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ARISTOTELIAN FEATURES IN MEDIEVAL ONEIROCRITICISM¹

This paper is dedicated to the problem of perception of Greek knowledge in the Middle Ages. It considers how elements of Aristotle's theories began to appear in texts by European medieval authors on dreams, visions and the occurrence of sleep, the extent to which these elements appeared and in what form. It analyzes the theories of William of Conches (*De phil. mundi XXI - XXII*), including his glosses on Macrobius' *Commentary on the 'Dream of Scipio'* and also those of Pseudo-Augustine (*De sp. et an. XXV*). It is shown that their texts contain a synthesis of different, non-direct Greek ideas about psychology and physiology in which can be seen not only the influence of Platonic and Neoplatonic doctrines but also features of Aristotelian theories. The texts of William and Ps.-Augustine demonstrate a synthesis of Platonism, Neoplatonism and Aristotelianism incorporated into the Christian religion and culture. In creating their oneirocritical concepts, these authors have built an Aristotelian component into the Platonic theories already known to them about dreams and dreaming. This might have prompted later encyclopaedists (17th century) to use more materials drawn from Aristotle, Galen (and also Avicenna) that met the requirements of the Modern Era.

Key words: Aristotle, Aristotelianism, concept, dream, conception, physiology.

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The purpose of this paper is to answer questions related to the problem of the perception of Greek knowledge in the Middle Ages. Namely: how early, to what extent and in what form elements of natural science concepts that emanated from Aristotle begin to manifest themselves in the texts of European medieval authors with regard to these authors' ideas relating to the psychological and physiological nature of dreams, visions, and sleep. While considering this problem, it should be kept in mind that no rational doctrine of dreams/visions existed in medieval Europe. However, attempts to explain their appearance had already been made in the earliest period of the Middle Ages. In fact, all of the authors of that time based their theories on a very influential argument in St. Augustine's *On Genesis*, which covered not only dreams appearing in various sort of visions,² but also Gregory the Great's description of the causes of dreams in his *Dialogues*.³ Thus, Augustine distinguished three types of visions (*De Genesi ad lit.* XII, 2-12; 13; 18; 30; XII, 7; 10): corporeal (*visio corporalis*), spiritual (*visio spiritualis*) and rational (*visio intellectualis*). He assumed the last of these to be more authoritative and pointed out that all visions can be equated to dreams, because they may both be false (*falsa*), true (*vera*), disturbing (*perturbata*) or calm (*tranquilla*). Gregory (*Dial.* II; IV; IV, 48), meanwhile, put dreams into two categories: "true dreams" which foretold the future (or were "divine revelation"), and "illusions" (or "temptations"), which had their source in the Devil (*ab occulto hoste*). Furthermore, he identified six reasons that dreams appear, namely: from the empty or crowded stomach; from illusions (*illusionem*); from a combination of cogitation (*cogitationem*) and illusions; from revelation (*revelationem*); from a combination of reflection and revelation.⁴ As a result, he identified three agents of dreams: man

2 JACQUELINE AMAT, *Songes et visions. L'au-delà dans la littérature latine tardive* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1985), 489 p.; MARTINE DULAËY, *La rêve dans la vie et la pensée de Saint Augustin* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1973), 264. Note, that in the early Middle Ages visions were mainly distributed through literature, not dreams.

3 See, e.g.: ALC., *Comm. in Ap.*, PL 100, 1089AB; SED. SCOT., *Collect. misc. diuisio* 40, 1. See in details: М.С. ПЕТРОВА, Макробий Феодосий и представления о душе и о мироздании в Поздней Античности (Москва: Кругъ, 2007): 155–172.

4 It is interesting to pay attention to the examples Gregory takes from Scripture to refer to four sorts of dreams (these examples would be used by many medieval authors, among them e.g. Honorius Augustodunensis [*Eluc* III, 9: *Unde somnia*, PL 172, 1163A]). Pointing to the illusory nature of dreams, Gregory cites lines from the Old Testament (Sirach 34:7; Lev 19: 26). For the dreams of dual origin, he also cites a verse from Eccles 5:2 (*thinking* and *illusions*). He also mentions the story in Daniel that explains the dream of Nebuchadnezzar (Daniel 2:29–31) (*thinking* and *revelation*). To denote dreams sent by God, originating from arcane revelations, Gregory cites the dreams of Joseph from the Old Testament (Genesis 37:6–7 and 9), and

himself (his body or thoughts), God (as testimony), and the Devil (like a hallucination).

