NOTES ON DREAMS AND DREAM-LIKE VISIONS

My intention here is not to examine in detail dreams throughout Greek Literature\(^1\), but to investigate the exploitation of them in New Comedy and make a few observations on dreams and dream-like situations in Greek Tragedy. What we have from New Comedy is one dream from Menander and several others in Plautus.

It would be helpful, before the investigation of our problem, to refer briefly to some more general considerations concerning the classification and function of dreams.

Dreams are classified in the following main categories:\(^2\) (i) ἐνυπνινον, which indicates a present state of affairs and is caused by one's experiences; it has no significance at all for the future, for it is borne by irrational desire or extraordinary fear, hope, surfeit or lack of food\(^3\); (ii) ὄνειρος is every dream which has significance for the future\(^4\)

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3. Ibid. p. 239.

4. Ibid. p. 239. See also p. 5.
According to the relation between a dream-vision and its fulfilment, άνειροι are subclassified into a) θεωρηματικοί άνειροι, which turn out in reality in exactly the same way as were «seen»¹, and b) ἀλληγορικοί άνειροι, i.e. allegorical dreams which reveal the future in riddles²; (iii) φάντασµα, which corresponds to the non-significative ένυπνιον; (iv) δραμα and χρηµατισµός (vision and oracular response) which correspond to άνειρος³. In addition to the above, we may add the references to dreams and dream-like situations and visions.

A theoretical interest in dreams is shown from very early times⁴. Quite interesting among those preserved to us are Hippocrates, Περί Διαίτης IV ἑ Περί 'Ενυπνίων and Aristotle's Περί 'Ενυπνίων and Περί τῆς καθ' ήπνον μαντικῆς. This theoretical interest very probably has influenced the tragic and comic poets' literary exploitation of dreams (cf. A. Prom. 485).

A dream may perform several functions: a) it may set a (or some) character(s) of a play in motion and may be essential for the structure and dramatic development of the situation; b) it characterizes the dreamer in his relationship to a certain situation or other persons; it has thus a very good psychological effect, for it enables us to see the depths of one's self, whose subconscious and inner feelings and thoughts emerge through the dreams to the surface⁵; c) it may enlighten a detail; in this case a dream is not very important for the dramatic economy and it could easily be omitted without any alterations of the plot; or d) it may be a means of producing laughter.

In Tragedy the recipients of dreams are almost always women⁶; thus we find Io, Atossa, Klytaemestra, the wife of Glaukos, Hecuba, Iphigeneia, the Erinyes and Danaides⁷, but only three men, Menelaos

¹. Ibid. p. 241 τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀποκλίνοντας ὡς θεωροῦνται or p. 4 ὁ τῇ ἐκτός θέα προσεκὼντες.
². Ibid. p. 241 τοὺς τὰ σημακώνουσα δι' ἀληθικῶν ἐπιδεικνύοντας or p. 5 ὁ δι' ἀλλων ἀλλὰ σημαίνοντες.
³. Ibid. p. 6. Others divide the allegorical dreams in five classes, a) Ἐνετίκες, b) ἀλληγορικά, c) κοινά, d) σηματικά, e) κοσμικά (Ibid. p. 7).
⁶. See also Messer, p. 28 note 83, p. 65, 90, 98, 325.
in Aesch. *Agamemnon*, Eteocles in the *Sept. Th.*, and the «henio-chos» in Eurip. *Rhesus*. The contrary occurs in comedy: in Aristophanes we find Paphlagon and the «allantopoles» in the *Knights*¹, Xanthias, Sosias and Philocleon in the *Wasp*, 15–45, Pheidippides in the *Clouds*, 1 ff, and finally Ploutos in the *Ploutos*, 676–741. There are only two women recipients of dreams, both in New Comedy, Sosistratos’ mother in the *Dyskolos* and Philocomasion in the *Miles*. Philolaches, Cappadox, Demipho and Daemones are the recipients of dreams in the *Mostellaria*, *Curculio*, *Mercator* and *Rudens* respectively.

The manner in which a dream is presented is varied. It is narrated to other actors either directly by the dreamer or indirectly by a person who is connected in some way with the recipient of a dream. In A. *Eumenides* the dream is enacted on stage while their dream-vision is also presented on stage embodied by an actor; this embodiment of the dream-vision disappears as soon as the dreamers wake up.² Dialogue, uninterrupted narrative, or monologue are the forms in which a dream is revealed to the audience³.

The single dream we possess from Menander is partly allegorical and partly non-allegorical; it is narrated indirectly in a dialogue and it is important both for the plot and the characterization.

Allegorical are Atossa’s dream in the *Persae*, 181–199, which is directly narrated to the chorus by the dreamer herself⁴, and Klytaemestra’s dream in the *Choephoroe*, 527–533, and S. *Electra*, 417–423⁵; in both plays Klytaemestra’s dream is indirectly revealed, by the chorus in the former, and by Chrysothemis in the latter. From Euripides we have the dreams of Iphigeneia, *IT* 44–55, and of the charioteer in the *Rhesus*, 780–8; in both cases the dream is directly narrated by the dreamers themselves. Allegorical is also Hecuba’s dream in Eur. *Alexander*. Hecuba «praegnans in guiete vidit se facem

². A parody of this scene we have in the opening scenes of Arist. *Clouds*.
³. See the diagram in p. 46–47
⁴. See Broadhead, H.D., *The Persae of Aeschylus*, 1960, comm. on 189–199; Roussel, *Eschyle Les Perses*, 1960, *ad loc.*; Devereux, G., *Dreams in Greek Tragedy*, 1976, 2–23; and Lesky, A., Die Tragische Dichtung der Hellenen, 1972, 81 f. Cf. also the allegorical dream of Glauckos’ wife (P. Oxy. 2160): she first dreamed of her husband in a chariot disaster, which was then followed by a messenger who informed her that Glauckos was torn to pieces by his own mares.
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+* = the dream largely is non-allegorical.
c+ = uninterrupted speech.
ardentem parere, ex qua serpentes plurimos exisse» (Huginus, fab. 91) and this was interpreted to mean that her child would bring destruction to his city. In Comedy we possess the dreams of Xanthias and Sosias in Arist. *Wasps*¹, 15 - 19 and 31 - 45, of Cappadox in Plautus' *Curculio*, 260 - 2, of Demipho in the *Mercator*, 229 - 251, and of Deamones in the *Rudens*, 598 - 610. Non - allegorical dreams are also common. Such are the dream of Io (A. Prom. 645 - 657), of the Erinyes (A. Eum. 94 - 142), and of Hecuba². In the same category belong also the dream of Paphlagon and the sausage - seller in the *Knights* and of Ploutos in the *Ploutos*.

From New Comedy we have the dream in Plautus' *Miles*³ and *Mostellaria*⁴.

We also observe that :

a) dreams in Tragedy are almost always important for the dramatic economy of a play;

b) dreams in Aristophanes are not important for the plot; they often produce laughter. The only dream important for the plot is in the *Ploutos*.

c) More often dreams in Tragedy are indirectly narrated; the same we see in Plautus;

d) a dream with the dream - vision embodied by a character as far as we know exists only in Tragedy⁵;

². In Eur. *Hecuba*; here there is also an allegorical element, vv. 90 - 91.
³. «The somnium is in fact the intrigue which Palaestrio has invented, and Philocamium’s rendition is so accurate that she even uses the same words which Palaestrio had used in 238 - 241» (Hammond M. - Mack A. M. Moskalew, W., *Plauti Miles Gloriosus*, 1963, on 386).
⁴. The dream is also an intrigue. «The ghost of the victim, Diapontius, appeared to Philolaches in a dream and told him everyone must leave. At this point, the noises of the young people are heard from within the house: Tranio works this to his advantage: ‘The ghost is after you’, he warns his master, ‘for knocking on the door’. At Tranio’s insistence—and to be on the safe side—Theopropides leaves to verify the story from the previous owner» (Merrill, G.R. *Plauti Mostellaria*, 1972, xxii; see also Collart, J., *Plautus Mostellaria*, 1970, on 490 ff. *Interalia* Collart notes that «la scène du sommeil» est un thème de tragédie et d’épopée que Plaute exploite souvent à titre parodique (on 480) and «tout ce discours du prétendu fantôme est à la fois pompeux et cocasse» (on 497 - 504) and «l’atmosphère de farce est évidente» (on 497).
⁵. Aeschylus who first employed this technique seems to have taken it from Homer (see *Iliad*, B 6 - 34, K 494 - 7, Ψ 62 - 107, *Odys*, 8 795 - 841, ζ 15 - 70. In all these cases a person appears in the dream, usually delivers a speech while the recipient of the dream is asleep and disappears as soon as the dreamer wakes up.
Notes on dreams and dream-like visions

e) dreams in Greek Tragedy are sometimes allegorical and sometimes non-allegorical;
f) at least two dreams in Tragedy are closely integrated with the prologue speech (in IT and Hecuba);
g) both in Tragedy and comedy dreams are often revealed in dialogue form.

Dreams in Tragedy are adequately discussed by scholars. Here, therefore, I intend only to make some observations which we regard of some importance for the New Comedy dreams.

Aeschylus’ Prometheus, 645–657: The dream is narrated by the dreamer herself, Io, who quotes the speech she often heard in her dreams. The position of the dream in the play is central, and is important both for the dramatic economy of the play, for it motivates Io’s entrance on stage and her meeting with Prometheus, and her characterization; it also gives the opportunity to Prometheus to speak in length about her past wanderings and sufferings and reveal her future misfortunes. Io’s life and sufferings are inconceivable without her dream. And there is a great relationship between Io’s and Prometheus’ sufferings. Both are victims of Zeus; an immortal and a mortal refer their misfortunes to Zeus; the former suffers because of his «hybris», but the latter, though innocent, suffers because of her resistance to Zeus’ sexual desires. Both are humiliated and both hate Zeus, whose overthrow they wish, and both find consolation in Prometheus’ knowledge that Zeus will be overthrown by Epaphos. The dream is, therefore, dramatically important; without it there would be a huge gap in the understanding of Io’s life; her present and future would be inconceivable without the knowledge of her past, in which the dream is the main feature. Moreover, the dream characterizes Io and her father Inachos.

What were the reactions of the characters concerned? Io was over-annoyed by her oft-seen visions, and in her distress and perplexity she revealed her dream to her father; Inachos responded with a perplexity reaction: he consulted the oracles of Dodone and Delphi about what he should do in order to pacify the gods; he received an answer asking him to expel his daughter, if he wanted not to see his whole family annihilated by Zeus’ thunderbolt. Neither he nor his daughter

1. See Messer, 66 ff; and Devereux, Dreams in Greek Tragedy, 26–56.
2. Psychologically the dream reflects Io’s inner struggle, it speaks for that part of her mind which struggles against the hesitations and inhibitions of the more conservative and conventional layers of her mind (Devereux, 28, 39).
performed any apotropaic rites, something which was usual.  

Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, 94–142: The dream is performed on stage. While the Erinyes are asleep (on stage) and dreaming, Klytaemnestra's «eidolon» (embodied by an actor) is seen on stage standing over the Erinyes.

Here the dream has a multifold function: (i) it is the «propelling force behind the action» of the Erinyes; (ii) it is the means of merging the two legends, the purification of Orestes at Delphi and his trial and judgement at Athens; (iii) it helps the change of the location from Delphi to Athens; (iv) it characterizes the Erinyes; and (v) as a breath-catching spectacle it speaks directly to the audience's emotions. In addition, the dream, which is preceded by the prophetess' monologue and the dialogue between Orestes and Apollo, vividly represents the second group consisting of the Erinyes and Klytaemnestra's ghost. Thus the two groups represent the two conflicting powers of the play, murder versus revenge. As the development of the plot depends on this conflict, the dream is essential for it.

Euripides' *Hecuba*, 1–97 (1–58: Polydoros' «eidolon», 68–97: Hecuba's lyric). Euripides has undoubtedly taken this technique from Aeschylus. Hecuba's dream is performed on stage in a similar way as in the *Eumenides*. Polydoros' ghost is embodied by an actor and delivers a speech (= the prologue speech, 1–58); it is present while Hecuba is asleep, and disappears as soon as Hecuba wakes up and

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2. For a discussion see Messer, 74 ff; Devereux, 148–167.
3. Lloyd–Jones rightly observes that the ghost's indignation and its injunction to them to take action recall the words of the ghost of Patroclus to the sleeping Achilles in the *Iliad*, Ψ 69 ff (*The Eumenides of Aeschylus*, 1970, on 94).
4. Messer, 75.
5. «There is clash between gods who belong to different generations – the Erinyes, who as daughters of Night are counted among the ancient gods, and Apollo, who is the son of Zeus» (*The Eumenides of Aeschylus*, by Lloyd–Jones, 1970; Introduction by Havelock, p. 3).
6. See Messer, 85 ff; Devereux, 259–317 (he discusses it together with the dreams in the *Rhesus* and *IT*).
7. A parallel Homeric influence cannot be excluded: here a dream-figure – who can be a god, a ghost, a dream-messenger, or an «eidolon» created especially for the occasion – pays a visit to a sleeping man or woman, eg. *Iliad* B 5 ff (Oneiros), Ψ 65 ff (ghost), *Od.* ζ 20 ff (god), 8 795 ff («eidolon»). In *Iliad* B and in the two *Odyssey* dreams the dream-figure is disguised as a living person (Dodds, E.R., *The Greeks and the Irrational*, p. 104).
walks out of her tent. This is made clear both by the ghost (52 ff) and by Hecuba (68–97). Polydoros’ ghost informs Hecuba (in her dream) that he himself has been killed by Polymestor and his body has been thrown into the sea, and that Polyxene would be sacrificed by the Greeks over Achilles’ tomb. Euripides’ innovation here is that he moved the dream to the very beginning of the play and combined it with the prologue speech.

The dramatic function of this dream is very important, as it informs us about the two misfortunes that will come together to Hecuba. Messer observes that the «dream prologue» joins together the two incidents, the sacrifice of Polyxene and the discovery and punishment of the crime of Polymestor, that depict the psychology of Hecuba1. The dream justifies Hecuba’s lamentations (59–97) and her fears. She reveals in her monody the content of her dreams; she fears about the life of her son, but she does not say clearly more about her dreams concerning Polydorus, which the audience know from the prologue speech; but she relates a portion of her dream concerning Polyxene, which is allegorical but easily understood both by Hecuba and the audience. The choral song (107–153) refers to the one of the two misfortunes, the sacrifice of Polyxene, which comes to be the first materialization of Hecuba’s dream and fears. What follows concerns this first misfortune. The characters of Polyxene and Hecuba, Talthybius, Odysseus and Agamemnon, are portrayed by their reactions to this subject, and their entrance and exit is motivated by it. The second misfortune serves as a background to the first. The audience know that another misfortune has already taken place; they expect it to come, as they expect Hecuba’s reaction to it. On the other side, Hecuba seeing that her fears and dream about Polyxene become reality, has at the back of her mind the fears and dream about Polydorus’ life, and these fears are very alive. In line 429, after a long silence about this second misfortune, she reveals these fears in a moment of highly emotional stress. Before this point she compressed her fears in herself; she does not dare even to mention the dream about Polydorus, lest the utterance of evil bring evil; she seals her fears imprisoned in her soul and hopes that Polydorus is not dead. This technique is excellent for the psychological portrait of Hecuba; Euripides is a master of human psychology and he knows that suppression of a passion is self-tormenting and drives people in desperate actions. He has illustrated this in the case of Phaedra; she tried to seal her

1. See Messer, 89.
passion, and it almost drove her mad; when it exploded, it ruined her. Here Euripides has worked out the same psychological motive; Hecuba seals her fears, for different reasons of course than Phaedra; her psychological torment, which is further stressed by the loss of her daughter, on explosion ruined Polymestor and his children. So we see that the dream, serving all the time as the background of the first (i.e. the section dealing with Polyxene), adds to the meanings and colours of the first and prepares the second (i.e. the section about Polydorus). When the female servant brought the news about the find of the corpse of Polydorus, her dream and fears concerning Polydorus materialized (698–720). Hecuba need not ask who the murderer is, for she knew from her dreams not only who the murderer was, but also the reasons of this crime. The hatred planted in her mind and soul by the dream against Polymestor at the beginning of the play has grown stronger and stronger; this hatred will result in the revenge on Polymestor and his children. The whole play is thus closely connected with Hecuba's dream, which proves to be essential both for situation and characterization.

The dream in the *Dyskolos* is placed in the end of the second act (lines 407–418). Sostratos' mother had dreamed that god Pan had chained her son, had handed him a mattock and a worn-out jerkin and ordered him to go digging on a neighbour's farm1. These she took as bad omens2 and to avert any disaster she decided to make

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1. «ἐδόκει τὸν Πάνα... τῷ τροφίμῳ τῷ Σώστράτῳ... περικρούειν πέδας... εἶτα δόντα δισθέραν τε καὶ δίσελλαιν <ἐν> τοῦ πλησίον τῶν χωρίων κατάπτην κελεύειν».

2. That the dream is a bad omen is also shown by the reactions of the «mageiros» and the slave; Sikon’ s comment is "Αpolloν and then ἄττον, while Getas calls the dream φοβερόν. A point which is usually unobserved is the reaction of the audience to a dream. If in our more rational and sophisticated society to narrate a dream is always fascinating and attracting the attention, one can imagine that in an ancient society a dream would have had even greater effect. In primitive societies dreams are believed to signify objective facts. Several members of the audience spontaneously may have had given some interpretation to it. A good playwright could, therefore, exploit his audience' s reaction for his own purpose. The dream of Sostratos’ mother in the *Dyskolos*, if we interpret it with Artemidorus’ *Onirokriticon*, contains elements which indicate ominous future, but it also contains elements which point towards a good future event. Gods do not tell lies (Artemidorus, *Onirokriticon*, p. 292). Thus, (i) to dream of Pan is a good omen only for shepherds and hunters; for others it indicates troubles (ἀκαταστασίας καὶ θορύβους and ἐφ’ οίς τις μέγα φρονεῖ, ταύτα κυτῷ μὴ βάβσαι εἴναι, p. 167. 18 ff). We must remember that Pan speaking of Sostratos calls him συγκυνηγέτην (48) – this is the most plausible conjecture –; see also 42:
a sacrifice to Pan. The situation in which a woman offers a sacrifice by which she hopes to avert an imminent disaster concerning her son, after she had dreamed that her son was dressed in humiliating dress, is known from A. *Persae*; in this play Atossa had dreamed that Xerxes tore his robe to pieces after he had seen Dareius standing by him and pitying him; the change from a kingly dress into rags was a bad omen signifying probably the change from happiness to misfortune. Tearing one's robe is a natural reaction of despair and is probably more oriental than Greek. One point we should remember is the superstition of Sostratos' mother, which is clearly stressed in the play, and carries a certain amount of irony. Superstitious persons tend to know very well all these popular belief, and one should expect that Sostratos' mother, as well as the slaves, were not exceptions.

The dream takes us back, a) to the prologue speech in which Pan said that he made Sostratos fall in love with the girl, Knemon's daughter. Here this point is made clear to the audience and, therefore, the interpretation of the allegorical part of the dream would be easily understood by them. But Sostratos' mother, being unaware of what had happened with her son, would not be able to give the right interpretation to her dream; she would not understand the significance of the chains or the more explicit information about the mattock and the leather jerkin; b) to the previous scene between Sostratos and Gorgias, and in parti-

(\'\'μοντες' επι θήραν μετά κυνηγήτου τινός; (ii) the leather jerkin especially for a rich man is also a bad omen (\'\'απρεπείς έσθήτες ζημίας και \'\'απραξίας σημαίνουσι, p. 104.20, and \'\'αι δὲ άμεινον λαμματά και καθαρά \'\'ιμάτα έχειν, p. 105.16 f; Hippocrates, *Περί άνθρωπων* xci, says: καί \'\'εσθήτα λευκήν τήν \'\'υπάρχοναν και \'\'υπόθεσιν τήν \'\'ακάλυπτην, \'\'αγαθόν ; (iii) πέδαι had ambiguous interpretation; it may be an omen for κατοχή, \'\'εμποδισμόν ή νόσον; but for the single it indicates marriage (\'\'γάμον άγαμοις, p. 180.9 ff); (iv) the δίκελλα taken as an instrument which divides (τέμνει καί \'\'διχάζει) is an omen for διχονοίας και στάσεις και βλάβας; but if it is taken as an instrument which joins and ties together, then it indicates \'\'φελείας καί \'\'γάμους καί κοινωνίας, p. 59. 24 ff; and (v) to do an agricultural work (\'\'γεωργεΐν ή άνελον ή \'\'φυτεύειν ή \'\'άροτριαν) is a good omen for those who wish to marry (\'\'αγαθόν τοῖς γήμαι προηρημένοις) and also to the childless; but it signifies πόνον and κακοπάθειαν for the others (p. 58.10 ff). We see that two or three elements in the dream indicate a future marriage; some of the audience, because of their knowledge of the previous situation in the play and their familiarity with the \''onirocritice'', might have got the right interpretation of the dream of Sostratos' mother. For the significance of δεσμά cf. also Handley, E. W., *The Dyskolos of Menander*, 1965, on 412 - 418. One should also note that έδόκει τὸν Πάνα... is the normal formula to narrate a dream (cf. *IG* iv, 951); περικρούειν πέδας: cf. Plout. *Mor.* 499 a and certain engravings on stone representing Eros chained holding the δίκελλα; διφθέρα signifies immediately a free peasant or a slave (see Martin, J., *Ménandre L'Atrabilaire*, 1972, on 412, 414, 415).
cular to lines 365 f. Sostratos is asked to change his χλανίς to a διφθέρα, he is given a mattock (375), and is going to do digging in the farm next door with Gorgias and Daos (368)¹. Thus his mother’s visions about him came true, before we hear the dream.

