INFORMATION TO USERS

A King's Dreams

A Study of the Second Chapter of Daniel
within the Context of Dreams in Canonical and Non-Canonical Sources

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July, 2001

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts.

0-612-75238-0

Canada

Table of Contents

Abstract

In the following paper I will attempt to define the genre of Daniel 2 according to its dream characteristics. To demonstrate that this literary style is not unique to Daniel 2 but was widespread in the ancient near east over a long period of time, I will survey what I believe to be parallel dream narratives from the Old Testament as well as from Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite, and Egyptian texts. The numerous similarities of these narratives will not only provide a sufficient base for positing a dream genre, but will also clarify the fundamental theme of Daniel 2 which has many times been cluttered or overlooked by its identification with other overlapping genres. By including details from most of the dream narratives of antiquity, I believe it will become clear that Daniel 2 is not so much about wisdom, courts, or even an apocalypse, so much as it is about the acknowledgement of an ultimate power who is omniscient and lord over kingdoms past and future.

Résumé

L'objectif de ce travail ce tient de définir le genre du deuxième chapitre du livre de Daniel selon ses caractéristiques dites «rêve.» Afin de démontrer que ce genre littéraire n'est pas uniquement celui de ce chapitre mais qu'il était répandu à travers une vaste territoire durant de longues

années, je propose de faire un survole de ce que je crois être des récits parallèles tiré de l'ancien testament ainsi que des textes Sumériens, Akkadiens, Hittites, et Égyptiens. Les nombreuses similarités de ces récits pourront alors établir une base préliminaire afin de définir un genre nommé «récits de rêves» et, à la suite, servira de clarificateur du thème de Daniel 2 qui souvent est l'object de compromis en égard de ses multiples identifications avec d'autre types littéraires chevauché. Par ce synopsis des récits de rêves de l'antiquité, j'ai confiance que le thème central du deuxième chapitre de Daniel se proposera d'être non celui de sagesse, ou alors de cours royales, ou même celui d'une apocalypse, mais d'une reconnaissance de pouvoir ultime qui ce révèle comme étant omniscient et seigneur de tout royaume, passé et futur.

Introduction and Methodology

It will be necessary from the outset to define two terms which will be of recurring importance throughout this paper: "dream" and "genre." My focus is not completely within the sphere of either of these subjects but concerns both. In these introductory statements I hope to clarify the issue of whether dreams may exist as a literary genre and why I propose to interpret Daniel 2 according to this particular literary context.

Introduction to Genre

Most authors who have studied dreams in ancient literature (i.e., Ehrlich, Oppenheim, Cross, Pritchard, Husser, Hallo, Butler, etc.) have done so to categorize the various literary forms found within ancient traditions. This paper will seek to go beyond that encyclopaedic purpose in order to apply the insights and parallels found from the ancient dream narratives to the interpretation of Daniel 2. What this implies is the redefinition of Daniel 2 as a distinctive type or category of literary composition found within ancient dream narratives.

It has become apparent in Biblical studies that the identification of the genre of a text is decisive in determining its function, focus, and interpretation. The goal of source, form, redaction, and structural criticism in relation to a given text has in many cases been the isolation of a single genre from which a proper exegesis may be derived. This is especially true for the book of Daniel

of which it might be said that genre studies have come to disarray. In some instances this is simply due to different emphases: a focus on wisdom literature in the first six chapters of Daniel (DnA) will lead to the genre designation "wisdom tales,"[1] which calls attention to the wisdom of Daniel in solving the dilemmas of life under the rule of pagan governments. For the same segment, a focus on the locality of the narratives will produce the genre designation "court tales,"[2] which concentrates on the high position which Daniel and his friends have achieved because of their faithfulness to the God of Israel despite their being deported to a foreign land. In other instances, especially where source criticism is concerned, the identity of the genre of DnA will depend upon which "sources" the scholar studies and decides to define as parallel to it. The genre "heroic fairy tale" seeks to associate the narratives of DnA structurally with those of Russian and European folktales[3], while "Jewish novel"[4] considers as parallel such ancient novels as *Tobit, Esther, Judith,* and *Joseph and Aseneth.* The interpretation which proceeds from these associations is a DnA written for the entertainment of its readers; narratives which are not to be compared with biblical historiography for "historical interests are playfully undermined by a cavalier approach to dates and personages." (Wills, 3) Gammie has found sufficient evidence to