Later, in the 9th–11th centuries, medieval authors traditionally inserted their arguments not only into the “schemas” of Augustine and Gregory, but also into other ancient theories about dreams and their classification, in particular, those perceived by Macrobius (5th century).⁵ Only at the beginning of the 12th century, did mediation by Arab writers acquainted with the theories of Aristotle⁶ and Greek medicine stimulate the development of a theory of dreams which appeared to be associated with the emergence of a stable interest in the physiology of sleep and the causes of proper sleep.

One of the first scholars to put forward a new scientific theory on this matter was William of Conches (1080–1154), who knew the works of Galen

Joseph, Mary's husband, from the New Testament (Matthew 2:13). See: GREG. *Dial* (ad loc.). Also see: Ж. ЛЕ ГОФФ, *Средневековый мир воображаемого*, пер. Е.В. Морозовой, под ред. С.К. ЦАТУРОВОЙ (Москва: Прогресс, 2001): 355–357; 366–368.

5 See: ПЕТРОВА (2007): 135–172.

6 On the popularity of some treatises from Aristotle's *Parva Naturalia* in the Arab world, including: *De sensu*, *De memoria*, *De somno*, *De insomniis*, *De divinatione*, *De longitudine*, see: SILVIA DONATI, “The Critical Edition of Albert the Great's Commentaries on *De sensu et sensato* and *De memoria et reminscientia*: Its Significance for the Study of the 13th Century Reception of Aristotle's *Parva Naturalia* and Its Problems”, in *The Letter before the Spirit: The Importance of Text Editions for the Study of the Reception of Aristotle*, ed. AAFKE M.I. VAN OPPENRAAY (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2012), 346. On the Arabic translations of *Parva Naturalia*, as well as a hypothesis of the existence of different versions of this Aristotelian texts, and their perception in the Arab world, see: CARLA DI MARTINO, “*Parva Naturalia*, tradition arabe”, in *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* (Supplément), ed. RICHARD GOULET (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2003), 375–378. For more on the platonic Aristotle, see ROTRAUD HANSBERGER: *The Transmission of Aristotle's 'Parva Naturalia' in Arabic*, unpubl. doctoral thesis (University of Oxford, 2006/7); EADEM, “How Aristotle Came to Believe in God-given Dreams: The Arabic Version of *De divinatione per somnum*”, in *Dreaming across Boundaries: the Interpretation of Dreams in Islamic Lands*, ed. LOUISE MARLOW (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 50–77; EADEM, “Kitāb al-Hiss wa-l-mahsūs: Aristotle's *Parva Naturalia* in Arabic guise”, in *Les 'Parva naturalia' d'Aristote: fortune antique et médiévale*, sous la direction de PIERRE-MARIE MOREL et CHRISTOPHE GRELLARD (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2010), 143–162; and EADEM, “Plotinus Arabus Rides Again”, *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 21 (2011), 57–84.; GERHARD ENDRESS, “Platonizing Aristotle: The Concept of 'Spiritual' (rūḥānī) as a Keyword of the Neoplatonic Strand in Early Arabic Aristotelianism”, *Studia graeco-arabica* 2 (2012): 274–275. On Aristotle's short natural scientific writings *On Sleep and Wakefulness*, *On Dreams*, *On the Predictions in a Dream*, see О.А. Чулков, [«К переводу О сновидениях Аристотеля»], в: *Akademeia*. Материалы и исследования по истории платонизма, вып. 6, отв. ред. А.В. Цыб (Санкт-Петербург: Издательство Санкт-Петербургского университета, 2005): 420–422; АРИСТОТЕЛЬ, О сновидениях, пер. О.А. Чулкова, Там же: 423–432; М.А. Солопова, «Аристотель о природе сновидений: физика против мантики (на основании трактата О предсказаниях во сне)», в: *Историко-философский ежегодник 2011*, под ред. Н. В. Мотрошиловой (Москва: Канон+, 2012): 40–58.