The two main functions of the Dyskolos dream are dramatic economy and characterization. The dream is the force which puts in motion several persons of the play: it motivates Sostratos’ entrance on 259; Sikon the cook comes on dragging a sheep for the sacrifice (393 ff) followed by the slave Getas, who would assist him with the preparation of the sacrificial meal (402 ff); soon Sostratos’ mother will follow with more slaves and her daughter; Kallippides, Sostratos’ father, comes to participate in the sacrificial meal (775 ff)². Knemon has to battle with all this crowd.

Its second main function is characterization. Sostratos’ mother is characterized by her reactions to the dream as superstitious (see also Sostratos’ ironic comment about his mother in 259 ff, which characterizes both himself and his mother). It also characterizes Sikon and Getas. Knemon’s reactions to the sacrifice convey something of his character as well.

There is not any interpretation of the dream on stage, as the dream refers mostly to what the spectators have already seen. The one allegoric element is easily understood and refers to Sostratos’ marriage in the end of the play³. Menander cleverly combined the dream with the stock motif of the inquisitive cook who excitedly drags the story out of Getas⁴.

Menander’s exploitation of this dream has many similarities with tragic usage: (i) the recipient of the dream is not a male, as it almost always occurs in comedy, but a female, as the tradition of tragedy required; (ii) it is important for the plot, as is often the case in tragedy, but not in comedy; (iii) an important figure, here a god, appears in

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². Cf. Handley, E.W., *The Dyskolos of Menander*, on 412 – 8: the dream unites «the two apparently separate lines of action by Sostratos and his mother, for Pan now appears to the audience as the cause of both» and it characterizes Sostratos’ mother and her piety.

³. Ibid., on 412 – 8 ; and Stoessl, F., *Menander Dyskolos*, 1965, on 414 ; Blake, on 410 – 8.

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someone’s dream and reveals the future. This recalls a similar tragic technique, e.g. A. Eumenides and E. Hecuba: (iv) it is a means to characterize the dreamer; it also helps to the characterization of other persons by their reaction to the dream. This is one of the main functions of the dream in tragedy. Two more points about this dream are of importance:

(i) With a very slight alteration the prologue speech delivered by Pan could be taken as the vision of Sostratos’ mother, and the whole technique would be identical with the Hecuba, in which Polydorus appears in the dream of Hecuba. In both plays the figure who was in one’s dream-vision delivers the prologue speech, and what he says is the background of what will take place on stage. In the Euripidean play Hecuba is asleep inside Agamemnon’s tent while the dream-figure spoke the prologue speech; Polydorus refers to her at the end of his speech, when she comes out of the tent (52 f) and in the middle of his speech (30 f). But Pan does not say anything in his speech about Sostratos’ mother or her dream, and nobody can suspect at this point that Pan was the figure of the vision of Sostratos’ mother. But when we hear about the dream and compare the two plays, we see the great similarities in regard to this point; one could say that, as in the Hecuba, Sostratos’ mother was (asleep?) inside her house, which was a long way from Phyle, while Pan spoke the prologue speech. Furthermore, both dreams initiate an action which develops in the second half of the play. Menander must have had in mind this Euripidean play, when he wrote the Dyskolos; this is strongly suggested not only by the similarities, but also the deviations which reveal a lot about Menander’s genius. Moreover, the Hecuba seems to have been the source of influence for Menander at least on another occasion, the characterization of Smikrines in the Aspis.1

(ii) The structure of the dream-scene in the Dyskolos is similar to those in A. Choephoroe and S. Electra, and is probably influenced by E. Electra. Menander may have been influenced by tragedy in respect to this detail. One should remember that Menander, when he wrote the Dyskolos, was about 25 years old and, therefore, he was more likely to have been under stronger tragic influences, which might have not been fully digested, as it did happen when he grew older.

1. On this matter see my work Tragic Patterns in Menander, 1975, 113 f.
The structure of the dream - scene is as follows:

Aeschylus' Choephoroe
a. indirect relation of the dream by the chorus to Orestes;
b. the dream takes central position in the play: 514 – 553;

1. it is first said that Clytaemestra had sent libations to the tomb of Agamemnon: 515 πόθεν χοάς ἐπεμψεν;
2. the chorus say that these libations are the result of her fears aroused by her dreams: 523ff έκ τ’ ονειράτων / καὶ νυκτιπλάγκτων δειμάτων πεπαλμένη / χοάς ἐπεμψε τάσδε δύσθεος γυνή.
3. Orestes asks the chorus to narrate the dream: 526 ἢ καὶ πέπωσθε τοδε, ὥστ’ ὀρθῶς φράσαι;
4. there follows the narration of the dream in the form of stichomythia: 527 – 533;
5. it is once more said that the libations were sent after the dream she had: 538f πέμπει
6. an interpretation of the dream is given by Orestes; and there follows a wish for success by the chorus (540 – 550);
7. there follows the choral song: 585 – 651;
8. the recipient of the dream (Klytaemestra) appears on stage in the next episode (668 ff).

Sophocles' Electra
a. indirect relation of the dream by Chrysothemis to Electra;
b. the dream has central position in the play: 405 – 471;

1. Chrysothemis says that she was sent by her mother Klytaemestra to bring libations to Agamemnon’s tomb: 406 μήτηρ με πέμπει πατρί τυμβεύσαι χοάς.
2. As Chrysothemis says, the libations are the result of fears aroused in Klytaemestra by her dream: 410 ἐξ δειματός του νυκτέρου.
3. Electra asks Chrysothemis to tell her the dream:
413 εἰ μοι λέγεις τὴν ὅψιν, εἴποιμ’ ἄν τότε.
515 λέγ’ ἄλλα τοῦτο.
4. Chrysothemis narrates the dream in an uninterrupted speech: 417 – 425;
5. it is once more said that she was sent by Klytaemestra to bring libations because of her fears aroused by her dream-visions:
427 πέμπει με κείνη τοῦδε τοῦ φόβου χάρων.
6. Electra gives advice to Chrysothemis to go to Agamemnon’s
tomb, but instead of bringing Klytaemestra' s libations she should bring offerings from herself and Electra, and ask their father' s held for the return of Orestes and the successful vengeance over their enemies 431–463;

7. there follows the choral song: 472–515;

8. the next episode opens with the entrance of the dreamer herself, Klytaemestra (516ff), who, as we learn from lines 630f, came to sacrifice to Apollo:

\[\text{οὔχοιν ἐάσεις ὁδῷ ὑπ' εὐφήμου βοής} \]
\[\text{θύσας μ'}.\]

Then she gives instructions to the maid who accompanied her and soon after follows her prayer to Apollo:

\[\text{ἐπαφε δή σύ θύμθ' ἡ παρούσα μοι} \]
\[\text{πάγκαρτ', ἄνακτι τῷ δ' ὁπως λυτηρίους} \]
\[\text{ἐγχάς ἀνάσχω δειμάτων, & νῦν ἕχω}.\]

Menander' s Dyskolos

a. indirect relation of the dream by Getas to Sikon;
b. central position of the dream in the play: 393–426.

1. first comes the cook Sikon dragging along the sacrificial sheep (393–401). Getas follows carrying a load of things necessary for the sacrifice;

2. it is said by Getas that the sacrifice to Pan is the result of the dream of Sostratos' mother:

\[\text{έαν γὰρ Ίδη ἐνύπνιον τὸν Παῖαν τὸν} \]
\[\text{Παιανοὶ, τούτῳ βαδιούμεθ', οὐδ' ὑπ',} \]
\[\text{θύσοντες εὔθυς.}\]

3. Sikon asks Getas to tell him what Sostratos' mother dreamed:

\[\text{τί πρὸς θεῶν}.\]

4. there follows the narration of the dream by Getas mostly in the form of «antilabai»: 412–417;

5. it is once more said that the reason why they sacrifice is to pray to Pan to avert any misfortune upon Sostratos.

\[\text{αλλὰ θύομεν} \]
\[\text{διὰ τοῦ θ', ἕν εἰς βέλτιον ἀποβῆ τὸ φοβερὸν}.\]

6. the two of them, Sikon and Getas, go off the stage for the sacrificial preparations: 419–426;

7. the sign XOPOY follows after line 426;

8. in the next act, 4th line, Sostratos' mother appears on stage for the sacrifice and the prayer to Pan. She is followed by her daughter
and male and female servants, to whom she addresses her speech several times:

430 f1 Πλαγγών, πορεύου θάττον' ἡδη τεθυκέναι
ήμας ἔδει.

432 f αὐλεί, Παρθενί,
Πανός' σιωπῇ, φασί, τούτῳ τοῖ θεοί
οὐ δεῖ προσιέναι

437 f εὔτρεπτῇ
ἅπαντα δ' ἡμῖν ἔστι;

439 f ἄλλ' εἴσετε·
κανά πρόχειρα, χέρνιβας, θυλήματα
ποιεῖτε.

The above analysis of the structure of those sections which include the narration of the dream shows that the Menandrean dream-structure has almost all points similar with the Aeschylean and Sophoclean structure. There are of course several deviations resulting from the different situation we have in the Dyskolos, but these are only slight modifications. The whole pattern of the dream in the Menandrean play keeps together with the tragic dream-pattern. This cannot be explained only by the law of probabilities; Menander probably worked out his dream-pattern on the tragic model. Two points especially support this view, a) the position of the dream in the play, which is the same in the three plays, and b) in all three plays the dream-pattern is developed round a choral song, and in all three the recipient of the dream, a woman, makes her first entrance on stage soon after the choral song; Klytaemestra speaks the 16th line onwards in the new episode in the Choephoroe, and the first line in S. Electra, and Sostratos' mother speaks the fourth line of the new episode in the Dyskolos?

1. For a discussion of the assignment of speakers see Handley, The Dyskolos, on 430-441. We strongly believe that Sostratos' mother was given a speaking part. The ἐπάν έδοσσαν of line 422 strongly supports the view than Sostratos' mother appeared on stage. We would like, however, to suggest some alterations to the assignment of the lines, which is slightly different that the one suggested by Sandbach in his Oxford edition of Menander. Line 438 f τὸ γοῦν πρόβατον...χολήν must be assigned to Sikon, because the joke with the sheep is a continuation of his earlier jokes about the sheep; line 439 - 441 ἄλλ' εἴσετε ... ἐμβρόντησε σῷ must be assigned to the mother. The orders of lines 430, 432, 439 suit more to the mistress than to Getas (cf. Arist. Ach. 241 ff, Birds 848 ff, and Peace 948 f, 956 ff); lines 433 and 440 suit her superstitions and care to do everything rightly.

