted a clear comparison:

στᾶσα δέ, φησιν, ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ὡς καὶ ἄλλαχού
ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ὄνειρος (and we compare besides Iliad, 2. 20

and 19, Iliad, 10. 496, Odyssey, 4. 803; 6. 21, and 20. 32) The formulaic εὐδεις is again used (see Iliad, 2. 23, and repetition at line 60, Iliad, 24. 683, Od. 4. 804. Compare too Pindar, Ol. 13. 65), and the soul is like Patroclus in stature, it has the same

eyes and voice and wears the same clothes. This description, too, is paralleled by Iliad, 2. 20, and Od. 6. 22. But it is perhaps no accident that here the description is fuller. As we have noticed, the word $\delta\acute{\nu}\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma$ is not used, but Patroclus himself describes the souls as

$\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\lambda\alpha$ $\kappa\alpha\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ (line 72, cf. line 104 $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\lambda\omicron\nu$)

- the phantoms of the weary. And dreams too are described as $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\lambda\alpha$ (Od. 4. 796, 824, 835: the image of Iphthime.)

The question now arises: what is the relationship between $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\lambda\omicron\nu$, $\delta\acute{\nu}\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\varsigma$, $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$? How far did Homer regard an $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\lambda\omicron\nu$ as a subjective experience? In answering this we shall also be gaining a clearer impression of what Homer meant by a dream. We have seen that most commonly in Homer a dream is seen and heard: in all respects it is like a person. We think of Nestor (Iliad, 2. 6 et seqq.) Diomedes, (Iliad, 10. 496-7), Iphthime, (Odyssey, 4. 787-841), the daughter of Dymas, (Odyssey, 6. 13-51), and Odysseus (Odyssey, 20. 88-89). In the present case Patroclus is in appearance no insubstantial wraith:

$\tau\omicron\iota\alpha$ $\pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ $\chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\iota$ $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\omicron$ (line 67)

It is only when Achilles tries to touch the soul of Patroclus that it is discovered to be in reality like smoke (line 100), for it has no $\phi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ (line 104). This must surely be true also of

Iphthime. The difference lies in the fact that Achilles longed to clasp his lost friend, whereas there was no such urge in Penelope's case. The visit of Patroclus is the first account of the reappearance of the dead in dreams which became so common in later times (See Artemidorus *Oneirocritica* i, 81). This intangible quality of the εἶδωλον was turned to good account by Apollo (*Iliad*, 5. 449):

αὐτὰρ ὁ εἶδωλον τεῦξ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων
αὐτῷ τ' Αἰνεία ἴκελον καὶ τέχεσι ποῖον (lines 449-450)

The fight continues round this εἶδωλον which has been fashioned in the same way as Iphthime in the *Odyssey*:

(Ἀθήνη) εἶδωλον ποιήσε (Book 4, 796)

But there is an important difference: the εἶδωλον of Aeneas is seen by many, Greeks and Trojans alike; in sleep, it must be inferred that the image is seen by the dreamer alone. In this respect the dream appearance resembles a theophany. We may compare *Iliad*, 3. 121, 4. 73, 11. 185, 15. 157, 15. 220, 17. 322, 18. 166, 24. 141; *Odyssey*, 1. 118, 2. 267, 2. 400, 13. 221, 15. 6, 16. 155, 22. 205. The list is not exhaustive. Athens, Thetis, Iris, Poseidon, Apollo and Hermes appear in the *Iliad*, but Athens appears only in the *Odyssey*. In neither epic does Zeus appear; but the Dream, *Iliad*, 2. 26, Sleep, 24. 133, Thetis, 24. 561, Iris, 24. 169, are described as Διόθεν ἄγγελος or, more simply, Διὸς ἄγγελος — in each case. A theophany is a personal affair between man and god and there is usually recognition (for an exception see

Iliad, 20. 79-85, where Aeneas does not recognise Apollo). The same of course is true of a dream. Despite appearances, Agamemnon knows the true source of his dream (Iliad, 2. 56, θεῖος... ὄνειρος) and so, too, Penelope (Odyssey, 4. 831, εἰ μὲν δὴ θεός ἐστι).

So we may say that the image of Aeneas which was fashioned by Apollo and placed in the middle of the fray was completely objective in a way that is not true of the more personal dreams and theophanies we have just mentioned.

The εἶδωλον of Iphthime will be discussed in the next chapter: suffice it to say that it is created by Athene in the image of Penelope's sister. It stands above Penelope's head in the traditional position and is described as entering the room through the keyhole (line 802). Whilst it is described by the poet as εἶδωλον ἄμαυρόν (lines 824, 835) Penelope sees it as ἔναργές ὄνειρον (line 841).

We have now examined three experiences, all of which Homer describes as an εἶδωλον. There appears to be little difference between the appearances of Patroclus and Iphthime. Whilst both are substantial in appearance, in fact they are not so: the one vanishes like smoke, the other disappears through the keyhole and is lost in the wind. The great difference lies in the fact that Patroclus is dead, whilst Iphthime, though dwelling far away (line 811) is alive. Patroclus comes of his own free will: Iphthime is probably quite

unaware of the visit (compare the attitude of Nestor to his image visiting Agamemnon). The image of Aeneas is similar to that of Iphthime in its creation. Both characters are alive, but "Aeneas" is seen by many. He plays an active rôle as a decoy and his function is, of course, primarily visual. In all three cases we are told that the likeness is a good one (*Iliad*, 23. 66, *Iliad*, 5. 449, *Odyssey*, 4. 796), but the two dreams hold long conversations with the recipients. The word εἶδωλον of course is connected with εἶδω 'see' and the conception of an Homeric dream is primarily visual. All three examples are described as objective but "Aeneas" is objective in a way quite untrue for Patroclus and Iphthime. This, then, confirms our view that it is wrong to describe the Homeric dream as completely objective and external. Further support for this view can be obtained by showing how the dream in each case is a likely mental experience for the dreamer.

The close relationship between dream and image greatly interested Eustathius (1288, 29). On line 72, he says that the poet will shortly mention soul and image - the image which seems to appear to dreamers in sleep. From this there sprang the old belief that dreams come about through the visits of images.

διὸ μετ' ὀλίγα ἔρεϊ ψυχὴ καὶ εἶδωλον, ὃ
περ εἶδωλον καὶ φαίνεσθαι καθ' ὕπνου δοκεῖ τοῖς
φανταζομένοις, ὅθεν καὶ παλαιὰ ἦν αἴρεσις δι' εἰδώλων
ἐμπτώσεως τοὺς ὀνειρούς γίνεσθαι.

It is indeed difficult to say which of the two came first. It does however seem quite likely that belief in εἶδωλα and in turn ψυχαί - was supported by dream experience. Later folk belief inverted this and considered that εἶδωλα were the cause.

Having now discussed the nature of the εἶδωλον it remains for us to examine the conversation between ghost and warrior. As we have seen, Patroclus comes of his own free will, and not only does he deliver a personal - as opposed to a divine - message, but he listens to what Achilles wishes to say. The conversation opens with twenty four lines by Patroclus (69-92), and Achilles makes a reply of five lines (94-98). In the Odyssey we shall see this novel idea extended. Here the conversation is cut short by Achilles attempting to grasp Patroclus.

Patroclus begins by reminding Achilles that he is asleep; the Scholiast on Venetus B. remarks that this word is full of tender affection and gentle remonstrance.

πλήρης φιλοστοργίας ὁ λόγος καὶ ἠθικῆς μέμψεως

He says that Achilles has forgotten him. When alive he was not neglected by Achilles but now he is dead. Of course, this is not true: we have seen how Achilles was most concerned that Patroclus was to be buried at dawn (49 - 53). But it is most typical of an

over-anxious person to blame himself where there is no cause.

Patroclus now explains the urgency:

θάπτε με ὅτι τάχιστα Πύλας Ἄϊδαο περήσω.
 τῆλέ με εἴργουσι ψυχαί, εἶδωλα καμόντων,
 οὐδέ με πω μίσγεσθαι ὑπὲρ ποταμοῖο ἔωσιν,
 ἀλλ' αὐτως ἀλλάημαι ἀν' εὐρυπυλῆς Ἄϊδος δῶ.

(lines 71 - 74)

These lines, though clear in themselves, raise difficulties when compared with other accounts of the souls in Hades. We may compare Iliad, 6. 487, 7. 330, 11. 445, 16. 625, 20. 294, 22. 362, and also Odyssey, 3. 410 repeated at 6. 11, 10. 560 repeated at 11. 65, 11. 475. Now in these passages it is either stated explicitly or implied that at death the soul goes to Hades. Of particular interest is the following line:

ψυχή δ' ἐκ ῥεθῶν ππαμένη Ἄϊδόσδε βεβήκει
 (Iliad, 16. 856)

The soul of Patroclus flies from his limbs and goes to Hades. Does this contradict what Patroclus himself tells Achilles?

We may compare the case of Elpenor - also quoted above - at Odyssey 10. 560.

ψυχή δ' Ἄϊδόσδε κατῆλθεν

Like Patroclus, Elpenor asks for burial (Odyssey, 11. 71 - 78) but he gives as his reason:

μή τοί τι θεῶν μήνιμα γένωμαι -

he does not mention the other souls or the gates of Hades. On the other hand, Odysseus explains to his mother that necessity brought him down to the place of Hades.

χρειώ με κατήγαγεν εἰς Ἅϊδαο (Od. 11. 164)

I believe, in the light of these passages, that Hades describes a whole area within which there is probably a part reserved for the souls of those unburied. These shades are not allowed to pass through the gates to the second and inner part. In this case 'the gates of Hades' do not refer to the entrance of Hades: they are merely situated somewhere in Hades. After all, Odysseus says plainly that he has come down to Hades and he has, of course, passed through no gate.

For the belief of souls unable to enter in we may compare

Plutarch's comment on this passage:

τῶν Ὀμηρικῶν ψυχῶν ὅσας ἐν νεκρίᾳ κατωνόμακεν ἢ μὲν Ἐλπήνορος, οὕτω καταμεμιγμένη ταῖς ἐν Ἅϊδου διὰ τὸ μὴ τεθάφθαι τὸν νεκρὸν ὥσπερ ἐν μεθορίῳις πλανᾶται.

(Symposium 9. Q 5, 3)

The question is an important one for us because Patroclus says that once he is buried - and so is received by the other souls beyond the river - he will never come back from Hades (Lines 75 - 76).

νίσομαι ἐξ Ἅϊδαο, ἔπην με πῦρος λελάχητε.
οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' αὖτις

Does this mean that Achilles will never again see him in his sleep? Is the image of a buried man not allowed to visit his friends? These questions are acutely difficult, and possibly no simple answer can be given. The irrational does not admit of easy classification and reasoning. At *Odyssey* 24⁹ the souls of the suitors cross right over without trouble. The Scholiast on Venetus B. writes that Patroclus perhaps suggested the gates to persuade Achilles.

ἴσως δὲ πρὸς τὸ πείσαι φαντάζει· πῶς γὰρ
ἄταφοι οἱ μνηστῆρες διαβαίνουσιν;

the contradiction with *Odyssey* 24, 9 is striking. It suggests - if the second passage is genuine - that Homer held no uniform view of the events following death.

I think we must remember, in the words of Dr. Rieu (*Odyssey* page viii), that "the reader who tries to glean from his poems something of the man will find himself baffled by the most impersonal and objective of authors". It is extremely difficult to assign views to Homer as opposed to his characters. Both here and in Achilles' speech (*Book* 1.63) I feel we have Homer's view. It is not consistent with *Odyssey* 24, and it does not accord too well with the accounts in the *Nekuia*, but nevertheless it does belong to a kindred tradition. We must remember, too,

that Achilles addresses Patroclus some time after the funeral, in a most earnest fashion. (Iliad, 24. 592-3)

μή μοι, Πάτροκλε, σκυδμαινόμεν, αἴ κε πύθῃται
εἶν Ἄϊδός περ ἔων ὅτι Ἑκτορα δῖον ἔλυσα

It seems unlikely that it was invented to hurry Achilles with the cremation, for no such story was necessary.

Whether or not Achilles can dream of Patroclus again must remain an open question, for in fact this is the only dream of a dead person in Homer. Later writers quite frequently describe such appearances (e.g. Clytaemnestra in the Eumenides of Aeschylus (lines 94 following), Polydorus in the Hecuba of Euripides (lines 1 - 58), also we may add the extraordinary story of Melissa re-appearing to Periander (Herodotus, 5. 92.)). What is clear is that according to Patroclus the soul cannot return.

Messer (p.18) attempts to solve the difficulty by making the εἶδωλον an entity separate from the ψυχή - we see this in fact in the Odyssey (Book 11, 602) where Odysseus meets the εἶδωλον of Heracles at a time when the ψυχή is away at a banquet. This dichotomy certainly suggests that the εἶδωλον of Patroclus could reappear - but not the ψυχή. This however can only be theoretical in the case of Homer.

We note in the conversation between ghost and warrior that Patroclus appears to have the gift now of foreknowledge. He clearly foretells the death of Achilles (lines 80 - 81) and he begs that

their remains should be placed together in one urn (lines 91 - 92).

Achilles is surprised at the visit:

τίπτέ μοι ἤθειν κεφαλή, δεῦρ' εἰλήλουθας; 94

just as Penelope was surprised to see her sister:

τίπττε, κασιγνήτη, δεῦρ' ἦλυθες; (Odyssey, 4.810)

He is justly taken aback at being asked to do these favours, which, as we know, are already uppermost in his mind. He gives his word (l. 96) and then asks that Patroclus should stand nearer, and he reaches out, but the soul vanishes like smoke and goes below (an unfortunate simile, for, as Zoilius (4th century B.C.) observes, smoke rises). The Scholiast Ven. B. is of course right in attributing the simile to the lightness and airy quality of smoke or its way of moving:

διὰ τὸ λεπτόν καὶ πνευματώδες ἢ πρὸς τὴν κίνησιν

It is important for us because it gives us a clearer picture of what Homer meant by a ψυχή and εἶδωλον.

There follows the famous outburst of Achilles:

ὦ πόποι, ἦ ῥά τίς ἐστι καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισι
ψυχή καὶ εἶδωλον, ἅπαρ φρένες οὐκ ἐνὶ πάμπαν.

From the earliest times the meaning of φρένες has been discussed.

It either means the intellect or the midriff - the seat of life.

The Scholiast on Venetus A. suggests that as Patroclus converses sensibly and intelligibly, the line comes from the Odyssey where

the poet understands the souls as shadowy images having no intelligence.

Alternatively φρένες does not refer to the intellect but is an internal part of the body as elsewhere (Odyssey, 9. 301, and Iliad, 16. 481). The whole body is inferred by a part. Aristophanes understood it this way.

Ἐμφρόνως καὶ συνετῶς διείλεκται πάντα ὁ Πάτροκλος. ἐνσέσεισται οὖν ἐκ τῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας ὁ στίχος· ἐκεῖ γὰρ τὰς ψυχὰς εἶδωλα σκιώδη, φρονήσεως ἀμέτοχα, ὑπέθετο. ἢ φρένας λέγει οὐ τὸ διανοητικὸν ἀλλὰ μέρος τι τῶν ἐντὸς σώματος, ὡς καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ.....
ἔστιν οὖν ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ ὅλον σῶμα. οὕτως Ἄριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικὸς

The first suggestion seems most unlikely though, of course, souls are described in this way by Homer (Odyssey, 10. 493) where he distinguishes between Teiresias who is in possession of his mind and the rest who are not:

τοῦ τε φρένες ἔμπεδοί εἰσι·
τῷ καὶ τεθνηῶτι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνεια
οἷῳ πεπνύσθαι.

(lines 493 - 495)

The second suggestion is, I believe, sound so far as it goes. The reason for the particular choice of φρένες surely is that to the Greeks it was the most vital part, as well as being used for mind,

imagination and similar concepts. Leaf (p.388) sees it as "the mind viewed from the physical side". Van Leeuwen takes the opposite view: "Vocis φρένες negligitur nunc vis primaria, qua certam corporis partem (diaphragma cf. Iliad 16. 481) significabat". But in the light of Patroclus' rational conversation it is difficult to see how this can be true, as the Scholiast observed. Leaf's explanation appears at first sight to be too involved but we must remember that φρένες had definite physical and mental connotations as does our word "heart". Leaf unfortunately gives no credit to the Scholiast, but surely it is the physical side of things for which Achilles here is most concerned. He has after all seen Patroclus as he always used to be but when he tried to touch him he was found to have no real substance at all - no physical life.

I believe that in this line we may perhaps see how belief in the soul may have arisen among the Greeks. Dreams of persons living are not common to us, but they are, presumably, to Homer and his audience. Now surely if distant people can appear (as Iphthime) why not one who has recently died? Many of Homer's audience must have reflected along the lines of Achilles' soliloquy. "I have seen the ψυχή and εἶδωλον of my friend, but it has no real substance". Repeated dreams of the same person must have reinforced the belief in the shadowy existence of souls.

How far the appearance of Patroclus can in fact be taken as a dream is confirmed by what Achilles says on waking. He cries that the soul has been with him all night.

Παννυχίη γάρ μοι Πατροκλῆος δειλοῖο
 ψυχή ἐφειστήκει

Freud points out (p.320 *The Interpretation of Dreams*, English Translation) that we often appear to have dreamed more than we actually have.

The whole passage is of unique interest and great beauty. We see presented the subjective image of Patroclus: the result of Achilles' anxieties of the preceding day. Following epic tradition Homer describes the dream objectively. Achilles, too, believes in its reality and substance but when he attempts to grasp it he discovers the truth. Not for one moment does he doubt that Patroclus has visited him: his misery lies in the fact that the soul has no true life. This shadowy existence seems indeed miserable and we recollect that Achilles would prefer to be the lowliest menial rather than be a king in the underworld and indeed the souls below are compared to dreams. (*Odyssey*, ll. 207, and 222). In this passage, perhaps more than in any other, we realise the astonishing grasp of human nature which Homer possesses.

(h) *Iliad*, 24. 677 - 689

Just as Zeus (*Iliad*, 2. 1 et seqq) was unable to sleep for thinking of means to vindicate Achilles, now, after the wrath and

fury, Hermes is similarly restless: for he wants to get Priam safely away from the Greek camp (Iliad, 24. 677 - 682).

ἄλλοι μὲν ῥα θεοὶ τε καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἵπποκορυσταὶ
εὖδον Παννύχιον

(Iliad, 2. 1-2 and 24. 677-8)

In each case an unnatural calm descends: Achilles the vanquished troubles Zeus, Achilles the vanquisher troubles Hermes. Achilles has agreed to ransom the corpse of Hector (Iliad, 24. 560-1, and 594) and after providing a supper he asks for beds to be prepared outside his hut for Priam and his old herald. Priam is naturally very ready for sleep after so many sleepless nights (lines 635-638), but Homer tells us quite clearly that both Priam and the herald have much on their minds:

Πυκινὰ φρεσὶ μῆδε' ἔχοντες Line 674

This phrase is used with equal effectiveness at line 282 where this aged couple are setting out on their adventure. At Hecabe's suggestion Priam pours a libation to Zeus, and the resulting omen cheers their hearts (line 321). In the present case comfort is to be drawn from the appearance of Hermes, and the material assistance he gives. In both cases the epithet ΠΥΚΙΝΑ refers, I believe, to the number of their cares rather than to their subtlety (but compare Iliad, 3. 208 and Odyssey, 19. 353). All is quiet; but Hermes, unable to sleep, comes to Priam and takes up the usual position for a dream. He expresses surprise at the tranquillity of Priam.