(3rd century),⁷ Nemesius of Emesa (the end of the 4th century), Macrobius⁸, as well as Arabic writers translated by Constantine Africanus (11th century). In his *De philosophia mundi* (cap. XXI–XXII)⁹, as well as in his glosses on Macrobius' *Commentary on the 'Dream of Scipio'*,¹⁰ William synthesized acquired knowledge and described other "teaching" on dreams, which was as follows: sleep is a falling asleep of 'mental strength', i. e., of sensory perception, the intellect and mind, while it increases "natural forces" such as the digestion.

Cold, wet vapour (*fumus*)¹¹ rises through the veins, blocking feelings, and arrives at the head, hindering the ability to reason and think.¹² The vapour cannot go any further, and turning back, begins to dissipate and disappear; the body becomes dry and warm; the spirit which governs mental powers fills the veins again, causing the person to wake up. William says that dreams can be caused by internal corporal and psychological factors: the quality of food eaten, the balance of the body's fluids, the body's po-

- 7 On Galen's knowledge of Aristotle's theories, see: Д.А. Балалыкин, «Микроструктура живой материи в натурфилософской системе Галена. Часть 1», *Философия науки. Научное издание по философии, методологии и логике естественных наук* 2/65 (2015): 119–134; ИДЕМ, «Микроструктура живой материи в натурфилософской системе Галена. Часть 2», *Философия науки. Научное издание по философии, методологии и логике естественных наук* 3/66 (2015): 95–112; ИДЕМ, «Первая книга трактата Галена О доктринах Гиппократ и Галена», *Вопросы философии* 8 (2015): 124–143.
- 8 On William of Conches' reading of Macrobius' *Commentary on the 'Dream of Scipio'*, see ÉDOUARD JEANNEAU "Gloses de Guillaume de Conches sur Macrobe. Note sur les Manuscrits", *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Age* 27 (1960): 17–23; ИДЕМ, "La lecture des auteurs classiques à l'école de Chartres Durant la première moitié du XII^e siècle. Un témoin privilégié: Les 'Glosae super Macrobius' de Guillaume de Conches", in *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 5000–1500*, ed. ROBERT RALPH BOLGAR (Cambridge, 1971): 95–102; PETER DRONKE, *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism* (Leiden - Köln, 1974): 13–78.
- 9 See also: *De phil. mundi* I, 21 (PL 172, col. 50AB); I, 23 (Ib. 58A); II, 11 (Ib. 60C); II, 32 (Ib. 74A); IV, 15 (Ib. 90B).
- 10 William's *Commentary* on the text of Macrobius has not yet been edited. Here we follow Alison M. Peden (see: ALISON M. PEDEN, "Macrobius and Medieval Dream Literature", *Medium Aevum* 54/1 [1985]: 64), who used the manuscripts: MS. GL. Kgl. S. 1910, 4^o, ff. 11^v–14^r (Copenhagen Rjngelige Bibliothek). See also GUL., *Glos. sup. Plat. CXL – CXLI* (ÉDOUARD JEAUNEAU, ed. 1965: 241–243).
- 11 The Latin word "*fumus*" (vapour, mist) corresponds to the Greek ἀτμός, ἴδος (=ἀτμός). Cf.: ARIST., *Met.* I, 3 (340a 34–35, 340b 3, 340b 28); *Ibidem* I, 9 (346b 29 and 32); *Ibidem* I, 10 (347a 17, 19 and 24); *Ibidem* I, 11 (347b 24); *Ibidem* II, 4 (359b 30, 360a 23, 360b 35); *Ibidem* III, 3 (372b 32); *Ibidem* IV, 7 (384a 6); *Ibidem* IV, 9 (387a 25). See also: ИДЕМ, *De gener. animal.* 784b 15, 17–18 and 22; ИДЕМ, *De gener. et corr.* 330b 4; ИДЕМ, *Probl.* 906b 21, 907a 29, 924a 38, 927b 11, 935b 33, 937a 7, 939b 22, 941a 39, 947a 23; ИДЕМ, *De sensu* 443a 26 and 30.
- 12 Cf. Aristotle's treatise *On Dreams* (esp. Ch. 3) in which there is a speech about the "mechanism" and psychophysiology of dreams. See also: Чулков (2005): 421–422.