2. The common point that the offerings are the result of fears aroused by dream-visions is rather due to real life.
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Menander was also very probably influenced by Euripides’ *Electra*¹ a play which he knew².

What then did Menander get from the pattern of the Euripidean *Electra*, which corresponds to the dream-pattern of the *Choephoroe* and the Sophoclean *Electra*?

In the Euripidean *Electra* the «autourgos», after his suspicions, which were aroused when he saw Electra talking with the «strangers», had faded away after the explanations given by Electra, in a gesture of friendship invited the two strangers in his house to offer them his hospitality. Electra who knows his poverty sends him off to an old family servant, who earned his living as a shepherd, and gives him instructions to ask the old man to come and bring something for the meal of the strangers (404ff). The first to appear on stage soon after the stasimon (432–486) is the old man; he is carrying on his shoulders a lamb, cheese and wine:

489–492 ὃς πρόσβασιν τῶν ἄρθιαν ὅlichen ἔχει θυσία γέροντι τόδε προσβήναι ποδί. ὅμως δὲ πρὸς γε τοὺς φίλους ἐξελκτέων διπλῇ ἁκανθάν καὶ παλίρροπον γόνυ

494–7 ἱκώ φέρων οἱ τῶν ἔμων βοσκήματαν πολύνης νεογνών θέμιμίν ὑποστάσας τόδε στεφάνους τε τευχέων τ’ ἐξελὼν τυρέματα, παλαιόν τε θησαυρίσμα Διονύσου τόδε.

This scene brilliantly modified is adapted by Menander in his *Dyskolos*. The cook Sikon enters on stage after he has carried on his shoulders part of the way a sheep for the sacrificial meal:

393–9 τοῦτο τὸ πρόβατόν ἔστιν οὗ τὸ τυχόν καλόν. ἄταχι’ εἰς τὸ βάραθρον. ἂν μὲν αἰρόμενος φέρω μετέωρον, ἔχεται τῷ στόματι θαλλόν κράδης, κατασθεῖ χαμά τῷ θρί’ ἀποσπά δ’ εἰς βίαν ἐὰν δ’ ἀφῇ καλάι τις, οὗ προφέρεται, τοῦναντίον δέ γένονε’ κατακέκομμι’ ἐνω δ’ ὁ μάγειρος ὑπὸ τοῦτον νεωλκῶν τὴν ὀδόν山庄.

1. Euripides, while discarding the dream, took the motif of marrying Electra to a high-birth peasant from the sources of the Sophoclean dream (Astyages’ dreams in Herodotus, 1.107) ; see Devereux, *The Dreams in Greek Tragedy*, 222 f. In a similar way Menander could be influenced by Euripides’ *Electra*.

2. This is suggested by the parallel scenes with a girl and her water pot in the *Electra* and *Dyskolos*, as well as the similar characterization of the «autourgos» and Gorgias (on this point see my *Tragic Patterns in Menander*, 1975, 120).

3. See some excellent observations made by Handley E.W., «Conventions of the Comic Stage», in *Entretiens Hardt* xvi, 1970, 3 ff, espec. 8f, 16 f.
The two passages correspond in their general content and in some details too; some ideas in the second passage could easily be derived from the first. In the Menandrean play there is a second person who assists the cook and is carrying heavy load on his shoulders. The device to enter the stage loaded with a sheep is traditional, and is found both in comedy and tragedy. The case in Euripides' *Electra* is the only example we possess in extant tragedy. In Aristophanes we have a comic exploitation of this motif: it occurs twice, in the *Birds* 848ff and in the *Peace* 937ff. Both cases differ immensely from the one in the *Electra*, in form and content as well. In the *Birds* it is dramatically unimportant; there are only two references to the sacrifice of a sheep, both made by the priest (855 χάριτος ἐνεκα προβάτιον τι θεοῖν, and 901f τα γάρ παρόντα θύματ' οὔδὲν ἄλλο πλῆν γένειόν ἐστι καὶ κέρατα); both are at the beginning and the end of a dialogue between Peisthetaeros and the priest. The second case in the *Peace* is a preparation and an imitation of a sheep sacrifice; a sheep and altar are brought on stage for the sacrifice. The scene opens with the directions of Trygaeus. When the preparations were completed and prayers were said both by the chorus and Trygaeus, the time for slaying the sheep came; the servant offered the knife to his master, but the sacrifice was not carried out on stage on the grounds that Peace does not like blood and slaying; the servant was then ordered to carry the sheep indoors and sacrifice it there (1020).

It is not hard to see the differences between the tragic and the Aristophanian sheep sacrifice, and on the other hand the affinity between the cases in the *Dyskolos* and the Euripidean *Electra*. This, supported by other points, is enough evidence for the indebtedness of Menander to Euripides. Webster rightly observed about this case that «Sikon's recalcitant sheep is surely a unique use of traditional material».

In addition to the case in the *Dyskolos* we have the sheep sacrifice in other Menandrean plays. In the *Methe* (fr. 264 Kö) there is a reference to such a sacrifice, and in the *Samia*, 399 ff, we have a

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2. *Studies in Menander*, 227. Menander in this case, as elsewhere, gave a new flavour to a traditional comic motif under the influence of tragedy.
3. ἰδίου γε τοῖς θεοῖς μὲν ἀγαφασμένον
δραχμῷ ἄγω προβάτιον ἄναρφον δέχομαι
case which is similar to the one in the *Dyskolos*, in that it opens a new scene. Nikeratos comes on stage loaded with a sheep\(^1\), and after a short monologue he takes notice of Chrysis, gets engaged in a conversation with her, and soon after he invites Chrysis in his house.

In the *Aulularia* we see once more the exploitation of this motif. Pythodicus enters (line 280 ff) bringing cooks (Anthrax and Congrio), music girls (Phrygia and Eleusinimum) and attendants with provisions and two lambs. The joke with the lambs is found in the dialogue between Pythodicus, Anthrax and Congrio (327 ff), in Euclio’ s monologue (371 ff) and his dialogue with Megadorus (561 ff). Many other jokes are connected with the entrance of Pythodicus:

a) the joke with *divides* (283), *dividi* (286) in reference to the cook Anthrax probably is the traditional joke with *κόπτω*, *κατακόπτω* in connection with the cooks;

b) the joke with Euclio’ s *φιλαργυρία*; because of his avarice Euclio, as we first hear from Anthrax’ surprise, did not buy any provisions for his daughter’ s wedding (294 – 7). Other jokes referring to his avarice are:

c) Euclio is so miser that «de suo tigillo fumus si qua exit foras», he bowls for heaven to witness that he is utterly ruined (299 – 301).

(See Dedoussi, Chr. *The Samia of Menander*, 1965, on 184 – 189. Nikeratos’ sheep was not only skinny but also ill). In the *Samia* as in the *Dyskolos*, «schliesst die bewegte, lustige Szene eine Serie ernsthafter, bald pathetischer, bald moralischer Auseinandersetzungen ab» (Blume, H. – D., *Menanders Samia*, 1974, on 399 ff). Blumo observes also rightly that in this scene we have a «verkopplung zweir stereotypen Gedanken, eines charakterologischen und eines kritisch - polemischen» (cf. *Dyskolos*, 447 – 453); moreover, «der Kontrast zwischen seiner heiteren Unbefangenheit und der das Tragische streifenden Emotionalität der vorausgegangenen Szenen weckt gewisse Assoziationen zu Euripides, etwa wie Herakles in der *Alkestis* ahnungslos zazwischengerat» (Blume, 155). Whereas in the *Dyskolos* the sheep carrying scene is connected with the inquisitive cook, in the *Samia* the sheep sacrifice scene is given «an original turn by their contrast with the situation of the weeping Chrysis» (Gomme – Sandbach, *Menander : A Commentary*, 1973, on *Sam.* 399 ff). The word *τὸ κόδιον* «is kept to the end of the sentence for an effect of surprise» (*Ibid.* on 404). Cf. the different exploitation of this motif in Plautus’ *Aulularia* 327 ff and 371 ff.

1. Wilamowitz thinks that the sheep is carried by a slave of Nikeratos, but this is not necessary (*Kleine Schriften*, 1.430).

d) when he goes to bed Euclio strings a bag over his jaws so as not to chance loosing any breath when he is asleep (302–3);
e) Euclio «opturat inferiorem gutturem» so as not to chance loosing any breath while he is asleep (304–5);
f) «aquam... plorat, quom lavat, profundere» (308);
g) if you ask him to lend you his hunger, he would refuse (311);
h) when a barber cut his nails for him, Euclio collected all the clippings and took them home (312–3);
i) when «pulmentum pridem eripuit ei miluos», he went to the magistrates asking to have the kite bound over for trial (316–319);

This accumulation of jokes almost certainly belongs to Plautus; only few of these could derive from the Greek original.

k) In lines 321–6 there is a traditional joke with the cook's thieving. This is also the case with lines 343–9;

l) in lines 330–4 Pythodicus orders Anthrax to take the fattest lamb and go inside Megadorus' house, and Congrio to take the other lamb and go into Euclio's house. Congrio's protest that the others got the fattest lamb is answered jokingly by Pythodicus; he orders the fattest music girl to follow Congrio, while the slimmer one goes with the others to Megadorus' house.

Euclio's entrance is also comic (371 ff). He speaks about his going to the market, his intention to buy provisions for his daughter's wedding; there he found everything very expensive, so he decided to buy only *tusculum* and *coronas floreas*. The joke with the lamb is continued in lines 561 ff, where the ungrateful father-in-law describes it as *ossa ac pellis tatust* and adds that it is so skinny and transparent that *exta inspicere in sole ei vivo licet*; he further asks Megadorus to put it out to be buried, for he believes that it is dead already (cf. *Dyskolos*, 438). In the *Samia* the lamb is also skinny (399 ff *αἷμα . . . χολήν . . . ὀστᾶ . . . σπλήνα . . . κώδιον*); here there is also the joke with *πέμψω δὲ γεωσασθαι κατακόψας τοῖς φίλοις τὸ κώδιον*. In the *Dyskolos* there is a freshness in the exploitation of this motif; the sheep, whether is being carried on the cook's shoulders or is left to go forward by itself, does not move (τὸ πρόβατον . . . οὐ προέρχεται); the joke with *κόπτω* is reversed: it is not the cook that cuts up the sheep, but on the contrary

the cook is cut up by the sheep! The joke with κόπτω is repeated later by Getas (410). Then there is also the joke with Getas’ hunger (423—4) and the praeter expectationem joke of Getas in 425 f.

