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SUNA & İNAN KIRAÇ RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATIONS

ADALYA

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Vehbi Koç Vakfı
Suna - İnan KIRAÇ Akdeniz Medeniyetleri
Araştırma Enstitüsü Yıllık Dergisi
Yönetim Yeri: Barbaros Mh. Kocatepe Sk. No. 25
Kaleiçi 07100 Antalya Tel: +90 242 243 42 74
Faks: +90 242 243 80 13 E-posta: akmed@akmed.org.tr
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Yazışma Adresi / *Mailing Address*
Barbaros Mah. Kocatepe Sk. No. 25
Kaleiçi 07100 ANTALYA-TURKEY
Tel: +90 242 243 42 74 • Fax: +90 242 243 80 13
akmed@akmed.org.tr
www.akmed.org.tr

Vehbi Koç Vakfı

İçindekiler

Prof. Dr. CEVDET BAYBURTLUOĞLU
(1934-2013)

"…Yaşamınızı arkeolojiye bağladınız. Arkeolojiyi içten gelen duygularla sevdiniz ve onu Türk kamuoyuna sevdirdiniz. Örnek bir bilim adamı olarak Türk arkeolojisinde seçkin bir yeriniz vardır. Sevecen bir hoca, özverili bir kazı yönetmeni, barışı, dostluğu yaşatan bir aydın olarak hizmet görüyorsunuz. Sizin bundan sonra Türkiye ve dünya arkeolojisiyle turizmine olan büyük hizmetlerinizi başarıyla sürdüreceğiniz inancındayım. Sizi sevgiyle, saygıyla selamlarım.[*]"

Ord. Prof. Dr. Ekrem Akurgal
İzmir, 2001.

"…You have dedicated your life to archaeology. You have loved archaeology with the most sincere of feelings and made society love it. You have a special elite place among Turkish archaeological academia. You have been serving as a role model for the embracing teacher, the self-sacrificing excavation director and the enlightened person reviving peace and friendship. I believe that you will continue your great services to Turkish and world tourism and to archaeology. I salute you with love and respect."*

Ord. Prof. Dr. Ekrem Akurgal
İzmir, 2001.

Adalya'nın bu sayısı, bir vefa ve saygı gereği Bilim Danışma Kurulu üyemiz, AKMED Kütüphanesinin nazik ve cömert bağışçısı Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu'nun aziz hatırasına armağandır.

This issue of ADALYA is dedicated, in fidelity and respect, to the dear memory of Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu, a generous and kind donor to the Library and member of the Academic Advisory Board of AKMED.

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* E. Akurgal, "Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu'nun Anadolu Arkeolojisine Katkıları", in: C. Özgünel et al. (eds.), Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu İçin Yazılar – Essays in Honour of Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu (2001) 1.

ADALYA XVII, 2014

An Homeric Dream Oracle from Termessos

Filiz CLUZEAU*

The inscription constituting the scope of the present article was discovered among the remains north-west of Temple N3 during the research project entitled "Epigraphic-Historical Topography Surveys in the Ancient City of Termessos and its Territory" led jointly by A. V. Çelgin (Istanbul University), B. İplikçioğlu (Marmara University) and G. Çelgin (Istanbul University) between 1989-1998[1].

The inscription is found on an approximately rectangular block of limestone broken into two parts; the larger will be referred to as fragment A (Figs. 1, 3, 4) and the smaller as fragment B. The block is still in the ruins between Temple N3 and the reliefs of Zeus Solymeus, about 8 m. north-west of the temple. The smaller fragment B could not be photographed so the measurements taken and the drawing (Fig. 2) made by A. V. Çelgin have been used. The right side and the lower right corner of fragment A are broken off and its inscribed surface is smoothed, whereas other surfaces are left rough. Its top surface has an L-shaped profile and a square-shaped hole; the lower left corner of the inscribed surface has a largish hole. The inscription contains five lines of writing inscribed in a slightly recessed field that is set inside a *tabula ansata*. According to Çelgin's notes, fragment B found about 80 cm. south-west of fragment A has a profiled area and a groove on the top. The letter forms (see Figs. 1, 2) suggest a probable date from the early Roman Imperial period.

A) Height 0.485 m.; width 0.96 m.; thickness 0.56 m.; height of letters 0.035 - 0.01 m.

B) Height 0.485 m.; width 0.505 m.; thickness 0.56 m.

vacat Ὄναρ *vacat*

Ἕκτορα δ᾽ ἐκ βελέων ὕπαγε Ẓ[εὺ]ς
v a c. ἔκ τε κονίης *v a c.*
ἔκ τ᾽ ἀνδροκτασίης ἔκ θ᾽ αἵματος [ἔκ]
v a c. τε κυδοιμοῦ. *v a c.*

---

* Yrd. Doç. Dr. Filiz Cluzeau, İstanbul Üniversitesi, Edebiyat Fakültesi, Eski Yunan Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü, Ordu Cad. No: 196, Laleli, 34134, İstanbul. E-mail: filizcluzeau@gmail.com

[1] I would like to express my sincere thanks to A. V. Çelgin for entrusting me with the inscription and providing its photos and drawing, as well for his invaluable comments and suggestions while preparing this article. I also wish to thank G. Çelgin for her useful remarks after reading its Turkish draft version. I must also thank the editors of Adalya for all the corrections in the English version.

In the dream
"*But Hector did Zeus draw forth from the missiles and the dust,*
from the man-slaying and the blood and the din"[2].

L. 1: Ὄναρ and ὄνειρος (or its neuter form ὄνειρον) derived from the same root are the oldest words meaning "dream" since Homer[3]. Only *onar* appears together with *hypar*, possibly due to phonetic similarity, to emphasize the contrast between "dream" and "waking vision"[4]. The dream terms are usually found in a formula such as *kat' onar*, *kat' oneiron* and *kat' enhypnion* in inscriptions, or they require a verb such as ὁρᾶν and δοκεῖν when they are used without any preposition like κατά, ἀπό or ἐξ[5]. *Onar*, however, like *hypar*, can be seen alone as an adverb in addition to its noun form, and it has the same meaning as *kat' onar* in this usage[6]. Here the word *onar* has been used either an adverb which means "in dream" or "in sleep", or a noun to introduce the following text by saying "ὄναρ (ἐστί·)".

The first line includes only the word *onar* separated from the main body of the text with a blank space larger than those between other lines. *Onar* with its slightly larger first letter *omikron* has been written approximately at the centre of the line. Thus, this word possibly shows a heading[7]. However, it is not common to find a dream term as an inscription heading[8], in spite of the frequent use of heading words or phrases for decrees.

L. 2-5: A distich in hexameter quoted from Homer (*Il.* 11.163-164):

Ἕκτορα δ' ἐκ βελέων ὕπαγε Ζεὺς ἔκ τε κονίης | ἔκ τ' ἀνδροκτασίης ἔκ θ' αἵματος ἔκ τε κυδοιμοῦ.

The first letters (both E) of each hexameter verse beginning in the second and fourth lines are larger than others like the O of *onar*. In addition, both the third and the fifth lines, one of which includes the rest of the first hexameter and the other of the second respectively[9], are

---

2 Homer, Iliad 11.163-164, translated by Murray. The translations in this article, in direct quotes or in adaptation, are used from the related editions in the bibliography, unless otherwise noted.

3 The word *enhypnion* was used only as an adverb meaning "in sleep" by Homer (Il. 2.56; Od. 14.495), but it acquired the secondary sense of "dream" as a noun in the Classical period (see LSJ, s.v. "ἐνύπνιον").

