

ARTEMIDORIANA GRAECO-ARABICA

ROGER A. PACK

University of Michigan

In the preface to my edition of the *Onirocritica* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1963), I expressed a wish for a third manuscript or other independent witness which would have helped me in dealing with the textual problems that arose when each of the two basic manuscripts offered a possible but divergent lection.¹ Just a year later my wish was granted, though perhaps not in quite the way I had hoped, when Professor Toufic Fahd published the Arabic translation of Artemidorus (Books 1–3) which he had discovered in Istanbul.² This new evidence emerged too late to be used by me in preparing my edition, but I soon examined it and placed my first impressions of it on record.³ I saw reasons for believing that Ar (strictly speaking, Ar's lost Greek exemplar) and a lost common ancestor or hyparchetype of LV are descended in a parallel path from the lost common ancestor of LV Ar. Thus not only the agreement of LV Ar but, according to a familiar stemmatic principle, that of L Ar against V or of V Ar against L would be the archetypal reading (but of course not necessarily that of Artemidorus' autograph⁴) unless contamination or coincidental error had supervened. This seemed in fact to have happened in certain cases where such readings turned out to be unacceptable in context.

In this paper some notes on a series of small problems are submitted

¹ See my "Praefatio," p. XIV: "utinam liber quem usurpavit (sc. *Suda vel Suidae lexicon*) ne pessum isset, nam in eo haud dubie resurrexisset nescio quae traditio tertia."

² *Artémidore d'Éphèse: Le Livre des songes traduit du grec en arabe par Ḥunayn B. Ishaq* (Damascus 1964). The ascription to Ḥunayn was soon queried, and Manfred Ullmann, *Die Welt des Islams*, n. s. 13 (1971) 204–11, has shown that the names of plants and animals as well as the medical terms differ from those attested for Ḥunayn and his school.

³ "On Artemidorus and His Arabic Translator," *TAPA* 98 (1967) 313–26.

⁴ Pack's paper, pp. 314, 319, gave examples of readings which are indefensible though archetypal. Another is found at 7.17, where εἰς τοὺς πέλαις is correct (cf. 8.21, 9.5) but LV have εἰς τοὺς παῖδας and Ar has *ilā l-aulādi*, "to the children."

with the hope that they may contribute to a revised edition. They will serve incidentally to illustrate further the uses and shortcomings of Ar.⁵

5.14-16; Ar 11.14. "First, then, I shall state the general definition (*ὄρος*) of a dream, a thing which would not need any mention at all (*οὐδὲν ἄν τι ῥήσεως δεόμενος* Enthoven, Pack *ἀντιρρήσεως* L *ἀντιθέσεως* V) if it were not addressed to contentious persons." Ar: . . . *lladi lá yukálifu fíhi ahadun*, ". . . about which nobody will disagree." Since the three witnesses all specify discussion or even argument instead of mere mention, it would seem better to print *οὐδὲν <ἄν> ἀντιρρήσεως κτλ.*

8.24-26; Ar 18.2-5. This passage gives many examples of dreams which eventuate for the dreamer alone and not for others, "such as eating meals,⁶ singing, dancing, and also boxing, competing in sports, hanging one's self, dying, being crucified (*σταυροῦσθαι*)," and so forth. After the last item quoted Ar adds: . . . *au anna š-ša^ciqata waqa^cat ^calaihi*, ". . . or that the lightning-bolt fell upon him." Accordingly *<κεραυνοῦσθαι>* should be inserted. Because of its resemblance to *σταυροῦσθαι* this must have been omitted by haplography in the LV hyparchetype. It is quite in place following two dreams of violent death and Artemidorus considered the topic important, because he analyzes it in detail elsewhere (110.10-114.7; cf. also 15.14).