In regard to the structure of these scenes and their relation to the plot, we observe the following: The first part of the second act in the Dyskolos, i.e. Gorgias’ and Sostratos’ dialogue, is meant to be serious (apart from a few comments and interventions of Daos); the second part (from line 393 to 426, that is up to the end of the second act) is comic.

The structure of the third act of the Samia is as follows:

- Demeas’ monologue 206—282 serious tone
- Parmeno—cook 283—303 comic tone
- Demeas—Parmenon 303—324 meant to be serious but humorous nevertheless
- Demeas’ monologue 325—356 serious tone
- cook’s intervention 357—368 comic tone
- Demeas—Chrysis 369—398 serious almost tragic tone
- cook’s intervention 383—390 comic tone
- Nikeratos’ monologue 399—404 humorous tone
- Nikeratos—Chrysis 405—420 rather serious tone

We see that the serious tone is broken several times by comic intermez­zos; the most serious, almost tragic scene of lines 369—398 (note that Chrysis’ last words τάλαιν’ ἐγόγη τῆς έμής τύχης, 398, is tragic) is followed by the entrance of Nikeratos carrying a skinny sheep and delivering a comic monologue, which is suddenly broken by a serious tone when he takes sight of the weeping Chrysis (ἀλλ’, Ἡράκλεις, τί τούτο; etc. 405).

In the Aulularia we find similar interchange of the serious with the comic tone:

- Euclio—Staphyla 1—119 meant to be serious, but comic nevertheless
- Eunomia—Megadorus 119—177 serious tone
- Euclio—Megadorus 178—265 serious tone
- Euclio—Staphyla 266—279 meant to be serious, but comic nevertheless
- Staphyla’s monologue 274—279 serious tone
- Pythodicus—Anthrax 280—370 comic tone
Euclio's monologue 371–387 comic tone: Euclio's monologue is broken by the serious tone of 388 ff «sed quid ego...conspicor» etc. in a similar manner as in the Samia.

In this play as well the serious tone is followed by comic scenes.

If the Miles is an adaptation of a Menandorean original, then the dream would be another example of the Menandorean treatment. The dream here (382–392) is in the service of an intrigue. The girl's lover is already living in the house next-door, assisted in his love affairs by his host. Palaestrio had dug a hole through the wall of her room, thus providing a secret passage to her lover's house. He adds that \textit{facetis fabriciis et doctis dolis glaucunam ob oculos abiciemus eumque ita faciemus ut quod viderit ne viderit} (147–9); moreover, he makes clear that Philocomasium will play the role of two girls, appearing from the one house as Philocomasium and from the other as her sister \textit{(eadem erit, verum alia esse adsimulabitur, 152)}. The dream is narrated by Philocomasium, the supposed dreamer, to Sceledrus, Pyrgopo-lyneices' slave who was appointed as guardian of Philocomasium. The content of her dream is the following: her twin sister with her lover had come from Athens to Ephesus; both seemed to have come for a visit, and stayed in the house of Philocomasium's next-door neighbour; she was glad for her twin sister's arrival, but she was subjected to a dreadful suspicion because of her sister; for she was charged by her own servant with having kissed some strange young man, when it was that twin sister of hers that was kissing her lover.

The dream echoes several points of the play: (i) lines 129–153 of the prologue speech which is delivered by Palaestrio; (ii) lines 156–194 and especially 173–6 where Pericleptomenus tells Palaestrio that someone (= Sceledrus) had seen Philocomasium kissing her lover:

\textit{De tegulis modo nescio quis inspectavit vestrum familiarum per nostrum impluvium intus apud nos Philocomasium atque hospitem.}

(iii) Lines 238–40 etc. in which Palaestrio reveals a device to cheat Sceledrus and the soldier; his machination is the following:
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Philocomasio huc sororem geminam germanan alteram dicam Athenis advenisse cum amatore aliquo suo, tam similem, quam lacte lactist; apud te eos hic devortier dicam hospitio

Ut si illic concriminatus sit adversum militem meos conservos, eam vidisse hic cum alieno oscuratier eam arguam vidisse apud te contra conservom meum cum suo amatore amplexantem atque asculantem.

(iv) Lines 272-312, espec. 272-7, 287-9, and lines 313-353, espec. lines 319-320, 338, lines 354-410, espec. 366, 399-400. Philocomasium seeing that Sceledrus is not persuaded that he did not see her in the next house kissing her lover, tries another way. She says that the has had a dream (lines 380 ff), which came true:

hac nocte in sommis mea soror geminast germana visa venisse Athenis in Ephesum cum suo amatore quodam; ei ambo hospitio huc in proxumum mihi devortisse visi.

Ego laeta visa, quia soror venisset, propter eandem suspicionem maximam sum visa sustinere.

This is not a real dream, but as the slave comments, Philocomasium Palaestrionis somnium narratur (386). The details of the dream correspond exactly to the previous events; but the following scenes (lines 411-595) are also based on the dream: Philocomasium now plays the role of her twin sister (411-456) and then she appears in her own house (see lines 457 ff). Sceledrus is thus persuaded. There follows a scene between Pericleptomenus and Sceledrus (486 ff).

The structure of the Miles, first the events and then the dream (the details of which correspond to the previous events) and then again other events which correspond to the dream as well, is similar with the structure in the Dyskolos, events — dream — events. In both plays the dream is essential for the plot; but it also helps to characterization.

In the *Mostellaria* the dream is the main intrigue against Theopropides. According to the dream of Philolaches, which Tranio narrates, the ghost of Diapontius, the man who was supposed to have been murdered in Theopropides' house many years ago, appeared to Philolaches and told him that everyone should leave the house. Tranio quotes the speech spoken by the ghost (497–504) and, when the noises of the young people from inside the house are heard, he works this to his advantage (506 ff). The dream-scene is closing the second act. Theopropides leaves with the intention to meet the previous owner of the house and verify this story. Collart believes that "la scena du sogne' est un type caracteristique de ces morceaux en fausse nobless dont la frequency chez Plaute nous prouve, semble-t-il, que son publie en etait gourmand"; he also notes that all dreams in the *Rudens*, *Mercator*, *Miles*, *Curculio* and *Mostellaria* have (i) the tendency towards a certain metrical regularity; (ii) a respectable number of archaisms; (iii) a very great number of alliterations, homoioteleuta, anaphoras; «les tirades ressemblent plus ou moins a un carmen, a une incantation, a une formule magique»; (iv) the frequent recurrence of similar word or of the etymological figure. The position of the dream in the play is central; it is important for the plot and the characterization both of Tranio and Theopropides. The dream is not allegorical.

In the *Curculio* we have an incubation at Asclepius' temple, a dream and its interpretation (216–273). The third act opens with Cappadox the pimp coming out of Asclepius' temple complaining that the god does not care at all about himself (216 ff); then Palinurus enters and gets involved in a conversation with the pimp. Cappadox asks the slave whether he can interpret a dream he had. Palinurus boasts that he is the only expert. At this moment the cook comes out from Phaedromus' house, and asks Palinurus to fetch him what he needs for the preparation of the lunch. Finally the slave refers the pimp to the cook.

The pimp narrates his dream (260—2):

\begin{verbatim}
Hac nocte in somnis visus sum viderier
procul sedere longe a me Aesculapium,
neque eum ad me adire neque me magni pendere
visumst\textsuperscript{1}.
\end{verbatim}

The cook’s interpretation (263 ff) is that all gods are against him. He advises him to go and ask *pacem* from Asclepius, if he wants to avoid disaster. The pimp obeys and leaves with this intention (273). It is noteworthy that here, as in the *Dyskolos*, the dream is connected with the cook, who is in both cases the interpreter (*Dyskolos*, 415, 417).

The dream in the *Rudens* is «ganz im Stil der Tragödie»\textsuperscript{2} and it has striking similarities with the dream in the *Mercator*\textsuperscript{3}. The two opposing arguments which try to explain these similarities are those of Marx and Leo. Marx argues that the dream in the *Rudens* derives from its Diphilean original, whereas the dream in the *Mercator* is an imitation of it by Plautus\textsuperscript{4}. On the contrary, Leo argues that Plautus found both dreams in his Greek originals of the *Mercator* and *Rudens*, and although he accepts that «die Erzählung im *Mercator* die schlechtere von beiden ist, die im *Rudens* kurz, treffend und witzig, die andere breit und unübersichtlich, die Anspielungen erzwungen und ohne Anmut», he concludes that «erfunden hat das Motiv, im Nachfolge der Tragödie,

\textsuperscript{1} That many people dreamed of Aselepius is attested by Artemidorus’ *Onirocriticon*. For a precedent of Cappadox’ incubation and dream cf. Arist. *Ploutos*, The solemn tone of the dream underlines that it parodies an epic and tragic motif (Monaco, G., *Plauto Curculio*, 1969, on 260—263). According to Monaco, the meaning of the dream is clear enough and there is no need of any interpreter; the reason why there is an interpretation is that Plautus wants to prepare the ground for some jokes: the first is in lines 265 ff with the *incubare Iovi* (Langen, F., *Platinische Studien*, 1886, 285f, and Marti, H., *Untersuchungen zur dramatischen Technik bei Plautus und Terenz*, 1957, 100, see a contradiction between lines 263—4 and 265 ff; cf. also Bosscher H., *De Plauti Curculione disputatio*, 1903, 31 f, who assigns lines 263—4 to Palinurus. Monaco, however, says that «non esiste qui una vera e propria difficolta»). The second joke is in lines 268—9.

\textsuperscript{2} Leo, F., *Platinische Forschungen*, 1912 2, 162.