4 For the contrast between *onar* and *hypar* see Kessels 1978, 186-189. The presence of this contrast known from Homer (Od. 19.547; 20.90) continues both in literary and in epigraphic sources as will be briefly noted below.

5 van Straten 1976, 12.

6 See LSJ, s.v. "ὄναρ" and "ὕπαρ". For the use of dream terminology specifically in epigraphic evidence, see van Straten 1976, esp. pp. 12-14; Leuci 1993 and Renberg 2003. For their use in literature see Kessels 1978, 174-225; Hanson 1980, 1407-1409 and Harrison 2013, esp. pp. 51-53.

7 Pounder states that headings were spaced up from the main body of the text or written in larger letters than others, or both, for informing the reader at a glance what the inscription was about (Pounder 1975, 16-18; 1984, 243-244). The cited works examine such heading examples chosen usually from Athens decrees and indicate that they were used in the nominative (e.g. apotropaic θεοί, Pounder 1975, 61 and 1984, 249), dative or other cases depending on the meaning from the very beginning of their appearance.

8 See Renberg 2003, Appendix I, 318-358. An inscription which starts with Ὄνειρον, Ὕπνος[- - -] (IGBulg 3,1, no. 1485) does not provide us much information due to its badly damaged condition. Renberg (2003, 40-41, fn. 60) thinks that the relief bearing this inscription may be a dedication to Oneiros, i.e. a personified dream. Two other inscriptions containing the identical text beginning with "in dream" (κατ' ὄναρ) and the following line prohibits urinating into the vaulted (public) place (ἰς τὴν καμάραν) (IGSK 12, nos. 568a.1 and 568a.2; cf. IGSK 12, nos. 567 and 569).

9 Both of them (L. 3 and L. 5) would include the last two feet of each hexameter if the stonemason had carved the word [ἔκ] at the beginning of the fifth line, but there is no letter trace there. Conversely, these two letters seem to have been written at the end of the previous line, which are lost now through the break like those of Ζ[εὺ]ς in the second line. This may be because the stonemason was already confused about the possible draft text, and lost his attention throughout his long work so that he has forgotten the three letters (KTA) also in the fourth line.

almost centered with vacats on each side, again like *onar* of the first line. It seems that the inscription was designed carefully so as to aid its readers in distinguishing one verse from the other and to please them aesthetically.

L. 4: The letters ΚΤΑ of ἀνδροκτασίης have been added later in a smaller size above the line between the letters Ο and Σ.

There is only one inscription related to a dream from Termessos in the catalogues prepared both by Leuci and by Renberg for their doctoral dissertations[10]. This inscription on an altar from the Imperial period reads as follows[11]:

> Θεῶ ἐπηκόω Ὑ | <ψ>ίστω Τύχ[ι(?) | ος ὁ καὶ Ἄττα | λιανός, Ἑρ(μαίου) β´ | Σύρου, πά(ροικος), κα | τὰ κέλευσιν | αὐτοῦ ἔστη | σεν | σὺν τῶ ἐπόν[τι | ἴχνει θεοῦ.
>
> *To Epēkoos Theos Hypsistos, Tychios, alias Attalianos, son of Hermaios and grandson of Hermaios and great-grandson of Syros, who is an alien resident, by the command of him, erected (this altar) with the deity's footprint on the top.*

Heberdey suggests, based on a similar inscription reporting (two) "footprints" (*ichnē*) dedicated by a Theopompos "for his health" (*hyper hygieias*)[12], that this altar was also dedicated possibly for Tychios' health. Considering the dream as a method of treatment and many patients being healed through dreams by seeing the epiphany of a deity like Asklepios at the healing sanctuaries[13], we can think that it is very likely that Tychios received the god's order in his dream. Nevertheless, the Greeks believed that their gods could contact them not only by means of dreams but also when they are awake, even for the purpose of healing. According to a stele from Epidauros, Sostrata of Pherai had to leave the Asklepieion because she did not have any clear dream. On the way home, however, she met a handsome man who revealed himself as Asklepios who cured her while awake, something witnessed by her attendants[14]. In another example, Philostratus (VS 568) writes that Asklepios used to speak with the Cilician sophist Antiochos while awake (διελέγετο γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐγρηγορότι ὁ θεός) at the Asklepieion in Aegae as his artful means to ward off successfully Antiochos' fear of public speaking. In consequence, the contrast between *onar* and *hypar* gives rise to ambiguity about the divine orders phrased with a formula such as *kata keleusin*, *kata prostagma* or *kat' epitagēn*, but without any precise word meaning "dream" or "sleep", whether they were revealed in dream or waking reality[15]. On the

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10 Leuci 1993, 30, 224, 381; Renberg 2003, 80-81, 530. According to these catalogues (Leuci 1993, Appendix B, 379-381; Renberg 2003, Appendix II, 528-530), ten inscriptions in total employing terms related with dreams have been discovered in Pisidia, and all of them are dated to the Roman Imperial period: five *kata keleusin*; one *kat' epitagēn*; one *kata epiphaneian tēs theou chrēmatistheis*; one *kata chrēmatismon*; one *kata onar* and one *kat' oniron* (the last one is not found in the catalogue of Leuci).

11 TAM 3.1, no. 32, fig. 6.

12 TAM 3.1, no. 33, fig. 7; = SGO 4 no. 18/01/09. Line 1 of the inscription was reconstructed by Heberdey as "[Θεῶ Ὑψίστω(?) ὑπὲρ ὑγεί]ας". Actually his suggestion is based on this possible reconstruction.

13 See Levine 2008; Martzavou 2012.

14 Levine 2008, 77, 317; Martzavou 2012, 199, 202.

15 Renberg warns us that inscriptions employing command terms do not refer directly to dreams, for there is evidence that some commands were received "through divinatory rituals or from oracles, rather than dreams" (Renberg 2003, 25 and fn. 22). Similarly, footprints too do not indicate dreams automatically. Sometimes the presence of a god can be understood with a miracle or an omen without a visible epiphany (Renberg 2003, 80). For similar opinions and other examples containing the manifestation of a deity while awake, see van Straten 1976, 13-14; Versnel 1987, 48-49; Harrison 2013, 249; for an opposite opinion see Petridou 2009, 87-88.

other hand, clear phrases such as *kata oneirou keleusin*[16], *kata prostagma dia oneirokritou*[17] and *kata oneirou epitagēn*[18] leave no doubt that the instruction has been received through dream. Thus, a Termessos inscription employing a specific word meaning "dream" has not been attested until now, nor a quotation from Homer in a dream in the Greek epigraphical evidence.

An inscription of the 2nd century A.D., which is found in the Roman Forum, records that the god appeared to a patient "οὐκ ὄναρ ἀλλὰ μέσους ἥματος ἀμφὶ δρόμους" (not in a dream but in the middle of the day)[19]. Renberg points out that the language of the inscription recalls Homer's "οὐκ ὄναρ, ἀλλ' ὕπαρ" (Od. 19.547) and "οὐκ ἐφάμην ὄναρ ἔμμεναι, ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἤδη" (Od. 20.90) and that the echo of the same phrases is also found in Aelius Aristides[20], Maximus Tyrius and other authors[21]. The cultural movement called the "Second Sophistic" by Philostratus (VS 481) refers to Greek writers, some of whom were from Asia Minor. It increased interest in the Greek past and tradition so that this revival was reflected not only in literature but also in inscriptions of various regions. Dio of Prusa, whom Philostratus (VS 486-488) regards as one of the most remarkable sophists, says that Homeric verses were well known to many "barbarians". For example, the Indians were singing Homer's poetry after translating it into their language while others even more ignorant than the Indians had heard the name of Homer (D. Chr. 53.6-8). This shows that the influence of Greek *paideia*, at least by Homer, spread over much of the ancient world, even the remote corners of it, and aroused the eagerness for the access to Greek *paideia* through Homer, who "τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεπαίδευκεν" (Pl. R. 10.606e). Knowing Homer was so prestigious and the most important part of being *pepaideumenos* that "'being Greek' is often represented as 'knowing Homer'" so as to know "how to read with, against, through and around the cultural icon of Homer"[22].