ὦ γέρον, οὐδὲν τι σοι γε μέλει κακόν, οἷόν ἐθ' εὐδαίς
 ἀνδράσιν ἐν δῆϊοισιν, ἔπει σ' εἶαυεν Ἄχιλλεύς

We perceive here much the same tone of reproach that marked the speech of the Ὀυείπος to Agamemnon and of Patroclus to Achilles. We may compare also the delightful rebuke delivered to Nausicaa (Od. 6. 25). In each case, without "importing psychological subtleties" it is possible to see the working of a restless mind behind the epic divine apparatus. Agamemnon was willing "to go it alone", Achilles was over-anxious in his desire to bury Patroclus, and here Priam despite the sturdy assurances of Achilles (lines 671-2) feels very naturally insecure in the enemy camp. Priam is filled with fear and wakes the herald (line 689). Without a break, Homer tells us that Hermes yokes the horses and mules and drives them out of the camp. He takes the old men as far as the river Xanthus and leaves for Olympus as dawn breaks. It is possible to compare this dream with that of Rhesus in two ways. First, the most important, Priam wakes to find that what he has dreamed continues to take place in reality, just as Rhesus dreamed that Diomedes was standing over him as in fact he was. Secondly the time at which the dream takes place (just before dawn) may suggest that the dream is a true one.

Rather surprisingly Messer (ad loc) does not treat this visit of Hermes as a dream at all: "Hermes' coming seems to wake Priam,

for in the lines which follow (689-691) Hermes is there in physical presence before their waking eyes to yoke the mules and drive them through the camp. This, then, is a waking visitation of the god". Surely it is both a waking visitation and also a dream sent to waken. The word *ἔδεις* is used as we have seen (Iliad, 2. 23) to remind the audience of the dream state.

Eustathius takes it in this way: (1512 35) καθ' ὕπνον δὲ σπᾶς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ὁ Ἑρμῆς οὕτω πρὸς Πρίαμον ἐλάλησεν

He notes too how trustfully, how quickly the old king went to bed and how deeply he slept to have a dream - seeing that he had been many nights without sleep (1512 38):

ἴστέον δὲ ὅτι τε πιθανῶς ὁ γέρον βασιλεὺς καὶ ταχὺ ἐκοιμήθη, καὶ βαθὺ δὲ ὡς καὶ ὄνειροπολεῖν οἶα πολυήμερον ἀϋπνίαν ὑπομείνας.

Wetzel sees in the presence of Hermes a confirmation of the view that dreams in Homer are real and external: "Haec quidem nobis maxima sunt argumenta visa in somnis Homericis apparentia vera et externa esse." (p.13) At the same time he maintains that the dream is such as Priam is likely to have in such a situation "muntius.... non talis est, ut plane sit extra cogitationes et sententias regis"

The passage is unique in that it bridges the gap between

ὕπναρ and ὄναρ, waking vision and dream vision. There is no jolt or jar in the transition from sleep to waking. Priam wakes his companion, Hermes yokes the horses and mules. We are not told whether Priam recognises Hermes in his sleep: in fact, there is little need, for Iris had already stated that Hermes would accompany the old man (*Iliad*, 24. 182). Thus Hermes makes no attempt to disguise himself in the dream, but in the waking vision we are given a full description of his appearance. The difference between the two appearance lies in the fact that the dream appears to Priam alone whereas the theophany is visible to the herald. At the beginning of the adventure the herald sees a young man and tells Priam who is quite terrified (lines 354-360): Hermes goes up to Priam and gently addresses him as 'father'. Priam then addresses Hermes as φίλον τέκος (line 373). So in this passage Hermes is accepted as driver and only leaves them as dawn is breaking and they are approaching the city. The divine intervention is necessary to make plausible the story of Priam's night in the camp and the dream shows us the state of Priam's mind and explains the very early departure from the Greeks. The story moves forward to the recognition of the pathetic little mission by Cassandra from the walls of Troy (699) after the break of dawn. The timing is faultless. The dream ushers in the last episode of the epic.

A word perhaps should be added about the role of Hermes in this night episode. Hermes when he set out to act as guide took with him his staff with which he could bewitch men's eyes and also rouse them from sleep.

εἶλετο δὲ ῥάβδον, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει
ᾧν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὔτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει

(lines 343-4)

lines which appear also at *Odyssey*, 5. 47-9, and 24. 3 and 4, very slightly modified.

He uses this staff at a most critical point in the adventure; when passing the guards of the Greek camp when they were preparing supper.

τοῖσι δ' ἐφ' ὕπνον ἔχευε διάκτορος Ἀργεῖων (line 445)

And surely we may add that he exercised his powers of waking men in appearing to Priam. We see then that Hermes as God of Sleep was eminently suitable to act as a guide for a night expedition. A discussion of his rôle in the *Odyssey* appears in the next chapter on the *Odyssey* to which we must now turn our attention.

CHAPTER TWO

DREAMS IN THE ODYSSEY

(a) *Odyssey*. 4, 787-841

"Any one who in regard to language or religion or manners throws *Iliad* and *Odyssey* into one pot can no longer claim to be seriously considered." So wrote Wilamowitz (translated from p.171 of *Die Heimkehr des Odysseus*, 1927), and we must now examine the dreams of the *Odyssey* and their significance in the light of this dictum. What we shall find, I believe, is a generally fuller treatment of the dream. Nevertheless it is usually clothed in the formulae of the *Iliad*.

The first dream in the *Odyssey* lands itself quite easily to comparison with the first dream in the *Iliad*. The similarity has led some scholars to say that it is an imitation (See F.O. Hey, *Der Traumglaube der Antike* p.12. 1907) but this, as we shall see, can hardly be true except in a most general sense. The *Odyssey* opens with a picture of the concern of Athens for Odysseus and his family - a theme which shows itself throughout the epic - and a description of Telemachus day-dreaming of his father:

ὄσσομένους πατέρ' ἔσθλόν ἐνὶ φρεσίν
(*Odyssey*, 1. 115)

and of Penelope weeping herself to sleep:

κλαῖεν ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆα, φίλον πρόσιν, ὄφρα οἱ ὕπνον
ἦδ' ἐπὶ βλεφάροισι βάλε γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη

(lines 363-4)

Telemachus, like his mother, finds sleep difficult:

ἐνθ' ὅ γε παννύχιος, κεκαλυμμένος οἶδ' ἄνωτ' ἄνω
βούλευε φρεσὶν ἧσιν ὁδὸν τὴν πύφραδ' Ἀθήνη

(Odyssey, 1. 443-4)

He visits Nestor and Menelaus, constantly guided by Athens. At the court of Menelaus Telemachus is ready for a good sleep:

ἄλλ' ἄγετ' εἰς εὐνήν τράπεθ' ἡμέας, ὄφρα καὶ ἦδη
ὕπνω ὑπὸ γλυκερῶ ταρπώμεθα κοιμηθέντες

(Odyssey, 4. 294-5)

but this is only after he has presumably taken a very strong Egyptian drug administered to Menelaus and the guests by Helen (line 220).

Meanwhile, Penelope learns of the voyage of Telemachus. Homer describes the symptoms of her grief (lines 703-6). She links the loss of her son with that of her husband (lines 724 and 727) and, comforted by Eurycleia, she retires to her room. Without food or drink she lies worrying just like a lion at bay: we would today, no doubt, say "not knowing which way to turn". At last sweet sleep overcomes her, and her limbs relax:

τούσα μιν ὀρμαίνουσιν ἐπήλυθε νήδυμος ὕπνος
 εὔδε δ' ἀνακλινθείσα, λύθεν δέ οἱ ἄψα πάντα

(Cf. Pindar ed. Turyn, no. 136 (= 131 Farnell), Basil Blackwell 1952)

The events leading up to the dream of Penelope have been given in some detail because they show the remarkable insight of Homer. He observes most carefully the nature of anxiety and its physical effects. This is true not only in the *Odyssey*, but in the *Iliad* also (see especially Book 23, 48-110). In particular Homer mentions the sleeplessness and loss of appetite which accompanies anxiety, both of which encourage the production of dreams. Many vivid dreams occur just at the threshold of sleep and I believe we see examples of this familiar experience in the *Odyssey* (Od. 20, 93 - surely a dream, and Od. 15, 9.)

The dream of Penelope is created by Athene ex nihilo. As Hundt remarks (p. 65) "Wir haben hier das einzige Beispiel für die Vorstellung, dass der Traum von der Gottheit aus dem Nichts geschaffen wird." (Od. 4, 796 εἶδωλον ποιήσε) As we have seen, Zeus merely summoned a Dream which seems to have been at hand (*Iliad*, 2.7). The presentation of the dream is delightful - "bildliche Darstellung" in the words of Ameis.

ἔς θάλαμον δ' εἰσηλθε παρὰ κληῖδος ἱμάντα (line 802)

Eustathius rightly notes that the image has the form of a body but

it is shadowy and like a vapour; a thin body, so to speak is impressed on the vapour like the Homeric souls in Hades. This is shown by the line 802 :

ὅτι δὲ σωματοεἰδὲς τὸ μυθικὸν τοῦτο
 εἶδωλον, λεπτὸν μέντοι ὡς ἀεροεἰδὲς καὶ
 ὄφον εἶπεῖν λεπτόσωμον ἐν ἀπομαγαγμένον
 τῷ ἀέρι κατὰ τὰς ἐν Ἅιδου Ὀμηρικὰς ψυχὰς,
 δηλοῖ τὸ , ἐς θάλαμον... κ.τ.λ.

The dream is certainly described as an objective fact - but Homer must account for its approach to Penelope who was sleeping in her bedroom, doubtless behind closed doors. That this trivial detail interested Homer's audience we can be sure, for later in the Odyssey (VI 19-20) we read :

ἤ δ' ἀνέμου ὡς πνοιῆς ἐπέστυτο δέμνια κούρης
 θύραι δ' ἐπέκειντο φαειναί.

This remarkable achievement obviously delighted Homer's audience, and W.S. Gilbert uses it for comic effect in *Iolanthe*; for Strephon, who is half a fairy, can creep through a keyhole down to the waist. There is no doubt that in the *Odyssey* we are often in "a fairy-tale world". (Ferguson: *Classical Contacts with West Africa* 1958 p.1.) (Compare the story of the Old Man of the Sea, *Odyssey*, 4. 445-8 in particular).

The image takes up the usual position at the head (803) (See note on Iliad, 2.20: there are six examples of this position in all. Three are in the Iliad and three in the Odyssey). The first word spoken is $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ which we have seen is probably formulaic: at any rate, reassurance is obviously needed when a dream or god appears. Only Ameis punctuates with a full stop. Other editors make it a question but it is not easy to see why it should be so. Whilst it makes quite good sense in either case, surely this is information for the benefit of dreamer and audience alike. The question on the other hand, seems to have less point for clearly a dream knows the state of the dreamer! It is quite probable that the formula sprang from the common experience of a dreamer who knows beyond any doubt that he is asleep. Professor C. D. Broad gave a detailed account of such an experience at a public lecture. (Presidential Address, Society for Psychical Research 13 November 1958). It seems illogical to place a full stop at Iliad, 2. 23, and to refuse one here, as Nauck, Paley, Ameis, and the O.C.T. (T.W. Allen).

After the reassurance the image informs Penelope that the gods do not mean her to be so distressed, her son will come home safe and they have no quarrel with him. The image, unlike the Dream in Iliad 2 has not been given a message to deliver verbatim. In fact, Iphthime speaks as freely as does Athene herself to

Nausicaa (Odyssey VI). Shortly she has to reply to Penelope's questions. Now Penelope replies, says Homer, in a particularly beautiful line, "as she slumbered very sweetly in the gate of dreams" (T. E. Lawrence);

ἦδὺ μάλα κνώσσοις ἐν ὄνειρήσι πύλησιν

Eustathius notes that she is sleeping deeply and people in this state are likely to experience dreams

ὅτι τὸ ὑπνώττειν βαθύ, ἦδὺ μάλα κνώσσειν φησὶν ἐν ὄνειρήσι πύλησιν. ὡς τῶν οὕτω ὑπνωττόντων, καὶ ὄνειροις ὡς εἰκὸς ἐντυγχανόντων.

This is undoubtedly true and it in no way conflicts with the remarks on sleeplessness and dreaming. Both, as Homer knew, are the outcome of worry and they may occur together or separately. Certainly Penelope suffered both (see Od. 1. 363-4, 4. 787-794 and particularly her pathetic complaint 20. 83-87).

Eustathius is naturally interested in the geography of the passage and though the point is not given much notice by many modern editors it surely is both interesting and important. A fuller discussion of E. L. Highbarger's views (The Gates of Dreams) will be found in a later chapter. Eustathius says that Homer speaks of the gates of dreams, like the land of dreams, (Od. 24. 12) as being far away; near Hades beyond the Ocean. Therefore when a person is sleeping at the gate of dreams this is the same as saying

that the sleeper is like one dead. This follows the simile "Sleep most like death"; his brother evidently according to the account commonly given (Iliad, 16. 454 and 682).

Πύλας δὲ ὀνείρων λέγει ὡς περ πού καὶ
 δῆμον ὀνείρων ἐν τοῖς ἔξῃς, ἔγγυς Ἄιδου
 ἔξω τοῦ Ἰκεανοῦ, ὥστε τὸ ἐν Πύλαις
 ὀνείρων ὑπνοῦν τινα, ταῦτόν ἐστι τῷ
 εἰοικέναι θανόντι τὸν οὕτως ὑπνοῦντα,
 καθ' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ ὑπνος θανάτῳ
 ἀγχίστα εἰοικῶς. τῷ ἀδελφῷ δηλαδὴ
 κατὰ τὸν πολλαχῶς δηλωθέντα μῦθον.

The close similarity of a person deeply sleeping to one dead is all too obvious. The deep sleep of exhaustion is often accompanied by a dream - we think of both Achilles on the shore and Penelope after many sleepless nights. And so it is quite natural to link the three: death, sleep and dreams.

Whereas the image puts her three points succinctly in four lines Penelope makes a vigorous rejoinder and takes no less than fourteen lines. To this the image makes a short reply (five lines) but Penelope will not have done:

τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε περίφρων Πηνελόπεια,

she remains sceptical and asks for Odysseus. The next couple of lines are extremely sharp and are spoken by the image. Thereupon

the image disappears. In all, the image speaks three times (eleven lines) and Penelope speaks twice (eighteen lines). In the light of this vigorous and not altogether cordial exchange it is surprising to find that Hundt believes that the Homeric dreamer is quite passive.

It remains for us now to examine the subject matter of the dream and to see its place in the story. Iphthime opens the conversation with a personal assurance. The gods do not mean Penelope to be so distressed for Telemachus will come home safe. Penelope is not satisfied with this assurance. Her first objection is that she has lost Odysseus. Iphthime has no comfort to offer in this grief and the shrewd Penelope does not overlook the fact. Penelope then complains of the loss of Telemachus. She repeats in her dream what she has heard the preceding day from Medon (compare lines 700-1 with 822-3). The words shocked her during the day and the impression remains through the night. Iphthime in her brief reply ignores the question of Odysseus as she did in the first speech. She asks Penelope to be of a good heart and to banish excessive fear. She adds that Athene is escorting Telemachus - a possibility hinted at by Eurycleia just before Penelope fell asleep. Iphthime now declares that she has been sent by Athene. It is as though Iphthime noted the disbelief of Penelope:

σε δ' ὄδυρομένην ἐλεαίρει

ἢ νῦν με προέηκε τεῖν τάδε μυθήσασθαι

We may compare the closely similar message of the Dream at the beginning of Iliad 2. Here also pity is given as the reason for the sending of the dream :

Διὸς δέ τοι ἄγγελός εἰμι
ὅς σεῦ ἔνευθεν ἔων μέγα κήδεταί ἢ δ' ἔλεαίρει
(26-27)

One cannot help feeling that Penelope is more shrewd than Agamemnon. Homer evidently took this view. Penelope is called περίφρων when she asks her question (line 830) whereas poor Agamemnon is dismissed with νήπιος (Iliad, 2. 38). Penelope brushes aside the information about Telemachus and Athene. If divinity is claimed for the dream, she wants to know the whereabouts of Odysseus.

εἴ μὲν δὴ θεός ἐσσι, θεοῖο τε ἔκλυες αὐδῆς,
εἴ δ' ἄγε μοι καὶ κείνον οἴηυρόν καταλεξόν.
(831-2)

The reply to this is extremely sharp:

οὐ μὲν τοι κείνόν γε διηνεκέως ἀγορεύσω
ἴωει ὅ γ' ἢ τέθνηκε· κακὸν δ' ἀνεμώλια βάζειν
(836-7)

The meaning of the first line is not altogether clear: the difficulty lies in the adverb. The Scholiasts B E Q explain as follows

ἀντὶ τοῦ περὶ ἐκείνου ἕως τέλους τὰ πάντα
εἶπω

Liddell and Scott accept the first suggestion - "from beginning to

end" - for Odyssey 7, 241 and 12, 56, but accept the second - "distinctly, positively" for the present passage. This seems unnecessary. Iphthime merely says she will give no full account. Eustathius objects that a statement on whether Odysseus is alive or dead is not full:

τὸ γὰρ φάναι γέει ὅ γε ἦ τέθνηκεν, οὐ
διηνεκές ἐστίν. (1519 43)

but surely Penelope is asking for more than this. Her concern as a wife demands that she knows the full details of the fate of her husband.

With this sharp rebuff the image retires and Homer elaborates on the description of the arrival through closed doors.

Ὡς εἰπὸν σταθμοῖο παρὰ κληῖδα λισσθη
ἐς πνοῖδς ἀνέμων.

This is the only full description in the epic. It shows clearly that Homer thought of the dream as a vapour (see Od. 6. 20) which could pass with ease through the only aperture in an Homeric door - the hole through which a hook was passed to catch the strap which was fastened to the bolt. (See Liddell and Scott sub κλεις and Autenrieth). Certainly the hole would be small and no doubt the source of draughts, thus giving point to Homer's description. The passage is important for the understanding of the form of the ψυχή in the Nekyia.

The description of the image as ἄμαυρόν (line 824) has been interpreted in two ways. Taking the α as privative we have 'dim' (μαρμαίρω gleam. See Iliad, 12. 195, ἔντεα μαρμαίροντα 'shining armour') Others regard the α as euphonic, in which case we have 'shimmering'. Liddell and Scott give 'dim shadowy' following Curtius, but this is not consistent with the other epithet applied to this particular image in line 841 - ἔναργές which admits of no ambiguity; (See Od. 16, 161:

οὐ γὰρ πῶς πάντεσσι θεοὶ φαίνονται ἔναργεῖς
 'appear visibly': Butcher and Lang p. 264). As it is an image sent by a divinity it is unlikely to be dim. If later tradition is any guide a divine image is radiant and shimmering: it seems quite unnecessary to make this phantom "dim and shadowy" (Rieu p. 85).