\textsuperscript{3} Cf. *Rud.* 593—6 and 611—2 with *Merc.* 225—8 and 252—4; moreover, a *simia* plays a role in both dreams.

fur seinen "Εμπορός Φιλεμόν, aufgenommen hat es und dafür eine bessere Geschichte erfunden und gestaltet Diphilus.1

Daemones’ narration of his dream opens the third act in the *Rudens*. In the first two acts the spectators have learned all about the two girls and their adventure. They have seen them being saved and taking refuge into the temple of Venus. They have also seen the pimp Labrax (in the last scene of the second act) bursting into the temple, as soon as he had learned that the two girls were inside the temple. Then there follows Daemones’ dream (593 ff), the content of which is the following:

*ad hirundinimum nidum visa est simia*
*ascensionem ut faceret admolirier*
*neque eas eripere quibat inde. postibi*
*videtur ad me simia adgredirier,*
*rogare scalas ut darem utendas sibi.*
*ego ad hoc exemplum simiae respondeo,*
*natas ex Philomela atque ex Progne esse hirundines.*
*ago cum illa, ne quid noceat meis popularibus.*
*atque animo iam fieri ferocior*;
*videtur ullo mihi malum minitarier.*
*in ius vocat med. ibi ego nescio quo modo*
*iratus videror medium arripere simiam;*
*concludo in vincla bestiam nequissimam.2*

The audience would not find it difficult to identify the swallows with the girls and the monkey with the pimp. Daemones, however, is not able to see the meaning of his dream (611 - 2). Soon after Daemones’ narration of his dream, the situation develops in such a way that he understands the meaning of his dream. Trachalio’s account corresponds closely to the details of the dream: a pimp tries to drag away from the statue of Venus the two girls who are clinging to it for refuge. Daemones offers his help to save the girls; the pimp threatens Daemones (710 ff; cf. with 600 f). For Daemones’ protection of his own fellow-


2. In Artemidorus’ *Onirocriticon* we see that some believe that swallow signifies θάνατον ... ἄφοραν σωμάτων καὶ πένθος καὶ λύπην μεγάλην (p. 189. 22). In *Odyssey* χ 239 – 40 Athena takes the shape of a swallow (αυτή δ’ αἰθαλόεντος ἀνὰ μεγάρον μελέθρον / ἕξετ’ ἀνατέσσα, χελιδόνι εἰκέλη ἀντην) just before. the μνηστηροφονία. Artemidorus says that it is not πονηρά, ἐτ μὴ τι ἄτομον πάχοι η διαλλάσσοι τι χρώμα παρὰ φόσιν τιν αὐτῇ (p. 190. 11). The *simia* (= πίθηκος) signifies ἄνδρα πανούργον καὶ γόητα (p. 124. 14; see also p. 279. 19).
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citizens, 737 ff, cf. with 605. Daemones realizes (in 771 ff) that haec illast simia quae has hirundines ex nido volt eripere ingratiis. Up to the end of the third act, the plot corresponds to the details of Daemones’ dream.

The dream in the Mercator opens the second act. In the first act the audience learned the «Vorgeschichte» from Charinus. They are also informed that Charinus fell in love with a beautiful girl, whom he bought and brought home from Rhodes; this same girl is also seen by Charinus’ father, who was told that she is bought by Charinus to be his mother’s maid. At his first entrance on stage Demipho narrates his dream (225—251) and tries to give an interpretation of it (252—271). The dream’s content is the following: he had bought a beautiful she-goat (formosam capram)\(^1\), which he committed to the care of a monkey, because he wanted not to have it in the same house where he had another she-goat. The monkey came after a while to him complaining that because of the she-goat he was disgraced, saying that the she-goat devoured his wife’s dowry, and said that unless Demipho took her away at once, he would take her to Demipho’s wife. A kid (haedus) told him that he had taken the she-goat away from the monkey, and began to laugh at him, weeping for her abduction. Demipho interprets part of his dream: the she-goat is the beautiful girl (forma eximia mulier) brought by his son to be his mother’s maid. He confesses that as soon as he saw her he immediately fell in love with her. He cannot, however, see what the monkey and the kid signify. Lysimachus’ order (in 272—3) is interpreted by Demipho as a bad omen.

The implausible according to the Onirocriticon symbolism, the length of the dream-narration and the fact that the content of the dream is like a summary of the plot that follows, make one accept that this dream is a Plautine invention, modelled on the Rudens dream. In the Greek original very probably we had only a monologue by Demipho (lines 255—267). The dream could be omitted (225—254), without any alteration of the plot, as it is not affected at all by its omission.

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Dream-like situations (.) are only slightly different from real dreams. These are usually caused by gods; persons possessed by a god

\(^1\) With this term I mean mainly hallucinations, madness, or feigned madness and the like. Dodds observes that waking visions or hallucinations were likely more common in former times than they are to-day, and that they have in general the same origin and psychological structure as dreams (The Greeks and the Irrational, 1964, 116).
are subjected to some kind of hallucination. Tragedy provides us with numerous such examples. In most cases a god is the source of these situations; he causes the mortal(s) to act in delirium manipulating them to achieve a certain objective. In other cases the insanity is only feigned by a human person, who again wants to accomplish by it a certain plan as is the case with S. **Odysseus mainomenos**; in this play Odysseus pretended to be mad, because he wanted to avoid having to go to Troy. In some other cases a human is driven to delirium by an excessive grief, e.g. Euadne in E. **Suppliant**, 980 - 1113.

But even in those cases where a divinity is behind the action and is the cause of it, humans usually are ignorant of this fact, which is known, however, to the audience; what the humans know is their own passion, which they find overwhelming their whole existence so that they are unable to resist it. These are passions which the gods grasp on in order to manipulate the individuals. A classic example of such a situation is Phaedra in E. **Hippolytus**.

These insane situations are found either in the preliminaries of a play, as in S. **Ajax**, for example (although here a glimpse of Ajax' madness is also given on stage), or during the action of a play, as it happens with the majority of the dream-like situations; and they are acted on stage directly or are narrated indirectly by a messenger or some other person.


The visions are vividly described or enacted. In *A. Agamemnon*, Cassandra possessed by prophetic powers of Apollo and elevated into ecstacy gives a vivid and lucid description of her visions to the chorus; these visions refer both to the past and the future: she sees the slaughter of the children of Thyestes by Atreus and the father sitting at the table to eat the roasted flesh of his children; then the picture moves and this time she sees the execution of the murder of Agamemnon by his wife; she describes how Klytaemestra bathes and cleanses Agamemnon and then, after having caught him by a net, kills him. Another case occurs in *A. Choephoroe*, 1048—62. Orestes is driven to insanity by the avengers of his mother's blood, the Erinyes, whom he sees and describes as dressed in black gowns and having snakes round their heads; as he sees them approaching, Orestes is overcome by fright and runs away. The vision is visible only by Orestes, not the chorus.

We have already mentioned the feigned insanity of Odysseus in *S. Odysseus mainomenos*; we do not know for certain whether this was presented directly or indirectly in the play. His *Ajax* offers another example; Ajax' wounded dignity for not having been awarded Achilles' armour prompted him to attempt to murder those responsible, the two Atreidae and Odysseus; but Athena prevented their murder by deranging Ajax' mind and making him slaughter the sheep and chain the he-goat, whom he took for Odysseus. All this is in the preliminaries of the play, but there is a demonstration of his madness on stage.


2. Cassandra's first vision (1090—2) is the horrible slaughters of kinsfolk in the house of Atridae. There is a consistent development of her visions from the general to the more specific and concrete images. Her second vision (1096—7) is the children weeping for their own slaughter, and their roasted flesh that their father devoured. From line 1100 onwards her visions refer to the future slaughter of Agamemnon by his wife (1100—4, 1107—1111, 1115—9, 1125—9; concrete mages = τὸν ὀμοδέμνιον πόσιν λουτροίσα φαιδρύνοσα, ἤ δικτυόν τί γ' Ἄιδου, ἢ ἵναισος, ἢ ξυναίτια φόνου — 'At this stage Cassandra concentrates entirely on finding out the shape and character of the objects of her visions. She tries to delineate them as accurate as she can' (Fraenkel, on 1116) — ἐν πέπλοισιν μελαγέρω λαβοϋσα μηχανήματι τύπτει, πίτνει δ' ἐν υδρω τεύχει)· Then her vision refers to her own death (1136 ff, espec. 1149 ἐμοί δὲ μίμνει σχισμὸς ἀμφίχει δορί). A more rational content and tone she uses from line 1178 ff (Fraenkel, on 1176), where Cassandra speaks νάκτει εἰς αἰνιγμάτων. On the relation between Cassandra and Apollo see Fraenkel, on 1202. From 1214 ff we find again «a wild medley of strange visions» (Fraenkel, *Aeschylus Agamemnon*, on 1214, 1215, etc.). Cassandra’ s prophesies are [soon to come true (1343 ff). Cf. Cassandra' s vision with the vision of Theoclymenus in Homer, *Od*. ν 351 ff, about the μνησημορφονία, which takes place in *Od*. χ.
as well caused by Athena in the presence of Odysseus (89–117).

We must here note that in Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the dream-like visions are very closely connected both with plot and characterization. Aeschylus and Sophocles very probably had exploited this device in other lost plays\(^1\), but Euripides seems to have made the most of it; we find it at least in eight of his extant plays and he has at least exploited it in his *Alcmaeon in Corinth*\(^2\), *Ino*\(^3\) and *Phrixus*\(^4\). With the exception of Euadne in the *Suppliants*\(^5\) who is delirious because of her unbearable grief, all other cases are the sequel of some god’s intervention. Orestes’ madness, which was first introduced and enacted directly in A. *Choephoroe*, is also presented by Euripides in his *Orestes*, 253–276\(^6\) and *IT*, 282–291. Orestes’ vision is the Erinyes, bloody, snake-like, fierce-eyed, moving towards him; frightened that they will catch him and throw him to Tartarus, he takes his sister, who tries to prevent him from falling off the bed, as one of the Erinyes and he pushes her away; he then asks for his bow, which he takes, and threatens to kill them if they do not leave him; here he addresses his speech to the Erinyes. In the *IT* Orestes’ madness is reported by the first messenger; Orestes’ behaviour is made more lively by quoting his speech, which he addresses to Pylades; here as well Orestes has similar visions, the Erinyes: they are winged, with

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1. At least in *A. Athamas*, *Bacchae*, *Bassarai*, *Hedonei*, *Xantriae*, *Pentheus* S. *Athamas*, *Ajax Lokros*, *Alcmeon*, *Inachos*, *Phaedra*; E. *Alcmaeon*, *Phrixus*, *Ino*, *Protesilaus*.

2. See Webster T.B.L., *The Tragedies of Euripides*, 1967, 39 ff, 266 f; Fear takes Alcmamoon’s wits away; «his mother threatens him with torture and death; he is drained white with fear. Then he sees flames; the Furies are on him, he begs Tisiphone to help him, to drive away the flaming horror; the Furies are attacking him with snakes and torches; then he sees Apollo and Artemis shooting at them. The fit is abating and his fears no longer agree with what he sees». As in the *Orestes* the chief point of the madness-scene is the intimacy of brother and sister, so here we have «Tisiphone’s loving care and Amphilochos’ concern for the unkempt stranger, a trio of father, daughter, and son, none of whom knew either of the other’s identity».

3. See Webster, *op supra* cit., 98 ff. Athamas had gone mad and killed his son Learachs.

4. *Ibid.*, 135 f. Phrixus and Helle went mad when Phrixus was at the point of killing Ino.

5. and of Laodameia in the *Protesilaus*.