Actually, connecting their past to Homer was a dream of many cities. Many known examples include Chios, Smyrna, Colophon, Ios and Argos who laid claim to Homer with some dating back to the Classical period. New claims were added to them during the Hellenistic and Roman Imperial periods, so much so that Homer could be a Roman, Syrian, Egyptian and also a Babylonian with the name Tigranes[23]. Some even dedicated a Homereion to him. Aelian (VH 13.22) speaks of a *naos* to Homer built by Ptolemy IV Philopator, in which he also erected a Homer's statue (*agalma*) encircled by all the *poleis* that claimed Homer as their own. A more vivid account of this is found in an epigram on papyrus mentioning that Ptolemy built a *temenos* to Homer "in accordance with a dream" ([κ]ατ' ὄναρ, line 3 [Körte])[24]. Cicero (Arch. 8.19) mentions several cities claiming the same thing like Colophon, Chios and Salamis, but he says that the Smyrnaeans had strengthened their assertion by dedicating a "temple"

16 MAMA 1, no. 9a

17 I. Délos 4, nos. 2105, 2106, 2110.

18 IGBulg 2, nos. 670, 680, 682.

19 van Straten 1976, 14; Renberg 2003, 37.

20 "τὰ μὲν ὡς ὄναρ, τὰ δὲ ὡς ὕπαρ", Aristides Or. 48.31.

21 Renberg 2003, 37, fns. 52 and 53.

22 Goldhill 2001, 22-23. For the role of Homer in the Second Sophistic period see Zeitlin 2001.

23 Zeitlin 2001, 200; Kim 2010, 164-168.

24 GLP, 448-453, no. 105b. The person called Ptolemy "skilled in spear and Muses" (ἐν δορὶ καὶ Μούσαις κοίρανον, ibid. line 7), Page (GLP 451) says "undoubtedly Ptolemy IV Philopator, who won a great victory over Antiochus III at Raphia in 217 B.C., and was at the same time ambitious in the world of letters, writing a tragedy Adonis and who had a temple to Homer built". A relief by Archelaus of Priene depicts, in prevailing opinion, a Homereion similar to that of Ptolemy. Therefore, it is known as the Apotheosis of Homer (see Zeitlin 2001, 197-200, fig. 1).

(*delubrum*) to Homer. Strabo (14.1.37) describes it briefly that the Homereion (τὸ Ὁμήρειον) of the Smyrnaeans was a shrine enclosed by a square portico, in which there was a wooden statue of Homer; and says that they even named a bronze coin of theirs Homereion. Epigraphic evidence shows that more cities built a Homereion, such as Chios (1st century B.C.)[25], Delos (178 B.C.)[26] and Colophon (200-150 B.C.)[27].

On the other hand, the process of Hellenization in Termessos, according to van Nijf, progressed gradually. Greek inscriptions began to appear, and the local deities were slowly transformed into Greek or Hellenized deities, as we can see in the name of Zeus Solymeus, since the 2nd century B.C. when the city gained Greek status as well as its political institutions. However, Termessos was accepted as a "proper Greek city" only around 200 A.D. after acquiring their own "Greek mythical founder"[28]. Now Termessos was a typical Greek city that had the infrastructure sufficient for urban life and education with roads, cisterns, temples, porticoes (*stoai*), *agora*, theatre, *odeion* and two *gymnasia* (see Fig. 5). Its official and private *agōnes*[29] included contests in painting (*zōgraphiē*), sculpture (*plastē*; TAM 3.1 no. 33) and Paian dancing for children (TAM nos. 154, 163), and at least one attested *didaskalos* (TAM no. 439). Furthermore there were many metrical inscriptions, most of which were compiled in SGO 4[30]. One of these, for instance, is an epigram in hexameter found on a dog's grave, which may have been composed by the dog's owner Rhodope, a wealthy and very possibly educated woman as her elegant preference for the metrical text suggests[31]. As a corollary of appropriation of the Greek cultural identity, Termessians had Greek names along with local names as their deities had, and they also used Roman names after gaining citizenship such as Κλ(αυδία) Ἀρτεμεισία ἡ καὶ Αρμαστα (TAM 3.1 no. 257). However, choosing names for their children like Orpheus[32], Musaios[33], Alkaios[34], Platon[35], or the names of Homeric heroes like Achilleus (TAM 3.1 no. 375), Hektor (TAM nos. 425, 426), Helene[36], and even the bard's his own name Homeros[37], indicates parental familiarity with the Greek literary past or a growing trend followed by them too[38]. The Termessians' interest in Homer was by no means limited to their proper names. Some verse inscriptions in hexameter record epic phrases such as *alochos*[39], *herma polēos*[40] and a clear-voiced Hermaios, beloved of the Muses (TAM 3.1 no. 798); but,

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25 Peek 1976; = SEG 26, no. 1021.

26 I. Délos, 2 no. 443b. Farnoux 2002 (non vidi) stated that τὸ Ὁμήρειον in this inscription does not necessarily define the cult of Homer, but rather it could be a small building containing a statue of Homer (SEG 52, no. 759; cf. SEG 55, no. 890).

27 Macridy 1905, 161-163; cf. SEG 55, no. 1269.

28 van Nijf 2010, 175.

29 Heberdey 1934, 739-740, 746-747, 765-770; see also van Nijf 2010, 176.

30 SGO 4, nos. 18/01/01-18/01/28, and for other metrical inscriptions see the index in TAM 3.1 357-359.

31 İplikçioğlu et al. 1991, no. 22; = SGO 4, no. 18/01/28; = SEG 41, no. 1283. Aurelia Rhodope set up for herself a sarcophagus near that of her dog (TAM 3.1, no. 746).

32 İplikçioğlu et al. 1991, no. 9.

33 ibid. no. 19

34 ibid. no. 4.

35 ibid. nos. 17, 21. For more examples see the index in TAM 3.1, 313-339.

36 TAM nos. 266, 421, 426-429.

37 TAM nos. 446, 677-680.

38 For onomastic habits in Termessos, see van Nijf 2010, 178-185.

39 TAM 3.1, no. 817, cf. Iliad and Odyssey passim.

40 SGO 4, no. 18/01/02, cf. Il. 16.549; Od. 23.121.

more importantly, a few inscriptions dated to the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. include the name of Marcus Aurelius Tiberius Oples, the priest of the Muses for life[41] as evidence for the cult of the Muses. All these examples indicate the presence of "well-educated men" (*pepaideumenoi*) in Termessos who not only knew Homer but also devoted their life to him as a singer or a priest.