Of the importance of this dream in the plot there is little doubt. The audience want to know at this stage whether Penelope will give in to the demands of the suitors. If she does not, after all these years, there must be some good reason. The dream gives Penelope definite hope for Telemachus if not for Odysseus himself. To have news of Odysseus would surely spoil the suspense: as the Scholiast well observed on line 796 "Athene does not come personally lest she might be compelled to say something about Odysseus and the events of the story are revealed"

οὐ δὲ ἑαυτῆς ἔρχεται ἢ Ἀθηνῆν ἵνα μὴ

ἀναγκασθῆ τι εἰπεῖν περὶ Ὀδυσσεύως καὶ
λυθῆ τὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως.

The dream is the key to our understanding of Penelope's outlook. And the description of it is very beautiful. As Finsler says "Der Traum ist in der Odyssee mit vollendeter Meisterschaft geschildert, nirgends so schön wie zu Ende des vierten Buches" (Der Dichter und sein Welt p. 267). He is particularly impressed by the entrance and the exit of the image: "Wie fein ist der Unterschied zwischen dem ersten Eindruck des beginnenden Traumes und dem Zerflattern am Ende durchgeführt!" (ibid)

In the light of these comments it comes as a considerable surprise to find that Wilamowitz thinks that the dream is superfluous. Further, he thinks that it is unskillfully done:

"Dagegen die Sendung eines εἰδωλον in Gestalt einer sonst unbekanntes Schwester der Penelope, die zu ihr nicht nur im Traume redet, sondern sich mit der Schlafenden unterhält, ist nicht nur so überflüssig, sondern so ungeschickt, dass ich in dem Ganzen eine Erfindung des Bearbeiters sehen möchte." (Die Heimkehr des Odysseus p. 130) His four objections may be listed thus:

- (1) unknown sister
- (2) dream conversation
- (3) superfluity
- (4) ineptitude.

- (1) The first objection loses its force when a comparison is made with Nausicaa's dream. Here Athene appears as the daughter of Captain Dymas (Odyssey, 6. 22): she too is "sonst unbekannt".
- (2) To dislike a dream conversation carries with it a censure of the visit of Patroclus to Achilles - "so noble a passage of poetry" in the words of Halliday (Greek Divination p.237).
- (3) In view of the importance of Penelope's part in the plot it is surely quite untenable to dismiss this dream as superfluous. Without it the audience would see no adequate reason for Penelope holding out longer.
- (4) The last objection may not be quite so radical but it gives cause for astonishment. The careful descriptions of the entrance and exit, the skilful use of *ἀμείψων* and *ἐναργής*, the actual close knit form of question and answer are surely marks of a bard who is supreme in his art.

(b) Odyssey, 6. 13-51.

The first four books of the Odyssey give us the necessary background for this epic of travel and adventure. Penelope longs for news of her husband and her nights are broken by dreams and sleeplessness. Telemachus sets out in search of news, and the suitors wait in ambush at Asteris. The story now moves to

Odysseus who is released by Calypso (Book 5, 139). He sails away and survives a great storm sent by Poseidon. He comes to land and Athene sheds sleep on his eyes to release him speedily from his weary labour:

ὕπνον ἔπ' ὄμμασι χεῦ', ἵνα μιν παύσειε τάχιστα
 δυσπονέος καμάτοιο (492-3)

The fortunes of Odysseus have now reached their lowest ebb.

Athene leaves Odysseus sleeping the sleep of exhaustion and goes to the city of the Phaeacians, intent on the return of Odysseus:

νόστον Ὀδυσσῆϊ μεγάλητορι μῆϊώσῃ (Odyssey, 6.14)

She chooses to bring this about by a dream and the whole episode is a delight and a masterpiece of description.

First of all we are told that Nausicaa is asleep in her room, with two of her attendants lying by the door posts. (lines 18-19) As Merry suggests they probably were placed so close to the door that it could not be opened without waking them. This makes the entry of Athene even more wonderful. We are told specifically that the doors are closed, (line 19) but Athene swept through like a breath of air to the girl's bed:

ἦ δ' ἀνέμου ὡς πνοιῆ ἔπέσσυτο δέμνια κούρης

The Scholiasts (P Q) explain that we should understand the goddess entering by the thong of the bolt.

νοητέον παρεισδύσαν πάλιν τὴν θεὸν παρὰ κληΐδος ἕμάντα (Odyssey, 4. 802). There follows the usual line

describing the position taken up (see section on *Iliad*, 2.6)

and, as in the *Iliad*, (2.20) the next lines explain the likeness:

εἶδομένη κούρη ναυσι κλειτοῖο Δύμαντος
 ἢ οἱ ὀμικλή μὲν ἔην, κεχάριστο δὲ θυμῷ.
 τῇ μιν εἰσαμένη προσέφη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη

These lines are almost exactly parallel to their counterpart in the *Iliad*. The same care is shown in the description of the surroundings: the hut in the case of Agamemnon, the beautifully decorated bedroom in the case of Nausicaa. The bard wishes to stress the importance of these dreams and therefore he gives them not only a striking position but a full and detailed background. There is, however, a difference: but I do not believe it to be an important one. In the *Iliad*, the word ^{δ'}ὄνειρος is used right from the beginning but here there is no mention of the dream state until line 49 when Nausicaa, after the dawn breaks, marvels at her dream:

ἄφαρ δ' ἄπεθαύμασ' ὄνειρον.

The Scholiasts (P T) sensibly explain the wonder:

διὰ τὸ ἐναργές.

The clarity of divine appearances is stressed in Homer (*Od.* 3. 420, 4. 841, 7. 204, 16. 161, *Iliad*, 20. 131). Despite the late mention of ^{δ'}ὄνειρος there can be little doubt that the audience, familiar with the recurrent phrases, realised that Nausicaa was

having a dream. Messer (ibid p. 29) writes that there is no suggestion of a dream state, but this is misleading. ¹ὄνειρος as we have seen, usually refers to a dream figure except in the phrase ἐν ὄνειρῳ. It is obvious that ὄνειρος here is a dream figure, for it has the epithet ἐναργής reserved, as we have seen, for divine persons. Nevertheless it is a most likely dream for a young girl. Which theory then shall we accept? Is this a primitive objective dream? Or is it the sort of dream that a young person has today? Messer rules out the second suggestion completely, but this is, I believe, unnecessary. When speaking of sleep he writes (ibid p.136)

"In the portrayal of sleep, for example, in the Iliad and the Odyssey, we find the same duality of artistic theory - the naïve picture of external, objective sleep, existing side by side with descriptions containing such adjectival and verbal adjuncts as seem to indicate a more advanced psychology."

To follow through the full implications of this dualism is to break down the distinction between the so called primitive and advanced. Homer describes dreams as objective first because he borrowed, we may presume, the practice from his predecessors; secondly, because it is the most interesting way of relating a dream, particularly bearing in mind the divine machinery. We may compare the practice of Grand Opera, where both the composer and the audience, although having a clear idea of things as they are,

prefer to see them in a thoroughly stylised form. To label this practice as primitive, or to use it as a yardstick for assessing late and early works would be very dangerous. And so with epic poetry, the audience would know very well of their experiences $\epsilon\upsilon\ \delta\upsilon\epsilon\iota\rho\omega$ but when listening to the bard, they loved to hear the details of the dream entering through the keyhole and the likeness assumed by the divinity. Messer (p.29) asks us to note "how much in the descriptionhas become stereotyped even thus early". This is an odd way of putting it: as we have seen a phrase like -

$\sigma\tau\eta\ \delta\prime\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\prime\ \upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\ \kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\eta\varsigma$

appears throughout the two epics with remarkable evenness (Iliad, 2.10, 23. Odysseey, 4. 6. 20) and there seems no justification whatsoever in saying some are "early". That is not to say that parts of the Iliad are not earlier than parts of the Odysseey. The fact is that there was an epic tradition in describing dreams and the poet drew on this tradition for his recitals. Parts of the poem may well be dated with fair accuracy, but it would be most unwise to date a stock phrase like this. It should come as no surprise at all that the very same phrase is used near the beginning of the Iliad and towards the end of the Odysseey.

It is extremely interesting to read the comment of Eustathius for I believe he first propounded the thesis of Wetzel (1935) and, more recently, Miss Anne Amory (1958). Eustathius, whilst he recognises the objective dream, says here that if such a girl (as

the daughter of Dymas) was dear to the princess, then plausibly she was conceived in the mind during sleep:

εἰ δὲ ἐφίλειτο ἡ τοιαύτη κόρη τῆ βασιλίδι,
πιθανῶς ἄρα καὶ ἀνειδωλοποιεῖτο ἐν ὕπνοις

And exactly the same may be said of Agamemnon's dream of Nestor. Freud noted the importance of waking impressions in the creation of dreams. It is therefore misleading to label a universal truth as 'primitive'.

Now it is not only the person of Dymas's daughter that is plausible. The content of the dream too is very likely.

Nausicaa is dreaming of marriage. In fact, Wetzel has rightly pointed out that divine intervention could be dispensed with entirely for there is nothing remarkable in the message:

"muntius quem Nausicaa quiescens accipit, non tam mirus est, ut nisi divino numine non mitti possit, sed, ut etiam ceteris locis observavimus, e cogitationibus virginis intellegi potest. nam virginis maturae, ut Nausicaae, animum cogitationibus nuptiarum occupatum esse facile intellegi et ex voluntate eius explicari potest."

Without Athene, Nausicaa might well have met Odysseus by the river.

The suggestion is that the clothes are being neglected although marriage may come soon. The girl offers to accompany Nausicaa (line 32) but in actual fact she is not mentioned by name again.

Nausicaa is not alone but accompanied by handmaids.

οὐκ οἶδεν, ἅμα τῇ γε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι κίον ἄλλαι

(line 84)

these might possibly include Dymas's daughter, especially as it was not beneath the dignity of Nausicaa to play ball with these handmaids.

The daughter of Dymas mentions marriage no less than three times:

σοὶ δὲ γάμος σχεδὸν ἔστιν (line 27)

real urgency is shown:

ἔπει οὐ τοι ἔτι δὴν παρθένος ἔσσεαι (line 33)

and the reason is given:

ἦδη γὰρ σε μνῶνται ἀριστῆες (line 34)

It is small wonder that Nausicaa, not many hours afterwards, is greatly attracted by the stranger (244-5). Not only the dream but the subsequent attitude of Nausicaa (she was the only girl not to run away at the first appearance of Odysseus - line 139) are most skilfully described by Homer. We conclude therefore that this is the sort of dream that young girls always have had, and Homer is well aware that dreams draw their immediate material from the waking life of the subject. Nausicaa wants to marry, and she dreams of her close friend telling her what to do. Even to dream of washing clothes is a delightful touch: the washing was no doubt "on her mind" as we say - which is the psychological equivalent of the epic ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς. For Homer though he describes life as he sees it, chooses to use the formulae of the traditional epic.

In doing this, he does not lose his originality any more than Beethoven does when he chooses to use sonata form or a particular progression of chords: In each case the audience expect the sequences and enjoy them when they occur. In the present passage Homer has no need whatsoever to announce that it is a dream, the recurrent lines are thoroughly familiar.

As in *Iliad*, 10. 496-497, the time at which the dream visits the subject is of interest. Eustathius asks us to note that the clear dream - which is indeed a vision appears to Nausicaa near dawn when dreams appear most likely to be true (as appears else where).

Ἰστέον δὲ ὡς καὶ τῇ Ναυσικάᾳ ὄνειρος ἐπιφαίνεται ἐναργῆς ὃ ἔστιν αὐτόχρημα ὄραμα, περὶ ὄρθρον, ὅτε μάλιστα οἱ ὄνειροι δοκοῦσιν ἀληθεύειν ὡς καὶ ἄλλαχού φαίνεται
(1549, 4b)

Though Homer makes no mention of such a tradition both this dream and that of Rhesus (*Iliad*, 10. 496-7) follow the later pattern of false dreams before midnight and true ones before dawn. We may add to Horace *Satires* 1, 10 already quoted, the view of Ovid *Heroides* 18, 195-196:

Namque sub aurora, iam dormitante lucerna

Somnia quo cerni tempore vera solent.

This dream, then, is of the greatest interest both because of its acute observation of human nature and also because of the

delightful part it plays in the plot. As the Scholiasts (P.Q.T.) observe, on line 31, the urging of Nausicaa is necessary in order that the deliverance of Odysseus may be brought about more quickly.

ἀναγκαία ἢ ἐπειγίς ἵνα θάπτον ἢ
θεραπεία τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύς γένηται.

When this has been accomplished, we hear no more of Nausicaa, but we are left with a picture which, in the words of Dr. Rieu, is "as fresh and lovely now as when it was painted three thousand years ago".

(c) *Odyssey*, ll. 207 and 222

The next references to dreams in the *Odyssey* are contained in two very short similes. Odysseus has gone to Hades and his route is given with some precision (lines 13 - 19). It is the land of night:

ἀλλ' ἐπὶ νύξ ὅλη τέταται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι

and it is therefore no surprise to find the poet comparing with dreams those who dwell there. A similar geography is given in the prologue to Book 24. There the Ocean Stream is mentioned and the land of dreams:

παρ δ' ἴσαν Ὠκεανοῦ τε ῥοαὶς καὶ Λευκάδα πέτρην
ἦδ' ἐπαρ' Ἥλίοιο πύλας καὶ δῆμον ὀνείρων
ἦσαν.

Both Book 24 and some parts of Nekuia are generally considered late (T.W. Allen, *Homer: the Origins and the Transmission* p. 218 et seq. See also E. R. Dodds in *Fifty Years in Classical Scholarship*, p. 32, note 21: "Consultation of a spirit seems to have been an element in the original folktale of the Wanderer's Return; but the abrupt changes in style, treatment and scenery make it difficult to regard the present Nekuia as an imaginative unity." (cf. page 146 Rhys-Carpenter, *Folk Tale, Fiction, and Saga in Homeric Epics*).

Perhaps C. H. Whitman takes a more reasonable view of Hades "where the panorama of the heroic life was reviewed in a dreamlike confusion" (p. 300, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition*); but these passages present a consistent and very reasonable picture. The instructions are also given fully by Circe *Odyssey*, 10. 507-517. The relation between dreams and souls is described in the following way by Professor Page who follows in the steps of Rohde (See his note on p. 47, *Psyche*): the Psyche "is the kind of second self which you may see in a dream, and indeed the experience of dreams is the earliest cause and justification of belief in ghosts of this type". (p. 22 *Homeric Odyssey*). What then could be more natural than to compare a soul with a dream?

Odysseus meets his mother after his conversation with Teiresias (line 152 et seqq). As she speaks Odysseus is seized with a desire to clasp her:

τρίς μὲν ἔφωρήθην, ἔλεειν τὲ με θυμὸς ἀνώγει,
 τρίς δέ μοι ἐκ χειρῶν σκιῇ εἶκελον ἢ καὶ ὄνειρῳ
 ἔπτατ'.

(lines 206-208)

The commentary of Eustathius at this point is somewhat long and involved but it is worth considering because it is one of the earliest discussions on the complex relationship between dream, soul and image and the commentator does not fall into the trap which his successors seem unable to avoid.

ὅτι τὸ εἶδωλον καὶ σκιᾶς δοξάζει ἀμενηνότερον ὁ ποιητής, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ψυχῆς, ἣν σκιᾶ φθόσας εἶκασεν ἐν τῷ "τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ αἴσσουσι" (Od. 10. 495) διὸ μὴ δυνάμενος Ὀδυσσεὺς λαβέσθαι τῆς μητρικῆς ψυχῆς φησὶν· ἢ τί μοι εἶδωλον τόδε Περσεφόνη ὠτρυνεν ὄφρ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὄδυρόμενος στεναχίῳ (l. 214) ἄλλως δέ γε εἰπεῖν ἀκριβέστερον, ταῦτον εἶδεν εἶδωλον καὶ σκιᾶν καὶ ὄνειρον, κατὰ γε τὸ ἀμενηνόν. ἄλλο δέ γε τὴν ψυχὴν παρὰ τὰ τρία ταῦτα. ὅθεν ὥσπερ μὴ δυνάμενος δράσασθαι ψυχῆς, ἀπορεῖ μὴ ποτε οὐ ψυχὴ τὸ φαινόμενον τοῦτο ἄλλο εἶδωλον. οὕτω καὶ πρὸ βραχέων ἔφη ὡς ἢ τῆς μητρὸς ψυχῆς ἔξέφυγέ με σκιῇ ἴκελον καὶ ὄνειρῳ, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα δὲ ὅτι ψυχὴ ἡῦτ'.

ὄνειρον ἀποπταμένη πεπότηται . οὐ γὰρ σκιάν
 φησι καὶ ὄνειρον αὐτὴν εἶναι , ἀλλ' ἀποπτεῖσθαι
 δίκην ὄνειρου καὶ σκιάς . οὕτω δὲ τὸ,
 σκιαὶ αἴσσοουσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ὡς σκιάι .

Eustathius says "Note that the poet considers that the image is more feeble than a shade and for this reason more feeble than a soul which he shows to be like a shade in the line "the shades dart". Odysseus says that he is unable to clasp the soul of his mother - "or is this a mere image that Persephone has sent to me in order that I suffer even more bitterly?" To be more precise, Odysseus saw image shade and dream as identical with regard to feebleness but the soul he saw as different from the three. So when he was unable to clasp the soul he feared lest this appearance was not a soul but another image. Therefore in brief he says "the soul of my mother escaped me like a shadow and a dream" and a little later that "the soul disappeared like a dream fluttering away". He does not say that the soul is a shadow and a dream but that it flies like a dream and shade; and so the line "the shadows flit" instead of "like shadows they flit".

Eustathius has in mind that εἶδωλον an image is something weaker than σκιά which we might translate as ghost. The former is more subjective: the latter actually exists, although nothing is very substantial in Hades. Odysseus is fully used to seeing εἶδωλα and it is natural that he should think that his mother is nothing more when he is unable to clasp her. All this takes us to the very

heart of the Homeric concepts of soul and mental image. Eustathius perhaps tries to draw up a strict classification where none is possible but at least he follows Homeric usage closely. Professor Page seems to wander far away. He writes "Like a reflection in a mirror it (the soul) has the same shape and appearance as the body; but apart from that body it has no substance, no power of thought or speech or feeling" (page 22). But Patroclus in the Iliad and Iphthime in the Odyssey, to give but two examples, possess those very faculties, and they are referred to as εἶδωλα. To make an εἶδωλον a purely visual mirror-reflection is un-Homeric.

If we are to have a clear idea of the Homeric dream and image it would be wise to consider the twin concepts pushed to their furthest limits. The locus classicus is lines 601-604. "Ludicrous" is the verdict of Professor Page, and here again he follows Rohde.