sition during sleep, the thoughts and concerns that occupy a person before sleep, and so on. Dreams due to physiology have no significance, but dreams caused by external factors, for example, a revelation sent down from God about the future, do, of course, have significance. By itself, the dream is a state in which the soul, freed from the service of the body, sees images imprinted in the brain.¹³

William's other glosses, which were footnoted in the 12th century, also begin to show new ideas. These glosses are more scientifically oriented. Sometimes these notes explain dreams in terms of the activity of "spiritual" and "natural" forces,¹⁴ as well as the movements of vapour (vapour was associated mainly with nightmares).¹⁵ William's understanding of the "incubus" (male demon) as either the pressure of the front of the brain on the rear of it when the sleeper is lying on his back, or the pressure of the liver, the gall bladder and the stomach on the heart when the sleeper is lying on

13 See *De philos. mundi* IV, cap. XXI–XXII, PL 172, col. 94AC: [cap. XXI. *De somno*]: Somnus ergo est quies animalium virtutum cum intensione naturalium. Contingit autem, fumo humido ad superiora ascendente, implentur nervi quibus animalis virtus solet descendere. Desinit ergo videre animal, et audire, etc., donec naturali calore illo desiccato, animalis spiritus incipiat ascendere, et ad aliquem sensum animale excitare; [cap. XXII. *Unde somnia, et de animali et spiritali virtute*]: Somnium vero ex reliquiis cogitationum, ex cibo et potu, et ex temperie, et ex complexione, ex qualitate jacendi, habet existere, et hoc nihil significat. Alia ex ministracione angelorum, alia ex mundi causa, alia ex virtute et libertate animae, quorum omnium probationes in promptu habemus. Sed quoniam nostro proposito hoc multum non attinet, et ad finem voluminis tendimus, illo praetermisso ad spiritualem virtutem transeamus. Praedictus ergo fumes per diversa foramina transeundo subtiliatus ad cor perveniens, ad attrahendum aera illud dilatat, ut interior calor temperetur: ad expellendas vero superfluitates idem constringit, et tunc dicitur spiritalis virtus, cui arteriae deserviunt. Sed ad animale virtutem veniamus. Praedictus vero fumes per nervos ascendens colando, ita subtilis efficitur: qui, perveniens ad cerebrum, spiritus dicitur; descendensque per diversa instrumenta, diversas operatur animales virtutes, ut ostendemus: quae quia e cerebro prodeunt, de ipso ante dicamus, deinde qualiter sensus inde prodeant, et quoniam in capite continentur, ab illo exordiamur. Cf. ARIST., *On Dreams* 461a, 462ab; АРИСТОТЕЛЬ, *О сновидениях* 3 (461a – 462b), пер. О. А. Чулкова (2005): 428–432.

14 E.g. see MS Plut. 77. f. 6. 8^r (Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence); MS Hamilton. 11, f. 4^{ra} (University Library, Glasgow). Cf. IOAN. SARESB., *Polycr.* II, 14 [428ad] (C.I. WEBB, ed. 1909: 87–88). Here and below the references to manuscripts are cited by Alison M. Peden. See: PEDEN, "Macrobius" (1985), 72.

15 E.g. see: MS Hamilton. 11, f. 4^{ra} (Glasgow); MS Bibl. Pub. Lat. 168, f. 4^r and MS Voss. Lat. Q. 44, f. 3^v (Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit); MS Canon. Class. 257 (s. XIV), f. 5^{vb} (Oxford, Bodleian Library). Note, that J. Le Goff points out that there is no word in Latin meaning a "nightmare." He refers to Macrobius, who does not give the Latin equivalent of the Greek word ἐπίπλησις. See: Ж. ЛЕ ГОФФ, *Другое средневековье: время, труд и культура Запада*, пер. С. В. Чистяковой, Н. Ф. Шевченко, под ред. В. А. Бабинцева (Екатеринбург: Издательство Уральского государственного университета, 2000): 313.

his left side¹⁶ is found in these glosses. In addition, there are glosses interpreting the incubus as a narrowing of the blood vessels and thickening of the vapour around the heart,¹⁷ or blood around the heart,¹⁸ as a disorder of the brain caused by vapours, or as a general overabundance of blood.¹⁹

Note that William applies his theory of vapour to the passage of the *Commentary* of Macrobius which refers to the ability of the soul to anticipate future events (I, 3, 17-18). Here Macrobius quotes Porphyry, who believed that even though the truth is hidden, the soul can reach it when sleep releases it from the body. But even then, the soul sees truth as if through a veil.