23.11; Ar 45.5. "It is good for merchants and shipowners (sc. to dream that they have given birth !) because they will dispose of their cargoes (*<διαθήσονται>* γὰρ τὰ φορτία)." Ar: *hádihí r-ru²gá . . . tadullu ^calá anna mahmilahum yakiffu*, "this dream . . . signifies that their carrying-litters will grow light." Compare 39.18: "Such a dream

⁵ The Greek text is cited by page and line of Pack's edition, the Arabic (abbreviated Ar, not TA) by page and line of Fahd's edition. L = cod. Laurentianus 87, 8 (saec. XI); V = cod. Marcianus 268 (saec. XV). R. Hercher's edition: Leipzig, Teubner, 1864. Schmitt = Elisabeth Schmitt, *Lexikalische Untersuchungen zur arabischen Übersetzung von Artemidors Traumbuch* (Wiesbaden 1970), an excellent tool for textual analysis of the Greek, though addressed primarily to Arabists: there are indices in the two languages and many notes based on the observations of D. Del Corno, T. Fahd, F. Rosenthal, G. Strohmeier, G. Vajda, and the accomplished authoress herself. The Arabic is here transliterated as in Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, edited by J. Milton Cowan (Ithaca 1966); this method differs in a few details from that followed in my article (note 3, above) but not enough to cause serious confusion.

⁶ For the correction made here see Pack, *TAPA* 98 (1967) 321.

(sc. that one has no teeth) signifies for merchants a speedy disposal of their wares (*ταχέως τὰ φορτία διαθέσθαι*),” which appears in Ar (74.5) as: . . . *fa-tadullu ʿalá kifḫati ḥimlihīm*, “. . . and it signifies the lightening of their cargo.” This free but consistent rendering proves that Hercher’s supplement was correct and rightly accepted by Pack.

28.7-11; Ar 54.2-7. If one dreams that he has grown bald on the right side of his head he will lose all his male relations by death; if he has none, he himself (<αὐτός> *coniecit* Hercher, *sic* Ar) will be injured. If on the left side, his female relations; if he has none, he himself (*huwa* = αὐτός Ar, οὗτω V Pack, *om.* L *inter alia*) will be injured. Ar (*bis*): . . . *fa-inna ḍ-ḍarara sa-yanāluhu huwa*, “. . . then the injury will affect him himself.” The emphatic pronoun should be printed twice.

63.19; Ar 117.16. Dreams of acting in a tragedy, possessing tragic texts or scenes, hearing tragedians or reciting iambic verses eventuate according to the plot (*periochē*, “summary”) in question for the dreamer who recalls what was spoken but, for one who does not, the results are “hardships, slaveries (*δουλείαι* Hercher, ἀπολαίαι L, *om.* V), battles, outrages, perils, and whatever is more dreadful or savage than these.” Help is particularly needed here, as V gives us nothing and L a *vox nihili*. Hercher’s conjecture is now challenged by Ar, which has ʿanāʿ, “pain, trouble, toil.” The word ἀγωνίαι may be suggested. It is true that according to Miss Schmitt’s data Ar does not equate these two words elsewhere, but ἀγωνία belongs to Artemidorus’ vocabulary (68.21; 69.16), fits the sense of Ar, and could have readily degenerated into L’s nonsense-word in a copy made from uncials:⁷ ΑΓΩΝΙΑΙ-ΑΠΟΛΙΑΙ.

66.12; Ar 123.3. “To be examined for admission (sc. to an athletic contest) is good for all, but for boy athletes it is not significant, because (freely) they are of the right age to be examined (*διὰ τὴν τῆς ἐγκρίσεως ἡλικίαν* V *editores*, *προσδοκίαν* L Ar).” The variant would mean “because it is expected that they will be examined.” Ar: . . . *li-mâ yuʿammilūnahu min annahu yuḥkamu lahum bi-l-galabati*, “. . . because they expect that they will be awarded the victory.” This is not the right idea, but it shows that Ar’s exemplar had the same reading as L,

⁷ In my edition (“Praefatio,” p. XVI, note 1), I cited six examples of this sort of error. See also the discussion of 215.18, below.

which is probably authentic on stemmatic grounds and gives equally good sense.