Odysseus sees only the image of Heracles as the hero himself is away, banqueting with the immortal gods

Τὸν δὲ μετ' εἰσενόησα βίην Ἑρακλείην,
εἶδωλον· αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι
τέρπεται ἐν θαλίῃς

601-3

"Whoever wrote this was practising a little theology on his own account. Such a contrast between a fully animated "self" possessing the original man's body and soul still united, and a counterfeit presentment of himself (which cannot be his psyche) relegated to

Hades, is quite strange both to Homer and to Greek thought of later times". So writes Rohde on this passage (Psyche p.39 Eng. tran.) but he seems to take no account of the psychology of the Homeric dream. As we have already said in an earlier section, Nestor makes no comment on the fact that his εἶδωλον appeared to Agamemnon. Unlike Rohde, Homer sees no theological problem of kenosis. In the case of Nestor the fully animated "self" possessing the original man's body and soul still united was presumably asleep in the Greek camp, the counterfeit presentment was conversing with Agamemnon. An εἶδωλον was, according to the literary convention, separable from the ψυχή. Nestor's ψυχή sleeps in the camp. Nestor's εἶδωλον visits Agamemnon. Heracles' ψυχή feasts with the gods, Heracles' εἶδωλον converses with Odysseus. There is no difference in principle: Homer and his audience know just what is happening and although Eustathius perhaps fastens too strict a classification on ψυχή and the other three σκιά, εἶδωλον and ὄνειρον he does not wander into an un-Homeric psychology. The difficulty is always to determine how objective these εἶδωλα are. Messer makes them so objective as to rob Homer's characters of their deep psychological interest (how very different the dreams of Nausicaa and Agamemnon !) On the other hand, the εἶδωλα of Book eleven certainly have an objectivity - though it is surely possible to argue that Odysseus' meeting with his mother and his longing for

her are, in the phrase of Wetzel, *ex animo dormientis*. And the same can be said of the whole of Book Eleven. If this seems far-fetched at first sight we should perhaps remind ourselves of this close relation between dream and soul, and of the proximity, in Homer's mind, between the shades of the departed and the land of dreams.

Shades and dreams, both described by Homer as εἶδωλα are very similar. We can best understand their natures by seeing them separately and then studying closely Homer's own comparisons in these two similes. Professor Page writes (*Hom. Od.* p. 21) "The notion that ghosts in Hades might think and hear and speak, whether among themselves or in conversation with a visitor from the world above is entirely foreign to the normal Homeric belief about the after life". Now if the soul is modelled on the dream (as we believe it is) why should it be necessary to deprive the souls in Hades of speech and thought? This would make them most unlike Homeric dreams which are described as εἶδωλα and can both speak and think.

Again in *Iliad*, 23. 72-73 we read:

τῆλέ με εἶργουσι ψυχαί, εἶδωλα καμόντων,
οὐδέ μέ πω μίσγεσθαι ὑπὲρ ποταμοῖο ἔωσιν

Surely these lines must mean that the images have a will - and a strength - of their own. It may be urged that *Iliad*, 23. 103-4

contradicts this idea but we have seen that here Leaf's suggestion of φρένες meaning "the mind viewed from the physical side" is probably correct. There is presumably some kind of non-physical consciousness. A more difficult problem is raised by Odyssey, 10. 493-495, where Circe gives directions to Odysseus:

ΤΟΥ ΤΕ ΦΡΕΝΕΣ ἔμπεδοί εἰσι·
 τῷ καὶ τεθνηῶτι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνηϊα
 οἷω πεπνυῖσθαι

Was it that Persephone granted a full mind to Teiresias as opposed to the usual ghostly mind suggested by:

ΤΟΙ Δὲ ΣΚΙΑὶ αἰσσοῦσιν.

(in any case Teiresias had supernatural gifts of prophecy: he asked to drink the blood in order that he might speak the truth:

αἵματος ὄφρα πῖω καὶ τοι νημερτέα εἶπω

His nous, granted to him by Persephone, was greater than human anyway and it seems wrong on the face of the other evidence to assign no thought whatsoever to the shades of the departed.

Teiresias is an exception: not only was he in possession of his mind, but it was a supernatural mind).

If these shades are nothing at all why does Odysseus envy Achilles?

νῦν αὖτε μέγα κρατέεις νεκύεσσιν
 ἐνθάδ' ἐὼν· τῷ μή τι θανῶν ἀκαχίῃε, Ἀχιλλεῦ

(485-6)

Achilles gives the very moving reply about his preference for serfdom among the living over kingship among the dead. Like

Patroclus in the Iliad he explains the nature of Hades:

ἔνθα τε νεκροὶ
ἀφραδέες ναίουσι, βροτῶν εἶδωλα καμόντων (475-6)

The shades may be thoughtless, stupid, reckless, but at least Achilles is a king among them.

We may now turn from the shades themselves to Homer's illuminating simile. Anticleia says to Odysseus after he has vainly tried to clasp her:

οὐ γὰρ ἔτι σάρκας τε καὶ ὄστέα ἴνες ἔχουσιν,
ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τε πυρὸς κρατερόν μένος αἰθρομένοιο
δαμνᾶ, ἔπει' κε πρῶτα λίπη λεύκ' ὄστέα θυμός,
ψυχὴ δ' ἤϊτ' ὄνειρος ἀποπταμένη πεπότηται.
(l. 219 - 223)

The contrast between physical and non-physical is complete. The simile of the dream is extremely beautiful, and for our prosaic purposes it illustrates unmistakably the nature of both dream and soul. Clearly they both have some existence, some personality; but the vital part - the φρένες - is missing.

Rohde explained the relationship in this way: "Just as the dreamer's capacity for vision is no mere fancy, so, too, the objects he sees are realities. In the same way it is something real that appears to a man asleep as the shape of a person lately dead. Since this shape can show itself to a dreamer, it must of necessity still exist; consequently it survives death, though, indeed only as

a breath like image, much as we have seen reflections of our faces mirrored in water".

The sentence "it must of necessity still exist" does not really answer the problem of objectivity: has such an image an objective existence or does it merely pass before the eyes of the subject? But the argument is surely valid: it is only when Professor Page pushes it too far (page 22 *The Homeric Odyssey*) that it becomes un-Homeric. If we are to take Patroclus at his word when he says that once buried he will never return (*Iliad*, 23 75) we have the remarkable position of dreams of the dead producing a belief in the after-life followed by a later belief that the dead do not visit the living in dreams. This indeed is a curious reversal but fear of the dead no doubt played a large part in the shaping of this belief.

This raises the question of composition and consistency. Should lines or even whole books be athetised because they do not fit into a preconceived plan? Professor Page as we have seen wishes to reject most of Book Eleven as an interpolation. His reason is that it does not accord with what he calls "the truly Homeric Hades of senseless and voiceless shadows". Professor Page's views in this chapter have met with little approval. F. M. Combellak (*Gnomon* 1956 p. 411-419) says "on the underworld chapter many of P's points seem to me more than dubious" and Professor J. A.

Davison puts the case even more strongly (Classical Review Vol. VI 1956): "we are likely to be surprised only that if Professor Page's observations are true (and I cannot see any easy answer to them) any Greek should have been at once such a mumskull as to think that his interpolations were improving the Odyssey and so clever as to have them accepted as the genuine work of Homer." Combellak refers most disparagingly to "the simple process of laboriously collating details which no ordinary reader ever connects together". If we substitute "listener" for reader the argument is much more forceful. Perhaps the most useful and constructive words written in this argument now centuries old (it was started by Aristarchus) have been written by Professor Dodds: "It is extremely unwise to impose eschatological consistency on Homer (or anyone else) at the cost of emendation, excision or distorting the plain meaning of words" (The Greeks and the Irrational, p.158). As a student of religion he throws rather more light on the problem than do the textual critics.

To sum up, in two similes Homer reveals his views both of the dream and the soul after death. He describes both as εἰδωλα. Neither lack completely intelligence or personality but by the nature of things they are shadowy and obscure. Eustathius is probably right in according the soul a greater degree of reality than a mere dream or image but he attempts a classification which is too

rigid. In any case, belief in the soul most likely sprang from visitations of the dead in dreams. Professor Page is almost certainly wrong in depriving Homeric souls of all sense and voice because there are too many passages in the Homeric poems which scarcely allow such an interpretation. The view is only common because the meaning of φρένες has been taken to be intelligence, whereas midriff, vital principle or "the mind viewed from the physical side" is much nearer the mark. "The contradiction between Homeric belief and Homeric practice" outlined by Rohde and supported by Professor Page is no contradiction, although there is not full consistency between say, Circe's assertion that Teiresias is the only person with a mind in Hades and Odysseus' remark that Achilles is prince among the dead. Such consistency is not a feature of oral poetry. The question of interpolation will be discussed more fully in the section on Odyssey 24 - the so called Second Νέκυια.

It remains now only to mention the Hades of King Minos. The passage has for long been considered spurious (568-627):

νοθεύεται μέχρι τοῦ "ὡς εἰπὼν ὁ μὲν αὐθις
ἔδου δόμον Ἄϊδος εἴσω"

says the Scholiast.

But it contains not dreams, but nightmares of frustration which remind the audience no doubt of the pursuer and the pursued in Iliad 22. All the dreams - the body being torn, the water snatched away from the thirsty man, the rock that forever topples

down - all these are common nightmares. They are poetic pictures of frightening realism and they seem in no way out of place in this eerie world of death and dreams. The oath formulae, as Professor Dodds points out (p. 158 *The Greeks and the Irrational* note 10) "preserve a belief which was older than Homer's neutral Hades." These formulae (*Iliad*, 3. 278-9, 19. 259) point unmistakably to punishment in Hades:

- (a) καὶ οἱ ὑπένερθε καμόντας
ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθον.
- (b) Γῆ τε καὶ Ἥλιος καὶ Ἐρινύες, αἳ θ' ὑπὸ γαίαν
ἀνθρώπους τίνυνται.

In the light of these lines there seems to be no very good reason for rejecting the Minos episode on eschatological grounds. As nightmares of frustration they are admirably placed: adding horror to an already dreadful scene. Whilst it has been common to apply to this book, and this episode in particular such epithets as ill-conceived, spurious and so on, the unprejudiced reader is far more likely to see it, in the words of C. H. Whitman (*Homer and the Heroic Tradition* p. 309) as "the superb and panoramic dream of the Nekyia." Rhys Carpenter (*Folk Tale, Fiction Saga in Homeric Epics* p.146) is of the same mind: "We grant that it fits uncomfortably, even illogically, into place; but if the evidence from the Bearson tale is cogent, we must deny that its incoherences are due to its later origin. Quite the contrary, of all the Odyssean adventures

it is the only one, besides those of Polyphemos and Circe, that could not ever have been missing from the story, whose very point and goal it is." If sleep is the twin brother of death (Iliad 14, 231, 16, 672, 682) then it must follow that dreams are the twin brothers of the Shades. In neither realm is complete consistency to be found but Homer describes each as only he can.

(d) Odyssey, 14. 495

The next reference to a dream is to be found in a very different context. Odysseus has now reached the hut of Eumaeus, and we see him in his rôle of arch-rogue. As it is a wet and windy night Odysseus feels the need of a cloak before settling down for sleep. He cleverly tests the generosity of Eumaeus by recounting a story of how he was once with Odysseus on a frosty night (468-506). On that occasion he had no cloak but only a tunic. He complained to Odysseus of the cold and Odysseus hit on an original plan. He claimed that he had just had a divine dream and that a message should be taken immediately to Agamemnon. Thoas jumped up, threw off his cloak and ran to Agamemnon. The narrator picked up the cloak and slept gratefully till dawn appeared. Eumaeus sees the point of the story and covers Odysseus with a thick mantle.

A more delightful tale - with its "double-take" - could

scarcely be imagined. Odysseus was clever enough to see that Eumaeus would love nothing more than a tale about the clever Odysseus! It takes a lot to rouse a soldier from his bed in the middle of a frosty night and a divine dream is possibly the only pretext.

We should note here, as in the Iliad, that the status of the recipient is at least as important as the dream itself.

κλυτε, φίλοι· θεῖός μοι ἐνύπνιον ἦλθεν ὄνειρος.
λίην γὰρ νηῶν ἐκὰς ἦλθομεν.' (495-6)

Aristarchus rejects line 495 as an interpolation from Iliad, 2. 56. There, in a much more august passage - and no doubt one very well known to Homer's audience - Agamemnon reveals to the Greeks his dream of Nestor.

κλυτε φίλοι, θεῖος μοι] ἀθετεῖται ὡς ἐκ τῆς Ἰλιάδος
β 56 μετενηνεχμένος. γελοῖον δὲ εἶπεῖν καὶ τὸν
ἐν λόγῳ καθυπνωκέσαι.

It is ridiculous, says the Scholiast, to say that Odysseus went to sleep in an ambush

ὁ δὲ νοῦς, θεῖος μοι ὄνειρος ἐφάνη. λοιπὸν
τὰ παρὰ τοῦ ὀνείρου ῥηθέντα ἐπάγει, ἐπειδὴ τῶν
νηῶν πόρρω ἔσμεν, ἀπέλθη τις καὶ εἶπη τῷ
Ἀγαμέμνονι πλείους ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πέμψαι
συμμάχους, ἵνα μὴ πόρρωθεν ὄντες τῶν ὁμοφύλων
ὀλίγοι ὑπάρχοντες βλαβῶμεν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.

"The meaning is", says the Scholiast "a divine dream appeared to me. Further he introduces the matters spoken by the dream - since we are far from the ships let some one go and tell Agamemnon to send more men for us from the ships so that we may not be harmed by the enemy as we are few in number and far from our compatriots".

Now as Stanford suggests (Odyssey, p. 236) the soldiers probably slept in turns: we read ἦϋδον in 479 "they slept in comfort" as Rieu translates. One feels that Aristrachus is perhaps hypercritical, and in anycase with his rational education he was ill disposed towards the occult. Most dreams suffer badly at his hands. The content of the dream is not given as such, as the

Scholiast observes. Odysseus actually introduces the subject matter

λίην γὰρ νηῶν ἕκασ ἦλθομεν

"I feel we have come too far from the ships." (Rieu) or as Stanford suggests "The fact is that....." The anticipatory γὰρ (Denniston Greek Particles p. 68) is contained in a clause which explains what follows - in this case the request for a volunteer to take news to Agamemnon. This probably has not always been understood. The Scholiast on 496 says:

τινὲς φασὶν ἐνίους ἠγνοηκότας τὸ ἔθος τοῦ ποιητοῦ, ὅτι ἔθος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἀρχεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο πεπλακέναι τὸν στίχον

"They say that some scribes were ignorant of the poet's habit

of beginning with γάρ and for this reason the line was interpolated". But if this were the case (and it seems unlikely) the γάρ as an explanatory particle would fit in awkwardly.

As neither objection of the Scholiast is sustained there seems no reason at all for rejecting the line. Indeed one wonders whether there is not some skittish humour in borrowing such an august injunction for such an occasion.

The line certainly demonstrates that the dreams of Commanders were of paramount importance in the Odyssey as well as in the Iliad. Dream interpretation later held an important place in military affairs, as we know from the historians. The wry humour of Iliad, 5. 149-150 has already been noted and certainly in this passage the wily Odysseus plays on the gullibility of his men. Can it be that Homer smiled at the popular belief in dreams?

(e) Odyssey, 15. 9-45.

Homer now takes his audience from Ithaca, where Odysseus shelters in Eumaeus' hut, to Telemachus and Peisistratus who are resting in the palace of Menelaus. Athene visits Telemachus to hasten his return home and she finds them resting in the portico:

Εὐδοντ' ἐν προδύμῳ Μενελάου κυδαλίμοιο

Homer quickly corrects this statement for whilst Nestor's son was sound asleep, Telemachus was wakeful all night worrying about his father. "Wakeful anxiety will crave slumber" in the words of the Book of Wisdom (31,2).

ἦ τοι Νεστορίδην μαλακῶ δεδμημένον ὕπνῳ
 Τηλέμαχον δ' οὐχ ὕπνος ἔχε γλυκὺς, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ
 νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίην μελεδήματα πατρὸς ἔγειρεν.

(lines 6 - 8)

The question now arises as to whether this is a dream at all.

Many have taken it to be so. Hundt quotes (p.100 note 20)

Bethe Odyssee 19, Schwartz 79, Wilamowitz Heimkehr des Odysseus

133 and we may add H. J. Polak (ad Odysseam eius que Scholiastas

1881) who writes "Telemachus a Minerva per somnium admonitus ut

in patriam reverteretur". Hundt considers this to be wrong and

traces the tradition to two hypotheses and of course to Eustathius:

"Auch Eustathios versteht die Stelle falsch"

Τηλέμαχον Ἀθηνᾶ ὄναρ ἐπιστάσα εἰς Ἰθάκην
 ἔπανελθεῖν προτρέπεται

but later Eustathius adds:

ἀγρυπνῶν οὖν συννοεῖται Ἀθηνᾶς ὑπομνησκῆς

The scholiast on Q adds an interesting note to line 9

ἀγχοῦ δ' ἰσταμένη προσέφη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη

he points out that it is not necessary that Athene should be

likened to a man because as it is night she is not seen!

οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ὁμοιοῦσθαι ἀνθρώπῳ τὴν
 Ἀθηνᾶν ὅτε μὴ φαινομένην νυκτὸς οὐσης. Q

The confusion as to whether this is a dream or not is caused

by Homer not following his usual custom. As van Leeuwen points out (p. 409) "Qua specie sumta Minerva adstiterit Telemachi cubili poeta - praeter morem suum - non ait." It seems that Homer is so intent on telling his story that some of the details are left out. We are not told whether Telemachus recognised the goddess but no doubt he remembers Nestor's advice (Od. 3. 375-378) that, although only a young man he has a divine escort. Whatever the case may be, Telemachus in the dead of night (line 50) kicks Peisistratus

λάξ ποδὶ κινήσας 45

and suggests that they harness the horses and get on their way. He does not mention the visit of Athene. Peisistratus takes it calmly and replies that they cannot drive away in complete darkness and that it would be rude to leave Menelaus (lines 54-55). He does not express surprise and no doubt, as Thoas in the preceding book, he would accept a colleague's dream without demur. The Scholiast on Q also excuses Telemachus' behaviour:

πρεπόντως. ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ ἐκπλήξεως ἐπειγόμενος
οὔτε τὸν καιρὸν οὔτε τὸ πρέπον θεωρεῖ

Referring to the kick the Scholiast says, "Rightly so! Roused by astonishment he has regard neither for what is opportune nor what is correct."

Whether the appearance of the goddess is to be described as

ὕπναρ or ὄναρ remains in doubt. The distinction perhaps is not so clear as Hundt would have us believe. We saw much the same situation in Iliad, 24. 677-689, where Hermes visits Priam. In both cases the visits come well after midnight,

τάχα δ' ἔσεται ἦώς Od. 15. 50.

and they are true. We should remember that both sleeplessness and dreams are symptoms of anxiety and paradoxically they go together. When Homer painted this realistic picture of a young man torn by anxiety he probably did not care whether this was a dream or not: what is beyond doubt is that these were the thoughts in Telemachus' mind and the external form of the dream is a most useful way of drawing character.

(f) Odyssey, 19. 535-604

We now come to a dream which, though it does not have a direct bearing on the plot, forms the prelude to the last section. Odysseus has returned home and though Penelope has recognised the qualities of the stranger (lines 350-2) she still has not realised that he is her husband. After a very long preamble (509-534) she comes to the point:

ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τὸν ὄνειρον ὑπόκριναι καὶ ἀκουσον.