William explains that this veil is a vapour which fills the body. When the vapour thins, the soul is able to see the truth more clearly, and this is what is meant by “the gate of horn.” He believes “hiding the truth” is meant for uncertain future events which the soul is not able to know about, being in the body. Here the soul sees the truth only through images.²⁰ Some glossators repeated William’s opinion, saying that the soul had full knowledge before it was clothed in body mass (*molem corporis*);²¹ accordingly, they treat thick vapour as “ivory” and more sparse vapour as “horn.”²²

The term “*somnium*,” which refers to an enigmatic dream, encouraged commentators to understand the obscure visions which were revealed in dreams as symbols and images. William himself cites examples of visions which reveal the truth through *images* (for example, Pharaoh’s dream about seven thin ears of corn, which augur seven years of famine) and through *dissimilar* images (for example, dreams of tears, which foreshadow laugh-

16 E.g. see: MS Hamilton. 11, f, 4^{ra} (Glasgow); MS K. 506, f. 6^r (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek); MS Pal. Lat. 274, f. 39^r (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

17 MS K. 506, f. 6^r (Karlsruhe).

18 MS Voss. Lat. Q. 44, f. 3^v (Leiden).

19 See: MS Hamilton. 11, f, 4^{ra} (Glasgow).

20 See: MS Gl. Kgl. S. 1910, f. 13^{rv} (Copenhagen), which reproduces the glosses on Macrobius, according to MS R. 69, f. 15^r (Wrocław. Biblioteka Uniwersytecka), and there is a continuation of the commentary, according to MS 199, f. 27^{vb} (Cologne, Dombibliothek).

21 E.g. see: MS Voss. Lat. Q.44, f. 4^v (Leiden); MS Clm. 407, f. 10^r (Munich); MS Pal. Lat. 274, f. 40^r (Vatican).

22 MS Hamilton. 11, f, 4^{rb} (Glasgow).

ter). The glosses repeat these examples and add other ones: e.g. Pompey's dream, in which he dreams of his own glorification before his death.^{23/24}

Theories about dreams continued to spread not only throughout the 12th century,²⁵ but also in the 13th. In this period, they were characterized by the synthesis of theories and doctrines in various works. An example is available in Paschal's *Book of the Mystery Treasures*, written in Latin in

23 E.g. see Pharaoh's dream: MS Hamilton. 11, f. 4^{ra} (Glasgow); MS Lat. 6622, f. 9^v (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale); tears of joy: MS 199, f. 27^{vb} (Cologne); MS Plut. 77. 6, f. 7^v (Florence); MS Lat. 27, f. 95^v (Oxford, Lincoln College); MS C. 54, f. 156^r (Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana); Pompeius: Clm. 14619, f. 6^v; BN Lat. 6622, f. 9^v. It is noteworthy that these glosses are not associated with William's theory. Thus, in one of the manuscripts from Welsh the origin of "incubus" is explained by reference to the three shepherds of King Latinus, who were sleeping with their flocks and gave birth to fauns, satyrs and incubi. See ALISON M. PEDEN, "Science and Philosophy in Wales at the Time of the Norman Conquest: a Macrobius Manuscript from Llanbadarn", *Cambridge Medieval Celtic studies*, vol. 2 (1981): 35.