71.10; Ar 131.8. "To drink cold water (sc. in a dream) is good for everybody. But hot water signifies illnesses or periods of unemployment for all but those who have the habit (*χωρὶς τῶν ἔθους ἐχόντων*).⁸ At the end V adds *ὑδροποτεῖν* and L adds *μὴ ὑδροποτεῖν*, which Pack followed Hercher in deleting, presumably because either variant is illogical here. Ar: *man kâna mu^ctâdan li-šurbi mâ³in hârrin*, "those who are accustomed to the drinking of hot water." This would justify the printing of *θερμοποτεῖν*, just the word we need.⁸ It is absent from *LSJ* and the *LSJ Supplement* but *θερμοποσία* and *θερμοπότης* are in evidence.

76.4-5; Ar 140.2. It is ominous to eat mutton in a dream. "Beef, too, is bad (?) because of its toughness . . ."—*ἔτι* (*coniecit* Hercher, *ἦδη* LV Pack) *δὲ καὶ τὰ βόεια* <*πονηρὰ*> (*coniecit* Hercher) *διὰ τὸ δύστριπτον κτλ.* Ar: *wa-aidan fa-inna lahma l-baqari yadullu 'alâ ta^cabin*, "And also the flesh of cattle signifies hardship." We learn from Miss Schmitt's valuable indices that *wa-aidan fa-inna* stands for *ἔτι* in three other passages but never stands for *ἦδη*, and that the word *ta^cab*, "hardship," translates *πόνος* in three other places.⁹ Guided by Ar, an editor would do well to accept Hercher's conjectures.

92.21-24; Ar 170.7-10. A curious principle figures in the interpretation of a certain Oedipodean dream: "For the bodily structure of the dead mother dissolves into the material from which it was constituted and compounded and most of it, being earthly, changes into the native substance, and none the less we call the earth 'mother.'"¹⁰—*καὶ τὴν γῆν* [*οὐδὲ αὐτὴν*] *οὐδὲν ἦττον μητέρα καλοῦμεν.* Thus Pack's edition, bracketing two superfluous words that look like an intrusion caused by the two following words. Ar appears to support this: . . . *wa-dalika anna l-arḍa tusammâ l-ummu katîran*, ". . . and that, because the earth is frequently called 'the mother.'" Ar lacks the unwanted

⁸ In 82.28 and 107.24 *ἔθους ἔχειν* is used without an expressed complementary infinitive, a fact which Hercher may have regarded as further supporting his deletion, but the infinitive seems justified by its analogous use with *ἐθίζεσθαι*.

⁹ See Schmitt 327a, 334b, 401b.

¹⁰ For the commonplace, compare Lucretius 5.795-96: *linquitur ut merito maternum nomen adepta / terra sit, e terra quoniam sunt cuncta creata*.

phrase but keeps οὐδὲν ἤττον,¹¹ rendering it inaccurately by the adverbial accusative *katīran*, “much,” “many a time,” “frequently” (Schmitt 336a).

128.9; Ar 232.7. “The *sēps* and *dipsas* . . . and the so-called *chamaileōn* (χαμαιλέων L, λέων V, *asad*, “lion” Ar) and all the other evil creatures which Nicander enumerated . . .” Fahd (*ad loc.*) and Schmitt (p. 62) regard the V Ar reading as erroneous¹² and the latter comments: “TA (viz., Ar) hatte vermutlich einen Text wie cod. V als Vorlage,” implying that here V was contaminated with the Ar-tradition; and this is by no means impossible. Yet something can be said in favor of V Ar. The *sēps*, a noxious lizard, and the *dipsas*, a deadly serpent, duly appear in Nicander, *Theriaca* 817 and 334-42, respectively, but the only *chamaileōn* mentioned in his poem is not a reptile at all, but rather the “Pine-thistle,” an herbal antidote against snakebite (*Ther.* 656), while the only *leōn* is an alternate term for the serpent Cenchrides (*Ther.* 463-64). And it is doubtful that χαμαιλέων would have been the *lectio difficilior* in this special context. All of this would impose the adoption of λέων if it could be safely assumed that Artemidorus had accurately read and remembered his source; however, he may have unconsciously changed Nicander’s creature into a chamaeleon, since this lizard would have seemed more at home here than a “lion” and it was thought to be venomous (Pliny, *NH* 8.101). The result seems to be a tantalizing *non liquet*.