The dream in our inscription would have been seen by such a *pepaideumenos* (or perhaps *pepaideumenē*), a member of the educated élite of Termessos. In Oneirocritica (4.59), Artemidorus distinguishes the dreams of the educated ones from those of the uneducated masses and suggests that dreams (*oneiroi*) of a more literary sort containing hexameters or other verses never can be seen by common men (οἱ ἰδιῶται) or, as in another saying, by the uneducated (λέγω δὲ τοὺς ἀπαιδεύτους). Only men who love literature (ὅσοι φιλολογοῦσι) and not uneducated (μὴ ἀπαίδευτοι) can see this kind of dreams. In one of the examples Artemidorus gives, a woman dreamed that a man was saying to her the following distich from the Iliad (18.20-21):

> κεῖται Πάτροκλος, νέκυος δὲ δὴ ἀμφιμάχονται γυμνοῦ·
>
> ἀτὰρ τά γε τεύχε' ἔχει κορυθαίολος Ἕκτωρ.
>
> *Patroclus has fallen, and they are fighting over his bare corpse.*
>
> *But Hector of the shining helm possesses his arms.* (Harris-McCoy)

Indeed her husband died and her property was confiscated by the Imperial Treasury. Artemidorus says that some quoted verses revealed the outcome so sufficiently that there is no need to take any more advice from the poems. In the first book of the Oneirocritica, this time he distinguishes *oneiros* from *enhypnion* and classifies all subtypes of dreams under these two main types, whereas he uses *onar* for both types interchangeably. *Enhypnion* expresses ordinary dreams seen as a result of the affections (*pathē*) caused by daily events which occur in present time, without revealing any warning about the future. For example a lover imagines whom he loves "in dream" (*onar*) or a frightened man what he fears (Artem. 1.1). However, *oneiros*, which is more significant, tells of future events to be warned about; accordingly, Artemidorus regards both *horama* (vision) and *chrēmatismos* (oracular response) in the same category as *oneiros* (Artem. 1.2). In one instance, a certain man imagined that he was wounded by a man, and the day after this event came true in the same place as "in his dream" (*onar*).

Artemidorus' sharp contrast between *enhypnion* and *oneiros* is not at issue for Plato who employs the word *to enhypnion* (Cri. 44a line 9) for the predictive dream of Socrates containing an Homeric verse. Waiting for his day of death Socrates dreamt of a beautiful woman all in white cloth speaking to him as follows (Cri. 44b):[42]

> ὦ Σώκρατες, ἤματί κεν τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἵκοιο.
>
> Socrates, "*on the third day will you reach deep-soiled Phthia*"[43].

---

[41] TAM 3.1, nos. 17, 124, 131 and p. 2 test. 4α.

[42] Plato adapts this verse to Socrates without spoiling its hexameter. This same dream is cited in D.L. 2.35.6.

[43] Here I adapted Murray's translation from the Iliad, not Fowler's from the Crito.

These were the words of Achilleus in the Iliad (9.363):

ἤματί κε τριτάτῳ Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἱκοίμην.

On the third day shall I reach deep-soiled Phthia.

On the next line, Achilleus says that he had left "very many things" (μάλα πολλά) belonging to himself at Phthia on his "ill-starred" way to Troia (ἐνθάδε ἔρρων) (Il. 9.364), just like Socrates who had left behind all his "true knowledge" of the Forms on his soul's "ill-starred" way into a body. Both would reach what they had possessed earlier only by arriving home, and the way home was the death of his own body for Socrates. The dream plainly foretells that the day of Socrates' death would be postponed[44]. Thus, Cicero incorporates this dream into his De Divinatione (1.52).

Another example is the dream of Alexander the Great, whom Homer accompanied in his expeditions, which is told by Plutarch (Alex. 26.1-3). Following his conquest of Egypt, Alexander was about to mark a site in order to found a *polis* which would bear his name. But he saw "a marvellous vision" (ὄψιν εἶδε θαυμαστήν) in the night. In his dream, a respectable old man with white hair stood by his side and repeated the following distich of Homer[45]:

νῆσος ἔπειτά τις ἔστι πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ,
Αἰγύπτου προπάροιθε· Φάρον δέ ἑ κικλήσκουσιν.
Now, there is an island in the much-dashing sea,
In front of Egypt; Pharos is what men call it. (Perrin)

Alexander believed the advice of the Homeric verses showing the location of his new city. Accordingly, he went to see Pharos early the next morning. There he confirmed the dream by saying that beside many admirable gifts Homer also knew architecture very well. Despite the lack of any epigraphical evidence, there is abundant literary evidence regarding the dreams which quotes verses from Homer[46]. That all of these dreams tell of the future through the verses of Homer is the common point of them. Such dreams are compiled under the title Enhypnios Chrēsmos (In Somnis Datum Oraculum), which includes the dreams of Socrates and Alexander the Great, in Anthologia Graeca[47].

The most significant dream for our study is the dream of Dio Cassius, since his dream contains the same Homeric distich as in the content of our inscription. Before his dream, Dio (D.C. 80.3-5) describes the hostility of the Praetorians against himself because of the strict military discipline he imposed, so that they demanded his surrender. But Alexander Severus paid no heed to them but contrarily appointed Dio to the office of consulship for the second time. However, the displeasure of the soldiers at this appointment caused the emperor to fear that Dio could be assassinated in Rome, so ordered him to spend the period of his consulship somewhere in Italy away from Rome. Later Dio returned Rome and visited the emperor in Campania, and asked him to be excused because of the ailment of his feet. Soon he returned his hometown Nikaia to spend all the rest of his life, as the divine power (*to daimonion*) once revealed (*edēlōsen*) him "most clearly" (*saphestata*) "in a dream" (*onar*) when he was in Bithynia. In

44 Xenophon says that Socrates's death was postponed for thirty days (X. Mem. 4.8.2).

45 Plu. Alex. 26.3, ll.5-6; cf. Hom. Od. 4.354-355.

46 For more examples see Dodson 2002, 45-47; Dodson 2006, 114-117.

47 App. Anth. VI, no. 226-234.

this dream the divine power had ordered (*prostassesthai*) him to close his work with the following verses (Hom. Il. 11.163-164):

> Ἕκτορα δ' ἐκ βελέων ὕπαγε Ζεὺς ἔκ τε κονίης | ἔκ τ' ἀνδροκτασίης ἔκ θ' αἵματος ἔκ τε κυδοιμοῦ.

Through these verses Dio Cassius not only himself tells his dream but also the last words of his Roman history are said by Homer, the unquestioned authority of Greek *paideia*. Homer, as the most aesthetic choice of that day, serves the literary purpose of Dio, "whose style was attuned to the standards of the current Greek revival, the Second Sophistic"[48]. Dodds suggests to recognise that the stylisation of the "divine dream" (*chrēmatismos*) is not purely literary; conversely, dream is a cultural pattern of religious experience, and writers used it as a literary motif by adapting it to their purposes[49]. The unanswerable question whether Dio really received the divine command through Homer in his dream, or not, is not so important. Most importantly, the ancient people believed the divination power of Homeric verses, and their use for divination was widespread. For example, Dio mentions that Alexander Severus received Homeric verses (Il. 2.478-479) as an oracular response at Apamea in Syria (D.C. 79.8.5-6). Indeed, Dio had strong faith in dreams, especially in the predictive ones, like so many people of his time. Even the idea of recording Roman history, that is to say the beginning of his work like the end of it, was inspired through divine dreams, which gave him courage by ordering him to write *historia* soon after publishing (A.D. 193) his little book on "the dreams" (*ta oneirata*) and "the portents" (*ta sēmeia*) (D.C. 73.23.1-2). Whenever he was exhausted and became depressed about writing, he regained the strength to continue again "through dreams" (*di' oneiretōn*), which were predicting that his history would survive and never lose its value (D.C. 73.23.4). On the other hand, his monumental work in 80 volumes, which spanned a period of almost 1,400 years between the arrival of Aeneas in Italy and Dio's second consulship in A.D. 229, is such as to require divine inspiration and encouragement.