If it be wondered, why Penelope should so consult a stranger, I think we must bear in mind her earlier statement:

οὐ γάρ πώ τις ἀνὴρ πεπνυμένος ᾤδε
 ξείνων τηλεδαπῶν φιλίων ἔμὸν ἴκετο δῶμα
 ὡς σὺ μάλ' εὐφραδέως πεπνυμένα πάντ' ἀγορεύεις

Od. 19. 350-2

She relates a symbolic dream which carries with it its own interpretation. She has in fact a flock of twenty geese. These might represent the twenty years of Odysseus' absence, as Peter von der Mühl suggests (R - E. Supplement VII col.750) Penelope likes watching these geese.

καί τέ σφιν ἰαίνομαι εἰσορόωσα (line 537)

It comes, therefore, as no surprise to find that she dreams about them. In the dream an eagle swoops down and kills them all. Penelope weeps and her servants comfort her in the dream. But the eagle returns and with the traditional encouragement:

'Θαρσει, Ἰκαρίου κούρη τηλεκλειτοῖο
 (cf. Iliad, 24. 171)

he gives the interpretation. This is not a dream but reality. The geese were the suitors and the eagle is Odysseus now home again. At this point Penelope awakes.

Odysseus has only two things to say. First he affirms that Odysseus himself has spoken:

πέφραδ' ὅπως Τελέει αὐτὸς Ὀδυσσεὺς
 (556-7)

This line incidentally possibly removes Professor Dodds' objection to Hundt's conception of a Bildseele (The Greeks and The Irrational, p. 122. note 10) This shadow-soul is said to be Odysseus himself. The second point is that the suitors are doomed.

At this Penelope cautiously explains that dreams issue from two gates, one is of horn and the other of ivory. She fears that this dream has come through the ivory gate and is therefore false.

Penelope then goes on to outline something else which is on her mind. This is the trial of shooting through the axes. She says that if she leaves this house she will not forget it even in her dreams.

ΤΟΥ ΠΟΤΕ ΜΕΜΗΨΕΣΘΑΙ ΔΙΟΜΑΙ ἘΝ ΠΕΡ ὈΝΕΪΡΩ line 581

We note that despite the dream she has already decided to hold a contest for the suitors. This is only natural if she distrusts the veracity of the dream.

Now this whole episode has in recent years earned the highest praise and also the most severe censure. Peter von der Mühl considers it to be one of the most tasteless passages in Greek Literature

"Geschmacklosesten in der griechischen Poesie"

(R-E Supplement VII (1940) col. 750 23-28)

On the other hand J.W. Harsh says: "far from being one of the most

episodes in Greek poetry it (the final scene of the nineteenth book) becomes an exciting duel of indirectness, subtle and brilliant in its execution" (American Journal of Philology Vol. 71 (1950) page 18). It is indeed a most remarkable episode and well worth examining in some detail.

The dream is the only symbolic one in the two epics, but symbolism itself is not foreign to Homer as we see in the case of Theoclymenus. This diviner sees a hawk with a dove in its talons (Od. 15. 525-534) and he sees blood spattered on the walls of the palace of Odysseus (20. 345 et seq) Cf. Iliad, 2. 300, et seqq. There are several such symbolic omens.

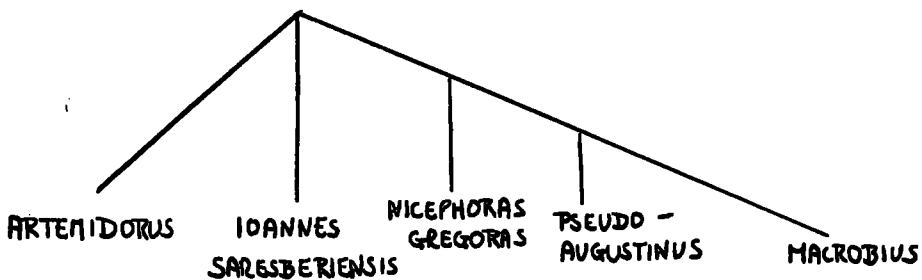
The dream is classified by Eustathius as an "horama" or "vision". This, as suggested by Professor Dodds (The Greeks and the Irrational p. 107) though a late classification may have an origin which lies much further back. Macrobius (fl. c. A.D. 400) defines the vision in this way:

visio est autem, cum id quis videt, quod eodem modo, quo apparuerat, eveniet.

(Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis 1, 3, 9)

And this traces itself back to Artemidorus (Oneirocritice 1, 2. late 2nd cent. A.D.) We may also mention here John of Salisbury (Polycraticus 2, 15;) (12th century), a contemporary of Eustathius, and also Nicephoras Gregoras (14th century) who was a priest and wrote a commentary on the De Insomniis of Synesius. There is also a Pseudo-Augustine who wrote a treatise, De Spiritu et anima.

The stemma Deubner suggests is as follows:



(De Incubatione p. 4)

The lexicon Suidas (late 10th century A.D.) draws on the same tradition:

ὄνειρον ἐνύπνιου διαφέρει· ἕτερον γὰρ ἔστι καὶ οὐ ταῦτό, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὄνειρον καὶ ἐνύπνιον καλῶς εἴποι τις ἂν· ὅταν δὲ τεχνικῶς λέγη τις, κυρίως ἕκαστον χρή καλεῖν, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀσημαντόν καὶ οὐδενὸς προαγορευτικόν, ἀλλ' ἐν μόνῳ τῷ ὕπνῳ τὴν δύναμιν ἔχον, γιγνόμενον δὲ ἐξ ἐπιθυμίας ἀλόγου ἢ ὑπερβάλλοντος φόβου ἢ πλησμονῆς ἢ ἐνδείας, ἐνύπνιον χρή καλεῖν, τὸ δὲ μετὰ τὸν ὕπνον ἐνέργεια δὴ καὶ ἀποβησόμενόν ἐστιν ἀγαθόν ἢ κακόν ὄνειρον, πολλάκις δὲ καταχρηστέον τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ὡς καὶ Ὅμηρος·

θεῖός μοι ἐνύπνιον ἦλθεν ὄνειρος

(Iliad, 2. 56, Od. 14. 495)

"A "dream" differs from a "vision"; it is by no means the same thing. But certainly one can speak of "a dream and vision". However when one is speaking with precision, one must give each its particular name. The first, which is without significance and gives no foreknowledge, one must call a "vision". It has effect only in sleep, arising as it does from some irrational desire, or overriding fear, or surfeit of food or lack of it. The second, which becomes an actuality, which truly takes place, is a "dream" - good or bad, as the case may be. But often one must employ the nouns as Homer does "there came to me a dream vision" " This description of non significant and significant dreams could scarcely be bettered and the causes of the non significant dream are most accurately listed.

Clearly there was a common tradition and the classification is very similar in all these writers. And Homer at least has the simple classification of significant and non significant dream. As Björck remarks (ὄναρ ἰδέειν : De la perception de la rêve chez les anciens. Eranos, 44 (1946) page 309):

"Dans toutes les sociétés qui croient à l'oniromancie, on a dû distinguer entre les rêves veridiques et les autres. Cette distinction est pour ainsi dire indispensable pour la fonction sociale de la divination - pour en excuser les déconfitures et supprimer des interprétations trop inopportunes; c'est précisément pour cela, d'ailleurs, que nous la retrouvons dans d'autres branches

de la prediction (Od. 2. 181):

ὄρνιθες δέ τε πολλοὶ ὑπ' αὐγὰς ἡελίοιο
φοιτῶσ', οὐδέ τε πάντες ἐνάσιμοι

Elle est antérieure à toute théorie sur les songes ainsi qu'aux classements pseudoscientifiques "

Now this is perfectly true, but nowhere else in the two epics do we find a reference to the distinction between true and false dreams. But we have noticed several times that there is another check for suppressing "interprétations trop inopportunes" and that is the status of the recipient of the dream (Iliad, 2. 6 et seq; Od. 14, 495). That this tradition carried on we know from Xenophon. (Anabasis IV 8). The dreams of the Commander were to be taken seriously.

When Eustathius calls Penelope's dream an horama he is drawing on a tradition at least a thousand years old:

ὄραμα δὲ ὃ ρηθεὶς ὄνειρος, οἷα οὕτως ἀπεκβὰς ὡς
ἐθεάθη. δοκοῦσι δὲ ἀληθεύειν οἱ καθ' ὕπνου ἐρμηνευθέντες
ὄνειροι. Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τε οὖς ὀνείρους ἀληθεῖς ὄντας
καὶ αὐτόχρημα οὕτως ἐκβάντας καθὰ ὠράθησαν ἐν
ὕπνοις ὄραματα καλοῦμεν, θεωρηματικούς ἐκάλουν
οἱ παλαιοὶ ὅποῖός κ' ἄνταῦθα ὁ τῆς Πηνελόπης.

"The dream described is an horama, that is, it turns out just as it has been seen. Dreams which prophesy in sleep seem to be true. Notice that dreams which are in fact true and turn

out precisely as they have been seen in sleep and which we call horamata, these the ancient used to call theorematiks, such as this dream of Penelope"

He elaborates on this classification:

καὶ ὅτι διπτοὶ κατ' ἐκείνους οἱ ὄνειροι· οἱ
 μὲν γὰρ ἀλληγορικοὶ, οἱ ἄλλα δι' ἄλλων ἀγορεύοντες,
 οἱ δὲ θεωρηματικοὶ, οἱ τῆ ἑαυτῶν, φασι,
 θεῶν προσεικότες (1876 38, et seqq)

"Notice too that according to the ancients these dreams were of two kinds: first, allegorical, that is, expressing their message in a different language and secondly theorematic (visual) that is, resembling the actual spectacle".

Clearly Penelope's dream falls into the first category although it very nearly crosses the line into the theorematic:

ἔγὼ δέ τοι αἰετὸς ὄρνις
 ἦα πάρος, νῦν αὖτε τρὸς πρόσις εἰλήλουθα 548-9

"I who was formerly an eagle" almost suggests that the transformation has taken place but it is unwise to be too precise with dreams which are undoubtedly ἀκριτόμυθοι.

The word Homer uses for 'interpret' is of interest. Only in *Odyssey* 19 lines 535 and 555 does it take an object. Its only other appearance in the *Odyssey* (with the meaning of interpret) is at 15 170:

μερμήριξε δ' ἄρηϊφίλος Μενέλαος
ὄππως οἱ κατὰ μοῖραν ὑποκρίνατο νοήσας

This follows Stanford's suggestion (Odyssey ad loc) but Liddell and Scott give its more usual meaning 'reply' for this passage. Rieu translates 'he was at a loss to give him the correct interpretation'; and Butcher and Lang have "Menelaus pondered thereupon, how he should take heed to answer, and interpret it aright".

Its only other appearance with the meaning of "interpret" is Iliad, 12, 228 although we have seen ἔκρίνατο used at Iliad 5 150 with the sense of expound or discern. As we have already noted Homer nowhere uses the noun ὑποκριτής, but only ὄνειροπόλος (Iliad, 1. 63, 5. 149).

ὑπόκριναι (535) and ὑποκρίνασθαι (555) are therefore almost unique in Homer. Perhaps we should be very careful not to give the verb the full overtones it later acquired and "expound" is probably closer the original meaning than "interpret" after the style of Artemidorus.

The symbolism is not obscure for the audience have already heard of another eagle from the mountain (Od. 15. 174). Geffcken however thinks Homer has made a mistake in allowing Penelope to weep over the geese: after all, the geese represent the suitors

and the suitors are not dear to Penelope. (Griechische Literaturgeschichte Vol. 1. page 45) but this phenomenon is not uncommon. Freud (The Interpretation of Dreams p. 375 Eng. trans.) calls it "inversion of affect". It is surprising how often Homer's deep knowledge of human nature - psychology we call it today - is vindicated in the face of modern critics.

Wetzel (page 18 op. cit.) believes that the symbolism of the eagle has actually been transferred from the earlier event (Od. 15. 174): "vix errabimus suspicantes prodigium simplex in somnium permutatum esse", but there seems to be no evidence for this at all. After all, omens are common in the Odyssey (see especially Amory "Dreams and Omens in Homer's Odyssey" quoted by C. H. Whitman, p. 356, note 32, "Homer and the Heroic Tradition") and dreams of animals, though found nowhere else in Homer are seen in later Greek literature (Aeschylus Choeph 525 et seqq and Euripides Rhesus 780 et seqq). The allegorical dream is common (Aeschylus, Persae, 176 et seqq, Sophocles, Electra, 417 et seqq, Euripides Hecuba 60 et seqq; Iphigenia in Tauris 44 et seqq) and whilst this dream of Penelope is the first of its kind in Greek literature there seems no adequate reason to consider it merely as an omen transposed.

What is remarkable is the fact that the dream carries its own interpretation. The eagle proclaims himself to be Odysseus (Od. 19. 547-9).

οὐκ ὄναρ, ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἔσθλόν, ὃ τοι τετελεσμένον ἔσται.
 χῆνες μὲν μνηστῆρες, ἐγὼ δέ τοι αἰετὸς ὄρνις
 ἦα πάρος, νῦν αὖτε τὸς πόσις εἰλήλουθα
 ὅς πᾶσι μνηστῆρσιν ἀεικέα πτόμον ἐφήσω

A clearer interpretation could not possibly be imagined. The geese are the suitors, the eagle is Odysseus, and he will bring a dreadful fate upon all the suitors. We have seen that Penelope considers the stranger to be the wisest man to have come to the house (Od. 19. 350-2). There is therefore little surprise in the fact that she consults him. But does the dream need interpretation? Odysseus obviously does not think so:

οὐ πως ἔστιν ὑποκρίνασθαι ὄνειρον
 ἄλλη ἀποκλίναντ'..... (555-6)

" 'tis impossible to bend

The dream aside and give it another meaning" (Marris).

Why then does Penelope describe the dream in such detail? And why, if she distrusts the dream and the stranger's interpretation, does she suddenly decide to hold the trial of axes? Just before describing the dream she was on the horns of a dilemma:

ὡς καὶ ἐμοὶ δίχα θυμὸς ὀρώρεται ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα
 (19 524)

Now, after waiting twenty years, she is prepared to marry the man who most easily strings the bow and shoots through the axes. Does the stranger protest? Not at all. He urges that there

should be no delay:

μηκέτι νῦν ἀνάβαλλε δομοῖς ἐνὶ ταῦτον ἀεθλον 584

Odysseus will be home before the suitors string the bow and

shoot through the axes:

πρὶν γὰρ τοὶ πολύμητις ἐλεύσεται ἐνθάδ' Ὀδυσσεύς,
πρὶν τούτους τόδε τόξον εὖξοον ἀμφαφύωντας
νευρήν τ' ἐντανύσαι διοῖσ τεύσαι τε σιδήρου.

585-7

This of course is a fine double-entendre, well worthy of Odysseus.

The repeated πρὶν gives a splendid emphasis: how the irony of it all must have delighted Homer's audience! The suggestion is that Odysseus will be home long before the contest tomorrow: but the lines may only mean that the suitors will never string the bow. What is Penelope's reaction? She proposes to go to bed! (lines 594-5).

Wilamowitz (p. 62 *Homerische Untersuchungen* Berlin 1884) writes "unbegreiflich, dass Penelope nicht dieser deutlichen zusicherung, dass Odysseus innerhalb von zwölf stunden da sein wird, mindestens mit zweifel entgegentritt". The answer surely lies in the dream. The eagle did not say "I will come home", but "now I have come". The tense is perfect: the action is complete.

νῦν αὖτε τοὺς πρόσσις εἰλήλουθα

Penelope could hardly have related the dream to the stranger for

interpretation: none was required. She can only have meant it for information. We should remember that the maids are present throughout the interview (19 317, and also line 601 which gives us a special reminder of their presence

οὐκ οἶη, ἀμα τῇ γε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι κίον ἄλλαι
 she was "not alone") The maids, who are shortly to meet their end would certainly warn the suitors of the return of Odysseus. The dream almost seems to be an attempted recognition. Penelope certainly has had plenty of warning of the return.

During the day she has heard:

- (1) Telemachus report Odysseus alive (17. 142),
 following Menelaus and the Old man of the sea.
- (2) Theoclymenis assert on oath that Odysseus is at home
 (17. 157).

ὥς ἦ τοι Ὀδυσσεὺς ἤδη ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ

- (3) The stranger announce the return (19. 270).

ὥς ἤδη Ὀδυσῆος ἐγὼ περὶ νόστου ἀκουσα
 ἀγχοῦ (270-1).

- (4) The stranger give an oath that Odysseus will return
 (306-7).

τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ λυκάβαντος ἐλεύσεται ἐνθάδ' Ὀδυσσεὺς
 τοῦ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνός, τοῦ δ' ἴσταμένοιο.

In the light of these assertions it is surely not too far-fetched to suppose that Penelope, when recounting her symbolic dream, was as much giving information as seeking advice. The dream can only be a half-hearted attempt at recognition because

of the presence of the maids.

Woodhouse (p.87 The Composition of Homer's Odyssey) argues that Penelope's change of heart after relating the dream is illogical: "no reason, no logical reason is discoverable in the poem to account for Penelopeia's changed attitude." But he does not consider at all the place of the dream in the narrative.

P. W. Harsh (American Journal of Philology 71 p. 16) argues far more convincingly that when Penelope recounts the dream she is asking, in effect "Is it your intention to slay the suitors in our halls?" Odysseus with great clarity answers in the affirmative. Penelope then proposes the shooting match and Odysseus assents with alacrity (19, 584). "The identity of the stranger must inevitably be followed by the vengeance".

It may be objected that this is too subtle a solution (See Professor E.R. Dodds in Fifty Years of ^{Classical} Greek Scholarship p. 13), but when one considers the delicate relations between Odysseus and Eumaeus (Od. 14) Telemachus (Od. 16) the Suitors (Od. 18) and Eurycleia (Od. 19) it comes as no surprise to find such an elaborate description of the meeting of Odysseus and Penelope. Harsh (ibid. p. 3) collects some subtleties of presentation and the books just mentioned are full of them - none more so than 19 346 et seqq. where Odysseus asks for an old maid to wash his feet, surely in hope of recognition. ("die absicht ist erreicht": Wilamowitz Homerische Untersuchungen p. 55). The poet does not tell us this;

we are left to infer it. When one considers that Odysseus is actually in Ithaca for nearly half the epic (Od. 13 119) it surely needs a storyteller of no mean gifts to handle the many intricacies of plot.

"Though the evidence admittedly falls short of proof" in the words of Harsh (ibid. p. 19) we can reasonably infer that Penelope suspected the identity of the stranger. The main clue is the dream under discussion. When Penelope asks for the interpretation of a self explanatory dream is it not likely that she is relating the dream for the benefit of the stranger? On this hypothesis the contest with the bow is not "unmotivated" (Woodhouse, op. cit. p. 91). It follows very logically from Odysseus' recognition of himself in the dream. The repeated $\tau\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu$ is a reassurance for Penelope that all will be well. (Od. 19. 585-6). The whole question of recognition in ancient society was a difficult one. It provided the themes for countless plays - tragic and comic and some of the impatience shown by modern critics at the closing books of the Odyssey, and particularly Book, 19, is to be explained by a failure to appreciate this fact. No one can blame the caution of Odysseus seeing the fate of Agamemnon. Nor are the dangers less for Penelope. In her lovely speech of recognition (Od. 23. 209-230) she mentions the fate of Helen. As Harsh points out although she apologises for not embracing Odysseus she does not say that she did not recognise him, she merely expresses her

fear of a deceitful man (line 216)

The dream does not have a direct bearing on the plot. It serves to illustrate for the benefit of the audience and for the benefit of Odysseus the state of Penelope's mind. One could scarcely imagine a clearer example of a wish-fulfilment dream, and it is even more remarkable in that it draws its material from the sense impressions of the day. The geese were, as we have seen, a delight to Penelope. The dream makes possible the contest of the axes and this contest places the mighty weapon in the hands of Odysseus.