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[1]Cf. Nickelsberg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism*; and Scott, *The Way of Wisdom in the Old Testament.*

[2]Cf. Collins, "Daniel and His Social World," Collins, "The Court-Tales in Daniel and the Development of Apocalyptic," Niditch and Doran, "The Success Story of the Wise Courtier: A Formal Approach."

[3]Cf. Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale*; Milne, *Vladimir Propp and the Study of Structure in Hebrew Biblical Narrative.* Milne's conclusion of this consideration was negative: "Since none of the stories in Daniel 1-6 could be fully described with the aid of Propp's model, it was necessary to conclude that none belonged to the genre heroic fairy tale." (p.264)

[4]Cf. Wills, *The Jewish Novel in the Ancient World*

posit that DnA drew from Deutero-Isaiah in an effort to promote the "prophecies fulfilled" theme of these chapters.[5]

The disarray in the identification of genre in the book of Daniel[6] may also be due to the nature of genre study to coalesce similar structures, themes, or motifs. For instance, modern scholarship has no difficulty making the observation that DnA and DnB (chapters 7-12) belong to a different genre; the style, imagery, and purpose are clearly unparallel. In fact, it is possible to identify a binary antithesis at almost every level between these parts of the book. In this case it would be counterproductive to the whole purpose of identifying genre to posit a basic literary structure for the entire book and then to list all the ways in which various elements do not conform. Thus the observation is made and the book is divided into two. But the dual view of Daniel does not really solve the problem of genre identification, as we have seen. I fail to recognize the significance behind identifying a single unified genre for DnA in same way that most have realized the futility of this same endeavour for the whole book. If our concern by the identification of genre is to reach a more satisfactory interpretation of the text, might it not make more sense, seeing the detached nature of DnA, to conclude that the individual narratives of Daniel are essentially independent? Regarded as independent we are free to assume the possibility that each narrative (i.e., chapter 2) exhibits separate socio-political influences and, of course, genre.

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[5]Cf. Gammie, "On the Intention and Sources of Daniel I-VI."

[6]Other examples: haggadic tales (Hartman, Lacocque), modified martyr tales (Hartman and DiLella, Porteous, Wilson), midrashic tales (Hartman and DiLella), religious or popular romances (Heaton, Gammie), miracle stories (Hengel), court legends (Collins), comedy (Good).

As to the emphasis or "sources" which will be chosen as presupposition to the study, I propose to adopt "dream literature" as my primary focus for two basic reasons: (1) In the identification of genre, very few scholars have used this classification or even acknowledged it as the primary reference point of chapter two.[7] I understand that it has been the purpose of many in recent genre studies to build genre distinctions according to structure and not, as most have unsuccessfully done, by "classifications based principally on themes or motifs,"(Milne, 264)[8] however I am not convinced that authors think in terms of surface structures alone. I am certain, on the other hand, that most *readers* think in terms of themes and motifs.[9] It would seem to me unproductive to the primary purpose of genre identification to disclaim an obvious sensibility of the reader. Moreover, ancient dream literature will show a high degree of interdependence with regard to structure at more than one level. (2) The text itself communicates this focus. Four times (v.3, 5-6, 9, 26) the king demands to have his dream told to him and interpreted yet, when Daniel finally accomplishes the feat, no comment is made about its content except that the God of Daniel is the true God וְגָלֵה רָזִין because of Daniel's ability to reveal these secrets. Key words such as חֵלֶם, גְּלָא and פְּשַׁר are repeated so many times within the story that one cannot help but acknowledge