Dio says that the message of the dream revealed to himself that he was to return his native land and that Homer's distich conveyed this message "in the most clear way" (*saphestata*)[50]. So the meaning of this distich was so obvious to everyone in his time, but not to us. There is a key term to help us to find what the plain meaning of the distich was in the mind of those living in Dio's day. This term is ἐκ βελέων in the first verse of the distich. Although it was employed in other verses of the Iliad[51], Eustathius points out that *ek beleōn* is understood "more clearly" (*saphesteron*) in Ἕκτορα δ' ἐκ βελέων ὕπαγε Ζεύς (Il. 11.163), and adds that the people after Homer used it as a proverb by saying *eksō belōn* instead of *ek beleōn*[52]. Actually, the term is attested much earlier than Eustathius, in the works of Zenobios and Diogenianos, the paroemiographers (proverb compilers) under the reign of Hadrian. In their similar definitions the term is given in the phrase ἔξω βελῶν καθῆσθαι (to stay out [of range] of arrows), as "an exhortatory proverb", and Zenobios explains little more by adding that this proverb advises someone

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48 Swan 1997, 2525.

49 Dodds 1951, 108.

50 D.C. 80.5.3, line 2.

51 Il. 4.465; 14.130; 16.122, 668, 678; 18.152, 232.

52 Τὸ δὲ ἐκ βελέων σαφέστερον ἔχει ἐν τῷ Ἕκτορα δ' ἐκ βελέων ὕπαγε Ζεύς. Οἱ δὲ μεθ' Ὅμηρον τὸ ἐκ βελέων ἔξω βελῶν φασι παροιμιακῶς. (Eust. 3, 594, line 2-3).

"to keep oneself away from the bowshot of the adversaries"[53]. Suda defines briefly that "it is advising to be out of danger"[54]. The most detailed explanation of the term is found in Adagia by Erasmus, under its Latin translation *extra telorum iactum*. The first meaning of ἔξω βελῶν is "out of missile-range", obviously a military term, but Erasmus explains that metaphorically it means "in safety" or "out of danger". The opposite meaning of this term is ἐντὸς βελῶν meaning "within range", and metaphorically "in danger"[55]. In order to clarify the sense of this proverb, Erasmus gives some examples from different Greek and Roman writers. Among those examples, the one chosen from Lucian's dialogue Nigrinus (17-18) makes the distich in question more comprehensible: Lucian tells how tired Nigrinos was of Rome, of its "informers, haughty greetings, dinners, flatterers, murders, legacy-hunting, feigned friendships". He could neither leave Rome nor live there as the Romans did. Finally, he pulled himself "out of bowshot as Zeus did Hector in Homer, from out the slaughter, blood, and battle-din"[56] and decided to spend the rest of his life engaged in philosophy in the seclusion of his own home. The reason for the decision of Nigrinos to seclude himself was not so different than that of Dio: they both were looking for a quiet life, away "from the blood and the battle-din".

However, Dio was really "in danger" (*entos belōn*) because of the hostile Praetorians, so that his life was under the threat of death. If not obliged to retire from political life, Dio would have possibly continued to write, for he said that the subsequent events would also have been recorded until whenever he would be permitted (D.C. 73.23.5). But those events did not permit. Now in his dream, Homer's song was warning him of the coming danger and advising him that it was the right time to leave both his career and work. The time had come to be far away "from the missiles" (*ek beleōn*) of both, whereas the earlier dreams had encouraged him to continue his historical work. So, in A.D. 229 Dio not only terminated a risky and exhausting political life, but also a long and hard writing project that had taken over 30 years of his life (D.C. 73.23.5). Finally, he retired his hometown, which was *ek beleōn*, just as the divine message of the Homeric verses advised. Homer's distich telling of Zeus' pitying and protecting Hector, whose life was in danger "within the range", seems more formal and related to "divine warning" (*chrēmatismos*) like in oracular dreams, and it must have been used possibly even in oracles. However, its shortened form ἔξω βελῶν (καθῆσθαι) seems more popular in daily language as a proverb or proverbial saying with the same meaning. It must be common to find oracular statements among proverbs. For example, Fontenrose shows that many proverbs contributed to the content of the narrative oracles. He gives one example from Didyma, and adds 18 quasi-historical and 11 legendary oracular responses from Delphi that appear, either in whole or in part, in the collections of the ancient paroemiographers like Zenobios, Diogenianos and others[57]. Graf, who compares all oracular responses in a certain area of south-western Anatolia, identifies a few oracular responses as proverbs[58].

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53 Ἔξω βελῶν καθῆσθαι· παροιμία παραινοῦσα μακρὰν ἑαυτὸν τῶν βελῶν τῶν ἐναντίων ποιεῖν (CPG 1, 79, Zen. III.89). Ἔξω βελῶν καθῆσθαι· παραινετικὴ ἡ παροιμία (CPG 1, 242, Diogenian. IV.71).

54 Ἔξω βελῶν καθῆσθαι· παραινεῖ ἔξω κινδύνου εἶναι (Suid. E no. 1822).

55 Erasmus 1982, 311-312, ad. I.iii.93.

56 Οὕτω δὴ βουλευσάμενος καὶ καθάπερ ὁ Ζεὺς τὸν Ἕκτορα ὑπεξαγαγὼν ἐμαυτὸν ἐκ βελέων, φασίν, ἔκ τ' ἀνδροκτασίης ἔκ θ' αἵματος ἔκ τε κυδοιμοῦ, Luc. Nigr. 18.1-3.

57 Fontenrose 1988, 214-215, no. 40; Fontenrose 1978, 83-87. Fontenrose adds more oracles in proverbial character not cited by the paroemiographers (1978, 87, fn. 61).

58 Graf 2005, 80-81, and see fn. 67 here.

Dodds gives some definitions from ancient writers, which correspond with the dreams mentioned above. He cites one definition from Macrobius that a dream type is understood to be a *chrēmatismos* (oracle) "when in sleep the dreamer's parent, or some other respected or impressive personage, perhaps a priest or even a god, reveals without symbolism what will or will not happen, or should or should not be done", as seen in the dreams of Socrates, Alexander the Great and Dio. Dodds quotes the other definition from Chalcidius, and says that he calls such a dream, as that of Socrates, *admonitio* "when we are directed and admonished by the counsels of angelic goodness"[59]. Even a graffito including five verses from Iliad corresponds with these two definitions with its Homeric content. This graffito found in Rome was published first in 1939[60]; however, it was thought to be a writing exercise of a child because of the orthographic mistakes. Therefore, it was republished by Jeanne and Louis Robert, and dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. The text follows verses from Homer (Il. 24.171-175):[61]