24 Compare also Aristotle's conceptions of sleep physiology, which are as follows: sleep is associated with alimentation as well as the impact of alimentation on the growth of the [human] being going to sleep more [intensely] than in the waking state. Food comes from the outside into a designated space for it – the stomach and intestines – and this is the path through which that food passes. There are some changes – good gets into the blood, poor is banished – but also a certain sort of substance passes into the blood through evaporation. These substances enter the center of the body – the heart, the primary source of life. From the fumes, which originate from food, sleep comes. Vapourable substance is warmth (so its trend is upward, just as warm air always rises up), then it turns and sinks. Therefore, eating and drinking, and especially the use of wine, containing a lot of warm substances, have a soporific effect. Aristotle, who understood that there is so much that is obscure in this area, also asked the question, whether or not dreams come because the spaces and processes inside the head are cooled as a result of the movement when the evaporation gets there. He asserted that this movement causes cooling of the stomach and intestines, which, when they are empty, are located in the warm condition, while the filling of food sets them in motion and thus causes cooling. See Гуго Глязер, Исследователи человеческого тела от Гиппократов до Павлова, пер. Ю. А. Федосюка, под ред. Б. Д. Петрова (Москва: МедГиз, 1956): 24–25; М. А. Солопова, «Возникновение науки о снах и сновидениях в Древней Греции», в: Интеллектуальные традиции Античности и Средних веков (исследования и переводы), под ред. М. С. Петровой (Москва: Круг, 2010): 156–168; Аристотель, *О предсказаниях во сне*, пер. М. А. Солоповой, Там же: 169–175.

25 John of Salisbury (1115/20–1180) in his discussion of dreams in *Policraticus* uses these glossators' ideas, although his classification reproduced that which was stated by Macrobius in his *Commentary*. Following on from Macrobius, John of Salisbury distinguishes the sorts of dreams ("*insomnium*", "*phantasma*", "*somnium*", "*oraculum*", and "*visio*"), indicating their causes and significances and also writes about the *epialtus*. Moreover, he quotes the same line of Virgil (see: VERG., *Aen.* IV, 3) which is in the text of Macrobius (see: *Comm.* I, 3, 6). Next, John draws on Augustine's theory of visions. See JOAN. SARESB., *Polycr.* II, 15: De speciebus somniorum, et causis, figuris et significationibus; *Ibidem* 16: Generalia quaedam de significationibus, tam somniorum, quam aliorum figuratum (PL 199, cols 429A – 433B).

Constantinople in the year 1135. In his work, Paschal combines Macrobius' theory and a part of Artemidorus' *Oneirocritica* with the "new science" of William of Conches' *Philosophia mundi*. He expands Macrobius' definitions (citing them) for each sort of dream, using physiological explanations which were characteristic of the glosses of the 12th century. For example, he talks a lot about the causes of nightmares. These are "the passions of the body," such as illness and unbalanced character; "incubi," in fact, represent blood that has accumulated near the heart or has put pressure on parts of the brain.²⁶

Moreover, in the 13th century, familiarity with the psychological texts of Aristotle²⁷ continued to stimulate the appearance of treatises in which dreams are ascribed to the influence of various spiritual forces. Among the many examples²⁸ there is one, a statement summary of where dreams come from, that we consider most striking – the treatise *De spiritu et anima* (cap. XXV), attributed to Ps.-Augustine. In this work the author uses Macrobius' terminology and classification, which is known about through intermediaries and which he interprets according to the "new science."²⁹ He supposes that

26 See PASH., *Lib. thes. occulti* I, iv, x (SIMONE COLLIN-ROSET, ed. 1963: 157–159).

27 See ENDRESS, "Platonizing Aristotle" (2012), 274.

28 Here we can specify the texts of Aelred of Rievaulx (1110–1167) (*De an.* III, C.H. TALBOT, ed. 1988: 133–142), of Albertus Magnus (born 1193 or 1206 / 07–1280) (*De somn. et vig.*, P. JAMMY, ed. 1651: 64–109), and of Arnold of Villanova (1235–1313) (*Exp. visionum* [1585]: 623–40).