135.5-6; Ar 243.8-10. Big¹³ birds are propitious for the rich rather than for the poor, but little (μικροὶ L *editores*, μικροὶ καὶ παχεῖς V) birds are “very propitious for the poor.” Ar: *ḡ-ḡigāru minhā wa-l-qalīlatu l-ḡayāti*, “the little, short-lived ones.” The combined evidence of V and Ar suggests μικροὶ καὶ βραχεῖς. If this is right, the adjectives are mere synonyms in the Greek but Ar strained the meaning of the second one.

176.1-2; Ar 317.1. “Oceanus and Tethys are good for philosophers

¹¹ This is a favorite expression of Artemidorus (97.14, 154.14, 170.3, 172.7, 173.18, 207.22, 240.20, 245.10, 258.10).

¹² *LSJ* list λέων (“a kind of serpent”) as a false lection in this passage.

¹³ Reading μεγάλοι (Ar) instead of ἰεροὶ (LV, Hercher in his “Addenda”). See Pack, *TAPA* 98 (1967) 324.

and prophets only . . . ; to others they bring sufferings (λύπας ἐπιφέρουσι).” Here V adds ἀφίχθαι τοῦ ζῆν δηλοῦσι (L omits this whole chapter). Ar: “And in the case of other people (omitting λύπας ἐπιφέρουσι) they signify the cessation of their activities and the ending of their life,” . . . γαδullūna ‘alā fanā’i a‘mālihim¹⁴ wa-inqīdā’i ‘aišihim. A close parallel to this is found at 66.4–7: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῶν προκειμένων ἀφίξονται . . . , οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ <τὸ> πέρασ τοῦ βίου τὸ ζῆν τελευτήσαντες ἀφίξονται κτλ. Both passages refer to two things that will end. In 176.2 a reconstruction based on V Ar (*exempli gratia*) might be: . . . <καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῶν προκειμένων καὶ τὸ πέρασ> ἀφίχθαι τοῦ ζῆν δηλοῦσι.

215.18; Ar 392.6. “A mouse signifies a servant because it lives in the house and feeds on the same food and is †δηλός (*sic* LV, δειλός Reiske).” Hercher followed Reiske but was inclined to bracket the whole clause. Ar has *kabīṭ*, “repulsive,” “unpleasant,”¹⁵ and at 21.6 Ar (40.16) uses the same adjective for ἀηδῶς διατιθέμενος. This leads with strong probability to ἀηδής, on the assumption of an early mistake made in copying uncials (cf. note 7, above), followed by a false correction: ΑΗΔΗC-ΔΗΛΗC-ΔΗΛΟC.

227.21; Ar 419.1. The purpose of a key is to lock doors, not to open them, “since otherwise (<ἄλλως> *supplendum coniecit* Hercher) there would be no need of a key or doors.” It is noteworthy that Ar’s translation includes the proposed supplement: *laulā dālika*, “if it were not for that.”

¹⁴ Fahd’s text has *a‘mārihim*, “of their lives,” but this is redundant and the parallelism with 66.4–7 points rather to *a‘mālihim*, “of their activities.” Compare also 121.3 (Ar 220.9), where τὰ προκειμένα = ‘amal (singular), “activity” (Schmitt 405b).

¹⁵ Schmitt 294a notes *kabīṭ* for δειλός in this passage without observing that the meaning of the two words is quite different, but she adds the pertinent fact that at 126.1 δειλός equals *lā ṭabātun lahu* (Ar 228.9), “lacking in firmness” (and not *kabīṭ*).