It is well worth while considering what Penelope says about dreams and also studying the relationship between ὕπνῳ and ὄναρ. When Odysseus so firmly supports the apparent interpretation of the dream, Penelope discusses the nature of dreams in general and the difficulty of their interpretation. The epithets she uses are of particular interest:

ἢ τοὶ μὲν ὄνειροι ἀμήχανοι ἀκριτόμυθοι
γίγνοντ', οὐδέ τι πάντα τελείεται ἀνθρώποισι.

(560-1)

They are also called ἀμενηνοί (562). We are also told three other things about dreams: first, "they cheat with empty hopes" (L. & S.) ἐλεφαίρονται (565); secondly they bring unfulfilled words. ἔπε' ἀκράαντα φέροντες (565); thirdly they "have true issues" (L. & S.) οἳ ρ' ἔτυμα κραίνουσι (567). Dreams pass through two gates, one of horn and one of ivory (562-5) Before discussing this remarkable picture - perhaps the most famous

dream picture in Greek Literature - it would be wise to look at the epithets in closer detail. We can compare what Penelope has to say of dreams with the view of Achilles (Iliad, 1. 63). There we saw Achilles reminding the assembly that dreams are divine, though no doubt admitting that many are meaningless. If all dreams were equally divine there would seem to be no point in consulting an *ὄνειροπόλος*.

In the present passage *ἀμήχανος* is used in its passive sense - "unmanageable". It is an epithet applied to Hera (Iliad, 15. 14), Achilles (Iliad, 16. 29), Agamemnon (Iliad, 19. 273). Altogether it is used eight times in the Iliad but is only found twice in the Odyssey - and in the other passage it has an active meaning: "helpless", "without resources" (Od. 19. 363) and it refers to Eurycleia. It is an exceedingly interesting word to apply to a dream. Dreams are ranked with the great heroes: because they are difficult to manage, to explain, to interpret.

The second epithet is no less interesting. It is found once in the Iliad, (2, 246) and once in the Odyssey - the present passage. In the Iliad Odysseus addresses Thersites as a man "confusedly babbling" (L. & S.) and later in the same book we see Iris chide Priam for his *μῦθοι ἀκρίτα* - "interminable talk". (E.V. Rieu). The emphasis in the present passage is on the confusion rather than the duration of dreams, as the Scholiasts on B. and V. rightly saw. They define *ἀκριτόμυθοι* as *ἀκρίτα*

καὶ ἀδιάτακτα καὶ ἀδιάσταλα λέγοντες

"speaking things which are confused, disorganised, not clearly unfolded".

The third epithet ἀμενηνοί has a more uncertain etymology. It either is to be understood as "α" privative + μένος : "without strength" or as "α" privative + μένων: "not permanent, fleeting. On the whole, the first is preferred both by modern Lexicographers and ancient (Hesychius gives ἀσθενής κατὰ στήρησιν τῆς δυνάμεως. μένος γὰρ ἡ δύναμις Lexicon 3584). It is an epithet used once in the Iliad by Ares (Book 5, 887) and means literally "without strength" but a much more common use is in the description of souls (Od. 10. 521, 536, Od. 11. 29. 49). In the discussion of the Νέκυια we have seen how close was the connexion between shade and dream. The shades are feeble and without strength and so are the dreams that visit us. Messer (The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy page 33) feels that "the writer has gone far from the οὐλος Ὀνειρος of the earlier work", but in a sense this is scarcely true. The epithets here refer to the kind of dreams we have seen throughout the epics: the belief in the ghostlike dream is common to both the Iliad and the Odyssey. The scholiast's gloss on ἀμενηνῶν is ἀνυποστάτων "insubstantial": this surely is a true description of say, Athene appearing to Nausicaa:

ἢ δ' ἀνέμου ὡς πνοιή (Od. 6. 20)

Dreams, says Penelope, are difficult, confused and insubstantial.

Before considering the gates of dreams it would perhaps be wise to consider another Homeric view which passed into general usage. This is the distinction between ὕπαρ waking vision, and ὄναρ, a vision in sleep, a dream. The distinction is made twice in the epic: Od. 19. 547, where the eagle proclaims the truth of the symbolism, and also Od. 20. 90, where Penelope describes a dream so vivid that she believed that she saw Odysseus himself.

The distinction is seen in Pindar, Ol. XIII. 94:

ἔξ ὄνειρου αὐτίκα ἦν ὕπαρ

Plato, 3rd letter, 319 B:

ὑβρισμα νῦν ὕπαρ ἀντ' ὄνειρατος γέγονε

Plato, Politicus 278 E:

τὴν τῶν κατὰ πόλιν θεραπείαν τέχνη γνωρίζειν
ἵνα ὕπαρ ἀντ' ὄνειρατος ἡμῖν γίγνηται.

The word is also used adverbially:

Aeschylus, P.V. 485:

κάκρῖνα πρῶτον ἔξ ὄνειράτων ἃ χρὴ
ὕπαρ γενέσθαι

Plato, Philebus, 36 E:

οὔτε ὄναρ, οὔτε ὕπαρ

Republic, 2, 382 E,

οὔθ' ὕπαρ, οὔτε ὄναρ

Plato, Politicus, 277E:

οἶον ὄναρ εἰδὼς ἅπαντα πάντ' αὖ
πάλιν ὥσπερ ὕπαρ ἀγνοεῖν

Republic 9 574 E:

οἶος ὀλιγάκις ἐγίγνετο ὄναρ, ὕπαρ
τοιοῦτος ἀεὶ γενόμενος

In Homer the words are used as substantives. ὄναρ appears by itself at Iliad, 1. 63, and 10. 496, and is the equivalent of ὄνειρος and ὄνειρον (Od. 4. 841). The etymology of ὕπαρ is obscure, ὄναρ has been connected with τέκμων : τέκμαρ (Boisacq Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque 4 édition Heidelberg 1950, p. 703) Messer (The Dream in Homer p. 46 note 191) follows Prellwitz in deriving ὕπαρ from ὑπό 'what is beneath', i.e. the underlying truth and ὄναρ and ὄνειρος from ἀνά 'what is on the surface', i.e. apparent truth.

Eustathius indulges in a word play which as we shall see, was greatly enjoyed by the ancients:

καὶ γίνεται ὄναρ μὲν παρὰ τὸ ὄν καὶ τὸ αἶρειν, ὕπαρ δὲ παρὰ τὸν ὕπνον καὶ τὸ αἶρειν, ἵνα εἶεν ὕπαρ μὲν ὕπνου ἄρσις διὰ τὴν ἐγρήγορσιν, ὡς οἶονεὶ ὕπαρ, ὄναρ δὲ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ ὄντος ἄρσιν (1876)

He derives the Greek word for dream from the two words meaning

"reality" and "to put an end to, to break up". The waking vision he derives from "sleep" and this same word "to break up" so that a waking vision is the breaking up of sleep on account of wakening and a dream is derived from the breaking up of reality. The waking vision here described by Eustathius reminds us of Priam's vision (Iliad, 24. 682 et seq) and the definition of a dream as the breaking up of reality is in accord with not only Aristotle (464 b 9) but modern psychology as well. Nevertheless, the etymology can scarcely be taken seriously.

E. W. Fay, (Classical Quarterly Vol. 11, 1917, page 212) follows Eustathius in deriving ὕπαρ from ὕπνος . He urges that ὕπαρ ἐσθλόν means not a 'waking vision' but a 'good dream'. " ὕπαρ = 'somnia', in bonam partem adhibitum". The later passages from Pindar, Plato and Aeschylus do not however support this interpretation and it has found little favour.

ὄναρ he connects with the root AN 'to breathe' Cf. Lat anima. He interprets it as 'ghost, the wraith of a dead man'. This would make even closer the connexion between a dream and a soul; for surely ὄναρ and ὄνειρος share a common root. The evidence however seems scarcely strong enough to support such a theory. Again, Achilles' suggestion would appear in a very strange light:

καὶ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν

Surely we should expect ὕπαρ here, if Fay's thesis were correct.

The two words ὕπαρ and ὄναρ then are of great interest for they show that whilst Homer might distrust dreams, visions of reality (for these are what they must be) these were to be believed.

We now turn our attention to the gates of dreams,

δοιαὶ γὰρ τε πύλαι ἀμνηνῶν εἰσὶν ὀνειρώων
αἱ μὲν γὰρ κεράεσσι τετεύχεται, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντι

The exegesis of this difficult passage has taxed the ingenuity of scholars ancient and modern alike.

The fullest ancient discussion is found in the Scholiast designated V by Dindorf (Praefatio p. XV Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam Oxford 1855):

αἱ μὲν φασὶ κερατίνην πύλην συνεκδοχικῶς τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς· κερατοειδῆς γὰρ ὁ πρῶτος χιτῶν τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ· ἐλεφαντίνην δὲ τὸ στόμα, ἐλεφαντόχρωτες γὰρ οἱ ὀδόντες. ἔκ δὲ τούτων πιστότερα εἶναι τὰ ὀρώμενα τῶν λεγομένων. καὶ ὅτι διὰ μὲν κέρατος οἶόν τε καὶ ἰδεῖν, διὰ δὲ ἐλέφαντος οὐ· ἢ ὅσα ἂν τις ἐν πλησμονῇ τροφῆς ἴδοι, ταῦτα εἶναι ψευδῆ. κερατίνην μὲν τὴν ἀληθῆ παρὰ τὸ ἔτυμα κραίνειν καὶ τελειοῦν ἐλεφαντίνην δὲ τὴν ψευδῆ. ἐλεφήρασθαι γὰρ τὸ παραλογίσασθαι καὶ ἀπατήσασθαι. (Cf. Iliad, 23, 388)

"Some say that the gate of horn indirectly means the eyes. For the top cover of the eye is horn-like. The ivory gate, they say, signifies the mouth, for the teeth are ivory coloured. Accordingly, what is seen is more trustworthy than what is spoken. They say also that it is possible to see through horn but not through ivory. Or, whatever one might see because of an excess of food, this is false. The horn is the true one because of bringing to pass true things (Od. 19. 567) and fulfilling them, but the ivory is false, for to cheat with false hopes (ἐλεφήρασθαι) is to deceive and trick".

Liddell and Scott (9th edition) connect ἐλεφαίρομαι possibly with ὀλοφώιος, but they note the play on ἐλέφας. Professor Stanford writes (ad loc) "It is difficult to say whether the paranomasia on κέρασ and κραίνω and ἐλέφας and ἐλεφαίρομαι first suggested the notion of gates of horn and ivory, or whether a pre-existing legendary description prompted the word play". That of course is the crux of the question. E. L. Highbarger (The Gates of Dreams, Baltimore, 1940, page 4 notell) thinks that Servius was the first to suggest the metaphorical explanation that the gate of horn is the eye, that of ivory the mouth, but he seems to overlook this Scholiast (vide A. S. Pease, Classical Philology Volume XXXVIII, 1943 page 61).

The other suggestions reported by the Scholiasts have not met with such favour.

Τινὲς δὲ οὕτως ἀπέδοσαν, κερατίνην μὲν τὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ διαφανῆ καὶ λάμπουσαν, ἑλεφαντίνην δὲ τὴν ψευδῆ καὶ ἄσαφῆ καὶ συγκεχυμένην. οἱ δὲ φασὶ κέρασιν ἀπεικάζειν τοὺς οὐρανίους ὄνειρους, οἵτινες καὶ ἀληθεύουσι, τῷ τὰ κέρατα εἰς ὕψος ἀνατείνειν· ἑλέφαντι δὲ τοὺς χθονίους· τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἑλεφάντων κέρατα κάτω νεύει. Διττοὺς δὲ οἶδεν ὄνειρους. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν οὐρανίων φησὶν "ἢ καὶ ὄνειροπόλον, καὶ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἐστίν" (Iliad, I. 63)· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν χθονίων "παρ' δ' ἴσαν ὠκεανοῦ τε ῥοᾶς καὶ Λευκάδα Πέτρην, ἧδὲ παρ' ἠελίοιο Πύλας καὶ Δῆμον ὄνειρων" (Od. 24, 12)

"Some scholars have explained it this way: the horn is the true one, transparent and shining, but the ivory is false and opaque and impermeable. (Compare Tertullian, De Anima 46 "perspicere est enim, inquit, per cornu, ebur autem caecum est"). They say that heavenly dreams are like horn, those which do indeed speak the truth, in that horns reach up to the heights; but ivory points to the earth. For the tusks of elephants point to the ground. The poet knew both dreams. On the heavenly ones he says "or even some interpreter of dreams - for dreams too are

sent by Zeus", On Chthonic dreams he says "Past Ocean Stream, past the White Rock, past the Gates of the Sun and the region of dreams they went" (E. V. Rieu).

Whilst it is true that Homer recognises dreams as true or false, the upward turn of horns and the down turn of tusks seems a little too fanciful.

Eustathius (1877 22 et seq) incorporates all the suggestions in a lengthy note on the passage. Apollonius Sophistas (Lexicon Homericum 1773 Paris) connects ivory with day and horn with night.

Ἐκ μεταφορᾶς. σημαίνει δὲ ἑλεφαντίνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν· κερατίνην δὲ τὴν νύκτα

This again seems to be a flight of fancy, though Apollonius prefers the theory to that which connects horn and ivory with eyes and teeth. Hesychius in his note (ad loc) probably follows Apollonius.

Before examining ⁱⁿ more recent proposals, it may be helpful to summarise in tabular form some of the ancient suggestions:

H O R N	I V O R Y
(1) Eyes	Teeth (Mouth)
(2) Translucent	Opaque
(3) κραινω	ἑλεφαίρομαι
(4) Pointing upwards	Pointing downwards
(5) Day	Night

The etymological explanation does not lack modern support. Messer is inclined to accept it: "a play (on words) which can hardly be accidental" (p. 35 *The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy*) Hundt gives it full consideration (p.78-81) (*Der Traumglaube bei Homer*). But the archaeological evidence is now perhaps being given more attention. Whilst horn was naturally plentiful in Greece, ivory was an oriental import (See Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments*, London 1950 p. 61 et seq). It was imported unwrought for the most part and this may well be the force of Homer's epithet πριστοῦ ἐλέφαντος (564).

E. L. Highbarger (*The Gates of Dreams*) has given the fullest consideration to the archaeological evidence. He points out (p.2) that Homer speaks of the "Gates of Horn(s), in the plural, while the Gate of Ivory is presented in the singular. He then goes on to demonstrate the Oriental background and the transmission of the ideas to Greece. The horns are of the bull and keeping in mind the Minoan sport of bull-leaping (ταυροκαθάψια) they symbolize destruction: "what was more logical therefore than picturing the abode of the dead as approached by a "Gate of the Horns" ?" (op. cit. p. 28) "Through this Gate come genuine ghosts (that is, true dreams)" (p.47) "The Gate of Ivory probably describes the Gate of Clouds open and shut by the Horae, through which the gods were thought to enter and leave Mount Olympus, and through

which, also, false dreams must proceed to the earth." (p.47)

Stated thus baldly, the theory seems wildly improbable:

"it provokes at many points the comment "perhaps" " (A. S. Pease Classical Philology Vol. XXXVIII 1943 p. 61). At the same time, the horns certainly suggest the bull, and archaeology shows that polished ivory was a highly prized material (See also Odyssey, 19. 56, cf. Od. 4. 73, 8. 404, 18. 196, 21. 7) Jackson Knight (Roman Vergil London 1943 p. 136) accepts the thesis that the Gates of Sleep "in part go back through Plato and Homer to Babylonian cult". I cannot believe that the materials for these gates were chosen merely for the play on words (κέρας, κραίνω; ἔλεφας, ἔλεφαίρομαι). It is surely far more likely that the gates are in fact connected with earlier beliefs and cults and that Homer delights in the word play.

By associating the Gates of the horns with the dead, and the Gate of Ivory with Olympus and the gods, Highbarger makes the dead bring true dreams, and the gods bring false dreams although he does allow (page 33) the possibility of a god bringing a true dream: This may be true, but Homer does not, it seems, allow true dreams through the ivory gates; and the gods of Olympus would scarcely pass through the Gates of the Dead. This seems to me a serious weakness in the argument, for whilst it is true that Zeus sends a deceptive dream to Agamemnon (Iliad, 2, 6 et seqq),

surely there is nothing deceptive in Iphthime appearing to Penelope (Od. 4. 787-841) or Dymas' daughter to Nausicaa (Od. 6, 13 - 51). They are not genuine ghosts, they are εἶδωλα and they are in disguise. In the case of Iphthime it is Athene in disguise, in the case of Dymas' daughter, Athene made a phantom specially for the purpose. In both cases the dreams give divine assistance to the recipients and they are not deceptive in any way but for the disguise of the phantom. They surely must have issued from the Gates of Horn despite their divine origin. The classification of Highbarger is perhaps too sophisticated for Homer, but as we have seen in the chapter on the Νέκυνια the appearance of the dead in dreams possibly is the origin of the belief in a ghostly after-life. (see Page, Homeric Odyssey, p.22) The appearance of Patroclus (Iliad, 23. 62-107) is the one example in the Homeric epics of such a visit. Highbarger would have it the only true dream. (op. cit. p. 35).

To sum up. In the light of Highbarger's researches it seems certain that more attention should be paid to the archaeological evidence. The gates of horn are inexpensive; the gates of polished ivory are extremely costly. The horns may allude to the bull and to the dangerous sport of bull leaping: it seems more improbable that the gates of polished ivory can be identified with the clouds, though anything quite so lavish may well be connected with the gods (Pausanias V, 17. 3; ix, 33. 5-6; viii, 46. 5; ii, 10. 5;

v. 12, 3. For a discussion of these ivory statues see H. L. Lorimer, *Gold and Ivory in Greek Mythology. Greek Poetry and Life. Essays presented to Gilbert Murray Oxford 1936 p. 32-33.* See also Rhys Carpenter, *Folk Tale, Fiction and Saga in the Homeric Epics, Berkeley 1958 p. 101.* He suggests a late seventh century date for this passage because after the disruptions of 626 B.C. and the fall of Nineveh in 612 B.C. "ersatz ivory had thenceforth to be made out of horn or bone". Rhys Carpenter contrasts "good honest native horn or bone" with "expensive Oriental ivory" (*ibid*). There can be little doubt that the wide disparity in value between horn and ivory plays a large part in the comparison between the gates of dreams true and false.) The classification of divine dreams as false and dreams of the dead as true is an over-simplification although we should bear in mind that *Odyssey XI*, is more a VEKVOMANTEION than a pure VEKVIA . The dead were consulted about the future for apparently they were believed to speak the truth. At the present time, it does not seem possible to reach any definite conclusion based on the archaeological evidence.

The suggestions of the scholiasts have not been neglected in modern times. T. J. Haarhoff (*Greece & Rome, Vol. 17, 1948, p.90*) suggests that Virgil possibly "associates his gate of horn with the physical eye that sees the illusionary phaenomena of the sensual world but does not apprehend, as Plato taught, the deeper truth".