6. This is the first mad scene that Euripides actually put on stage: Orestes suddenly goes mad, thinking that he is being attacked by the Furies and that Eletra is one of them. Both here and in the *IT* the chief point of the madness-scene is the sympathy between the characters (Webster, *op. supra* cit., 248).
snakes round their heads and with bloody and fiery gowns, holding in their hands his mother. Cassandra in the *Troades* sings a wedding song (308—340), which being in the middle of a flood of lamentations sounds anomalous and incoherent; this is a reflection of the Aeschylean Cassandra, whose prophecies are a black spot on the red carpet on which Agamemnon was welcomed by his wife; in a reverse order the wedding song in the *Troades* is, at least for Cassandra, a bright spot in the black background of the misfortunes of the Trojans. The difference from the *Agamemnon* is that here the prophecies are not spoken in an ecstasy, but in normal condition. But Euripides in other plays went beyond Aeschylus in regard to this aspect. In the *Heracles*, in which Heracles' madness is the major theme of the play\(^1\), the insanity comes quite unexpected at the moment when Heracles, after he had killed Lycus and saved his family from his hands, was surrounded by his father, wife, and children, and was preparing to make a sacrifice. His madness is reported by a messenger (910 ff); Heracles in his madness has hallucinations: he believes that he rides a chariot and drives to Mycenae; and taking his wife and children as the wife and children of Eurystheus, he kills them. His madness is the result of divine intervention, Iris and Lyssa who both were agents of Hera. In the *Bacchae* we have several abnormal situations and all are caused by Dionysus. Most of them take place off-stage and are reported by messengers, but some are acted on stage. In the first messenger's speech (616ff), delivered by Dionysus himself, we hear a) that Pentheus took a bull for Dionysus, tied him and put him in jail, believing it to be Dionysus, b) that Pentheus thought that the palace was on fire\(^2\) and ordered the slaves to bring water to extinguish it, and c) when he saw the phantom of Dionysus in his courtyard, he attacked it with his sword, because he thought it was Dionysus himself. Later Pentheus is put in a state of light madness (έλαφράν λύσσαν 851), disguised himself into a maenad, and saw Dionysus as a bull with horns (920ff). But it was not only Pentheus whose mind was deranged by the god; the chorus see the house shaking, after Dionysus had asked for an

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2. Dodds (*Euripides Bacchae*, xxxii) shows that probably the palace miracle and the imprisonment of Dionysus were borrowed by Euripides from A. Lykourgeia. Pentheus' two illusions are caused by Dionysus, just as Heracles' madness is caused by Lyssa and Hera.
earthquake; and when he asks for lightning, they see fire on the tomb of Semele; in the second messenger's speech (1043ff) we learn that the bacchae being in religious ecstasy tore to pieces Pentheus, whom they saw as a beast. Agave, when she appears on stage (1168ff) is still possessed by the god and this lasts till line 1267. She carries the head of Pentheus believing it to be a head of a lion, and she is proud of it. All these visions are caused by Dionysus, whose main objective is to show to those who deny him that he is a god¹. Alcestis' visions (252—263) are those of a dying person; they are included in her speech at her first entrance on stage, where she came to say good-bye to the light and Sun. The visions that she describes are: a lake and a boat with Charon in it holding the punting-pole; then a winged figure, Thanatos, who leads her away. Alcestis addresses directly Charon. The last case we shall see is in the Hippolytus. Here it is Aphrodite who is the cause, but Phaedra is ignorant of this fact; what she is aware of is the overwhelming force of her passion, love, and this is made obvious from her first entrance on stage. She reclines on a couch gloomy with δέμας . . . άλλόχροον (175); in her speech she wishes to drink water from dewy spring and recline under black poplars and leafy meadow; leaping up she wants to go to the mountain, into the wood and the pines, where there are deer hunting scenes; she wants to cry aloud to the hounds and take part in the hunting; she even desires horse-riding. This speech is characterized by the nurse as μανίας ἐπ ο χ ο ν . . λόγον (214) and Phaedra as παράφρων (232). Phaedra herself, when she came back to normal, admitted this and felt ashamed (241).

Menander seems to have employed similar devices in at least two of his plays, which unfortunately are known only by fragments, the Hierieia and Theophoroumene. In the Hierieia a male servant feigned a divine possession in order to extract some information². The Theophoroumene induces us to believe that there was in it a similar scene. This we base on two factors: (i) the title of the play, which implies that a woman was possessed by a divinity. The word itself takes us back to Aeschylus, who was the first to coin the word

¹ Cf. also the slight madness of Pentheus (851), which drove him to put on female clothing, who when he came out dressed as maenad sees Thebes double and thinks Dionysus is a bull; the chorus call on Lyssa to enter the daughters of Kadmos.

² For the plot of this play see Sandbach's edition of Menander and Gomme-Sandbach's Commentary, p. 694 f.
θεοφόρητος1 (Agam. 1140), which referred to the god-possessed Cassandra; and (ii) some fragments attributed to this play give a description of a girl, who has been seen wandering about away from home, and garlanded; we also know that a music test is set up for her, and Handley believes that this musical test «developed into a stage presentation of ritual; the girl in her trance takes the lead»2. The information we have is so limited that we cannot draw definite conclusions. We do not know if this «divine possession» was genuine or feigned; nor do we know if it was reported by a messenger or enacted on stage. The latter seems more probable (see lines 24 ff). In all probability the girl appeared on stage, danced and sang while she was possessed by the god3. One could not argue for certain that Menander was influenced by the tragedians in respect to this point, although there are reasons to believe so, first the recurrence of this device in the tragedians and especially Euripides, secondly the fact that there is in tragedy a θεοφόρητος woman, whose divine possession is presented on stage, and thirdly the fact that Menander has been influenced by tragedy and especially Euripides, and has modelled scenes of his plays on Euripidean scenes4. But it could equally be an imitation of Alexis’ Theophoretos.

Fictitious madness and visions occur in five other New Comedy plays, the Mercator, Casina, Captivi, Menaechmi, and Cistellaria.

That the madness scenes in the Mercator and Casina go back to

1. Cf. Alexis’ Theophoretos: Arnott, W.G., suggests that the title implies that one of the characters was «divinely possessed» either during the action or in the preliminaries (Alexis, Diss. Cambridge 1960, 192). On the title of Menander’s Theophoroumene, cf. also Wilamowitz, Glaube der Hellenen, ii, 320, n 2.


3. See Gomme—Sandbach, Commentary, on the Theophoroumene.

4. In Alexis’ Agonis or Hippiskos as Arnott W. G. suggests, there is a madness scene which is a parody of the madness scene in Euripides’ Orestes; here someone pretends to see hallucinations, which he describes (Alexis, Diss. Cambridge 1960, 10); see also Webster, T.B.L., Studies in Later Greek Comedy, 73.
tragedy has already been observed\(^1\). In the *Captivi*, 592 - 620, Tyndarus tries to persuade Hegio that Aristophontes is mad in a desperate attempt to avoid the danger of his plans being discovered. Aristophontes' words and physical expression are intentionally misinterpreted by Tyndarus as signs of madness\(^2\). That these signs of Aristophontes' madness are taken over from tragedy is strongly suggested by the identification of Aristophontes with Ajax in line 615:

\[
Aiace, hunc quom vides, ipsum vides\(^3\)
\]

In the *Menaechmi* we find another instance of pretended madness which draws from the parallel scenes in tragedy\(^4\). The ignorance of the existence of the two identical brothers resulted in successive errors among the characters of the play. Menaechmus' wife thinks that Menaechmus S., whom she thought as her husband, went mad: *viden tu illi oculos virere? ut viridis exoritur colos ex temporibus atque fronte, ut oculi scintillant, vide* (829 f). Menaechmus S. soon seizes upon this idea, wishing to get rid of both the wife and the old man, and feigns madness (835–871); his models are the familiar scenes of madness in tragedy, Orestes, Heracles, Pentheus. Several passages of his speech recall the one play or the other:

a) the call of Bromius to hunt in the forest recalls the *Bacchae*:

\[
euhoe atque euhoe, Bromie, quo me in silvam venatum vocas?\]
\[
audio, sed non abire possum ab his regionibus,
ita illa me ab laeva rabiosa femina adservat canes,
poste autem illinc hircus † alus † …
\]

b) Peniculus' suggestion that Menaechmus should put on the stolen *palla* and dance is compared to the frenzied Pentheus who stands on stage in women's garments.

c) His obedience to the orders of Apollo, who asks him to attack and kill, recalls Orestes:

\[
840 \quad ecce, Apollo mihi ex oraclo imperat …
\]

---


Notes on dreams and dream-like visions

850 faciam quod iubes, Apollo...
859 faciam quod iubes...
868f ecce, Apollo, denuo me iudes...
862 multa mi imperas, Apollo...

d) The pretence that he mounts a chariot and gallops on stage recalls Heracles:

862ff nunc equos iunctos iubes
     capere me indomitos, ferocis, atque in currum inscendere,
     ut ego hunc proteram leonem vetulum, olentem, edentulum.
     iam astiti in currum, iam lora teneo, iam stimulu min manust.
     agite equi, facitote sonitus unguarum appareat,
     cursu celeri facite inflexa sit pedum pernicitas.

e) The old man’s suggestion to tie up Menaechmus in order to prevent him of doing more trouble (845f) recalls Heracles, who was tied up by his father Amphitryon.

f) «The command to burn out the wife’s eyes with flaming torches (840) is the reverse of Orestes’ fear of firebreathing fury (IT 288)».

g) The attack on the old man recalls Heracles.

h) The pretence that he is stopped forcibly by a god also recalls Heracles, who when he turned against Amphitryon was smitten on the breast with a stone by Athena, and fell senseless.