> [Θά]ρσι, Δαρδανίδα [Πρί]αμε, φρεσί, μηδέ [τι τ]άρ[βει]· | οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ [κ]α[κὸν ἀ]ντωμένη (instead of ὀσσομένη) τό[δ' ἱ]κ[άνω], | [ἀ]λλὰ ἀ[γ]ανὰ (instead of ἀγαθὰ) [φρο]νέ[ου]σα· Διὸς δ[έ τοι ἄ]νγε[λός] εἰμι, | ὅς [σευ ἄν]ευθεν [ἐὼν] μ[έ]γα κ[ήδε]τε ἠδὲ ἐλε[αίρει]. | Λύσεστα[ι] (missing) σ' ἐκέλευεν (same) Ὀλύμ[πι]ο[ς] Ἕκτορα δῖον.
>
> *Be of good courage, O Priam, son of Dardanus, and fear thou not at all. Not to forbode any evil to thee am I come hither, but with good intent. I am a messenger to thee from Zeus, who far away though he be, hath exceeding care for thee and pity. The Olympian biddeth thee ransom goodly Hector.* (Murray)

In the Iliad (24.159-188), the divine visit of Iris to Priamos develops like a typical dream scene[62]. Iris reveals to Priamos her good intentions first, like an "angelic goodness" in Chalcidius' *admonitio* definition, and then conveys the advisory message of Zeus, who pities him as he pities Hector in the Homeric distich in question. Zeus' quite clear message pledges his divine support for the future, similar to an oracular dream. Artemidorus (2.36), as if it shows that seeing Iris in a dream wards off evil, says that the Iris' appearance in a dream is good sign for those in great crisis (like the atmosphere of mourning in Priamos' house), because she changes the bad ambiance to the good. These verses with their content and plain message look like the Homeric dream of Dio, and perhaps it was a dream recorded as was done in our inscription. But there is no way of knowing because the two Roberts state that, while there were two columns, the text of five verses was written on the first while nothing was left on the second one, which would have been helpful. According to the Roberts, this text must have been written for an apotropaic purpose, and it may have been inscribed after the practice of Ὁμηρομαντεία.

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59 Dodds 1951, 107, 124, fns. 25 and 27. The quotations from Macrobius (Somn. Scip. 1.3.2 [non vidi]) and Chalcidius (in Tim. 256 [non vidi]) are cited in inverted commas by also Dodds.

60 V. de Marco, Notizie Scavi, 1939, 422-425 (non vidi).

61 Robert 1950, 216, no. 233.

62 Zeus orders Iris what to say; Iris sets out (ὦρτο) and arrives at Priamos' house (ἶξεν δ' ἐς Πριάμοιο). She finds Priamos crying together with his daughters, sons and their wives. Iris stands by Priamos (στῆ δὲ παρὰ Πρίαμον) and repeats Zeus' command, of which the five verses above is only beginning. After delivering the message she disappears (ἀπέβη). Cf. Morris 1983, 40. This sequence of the events could easily be a dream scene because of the similarity to the messenger scenes.

The claim of the apotropaic purpose refers to magic. Actually, it is known that Homer's verses were used for magical purposes; widely in Egypt. For instance, a papyrus from the 4th century A.D. records a person hoping for divine assistance by writing three Homeric verses[63]. Nevertheless, Collins shows, in his article on the use of Homeric verses for magic, that Homer's verses came into use for magical purpose long before that. He cites Iamblichus who attributes it back to Pythagoras and Empedocles, who used Homeric songs for healing. Collins points out that the most of them were used for protection or treatment, and describes how the Roman physician Galen used Homeric incantations for healing a scorpion sting and dislodging bones from the throat, and how Marcellus, another Roman physician of the 2nd century A.D., applied them especially by writing[64]. Another interesting thing, Karanika mentions, is *epopoiia*, found in PGM I (327-331): It means "divination by epic verses," and "is regarded, first, as an integral part of magical knowledge and practice (*magike empeiria*), and is, secondly, described as a teachable skill"[65].

Homeromanteion (Homer oracle) is another suggestion of Jeanne and Louis Robert for the graffito of Rome. This term is found as a title of a list including 216 single verses from Homer in Papyri Graecae Magicae (PGM 7.1-148), dated to the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.[66], and used like a guide to present oracular responses. The oracular process was begun by invoking Apollo on certain days of the month; then the person who asks the question was to throw three dice once or one dice in three times, the result of which could vary from 1.1.1 through 6.6.6, to receive one oracular response with 216 alternatives[67]. For instance, if the result was 3.3.4, according to the list of Homeric responses, it would correspond to the following metrical line from the Iliad (18.328)[68]:

γγδ ἀλλ' | οὐ Ζεὺς ἄνδρεσσι [νοήματα πάντα τελευτᾷ]

3.3.4 *But lo, Zeus fulfilleth not for men all their purposes.* (Murray)

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63 Karanika 2011, 260-264.

64 Collins 2008, 211-212.

65 Karanika 2011, 259-260.

66 For dating see Maltomini 1995, 107, fn. 1; Karanika 2011, 255, fn. 2. For the original Greek texts see Preisendanz et al. 1931, 1-6, and Maltomini 1995. Maltomini, who offers additions and corrections, do not follow the same sequence as in Preisendanz for the Homeric verses under the title *Homeromanteion* in PGM 7. For the English translation see Betz 1986, 112-118.

67 Betz 1999², 118-119; Maltomini 1995, 107 and fn. 3; Karanika 2011, 258. A version of dice oracles known as *astragalomanteion*, because of dice made of knuckle bones (*astragaloi*) of sheep, was in practice in south-western Anatolia. According to Graf's geographical definition in a region, "its center is the large and fertile plain of Pamphylia that opens out to the gulf between Lycia and Cilicia, and its hinterland is the cities of Pisidia, eastern Lycia, Southern Phrygia and western Rough Cilicia". The majority of these oracular texts are in hexameter, and all the texts dated to the 2nd century A.D. are similar in their structure and in the method of consultation (Graf 2005, 54, 58). Most of these texts are well preserved in Termessos, where they present two types of *astragalomanteia*: 1) five dice or 2) seven dice, with either set thrown for one oracular response. Each dice has six surfaces enumerated from one to six, and the oracular response is determined by adding up all numbers after rolling five or seven dice (e.g. a roll of 4+4+4+1+3 on the five-dice set directs to 16, which corresponds to one of the metrical responses in the list). A list of seven-dice oracles is inscribed on the inside of the eastern wall of the city gate A1 (TAM 3.1, no. 35), whereas the texts of five-dice oracles are inscribed on the pillar near the west wall of the temple N3 (TAM 3.1, no. 34), which is quite close to the place where our *onar* inscription is found. Each oracular response on this pillar is associated with a deity, a divine omen or a personified concept like *Blabē* (see Graf 2005, 63-64). These dice oracles usually respond to questions about business or travel, and they are not related to Homer except their epic verse.

68 Preisendanz et al. 1931, 3, col. I, no. 7.20; = Maltomini 1995, 114.

The oracular response above and another one, which quotes Iliad 2.204 as the conclusion 1.5.5[69], are again found among the proverbs in the Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum[70].