Miss Amory in her unpublished thesis "Dreams and Omens in Homer's Odyssey (Radcliffe 1957) also supports a similar view: the dreams issuing from the ivory gates are unrecognised truth and those from the gates of horn are recognised as true. But as we have seen horn was probably more associated with bulls than the covering of the eye and ivory was certainly more associated with lavish decoration than with the teeth.

Whilst certainty is impossible in the matter it does seem that the truth lies in the field of archaeology rather than in an obscure symbolism.

(g) Odyssey, 20. 87-90.

After relating her dream to Odysseus and proposing the trial of axes, Penelope goes to bed. This evening of the thirtyeighth day is a remarkable one. (For a survey of the action of the Odyssey see Stanford, Homer, Odyssey, introduction page X with the footnotes). Penelope gives two accounts of her sleeplessness (Odyssey, 19. 515 - 517),

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ νύξ ἔλθη, ἔλῃσί τε κοῖτος ὅπαντας,
 κείμαι ἐνὶ λέκτρῳ, πυκινὰ δέ μοι ἀμφ' ἄδινόν κῆρ
 ὄξειαι μελεδῶναι ὄδυρομένην ἐρέθουσιν.

and again (Odyssey, 19. 595 - 7),

λέξομαι εἰς εὐνήν, ἣ μοι στονόεσσα τέτυκται,
 αἰεὶ δάκρυσ' ἔμοισι πεφυρμένη, ἔξ οὗ Ὀδυσσεὺς
 ὦχετ' ἐποπόμενος Κακοῖλιον οὐκ ὀνομαστήν.

These are remarkable pictures of a sorrowing wife and in Penelope's talk on the nature of sleep Homer reveals a deep and sympathetic knowledge of the subject (Od. 19. 591 - 593).

We may compare the earlier picture of anxieties finally conquered by sleep (Od. 4. 788 - 793).

Now the whole of the night preceding the revenge on the Suitors is taken up with sleeplessness, uneasy dreams and visions. Odysseus tosses to and fro on his bed (Od. 20. 5 - 55), and as he lies there, he is visited by Athene. This, of course, can only be classed as a waking vision, but it has all the appearance of a dream. It takes up the usual position:

στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς καί μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε
(line 32)

Despite the darkness, Athene takes on the form of a woman (line 31), but Odysseus recognises her as a goddess immediately (line 37). The discussion which very much resembles the address of Odysseus to his own heart (lines 18 - 21), is a clear example of Homer using a divine personality as a projection of the hero's character. Odysseus is counting his blessings: his home, his wife, his son (lines 34 - 35). To consider the dreams of the Odyssey, without studying such a passage as this gives a distorted view; for the division between waking visions and dreams is never drawn with precision by the Epic poet.

Odysseus closes his eyes with sleep and we are taken to Penelope who wakes up at this point. (See Page, Homeric Odyssey, 64 et seqq. for Homer's method of narrating simultaneous events. They always appear to be consecutive). Penelope addresses a prayer for death to Artemis. She would rather die with "an image of Odysseus in her heart" (E. V. Rieu) than delight a lesser man.

Ὀδυσσηῶν / ὀσσομένη 80 - 81

We may compare Telemachus and his mental image of his father (Odyssey 1, 115). Homer is fully aware of the day dream. Telemachus is dreaming of the restoration of the house, Penelope has her husband in mind. After relating the story of the daughters of Pandareus (lines usually considered spurious 66 - 82, See Stanford, Odyssey, p. 344 note ad loc.) Penelope goes on to a third outburst, not on sleeplessness so much as bad dreams. Of course, as we have seen, sleeplessness and bad dreams are the twin products of anxiety. Penelope seems to be addressing herself rather than Artemis: lines 83 - 90 have every appearance of a soliloquy.

In Book Four Penelope has her anxieties conquered by sleep. In the first outburst in Book Nineteen she speaks of weeping at her household work as a relief, but she says that her cares crowd in on her at night, and in the second outburst she speaks both of the necessity of sleep, and her own bed of tears. In the present passage she complains that even in sleep she finds no rest. It is a most moving portrait of the wife of the absent warrior: a

picture surely familiar to all in Homer's audience. Homer describes the sleep and dreams of Penelope in order to show us the state of her mind: after all, her role is essentially passive and by the very nature of things she cannot reveal her attitude in action as do her son and husband. (Cf. Od. 21 354 - 358, where Penelope retires after the rebuke of Telemachus. Again she weeps and Athene brings sleep to her) She sleeps throughout the battle in the hall (Od. 22. 429).

The dream which Penelope relates, ostensibly to Artemis, is of great interest,

τῆδε γάρ αὖ μοι νυκτὶ παρέδραθεν εἴκελος αὐτῷ,
 τοῖος ἔων οἶος ἦεν ἅμα στρατῷ· αὐτὰρ ἐμὸν κῆρ
 χαῖρ', ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔφάμην ὄναρ ἔμμεναι, ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἦδη

(Od. 20. 88 - 90)

Penelope complains of the deceptiveness of this dream. It is sent by some unspecified divinity and does not have its origin in the sense impressions of the day. Eustathius noted this latter fact with his usual insight:

τὸ τοίνυν ὄραμα ἴκελον Ὀδυσσεὶ ἄγει
 φάντασμα οὐ δαινυμένῳ, οὐκ ἀγορεύοντι, ἀλλὰ
 στρατευομένῳ καὶ ἀκμαίῳ καὶ μὴ ὠμογέροντι
 ὁποῖος ἄρτι ἐστίν.

(1884 7 - 8)

"The dream brings an image which resembles Odysseus not when

he is feasting or speaking in the assembly, but when on active service and in his prime. It is not like the man, old before his time, as Odysseus has recently been". Whatever Penelope may suspect about the stranger her sense impression of Odysseus is the one that has persisted now for twenty years. Hundt classifies this as an *Innentraum* (p. 90, *Der Traumglaube bei Homer*) but perhaps the line between *Assenträume* and *Innenträume* cannot be so clearly drawn, for does not Penelope say

ὄνειρατ' ἐπέσσευεν κακὰ δαίμων (Od. 20 87) ?

The other two examples of *Innentraume* are not god-sent (*Iliad*, 22. 199 - 201; *Od.* 19. 535, et seqq). They are both symbolic dreams, the one of frustration and the other of wish-fulfilment. This dream is quite as direct as the so-called objective dreams (Nestor, *Iliad*, 2, 6 et seqq; *Iphthime*, *Od.* 4. 787-841, and the daughter of *Dymas*, *Od.* 6. 13 - 51). In each of these three cases there is a very strong reason for the particular image to appear: they are all sense impressions of the preceding day or days. It is natural for *Agamemnon* to dream of *Nestor* and for *Nausicaa* to dream of "one of her bosom friends" (E.V. Rieu, *Od.* 6. 23, *κεχάριστο δὲ θυμῷ*). And so here it is natural for *Penelope* to dream of *Odysseus* and there is no need to make a sharp division between the various dreams. In this case, at least, it is misleading.

There is some dispute as to the subject of the verb

παρ᾽δραθεν The verb means 'to sleep beside' and is only found again with this preposition at Iliad, 14. 163 (But see Od. 20. 143, and also the form καταδραθάνω used five times in the Odyssey Book 7, 285 etc). Merry (Odyssey, Oxford 1878) suggests τις ; Ameis, Hentze and Cauer (Odyssey, Leipzig 1932) suggest Ὀδυσσεύς and Van Leeuwen (Odyssey, Leipzig, 1917) understands ὄνειρος - "loquentis menti obversatur subiectum ὄνειρος, fallax εἰδωλον et ipsi Ulixi simile". Stanford (Odyssey, London 1948) prefers Merry. But surely this suggests something more like Admetus' statue than the dream which it must be (Euripides, Alcestis 348 - 352). Homer clearly regards Penelope's experience as a dream (line 90) and the confusion between ὕπαρ and ὄναρ is actually mentioned as well as ὄνειρατα (line 87). We have seen, too, that dreams in Homer are spoken of as acting like shades or even gods: merely to understand τις is really quite un-Homeric in the light of the other dreams. Ameis, Hentze and Cauer follow Eustathius (1884, 1) in understanding Ὀδυσσεύς So. close is the connexion between the man and his εἰδωλον that this gives the same meaning as ὄνειρος.

Penelope again draws the distinction between ὕπαρ and ὄναρ (cf. Od. 19. 547) and she is bitterly disappointed by the false dream. We may note that the 'false' dream comes just before dawn like the dream of Rhesus (Iliad 10, 496 - 7). Both are

referred to as ΚΑΚΟΝ 'evil' but as we have seen the dream of Rhesus was fulfilled in a grim way; and perhaps here, Homer relies on dramatic irony to inform his audience that, despite appearances, this dream is true.

With the coming of Dawn we are taken back to Odysseus who is disturbed by the cries of Penelope's prayer to Artemis. He now, in turn, dreams of Penelope. In the words of Harsh (American Journal of Philology, Vol. 71 1950 page 18) "Penelope's description of her vision of Odysseus is immediately and very significantly followed by the poet's lines describing how Odysseus, between slumber and waking, hears Penelope's weeping and dreams that she stands beside his head and recognizes him. Odysseus, too, is dreaming of recognition and reunion. They are so near to each other in mind and in body, yet Death stalks between them".

As with the earlier waking vision of Odysseus the image takes up the traditional position by his head:

τῆς δ' ἄρα κλαιούσης ὅππα σὺθετο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς·
 μερμήριξε δ' ἔπειτα, δόκησε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν
 ἦδη γιγνώσκουσα παρῆστάμεναι κεφαλῆφι.

(Od. 20. 92-94)

The dream is not apparently god-sent, but the thoughts of Odysseus quickly turn to Zeus (lines 98 - 101). Like the other dreams that have been discussed it follows naturally from the waking sensation of the preceding days. The dreams of this night

form a fitting prelude to the day which follows. Over three books are given to the events of this day and Homer clearly wishes to illustrate the state of mind of his two principal characters before describing the action. As a means to this end, he uses the dream, the device par excellence for delineating the inner man.

(h) *Odyssey*, 21. 79.

Penelope now proposes the trial of axes (*Od.* 21. 68 - 79). She is prepared to marry the most successful competitor and leave the home which she thinks she will remember even in a dream :

ΤΟΥ ΠΟΤΕ ΜΕ ΜΝΗΣΕΣΘΑΙ ΟΪΟΜΑΙ ἘΝ ΠΕΡ ΟΥΕΪΡΩ
(line 79)

The lines 75 - 79 are a repeat of *Odyssey* 19, 577 - 81, where Penelope was outlining her plans for the contest. The phrase ἘΝ ΟΥΕΪΡΩ occurs only in these two passages and at *Iliad*, 22, 199 (See Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* p. 122 note 9).

There is nothing of the "objective dream" about the present passage. It is clear that Homer was aware of persistent images. Now we have seen quasi-objective dreams and a symbolic subjective dream: the present passage surely describes a third class. It.

is purely subjective and has no symbolic meaning. It may be called a wish-fulfilment dream, but its meaning is clear to all. It can neither be labelled primitive nor sophisticated: it is merely an experience common to all men down the ages.

(i) *Odyssey*, 24. 1-14.

We turn our attention now to the land of dreams, perhaps "Community of Dreams," as Page suggests (*Homeric Odyssey*, p. 116 and p. 132. not 19).

ἄνθος ὄνειρων (see line 12)

Hermes is conducting the ghosts of the suitors down to Hades. He has his beautiful golden wand which brings both sleep and wakefulness. The description appears also at *Od.* 5, 47-48 (Cf. *Od.* 5. 87) and at *Iliad*, 24, 343. He moves the souls along with this. They pass the Ocean Stream, the White Rock, the Gates of the Sun and the land of dreams and arrive at the meadow of asphodel. The whole episode is often described as the second *nekylia* and it is a fitting description.

The authenticity of the passage (indeed, the whole book), was doubted by the ancient commentators and many later editors have followed them. The debate continues (See Page *Homeric Odyssey* (1955) 116 et seqq. and for another view, Stanford, *Odyssey* (1948) 409 et seqq). Whilst the Homeric Question lies outside

the scope of the present discussion, it will be shown, I believe, that the picture of Hermes conducting souls past the land of dreams with the wand of sleep is not un-Homeric.

Apparently Aristarchus and Aristophanes thought that the Odyssey ended at Book 23 line 296,

Ἄριστοφάνης δὲ καὶ Ἄρισταρχος πέρας τῆς
 Ὀδυσσεΐας τοῦτο ποιοῦνται (M.V. Vind. 133,
 τοῦτο τέλος τῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας φησὶν Ἄρισταρχος
 καὶ Ἄριστοφάνης H.M.Q. (Ap. Dindorf Scholia
 in Odysseam p. 722)

Shewan argues that ΤΕΛΟΣ may mean merely "consummation" (The Continuation of the Odyssey, Classical Philology Volume 9, 1914. See also Ludwig, Aristarchs Homerische Textkritik, Leipzig, 1884, Vol. 1, page 630), and certainly the Alexandrian Commentators continued beyond this point (but see Page, Homeric Odyssey, p.132, note 25, "it is incorrect to suppose that Aristarchus never commented on lines which he athetised"). But this is not all. In a concise note at the beginning of Odyssey, 24 the Scholiasts list their objections to the contents of the book.

- (1) οὐκ ἔστι καθ' Ὀμηρον ψυχοπομπὸς ὁ Ἑρμῆς
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲ χθόνιος ὁ θεός.
- (2) Κυλλήνιος δὲ οὐδαμοῦ εἴρηται ἢ ἄπαξ
- (3) πῶς αἱ ψυχαὶ οὐκ αὐτόματα κατῴσιν,
 ὡς ἐν Ἰλιάδι;

(4) ἄλλ' οὐδὲ ἔοικεν εἰς Ἄιδου λευκὴν
εἶναι πέτραν.

The other objections do not concern us so closely but the final observation shows insight:

καὶ Νεκρομαντείαν μὲν ἂν τις εἰκότως τὴν
Λ (Book 11 of the Odyssey) εἶπεν, Νέκυιαν δὲ ταύτην

The objections are faithfully re-iterated by Page (Homeric Odyssey).

(1) "This function of Hermes, probably a very old one is elsewhere absolutely suppressed by the Homeric poets". (p.117)

(2) "Hermes is here called *Κυλλήνιος*, a native of Mt. Cyllene in Arcadia contrary to the ideas and practice of the Greek Epic" (p.117)

(3) "The ghosts of the Suitors, whose bodies are not yet buried or burnt, nevertheless enter Hades without delay and mingle with the other ghosts" (p.118).

(4) "Who ever heard, before or since, of a Rock Leucas or White Rock, near the entrance to Hades across the river Oceanus". (p.117)

Now it seems to me that, without entering the Homeric Question as a whole, these objections must be discussed if we are to have any clear picture of Homer's *δῆμος ὀνείρων* (if indeed it is a concept of Homer)

(1) The first objection is the most important. Is it

true that Hermes has nothing whatever to do with Death ? This seems very unlikely. We are told in a recurring couplet, a stock description, no doubt of great antiquity, that he is the bringer of Sleep (Od. 24. 2 - 4, Od. 5. 47-48, and Iliad, 24. 343-4); and we know also that Sleep is the twin brother of Death (Iliad, 14. 231, and 16. 672, 682. See frontispiece for Sleep and Death bearing away Sarpedon). Moreover we read of Hermes acting with Athene as a guide to Hades (Od. 11. 626) (See also Athene's account Iliad, 8. 366 et seqq).

Whitman (Homer and the Heroic Tradition p. 217) sees Hermes fulfilling his rôle of Necropompus in guiding Priam and his herald, to Achilles, king of the underworld, (Iliad, 24. 349-357). Hector "lies in camp in one sense, but he also lies in the land of the dead". The Scamander represents the Ocean Stream and the great doors of the camp represent "the forbidding triple walls of the city of the dead" (Iliad, 24. 453 et seqq). This is a striking allegory, but whether it is true or false there can be no doubt that Hermes the Bringer of Sleep is pre-eminently qualified to act as a guide among the Shades, whether they are dreams or shades 'of men outworn' (εἰδωλα καμόντων cf. Iliad, 23, 72). For a summary of Hermes Psychopompus see Walter F. Otto The Homeric Gods, Trans. Moses Hadas, New York 1954, p. 113. It is, of course, a post-Homeric review.

(2) Hermes is called Cyllenian only once, despite his frequent

appearances. We should do well to remember (as Shewan reminds us, *Classical Philology*, Vol. 9, 1914, p. 163) that Apollo is Σμινθεύς and Ἐκατηβελέτης only once. Artemis is ἄγροτέρη once. Hermes is σῶκος once, and Μαιάδος υἱός once. Aphrodite is Κύπρις only once. To quote Shewan, "Far too much importance is attached to singularities in the poems". (loc. cit. p. 163).

Mt. Kyllene is in the north east of Arcadia, and as Farnell observes (*Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford, 1909, Vol. 5, p. 2): "If any district could put forward a strong claim to be regarded as the source of this cult, (i.e. of Hermes) it would be Arcadia". Farnell discusses the "marks of great antiquity" of the cult in Elis and regards this as derivative from Arcadia. (See also Rohde, *Psyche* 9, p. 168).

What we see here, then, is a Hermes of an ancient cult. He is not merely a part of the poet's divine machinery, but a chthonic god with a definite role to perform (See Farnell, op. cit. p. 12, "Regarded, then, as one of the lords of life, he was also, probably in the oldest period, lord of death.... Hence survived in many places the cult of Hermes χθόνιος"). Aeschylus twice applies the epithet χθόνιος to Hermes (*Persae*, 628 et seqq; *Choephoroi*, 1.) There is no contradiction between Hermes the Messenger and Hermes the Chthonian; and whilst the latter has not been mentioned before in the Epic, there has really not been any need. Homer wishes to take a last look at the great heroes and nothing is more moving

than Agamemnon's encomium of Penelope (Od. 24. 194-198) It forms a crown for the whole epic. The journey of the Suitors needs something more than the conventional formulae, and as guide Homer chooses Hermes in his ancient Arcadian rôle.

(3) The third question, concerning the free passage of the Suitors as opposed to the experiences of Patroclus (Iliad, 23. 72-74) and Elpenor, (Od. 11. 51-83) is the most vexed of all. It has already been discussed in connexion with the dream of Achilles (Iliad, 23. 62 - 107). We saw that there are only two passages - those concerning Patroclus and Elpenor - where any bar to the souls entering Hades is mentioned. And, in fact, Elpenor does not mention any such difficulty: he merely asks to be buried,

μή τοι τι θεῶν μῆνιμα γένωμαι (Od. 11. 73)

We therefore must make our choice between Iliad, 23 and Odyssey 24. It seems rash to accept the first, athetise the second and then go on to say that Homeric belief flatly contradicts Homeric practice (Page, Homeric Odyssey p.24 and pp. 117 et seq).