Alcesimarchus’ intention to kill himself in the Cistellaria is meant to be taken seriously and it emphasizes his love-passion. It is closely connected with the situation and character. Undoubtedly this scene is modelled on the suicide scene in S. Ajax.
### Appendix: References to Dreams

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Notes on dreams and dream-like visions

Sophocles

_Akrisios_ fr. 63 τὰ πολλὰ τῶν δεινῶν, ὁ ναρ πνεύσαντα νυκτὸς, ήμέρας μαλάσσεται

_El._ 424f ἡνίχ' Ἡλίω

deίκνυσι τὸ ὄναρ
460 πέμψα τάδ' αὔτῇ δυσπρόσοπτ' ὁ νείρατα
480f ἄδυπνῶν κλίψωσαν
άρτιως ὁ νείρατων
498f ἢ' τοι μαντεῖαι βροτῶν/οὐχ εἰς ἐν δεινοῖς ὁ νείροις
644f ἡ γὰρ προσείδον νυκτὶ τῇδε φάσματα
dισσῶν ὁ νείροιν
1390 οὐ μακράν ἵτ' ἀμμενεὶ
tοῦμον φρενῶν ὁ νείροιν αἰωροῦμενον

_OT_ 981 πολλοὶ γὰρ ἡδη κἀν ὁ νείρασιν βροτῶν
μυτηρ ἐνυγνάσωσαν

Euripides

_Alc._ 354 ἐν δ' ὁ νείρασιν / φοιτῶσα μ' εὐφραῖνοις ἀν
_Cycl._ 8 ἐκτείνα - φέρ' ἵδω, τοῦτ' ἕδων ὁ ναρ λέγω;
_Hec._ 71 μελανοπτερύγων μῆτερ ὁ νείρων
75 δι' ὁ νείρων
89 ὡς μου κρίνοσαν ὁ νείρους
702 ἐμαθον ἐνυπτὸν ὁμμάτων
ἐμῶν ὄψιν
709 οἴσθ' ὁ νείρορφρων νφάσαι;

_Hel._ 1191 ἐνυγχοῖς πεπεισμένη /
στένεις ὁ νείροις

_Her._ 112 δόξη / μα νυκτερωπὸν ἐνυγχοῖς ὁ νείρων
495 κἀν δναρ
517 εἰ μὴ γ' ὁ νείρον ἐν φάει τι λεύσσομεν
518 ποί' ὁ νείρα κηραίονου' ὁρῶ;

_IT_ 55 τὸ ὄναρ δ' ὀδε συμβάλλω τόδε
59 οὔδ' αὖ συνάψαι τὸ ὄναρ ἐς φίλους ἐχῶ
150f οἰον <οίον> ἰδόμαι / ὄψιν ὁ νείρων / νυκτὸς
348 νῦν δ' ἐξ ὁ νείρων οἷσιν ἡγριώμεθα
452 κἀν γὰρ ὁ νείροισι συνεί / ἡν δόμοις
518 ὡς μήποτ' ὄφελόν γε μηδ' ἔδων δναρ
569 ψευδεῖς ὁ νείροι, χαίρετ' οὔδέν ἦτ' ἤρχ.
571 πτηνῶν ὁ νείροις
1263ί νύχια / Χθῶν ἐτεκνῶσατο φάσματ' ὁ νείρων
1277 τάδε νυχίους ὁ νείροις οὐ νυχίους ἐνοπλάς
Or. 618 ὀνείρατ(α) ... τά 'Αγαμέμνονος

Phoe. 1545 πτανόν ὀνειρον
1722 τάδε τάδε πόδα τιθείς,
δοστ' ὀνειρον ἵσχ'ν

Rh. 782 ὡς ὄναρ δοκάν

Aiolos, fr. 25 φεῦ φεῦ παλαιὸς αἰνὸς ὡς καλῶς ἤχει' 
γέροντες οὐδὲν ἔσμεν ἄλλο πλῆν ψόφος 
καὶ σχήμα', ὀνεὶρων δ' ἐρπομεν μιμήματα* 
νοῦς δ' οὐκ ἔνστιν, οἰόμεσθα δ' εὖ φρονεῖν

Alope, fr. 107 πλήσας δὲ νηδύν οὐδ' ὄναρ κατ' εὐφρόνην 
φίλοις ἔδειξεν αὐτὸν

Meleagros, fr. 533 τερπνὸν τὸ φῶς τοῦ ὡς β' ὄναρ 
ἐλε ὀνεὶρον ἤδύς ἀνθρώποις μολεῖν

Aristophanes

Knights 809 ὀνειροπολεῖς περὶ σκωτοῦ
1090 ἀλλ' ἐγώ εἰδον ὄναρ

Clouds 16 ὀνειροπολεῖ 0' ἐποπος
27 ὀνειροπολεῖ γάρ καὶ καθεύδον ἰππικήν

Wasps 13 καὶ δὴ τ' ὄναρ ἄνθρωπον ἐλεον ἀρτίας
25 ἐδόντι τοιούτον ἐνύπνιον
38 ἐτείς κάκιστον τοῦ νυπνίον βύροις σαπράς
521 ἐτ' οὐκ ἐγώ δους δ' ὄβολω μισθώσομαι 
οὔτως ὑποκρινόμενον σοφώς ὀνείρατα;
1218 πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἐνύπνιον ἐστιώμεθα;

Frogs 1331–1364 ὃ νυκτὸς κελαινοφαής

1. Aeschylus imitating a Euripidean monody, which could be an imitation of Aerope’s monody in Euripides’ Kressai.
Notes on dreams and dream-like visions

Magnes Lydoi, 11 ὀνειρομαντεσίν ἀναλύταις
anonym. fr. 286 ὅταν δὲ νυστάζουτα μ' ἡ λύπη λάβη, ἀπόλλυμ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐνυπνίων

Cratinus fab. inc. 140 θράττει με τὸ ἐνύπνιον
(Meineke)

Alexis Kitharodos fab. inc. 11 ἐξέβη ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνύπνιον

Asotodidaskalos, 8–9 ἄρεται δὲ πρεσβείαι τε καὶ στρατηγίαι κήρυκες κενοὶ ψοφοῦσι ἀντὶ ὀνειράτων

Menander Dyskolos 407 ἡλί τὸν νοῦν πρόσεχε δή.
409 καὶ τὸ σταδίῳ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν μὲ τὶς ἐθέκες στεφανοὺς γυμνὸς προσελθὼν στεφάνω κυλιστῷ κοκυμήλων, Ἡράκλεις, πεπόνων

Plautus Am. 696 paulisper mane,/dum edormiscat unum somnum-

Copea 848 hic vigilans somniat

Ci. 291 utrum deliras, quaeso, an astans somnias?

Cu. 247 si narrem tibi/hac nocte quod ego somniavi dormiens

Men. 395 haec mulier cantherino ritu astans somniat
1047 haec nihilo esse mihi videntur setius quam somnia

Mer. 226 somnia in somnis danunt
252 hoc quam ad rem credam pertinere somnium nequeo invenire
950 eia, quae mihi somnias!
Mil. 381 mi hau falsum evenit somnium quod noctu hac somniavi
382 quid somniasti?
386 Palaestrionis somnium narratur
392 id me insimulatam perperam falsum esse somniavi
394 eu hercle praesens somnium
400 ad id exemplum somnium quam simile somniavi

Most. 757 quid ergo somniavit?
954 quin sex menses iam hic nemo habitat.-Somnias
1013 arraboni tibi dedit?—Quid somnias?

Pers. 257 quod ego non magis somniabam.../eam fore mihi occasionem

Pseu. 1186 quid mercedes petasus hodie domino demeret?—quid, domino? quid somniatis?

Rud. 343 nempe rem divinam facitis hic.—Quid somnias?
596 hac nocte.../...somniavi somnium
611 quam ad rem dicam hoc attinere somnium
771 haec illast simia/.../quod ego in somnis somniavi
1327 mille dabo nummum.—somnias

St. 666 quis somniavit aurum?

Am. 622 somniculose

Capt. 227 somniculose

Mo. 1122 somniculum

Terentius Ad. 204 de argento—somnium
394 tu quantus quantus nil nisi sapientia es,/ille somnium
724 ah stulte, tu de psaltria me somnias/agere

An. 971 num illic somniat/ea quae vigilans voluit

Eun. 193 dies noctesque me ames.../me somnies...

Ph. 494 verum hercle hoc est.—somnium.
873 cum eius consuevit olim matre in Lemno...-somnium

Notes on dreams and dream-like visions

Notes

Plautus, *Am.* 622: Sosia insists telling Amphitruo that Sosia (i.e., Mercurius) is he himself. Amphitruo suggests that probably Sosia saw that other Sosia in his dreams. Sosia, however, answers that he does his master's orders not drowsily.

*Am.* 697: Mercurius' and Iuppiter's intrigue drive Amphitruo and Sosia to perplexity, when they hear from Alcumena that Amphitruo has left a while ago. Amphitruo believes that she is mad; Sosia ironically asks him to wait until she sleeps out one sleep. Amphitruo's *vigilans somniat* follows. Cf. *Men.* 395, *Pseud.* 1188.

*Am.* 783: Sosia ironically takes Alcumena's account as a narration of her dream to Amphitruo and suggests to her that she should have offered cakes or incense to Jove, and pray.

*Capt.* 227: Philocrates says that they must make their trick not drowsily; it needs carefulness and diligence.

*Capt.* 848: Hegio regards the parasite's wishes (in 846 ff) as day dreams.

*Ci.* 291: Alcesimarchus orders his slave to bring him *arma et loricam, equom, hastatos multos,* etc. (284 ff). The slave is surprised and he thinks that Alcesimarchus is mad (286); he asks him whether he is raving or dreaming.

*Cu.* 546: Therapontigonus is excited because Lycus does not give him back his money, and when Lycus says that he gave the money to a freedman of his called Summanus, Therapontigonus says in anger «are you dreaming?».

*Men.* 395: The misunderstanding led Menaechmus S. to believe that Erotium either is mad or else she is day dreaming.

1047: It seems to Menaechmus that all that had happened to him (his exclusion from his wife's house, the slave who said that he owed him money, the doctor and his father-in-law who thought that he was insane, etc.) is like a dream.
Mer. 950: Eutychus' comment, after he had seen Charinus pretending to be mad (like Heracles in *E. Heracles*), is that Charinus is mad and dreaming. Cf. *Ct.* 291.

Mo. 954 Callidamates' slave, Pinacium, calls a dream (= nonsense) Theopropides' assertion that nobody lives in his house for the last six months.

1013 Simo also calls, what Theopropides says about the money that he was given by Theopropides' son as a first payment for selling his house, a dream.

Pers. 257: Sagaristio had an opportunity which he did not ever expect; he could not even dream of it.

Pseu. 1188: The misunderstanding (Ballio believes that Harpax is not the real one but someone disguised as Harpax) and Ballio' s remarks about how much he hired the cloak, the sword and his hat, make Harpax say in indignation «what are you dreaming?» (for this is not the case).

Ru. 343 Ampelisca' s reply to Trachalio' s comment that they are offering a sacrifice (for this is not the case) stresses the fact that what does happen in the temple is exactly the opposite.

1327 With these words Gripus turns down Labrax' reward of *mille numnum*, if he informs him about the trunk.

St. 666: A dream of gold regards Sangarinus Stichus' words that he brings wine and that dinner is cooked (i. e. something one loves very much, and of which he dreams about).

Terentius

Ad. 204: Sannio talking about the money Aeschinus would pay for the girl he had stolen, believes that he will never be payed.

395: Syrus mocks Demea by saying that Demea is nothing but wisdom, while Micio is a stupid fellow (*somnium*).

Ad. 724: *somnias* (= you fancy) – Demea speaking to Micio.
An. 971: Charinus commenting on the charming news which Davus had brought to Pamphilus, calls this news a day dream in which he dreams of all he desires while awake.

Eun. 194: Phaedria asks Thais to dream of him.

Ph. 494: Dorio calls *somnia* (= nonsense) what Phaedria says.

874: Phormio calls *somnium* (= nonsense) Getas' message that Antipho's uncle had a love affair in Lemnos and is the father of Phanium.
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