It is not clear when Homer's verses began to be used for divination. But Homeric divination was coming true, at least the ancient people believed so; otherwise they would not have continued to use and reuse them for centuries. Some believed that "without a divine and superhuman nature it is impossible to produce verses of such beauty and wisdom" (D. Chr. 53.1). Some even dared to ask how some oracular verses ascribed to the gods could be believed, if in beauty they fell behind those of Homer and Hesiod (Plu. De Pyth. 396d). And Aelius Aristides (Or. 4.108) said in astonishment that Homer foresaw and proclaimed in his verses that Rome would exist (cf. Il. 20.307-308), while he was even not aware of it. Finally, most of ancient people believed the divinatory (and magical) power of Homer's verses so as to use them even in oracle centers[71]. A funerary epigram of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. from south of Nakoleia (Phrygia) records that a prophet named Zosimos, son of Patrikios and Domnē, an aristocrat and *honestus* person of his native land, used Homer's words (Ὁμηρίοις ἐπέεσσιν) by writing (γράψας) on tablets in order to foretell (χρήζουσι) the future (τὸ μέλλον ὑπειπών)[72]. This verse inscription uses an Homeric echo with its epic words and forms. Fontenrose states that most of the oracular responses from Delphi and Didyma were written in hexameter and that some contain Homeric quotes or echoes[73]. An oracular response of Poseidon is inscribed on an altar from Didyma, dated to the 2nd century B.C. The oracular response is found between the first and seventh lines of the inscription, which totals 17 lines. The response, given possibly to a question about an earthquake or flood, advises the inquirer to calm Poseidon down with sacrifices and prayer; and if they follow the advice, the god pledges that they will reach old age. The final words of the god are from Homer (Od. 12. 208): κακῶν ἀδαήμονες ὄντες, which Fontenrose translates: "without experience of ills"[74]. Another oracular response dated to c. A.D. 323 concerns a conflict between the Emperors Licinius and Constantine. The questioner is Licinius who consults the Oracle of Apollo Didymeus in Miletus and asks, of course, about the conclusion of the war. The god's response was only two verses from the Iliad (8.102-103), which foretells that Licinius will lose the battle:[75]

> ὦ γέρον ἦ μάλα δή σε νέοι τείρουσι μαχηταί,
> σὴ δὲ βίη λέλυται, χαλεπὸν δέ σε γῆρας ὀπάζει.
> *Old man, surely young warriors exhaust you;*
> *Your strength has failed, and hard old age is upon you*. (Fontenrose)

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69 Preisendanz et al. 1931, 2, col. II, no. 7.29. In Maltomini 1995, 112, this verse (Il. 2.204) is the response of the conclusion 1.6.6.

70 CPG 2, 277, Apostol. 2.52b; CPG 2, 579, Apostol. 13.19b,1. All the verses of *Homeromanteion* are not crosschecked in CPG one by one; such a comparison would possibly yield more examples.

71 Desmond 2008, 119, points out the commentaries of the Cynics against dream interpreters and oracular responses.

72 Mitchell 1993, 49-50; SEG 43, no. 945.

73 Fontenrose 1988, 99-103. Fontenrose reports that 16 of the historical responses of Didyma remain, of which all are in dactylic hexameter. In addition, 15 quasi-historical responses are left, only one of them in iambic trimeter, while all the rest are in hexameter. He reports that 74 historical responses remain from Delphi, of which only 11 are in verse, three in iambic trimeter and the others in hexameter. However, there are 268 quasi-historical responses of Delphi, 111 of which are in verse, three in iambic or lyric meters and the rest again in hexameter.

74 I. Didyma no. 132,7 = Robert 1968, 576-577 = Fontenrose 1988, 189-191, no. 14.

75 Fontenrose 1978, 425-426, no. 35 = Fontenrose 1988, 227, no. 55. Quoted from Sozomen, Hist. Eccl. 1.7. 73, p. 17 (non vidi).

An undated oracular response shows that Homer's words (ἔπεα), the divine voice in oral culture, were transformed into divine handwriting. The oracle ends with the following words of Apollo[76]:

ἤειδον μὲν εγὼν ὁ δ' ἀπέγραφε θεῖος Ὅμηρος.

I sang and divine Homer copied. (Fontenrose)

Consequently, the inscription in question is thought to signify an oracular dream. All examples given here warn us of the divinatory meaning of Homer's verses in dream. The inscription itself differs from others regarding dreams, not only with Homeric verses but also with its specific design described above. Finding the content of a dream is also not common; on the contrary, dream inscriptions mostly report who, to whom and what was dedicated, only with some certain formulas, but without any content. However, this inscription does not contain any personification; neither is its dreamer known nor any deity mentioned. This is probably due to the fact that the dream oracle did not concern any specific person as a questioner, but rather it may be a response to a question concerning the entire city of Termessos, such as a battle, an epidemic or a famine, even may be the famine of the 2nd century A.D. (TAM 3.1 nos. 4 and 62). The meaning of these Homeric verses must have been very well known to the Termessians too, who were possibly "in danger" (*entos belōn*) and searching for divine support in different ways[77]. Finally, the dream must have been such a big hope for them to be "out of danger" (*ek beleōn*) that they inscribed and exhibited it in a quite distinguished place in the agora in order to contribute to their collective memory, by following the Greek epigraphical habit.

The inscribed block (fragments A+B) seems very difficult to carry away; therefore it must have been part of the nearby Temple N3 dated to the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods by archaeologist M. Büyükkolancı in his doctoral thesis on Pisidian temple architecture[78]. E. Petersen, who was a member of Karl Lanckoroński's team, considered the connection of Temple N3 with Zeus Solymeus, and proposed another alternative that the temple may have been dedicated to the cult of the Emperors or Dea Roma[79]. A pillar with square base (H. 1.87 m., W. 0.60 m., Th. 0.52 m.) found near the western wall of this temple bears the texts of 56 five-dice oracles (TAM 3.1. no. 34), as mentioned before (see fn. 67 here). That a new oracular dream inscription was discovered near N3 may suggest that this temple was connected with oracles. Heberdey thought that the temple could be related with the Muses because of its long postament, which could hold several cult statues, in front of the back wall of the cella of Temple N3. However, inscriptions regarding Zeus and Dione (TAM 3.1 no. 15) and Ge Karpophoros (TAM 3.1 no. 19) found near Temple N3 prevented him from reaching a conclusive judgement[80]. Spratt and Forbes noted an inscription dedicated to the Muses in front of this small temple during their visit to Termessos; thus they also proposed that Temple N3 was possibly dedicated to the Muses[81]. Discovering another Homeric verse inscription in the same area calls for reconsideration of the temple's possible connection with the Muses.

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76 Fontenrose 1988, 226-227.

77 Artemidorus (4.2) mentions dreams called αἰτηματικοί, requested by people worried about some matters, and adds that it was obligatory to offer sacrifices and thanksgivings after receiving dream.

78 Büyükkolancı 1996, 130.

79 Lanckoroński 1892, 47-48, 51.

80 Heberdey 1934, 743-744.

81 Spratt - Forbes 1847, 1236.

Every single verse of Homer is full of the words of the Muses who love bosky (Ar. Av. 737) and mountainous (Hes. Th. 1-2) places like Termessos. The Muses had gained their prophetic power from *Mousēgetēs* Apollo, leader of their choir[82], and they granted this gift to Homer who knows nothing but a "rumour" (κλέος) unless they did not call to his mind, "because," he says to them, "you are goddesses" (ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαί ἐστε), "you are everywhere" (πάρεστέ τε) and "you know everything" (ἴστέ τε πάντα) (Il. 2.485-492). An ancient saying, repeated by Plato, states "that whenever a poet is seated on the Muse's tripod (ἐν τῷ τρίποδι τῆς Μούσης), he is not in his senses, but resembles a fountain, which gives free course to the upward rush of water" (Pl. Lg. 4.719c).

The cult of Apollo[83] and Muses[84] attested in the Termessos inscriptions date to the 2nd century and first half of the 3rd century A.D. Indeed, this city had many more deities such as Zeus and Dione, Herakles and Asklepios, which could be easily connected with oracles[85]. However, Graf concludes that the oracular responses on the pillar near Temple N3 were essentially related with Apollo and his messenger Hermes.[86] In addition, Homer's connection with the Muses and Apollo[87] increases the possibility that Temple N3 was connected with these goddesses, or their leader Apollo, or both.