29 See *De spiritu et anima* XXV (*Somnia unde diversa*), PL 40, cols. 795–798: **Omnium quae sibi videre videntur dormientes, quinque sunt genera; videlicet, oraculum, visio, somnium, insomnium, et phantasma** (cf. MACR., *Comm.* I, 3, 2). Oraculum est, cum in somnis parens vel aliqua sancta gravisque persona, seu sacerdos, vel etiam Deus eventurum aliquid aperte vel non eventurum, faciendum vel devitandum denuntiat. **Visio est, cum id quis videt quod eodem modo quo apparuerat eveniet** (cf. MACR., *Comm.* I, 3, 9). Somnium est figuris tectum, et sine interpretatione intelligi non potest. Insomnium est, quando id quod **fatigaverat vigilantem, ingerit se dormienti** (cf. MACR., *Comm.* I, 3, 4); sicut est cibi cura vel potus, vel aliqua studia, vel artes, vel infirmitates. Secundum namque studia quae quisque exercuit, somniat; et solitarum artium simulacra in praesentia mentis impressa apparent in somnis. Juxta etiam infirmitatum diversitates diversa accidunt somnia. Etiam secundum morum et humorum varietates variantur somnia. Alia namque vident sanguinei, alia cholericis, alia phlegmaticis, alia melancholicis. Illi vident rubea et varia; isti, nigra et alba. Phantasma est, quando **qui vix dormire coepit, et adhuc se vigilare aestimat, aspiceret videntur irruentes in se, vel passim vagantes formas discrepantes et varias, laetas vel turbulentas** (cf. MACR., *Comm.* I, 3, 7). **In hoc genere est ephialtes, quem publica persuasio quiescentes opinatur invadere, et pondere suo pressos ac sentientes gravare** (cf. MACR., *Comm.* I, 3, 7). Quod non est aliud nisi quaedam fumositas a stomacho vel a corde ad cerebrum ascendens, et ibi vim animalem comprimens). These words have combinations of words and phrases, highlighted by me in **bold**, borrowed by Ps.-Augustine (exactly or with minor changes of endings or order of words) from

“there are five species that relate to sleep, namely, ‘divination,’ ‘providence,’ ‘dream,’ ‘instigation’ and ‘phantasma.’ ‘Divination’ is when in a dream a parent or one of the saints and greatest men, or a priest, or even God openly proclaims what happens or does not happen, what should be done or what should be avoided. ‘Providence’ is when that which someone or other sees then happens in reality the same way as it was seen by the sleeper. A ‘dream’ is something that is hidden in symbols and without interpretation cannot be understood. ‘Instigation’ is something that has worried the person and now appears to him like it would to a sleeper: his concern [may be] about food or drink, any kind of activity, or occupation, or ailment. Consequently, people dream about the kinds of activities in which they have been engaged, and images of their usual activities, which were etched on the mind, appear in their dreams. In addition, different dreams can result in an unlimited variety.

The character of dreams also varies depending on which of the four humors is involved. Some are sanguine [from blood], others are choleric [from bile], a third type are phlegmatic [from mucus], and a fourth melancholic [from black bile]. Some people have red and multi-colored dreams, while others have black and white ones. *Fantasma* occurs when someone begins to fall asleep, but he feels more wakeful; it seems to him that he sees images rushing towards him and wandering everywhere; these images are vague and different, pleasant or disturbing. To the same genus of dreams belongs the *epialtus*, which, it is widely presumed, masters sleepers, so that they are crushed by its weight and feel heavy. What is this, if not a kind of evaporation, rising from the stomach, or from the heart to the brain, and overwhelming the power of his soul?”

It can be seen that the oneirocritical theories of William of Conches and Ps.-Augustine considered here combine a variety of psychological and physiological conceptions which were rising to the level of Greek knowledge. On the one hand, there can be seen the influence of Platonic and Neoplatonic doctrines learned directly from the Late Latin intellectual tradition (in particular through Macrobius). On the other hand, these theories contain elements of Aristotelian natural concepts, which, clearly, were perceived by the Arab world. At the same time, Arabic Aristotelianism underwent the influence of Platonism and Neoplatonism.

Macrobius' text. See also: МАКРОБИЙ, *Комментарий на 'Сон Сципиона'* 1, 3, пер. М.С. ПЕТРОВОЙ, в: ПЕТРОВА (2007): 191–199.

Thus, it is a synthesis of Platonism, Neoplatonism and Aristotelianism, included in Christian religion and culture, that is presented in the texts of William and Ps.-Augustine. As they created their oneirocritical concepts, these two authors built an Aristotelian component into the Platonic theories about dreams and dreaming that were already known to them. This may have prompted the later encyclopaedists (17th century) to use more material from Aristotle,³⁰ Galen (and also Avicenna) that met the requirements of the Modern Era.

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30 E.g. see: А.Ю. СЕРЕГИНА, «Аристотелевская традиция в медицине и “спор о женщинах” в XVII веке: Книга повитух Джейн Шарп», Адам и Ева 23 (2015): 197–207; ДЖЕЙН ШАРП, Книга повитух, пер. А.Ю. СЕРЕГИНОЙ, Там же: 208–249.

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