Again, it is said that "everywhere else..... the ghost leaves the body at death and flies, without any guide, to Hades" (Page, op.cit. p. 117) This is scarcely true if we accept Odyssey, 14 207-8,

τὸν κῆρες ἔβαν θανάτοιο φέρουσαι/εἰς Ἄϊδαο δόμους
and also Iliad, 2. 302,

οὐς μὴ κῆρες ἔβαν θανάτοιο φέρουσαι

a πρὸς for a soul on its way to Hades is also mentioned at *Iliad*, 13. 414 - 416,

οὐ μὰν αὐτ' ἄπιτος κείτ' Ἄσιος, ἀλλὰ ἔ φημι
εἰς Ἄϊδος περ ἴοντα πυλάρταο κρατεροῖο
γηθήσειν κατὰ θυμόν, ἔπει ρὰ οἱ ὥπασα προμπόν

We have seen, too, that the word Ἄϊδοῦσδε requires careful interpretation (see the section on *Iliad*, 23. 62-107). All souls go to Hades irrespective of burial (*Iliad*, 16. 856, in the case of Patroclus, *Odyssey*, 10. 560, in the case of Elpenor.) And in the many deaths described in the epics no mention at all is made of the disability of souls of corpses unburied. The weight of evidence is almost in favour of *Od.* 24, as opposed to *Iliad*, 23, although it is unwise to use the argumentum ex silentio in Homer. In any case, as Shewan points out (*Classical Philology*, Vol. 9. 1914, p. 169): "We can keep both, and Homer is not a penny the worse".

(4) The fourth objection concerns the White Rock, and it is of value in helping us to locate the δῆμος ὀνείρων.

Professor Page's rhetorical question requires an answer. The

Λευκὰς πέτρῃ is possibly known by Euripides (*Cyclops* 166):
ῥῖψαι τ' ἐς ἄλμην Λευκάδος πέτρας ἄπο

It is not an easy problem. "Il est difficile de dire s'il n'y a pas eu confusion entre ce promontoire de Leucade, bien connu de Grecs, et le pays de fantaisie dont parle Homère (*Od.* XXIV 11 et seq), Ici, en tout cas, pour Silène, il s'agit d'un saut dans la

mer pour prix d'une coupe de vin: il oublie de façon comique qu'une fois le plongeon fait, il ne boira plus beaucoup de vin!"

(Jaqueline Duchemin, Euripide, Le Cyclope, Paris, 1945 p. 85)

In any case, other rocks are mentioned by the Greeks. (See Aristophanes Frogs 194; Apollodorus 1, 5, 1.) Rocks are naturally obvious in any chthonic journey. A most interesting suggestion is put forward by Professor W. H. Porter (See Stanford, Odyssey, p. 412). It is thought that "the name of the actual Leucas was transferred to the region of Hades by the same process as that which placed the Arcadian Styx and the Thesprotian Acheron there". This seems quite possible, and would make Euripides' double-entendre even more pointed.

It seems likely that Hermes conducted the Souls towards the West (See Highbarger, The Gates of Dreams p. 32). The sun went below the earth in the West, and travelled by subterranean passages to the East for the next day. If we accept Highbarger's thesis, we shall find in the West not only Hades, but the Gates of Horns from which true dreams issue. In any case, it comes as no surprise to find the Community of Dreams lie by the path of the Suitors. Dreams have a chthonic origin and Hermes is himself the bringer of sleep. The Gates of the Sun suggest the West, the White Rock suggests the chthonic realm and the Community of Dreams suggests the other kind of εἰδωλα that inhabit these dark regions. We have suggested that the terrible punishments seen by Odysseus in the first Nekyia may be, in fact, nightmares of frustration.

Shewan rightly asks "Are we to suppose that there was, in the popular imagination, no Dreamland, no realm of Death and Sleep - consanguineus leti - before Hesiod's day? Did primitive man assign no local habitation to the dreams, and the revenant $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ seen in dreams, on which philosophers have built up theories of savage religion?" (Classical Philology Vol. 9, 1914, p. 169). We may be clear from Homer's phrase "The Gates of Dreams" that there was such a realm (Od. 4. 809, Cf. 19. 562).

In short, I believe that this is a "well-justified episode", and that the objections raised (of which we have discussed the four relevant ones in some detail) are "a paltry list of pin-prickings" (Stanford, *Odyssey*, p. 10.n.9).

It is a most moving picture and it is no surprise to see its numerous imitations (Vergil, *Aen.* 6. 282-284; Ovid *Met.* 11. 592 - 593. Ovid naturally connects the present passage with that in *Odyssey* 11. 14 where the Cimmerians are described as living by Ocean Stream:

est prope Cimmerios longo spelunca recessu
mons cavus, ignavi domus et penetralia Somni.

(See also Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 6, 21 Lucian *Vera Historia* 2, 32 and also Nonnus 31, 112 where he describes $\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\delta\omicron\mu\omicron\varsigma$ "ΥΠΤΟΥ").

The second $\nu\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\iota\alpha$ demonstrates unmistakably the close

connexion between Souls and dreams and the whole section has an eerie beauty all its own and one befitting the realm of Shades.

(j) *Odyssey*, 4. 440.

This last section of the discussion on Dreams in the Homeric Poems does no more than ask a question. As it has very probably no dream reference at all, it appears the best plan to leave it out of the main discussion.

In the fourth book of the *Odyssey*, Menelaus tells Telemachus how he consulted the Old Man of the Sea to learn about the future. The Old Man sleeps in the hollow of the caves:

κοιμᾶται ὑπὸ σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσιν
(line 403)

To consult him it is necessary for Menelaus and his three companions to put on the skins of seals and to lie there (440 et seqq). Despite all the contortions and transformations, he begins to speak freely (*Od.* 4. 462, et seqq).

Now it is quite clear that we are in the realm of fairy tale. It is unwise to pick on details and by exaggeration form a false picture of Homer's meaning. Nevertheless some striking similarities are to be discovered when this passage is compared with later Incubation rites.

We may compare Vergil, Aeneid, 7. 85, et seqq:

Hinc Italae gentes omnisque Oenotria tellus

In dubiis responsa petunt; huc dona sacerdos

Cum tulit et caesarum ovium sub nocte silenti

Pellibus incubuit stratis somnosque petivit,

Multa modis simulacra videt volitantia miris,

Et varias audit voces, fruiturque deorum

Conloquio, atque imis Acheronta adfatur Avernis

Vergil's account is undoubtedly of Incubation and the sleeping on skins and the simulacra remind us of Homer. (For incubare see Plautus Curculio, 2, 2, 16

namque incubare satius te fuerat Iovi.)

Lycophron in the Alexandra 1050 et seqq has a similar passage about the oracle of Calchas :

δοραῖς δὲ μῆλων τύμβον ἔγκοιμωμένοις
χρήσει καθ' ὕπνον πᾶσι νημερτῆ φάτιν

And so too has Strabo, 6. 3. 9, ἐναγίζουσι δ' αὐτῷ μέλανα κριὸν οἱ μαντευόμενοι, ἔγκοιμῶμενοι ἐν τῷ δέρματι

"those who consult the oracle sacrifice to his shade a black ram and sleep in the hide".

The oracle of Amphiaraus had a similar rite as we read in Pausanias, 1. 34. 5,

προεξείργασμένων δὲ τούτων κριὸν θύσαντες

καὶ τὸ δέρμα ὑποστρωσάμενοι καθεύδουσιν
ἀναμένοντες δήλωσιν ὀνείρατος

"And when all these things have first been done, they sacrifice a ram, and, spreading the skin under them, go to sleep and await enlightenment in a dream".

Porphyry in the Vita Pythagorae 17 describes how Pythagoras slept by a river on the skin of a black lamb,

νύκτωρ δὲ παρὰ ποταμῷ ἄρνειοῦ μέλανος
μαλλοῖς ἑστεφανωμένος

He then descended into the Idaean cave: εἰς τὸ... ἄντρον καταβάς

These passages show that the practice of sleeping on skins for the purposes of divination was common at least in post Homeric times.

There are two other possible clues in Homer's passage.

First we notice that Menelaus requires the assistance of Eidothee (Od. 4. 365-6). She is the daughter of the Old Man of the Sea and it is likely that she is a priestess. Secondly we see that Proteus becomes running water:

γίγνεται δ' ὑγρὸν ὕδωρ

Now water plays an important part in these chthonic rites (See Scholiast Ven. B. on Iliad, 16. 233,

ὕδρηλά γάρ τὰ ἐκεῖ χώρια

and see also Pausanias, 3, 26. 1, on the sanctuary of Ino and the oracle;

μαρτεύονται μὲν οὖν καθεύδοντες, ὅποσα δ' αἶν
 πῦθέσθαι δεηθῶσιν, ὄνειράτα δείκνυσι σφισιν
 ἢ θεός..... ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκ πηγῆς ἱερᾶς
 πίνειν ἡδύ.

"They consult the oracle in sleep, and the goddess reveals whatever they wish to learn, in dreams..... Water, sweet to drink, flows from a sacred spring."

For further discussion see Halliday Greek Divination, London, 1913, Chapter 7, Divination at Sacred Springs.

All these passages fall far short of proving that Homer is in fact speaking of an Incubation rite. It is just possible; and certainly some of the similarities are striking: the sleeping Old Man, the daughter, the cave, the skins, the water and not least the remarkable prophecy. There can be no certainty in the matter but the question seems worth asking.

C O N C L U S I O N

"Homer often objectifies the internal states of his characters into visible objects, other persons, or gods," so writes Professor Whitman (*Homer and the Heroic Tradition* p. 221). This is particularly true of the so called objective dreams: Nestor in the dream of Agamemnon is the predicative image of Agamemnon's own thoughts. So too in the case of Penelope in her dream of Iphthime, and Nausicaa in her dream of the daughter of Dyman - in both these cases the images merely voice the inner thoughts of the characters concerned. If such symbolic images seem impossible, we should perhaps remember Phobos, Eris, Deimos and the like. They, like the dream images, are the predicates of the Epic characters. There is a duality in Homer's conception of the dream. He treats it as he treats Sleep; that is, both as an objective god or person and also as a psychological state.

But not all Homeric dreams are of this kind. We have seen a common nightmare, and a simple wish-fulfilment dream (*Od.* 19. 541 et seqq) and other examples which cannot be classified. Indeed, a strict classification is neither possible nor desirable. On the whole, the Homeric dreams fit more happily into ancient

classifications (enypnion, horama, chrematismos etc.) than into more recent categories (Innenträume, Aussenträume; esoteric, exoteric; objective, subjective, and so on. See Hundt Der Traumglaube bei Homer p. 43).

We have also seen indirect references to the practice of Incubation. We have good reason to suppose that this curious practice was an ancient one and Homer seems to know of it; certainly he speaks of a leader as a specially favoured dreamer, and the *ὄνειροπόλος* is surely a man who receives dreams from the gods.

Perhaps most important of all, we have seen the extremely close connexion between dreams and the souls of the departed. Indeed, they appear to inhabit the same places. Sleep and Death, the twin brothers, each hold images in their power; Sleep holds dreams and Death holds 'the shapes of men outworn'. It seems most likely that the dream is the origin of the belief in souls as they are pictured in the Homeric poems.

The general conclusion is that dreams, like waking visions, though often described as completely external, are not so in fact. They always represent the thoughts of the dreamer. If it were true, as Messer asserts, that Homer was ignorant of the fact that

dreams are a product of the mind, then we should expect at least some dreams to fall outside this definition. In fact, they do not. The arrogance of Agamemnon, the remorse of Achilles, the girlish longings of Nausicaa are all projected in dream figures. One could, of course, demythologise the whole narrative and so ruin sublime poetry. Or one could athetise almost every dream, as Aristarchus does. Surely it is wiser to accept the dream for what it is: a vision presented to a sleeping person having its origin in subconscious desires and fears. The paraphernalia of dreams and theophanies in Homer is an epic tradition of the greatest antiquity, and we should be able both to accept them for what they are, and to see behind them the hopes and fears, the anxieties and aspirations of the human mind.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

- Allen, T. W. Homeri Ilias. Oxford, 1931, 3 vols.
- Ameis, K. F. Anhang zu Homers Ilias, Leipzig, 1877 2 vols.
- Amory, A. R. Omens and Dreams in the Odyssey. Summary of dissertation. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Cambridge, Massachussetts, 1958 pp. 517 et seqq.
- Omens and Dreams in the Odyssey. Unpublished thesis, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachussetts, April 1957.
- Apollonius Sophistas: Apollonii Sophistae Lexicon Graecum Iliadis et Odysseae, Ed. De Villoison, Paris, 1773.
- Aristonicus ΠΕΡΙ ΣΗΜΕΙΩΝ ΙΛΙΑΔΟΣ Friedländer, Göttingen, 1853.
- ΠΕΡΙ ΣΗΜΕΙΩΝ ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ Carmuth, Leipzig, 1864.
- Autenrieth, G. Homeric Dictionary (translated by R. P. Keep) London, 1886.
- Beazley, Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters, Oxford, 1942.
- Björck, G. De la perception de rêve chez les anciens. Eranos, Vol. 44 (1946), p. 309 et seqq.
- Boisacq, E. Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. 3rd edn. Paris, 1938.
- Bosanquet, R. C. Some early Funeral Lekythoi. Journal of Hellenic Studies, 1899, pp. 169 et seqq.
- Bowra, C. M. Homer and his forerunners, Edinburgh, 1955.

- Bowra, C. M. Heroic Poetry, London, 1952.
- Tradition and Design in the Iliad, Oxford, 1930.
- Butcher, S. H. and Lang A. The Odyssey of Homer, done into English prose, London 1898.
- Cary, M. and others, The Oxford Classical Dictionary, Oxford, 1949.
- Gunliffe, R. J. Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect, London, 1924.
- Denniston, J. D. The Greek Particles, Oxford, 1934.
- Deubner, L. De Incubatione, Leipzig, 1900.
- Dindorf, W. Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem, Oxford 1875
(six vols.)
- Scholia Graeca in Homeri Odysseam. Oxford, 1855 (2 vols.)
- Dodds, E. R. The Greeks and the Irrational, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951.
- Duchemin, J. Euripide, Le Cyclope, Paris 1945.
- Ebeling, H. Lexicon Homericum, Leipzig, 1885.
- Eustathius Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem. Ed. J. G. Stallbaum, Leipzig, 1827-1829.
- Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam. Ed. J. G. Stallbaum, Leipzig, 1825-1826.
- Fairbanks, A. Athenian Lekythoi, New York, 1907.
- Farnell, L. R. The cults of the Greek States. Five Volumes. Oxford, 1896-1909.
- Fay, E. W. Dreams, The Swelling Moon, The Sun. Classical Quarterly, Vol. Eleven (1917) pp. 212 et seqq.

- Finsler, G. Der Dichter und seine Welt, Berlin, 1914.
- Geffken, J. Griechische Literaturgeschichte, Vol. 1.
Heidelberg, 1926.
- Gerhard, E. Griechische Vasenbilder, Berlin 1840-1858.
- Haarhoff, T. J. The Gates of Sleep. Greece and Rome, 1948.
- Halliday, W. R. Greek Divination, London, 1913.
- Hamilton, Mary. Incubation, London, 1906.
- Harsh, P. W. Penelope and Odysseus in Odyssey XIX. American
Journal of Philology, Vol. 71. (1950) p.1. et seqq.
- Heinemann, K. Thanatos in Poesie und Kunst der Griechen,
Munich, 1913.
- Hesychius. Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon Ed. Kurt Latte Vol.
One, Copenhagen, 1953.
- Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon Ed. Schmidt, Jena 1867.
- Highbarger, E. L. The Gates of Dreams, Baltimore, 1940.
- Howell, E. A Layman's Delight in the Odyssey. Greece and
Rome, March 1958.
- Hundt, J. Der Traumglaube bei Homer, Greifswald, 1935.
- Jaeger, W. The Greek Ideas of Immortality, Howard Theological
Review, Vol. LII, No. 3, 1959.
- Jebb, R. The Oracle at Dodona. An appendix to the edition of
Sophocles, Trachiniae. Cambridge, 1892.
- Lang, A. Leaf, W. and Myers, E. The Iliad of Homer done into
English Prose, London, 1898.

- Leaf, W. *The Iliad*, London, 1886, (Two Volumes).
- van Leeuwen, J. *Ilias*, Leiden, 1912.
Odyssea, Leiden, 1917.
- Liddell, H. G. and Scott, R. (revised by H. S. Jones and R. McKenzie), *Greek English Lexicon*, Oxford, 1925-1940.
- Lorimer, H. L. *Gold and Ivory in Greek Mythology. Greek Poetry and Life, Essays presented to Gilbert Murray*, Oxford, 1936.
 (pp. 14-33).
- Homer and the Monuments*, London, 1950.
- Marriss, W. *The Iliad of Homer*, Oxford, 1934.
The Odyssey of Homer, Translation, Oxford, 1925.
- Mackail, J. W. *The Epilogue of the Odyssey, Greek Poetry and Life, Essays presented to Gilbert Murray*, Oxford, 1936, pp. 1-13
- Merry, W. W. and Riddell, J. *Odyssey 1 - 12*, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1886.
- Messer, W. S. *The Dream in Homer and Greek Tragedy*, New York, 1918.
- Monro, D. B. *Homer, Iliad*. Oxford, 1886. 2 vols.
Odyssey, 13 - 24, Oxford, 1901.
- Monro, D. B. and Allen, T. W. *Homeri Opera*. Oxford.
Oxford Classical Texts. (Odyssey edited by Allen alone).
- Mihll, P. von der. *Kritisches Hypomnema zur Ilias*, Basle, 1952.
- Murray, A. S. *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum*, London, 1896.

- Nauck, A. *Homeri Ilias*, Berlin, 1877.
- Newall, S. H. *Quid De Somniis Censuerint, Quoque Modo Eis Usi Sint Antiqui Quaeritur*. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 24, p. 163 et seq.
- Nicol, D. M. *The Oracle of Dodona, Greece and Rome*, October, 1958.
- Otto, W. F. *The Homeric Gods*, (Translated by Moses Hadas), New York, 1954.
- Page, D. *The Homeric Odyssey*, Oxford, 1955.
- Paley, F. A. *The Iliad of Homer*, London, 1866.
- Pease, A. S. *Review of the Gates of Dreams (Highbarger)* *Classical Philology*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1943, p. 61.
- Polak, H. J. *Ad Odysseam eiusque Scholastias*, Leiden, 1881.
- Raingeard, P. *Hermès Psychagogue*, Paris, 1935.
- Rieu, E. V. *The Iliad*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1950.
The Odyssey, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1946.
- Robert, C. *Thanatos*, Berlin, 1879.
- Scott, J. A. *The Unity of Homer*, Berkeley, 1921.
- Shewan, A. *The Continuation of the Odyssey*. *Classical Philology*, Vol. 9, 1914, pp. 163 et seqq.
- Sophocles, E. A. *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (from B.C. 146 to A. D. 1100)*. 2 volumes. New York, 1887.

Stanford, W. B. The Odyssey of Homer, London, 1948

2 Volumes.

Wetzel, J. G. Quomodo poetae epici et Graeci et Romani

somnia descripserint. Berlin, 1931.

Whitman, C. H. Homer and the Homeric Tradition, Cambridge,

U.S.A., 1958.

Wilamowitz - Moellendorff, U. von. Die Heimkehr des Odysseus,

Berlin, 1927.

Woodhouse, W. J. The Composition of Homer's Odyssey, Oxford,

1930.

Zuretti, C. O. Omero L'Iliade, Turin, 1896 - 1905.