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82 Pl. Lg. 2.653d; Plu. De Pyth. 396c. A ceremonial process of seeing an oracular dream is told under the title *Oneiromanteion* in PGM 7.1009-1016. In the end of this process the dreamer must write the response on laurel leaves and put on his head (Preisendanz et al. 1931, 44; Betz 1986, 145). Laurel is the holy plant of Apollo's prophetic power (Betz 1986, 110 [PGM 6.6]), and also the symbol of the Muses, who give Hesiod a sceptre of laurel for him to know the past and the future (Hes. Th. 30-32).

83 TAM 3.1, nos. 34D.XLIX, 35A, 57, 121, 123, 906, 907, 908; İplikçioğlu et al. 2007, no. 18.

84 TAM 3.1, nos. 17, 124, 131 and test. 4α.

85 See the index in TAM 3.1, 345-346.

86 Graf 2005, 73-77. Cf. Apollo's "prophet" (*hypophētēs*) Mousopolos Hermes, TAM 3.1, no. 35A.

87 Homeric poets had learnt to sing by "charming words" (ἔπε' ἱμερόεντα) from either Muses or Apollo (Od. 8.481, 8.488, 17.518-9).

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Özet

Termessos'tan Bir Homeros Rüya Kehaneti

Bu makalede Termessos kent alanında bulunmuş yeni bir rüya yazıtı tanıtılmaktadır. Yazıt, içinde *onar*, *oneiros*, *enhypnion* gibi anlamı açık bir rüya kelimesi geçen Termessos'un ilk yazıtıdır; ancak, farklı formuyla diğer rüya yazıtlarından ayrılmaktadır. Kireçtaşından bir blok üzerinde bulunan yazıtın ilk satırında, "rüya" anlamına gelen *onar* kelimesi tek başına, bir başlık olarak bulunmakta; altındaki dört satırda ise Homeros'tan iki dize (*Il.* 11.163-164) aktarılmaktadır.

Makalede öncelikle kısaca *onar-hypar* karşıtlığına değinilerek bugün bizim ancak rüyada görünebileceğini düşündüğümüz birçok görüntünün Yunanlara güpegündüz görünebildiği tartışılmakta ve böylece bu iki kavram arasındaki fark açıklanmaya çalışılmaktadır. Daha sonra, Artemidoros'un, edebiyattan vezinli rüya görmenin herkese değil, yalnızca *pepaideumenos* (eğitimli) olanlara nasip olacağı konusunda bizi uyarması üzerine, İkinci Sofistik denen kültürel olgunun Termessos'taki etkisinden ve *pepaideumenos* olmanın yolunun Homeros'tan geçtiğinden söz edilmektedir. Yazıtın sıra dışı metninde ne rüyayı gören bellidir ne de bir tanrı adı geçer; ayrıca, bu tür yazıtlarda rüya içeriğinin yer alması da sık karşılaşılan bir durum değildir. Rüyanın içeriğinin Homeros dizeleriyle sunulması ise onu diğer rüya yazıtlarından tamamen farklı kılar; bu form daha çok kehanet cevaplarını anımsatmaktadır. Homeros dizelerini aktaran benzer metinlere Antik Çağ'a ait her tür kaynakta, özellikle de kehanet cevapları arasında rastlanabilmektedir. Bu yüzden, söz konusu rüya öncelikle Homeros'tan dizeler aktaran zengin edebî malzemeyle anlaşılmaya çalışılmış ve bu rüyaların hemen hemen hepsinin kehanet rüyası olduğuna dikkat çekilmiştir. Bunlardan en önemlisi Dio Cassius'un gördüğü rüyadır; çünkü o, bu yazıttaki rüyanın aynısını görür. Dio Cassius'un rüyası yorumlanmaya çalışılırken, Hadrianus dönemi sözlük yazarlarında rüyada geçen *ek beleōn* terimiyle karşılaşılmış, ama bunun artık *eksō belōn* şeklinde günlük kullanıma geçmiş, tehlikeden uzak durmayı öğütleyen bir atasözüne dönüştüğü anlaşılmıştır. 12. yy.'da Homeros'u yorumlamasıyla tanınan Eustathius'ta ise, *ek beleōn* bir savaş terimi olarak *Ilias*'ta birçok kez geçmesine karşın, atasözü şeklinin özellikle bizim rüyamızdaki dizelerle ilişkili olduğuna rastlanmıştır. Daha sonra başka yazarlardaki kullanımına bakılarak atasözünün ve Homeros'un söz konusu dizelerinin Yunanlar için ne anlama geldiği irdelenmektedir. Birçok kehanetin Antik Çağ sözlük yazarlarında atasözü olarak geçtiğinin görülmesi, bu dizelerin de açık anlamıyla kehanetlerde kullanılan kalıp ifadelerden biri olduğu varsayımını güçlendirir. Bütün bunlardan sonra, Homeros'tan dizeler aktaran kehanetlere ve büyülere örnek verilmekte ve daha Hellenistik dönemde farklı kentlerde tapınakları bulunan Homeros'un sözlerinin her derde deva tanrısal bir nitelik kazandığı sonucuna varılmaktadır. Bir başka sonuç da, yazıtın daha önce yakınında zar kehanetleri bulunan N3 Tapınağı'na ait olduğu ve bu tapınağın kehanetle ilgili bir işlevi olabileceği, çok önce Heberdey'ın da sunduğu seçeneklerden biri olan Musa'lara ait bir tapınak olma olasılığının Homeros rüyasıyla biraz daha pekişmiş olacağı görüşüdür. Çünkü Homeros'un tanrısal olduğuna inanılan şaşırtıcı bilgisi, liderliğini Apollon'un yaptığı Musa'lar korosundan gelmektedir.

Fig. 1
Inscribed text on fragment A (photo A. V. Çelgin)

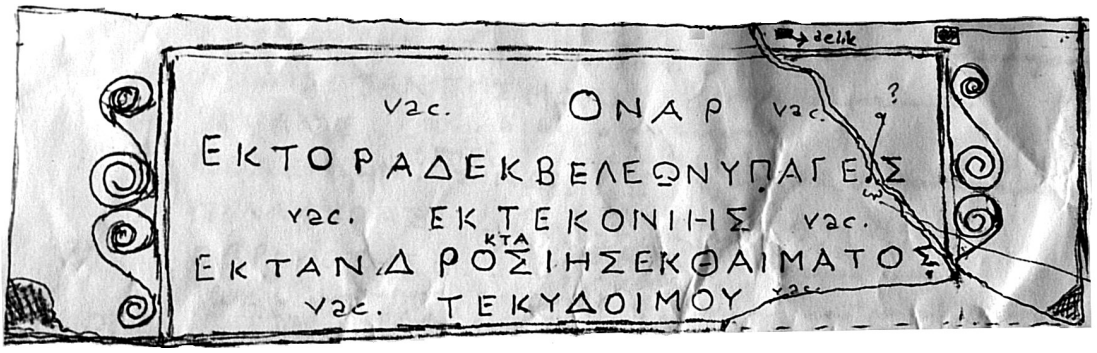

Fig. 2 Drawing of inscribed text on both fragments (A+B) (drawing A. V. Çelgin)

Fig. 3
General view of fragment A (photo A. V. Çelgin)

Fig. 4
View of fragment A from top (photo A. V. Çelgin)

Fig. 5
Plan of Termessos with location of inscribed block (map F. Hausner, published in Lanckoroński 1892, 33)