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[7]See the genre designations above. Pamela Milne, in *Vladimir Propp and the Study of Structure in Hebrew Biblical Narrative*, has provided a thorough review of the concepts involved in the identification of genre and their application to Daniel 1-6 and yet not once is the category of "dreams" included in her discussion as a possible key to understanding the genre of chapters 2 and 4. Many commentators have nevertheless suggested that the story be seen in its wider Near Eastern context of royal dreams: Collins, 1993, p.155; Hartman and DiLella, 1978, p.142; Fröhlich, 1996, p.21-24; Husser, 1994, p.253

[8]Cf A. Aarne, *The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography.*

[9]It has also been concluded that structure is not sufficient for genre identity. (i.e., Ben-Amos, "The Concept of Genre in Folklore."

6

the oneirocritical connection.

I have chosen my texts from the Old Testament as well as from the dream narratives of ancient

Mesopotamia and Egypt because this is where narratives resemble most closely to those of

Daniel 2 in their oracular or symbolic nature.(Husser, 1999, 21-22) If "oracle" is defined as a

person through whom a deity is believed to speak, then the character of Daniel in chapter 2, in its

function of dream revealer and interpreter, fits the description. Working in tandem with oracles

are dreams which contain undeciphered enigmatic images. These images or symbols are not

understood by the dreamer and therefore necessitate intuitive oneiromancy which was thought to

communicate the hidden message of the dream. Sources which do not predate the Hellenistic

period[10] tend to be more singularly ritual in character, where the emphasis is on freeing the

individual from the evil potency of a dream rather than extracting a divine message from it, and

do not represent the model with which I mean to interpret Daniel 2.[11]

Introduction to Dreams in Ancient Literature

¹²וְאֵלַי דָּבָר יְגֻנָּב וַתִּקַּח אָזְנִי שֵׁמֶץ מֶנְהוּ:
¹³בִּשְׂעִפִּים מֵחֶזְיֹנוֹת לָיְלָה בִּנְפֹל תַּרְדֵּמָה עַל־אֲנָשִׁים:
¹⁴פַּחַד קְרָאַנִי וּרְעָדָה וְרֹב עַצְמוֹתַי הִפְחִיד:
¹⁵וְרוּחַ עַל־פָּנַי יַחֲלֹף תְּסַמֵּר שַׂעֲרַת בְּשָׂרִי:

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[10]Based upon several arguments which I will not outline here, my presupposition with regards to the dating of Daniel 2 will be pre-Hellenistic *although this assumption does not extend to the final form of DnA*.

[11]There are many other permutations of dream narratives which occurred during the Hellenistic period, one which I have already mentioned in relation to the increasing specificity of dream etymology demonstrated by ὄνειρος and ἐνύπνιον.

¹⁶יַעֲמֹד ׀   וְלֹא־אַכִּיר מַרְאֵהוּ   תְּמוּנָה לְנֶגֶד עֵינָי   דְּמָמָה וָקוֹל אֶשְׁמָע׃
(Job 4:12-16)

The above passage, though it is not from the text which I propose to address in this paper,

represents some of the issues which are encountered when considering dreams and dream

narratives in Biblical and extra-Biblical literature. The first thing to be noticed in verse 12 is the

mystery and secrecy that seems to surround the oneiric event: the phrase וַתִּקַּח אָזְנִי שֵׁמֶץ מֶנְהוּ

דָּבָר יְגֻנָּב gives us the impression that the dreamer (in this case Eliphaz the Temanite) is

somehow privy to words originating from another (divine?) realm; the words of the vision or

dream were "stolen" and a "whisper" of the contents were received by the dreamer's ear.

Whether or not these words were meant to be heard, the author is clearly presenting dreams as a

candid glimpse into the spirit-world. Thus, either dreams were recognized as a means of

communication with God or, what might be more likely considering this passage as well as the

context of divination in the ancient world, the thoughts or will of the gods was believed to be

inscribed in natural phenomena.

Extending from this secrecy is the frequently encountered theme where the dreamer does not

understand what is shown to him in his dream and therefore requires the assistance of an

interpreter. Job 4:12-16 does not clearly distinguish between the dreamer and the interpreter; it

seems as if Eliphaz is performing both roles. Perhaps Eliphaz was Job's oneiromancer and his

counsel consisted in first re-dreaming¹² Job's evil dreams and then interpreting (and therefore

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¹²Cf. Dan.2:19

8

expelling) them in an attempt to cease the bodily torment he was enduring.[13] From מַרְאֵהוּ

וְלֹא־אַכִּיר we can nevertheless detect that there is a certain enigmatic element about the form

which stood before the dreamer's eyes. As we will discover, there are no attested dream-books or

recorded divinatory techniques to which the interpreter may have had recourse to aid in the

interpretation of symbolic dreams. (Husser, 1999, 34-35) Contrary to deductive oneiromancy

which had its long list of presages aimed at producing apodoses for everyday dreams, intuitive

oneiromancy, having no recorded hermeneutical guidelines, stressed the great wisdom and

knowledge of the interpreter.[14] The dream being otherwise a conundrum, the role of the

interpreter becomes rather critical and, considering the wide range of interpretations which a

symbolic dream may have had, one requiring a certain amount of faith that the connection

between the signifier and the signified (developed by the interpreter) was a real one.

Dream narratives found in ancient texts are not consistent in their depictions of the role of the

interpreter. The book of Daniel represents this inconsistency by first demonstrating in chapters

1,2, 4, and 5 how the skill of interpretation is emblematic of the blessing of God upon a righteous

person. These skills, though we are lead to believe that they are inspired by God, are nonetheless

the doing of the human person. Therefore, the interpreter not only tells that which God has

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[13]I will explore this theme later on when dealing with ritual practices and their relation to dreams.

[14]This connection of dreams with wisdom, which is demonstrated by the opening citation (also cf. Job 11:5-6; 15:8; 32:8), is also found in other non-sapient contexts as in Gen.41:39 and Dan.5:11 where the interpreter is commended for his wisdom because of the ability to interpret dreams.

revealed to him (as in the archetype of prophecy) but also uses his own wisdom in developing the interpretation. Further on in the visions of Daniel (chapters 7-12) the role of the interpreter is downplayed: chapter 7, which in many ways may be seen as transitional from the first part of Daniel to the second, begins by using the terms חֵזוּ and חֲלֹם interchangeably[15]. Use of the latter, the term largely associated with an expressed need for an interpreter, is superseded by the former which is associated with prophetic circles and which leaves as little room as possible for human imagination.[16] Jeremiah 23:25-28 makes this delineation clear by claiming that a prophet is a liar who relies on dreams. In relation to dreams and communicating what God has revealed, the author states מַה־לַתֶּבֶן אֶת־הַבָּר meaning that they have nothing to do with each other; he who hears the word of the Lord should speak it faithfully (וַאֲשֶׁר דְּבָרִי אִתּוֹ יְדַבֵּר דְּבָרִי אֱמֶת) without intermediary human wisdom. For the present it will be sufficient to say that in Biblical as well as extra-Biblical dream narratives there are a variety of views relating to the use of dreams in communicating with the divine.

The next issue that arises in connection with Job 4:12-16 is the wide influence which dreams occupy within ancient near eastern texts. This passage from wisdom literature demonstrates that dream narratives have no explicit literary boundaries which seems to stem from the simple notion that dreams are part of *universal experience*. To laugh, cry, sing, be sick, and to die are only a

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[15]...דְּנִיֵּאל חֵלֶם חֲזָה וְחֶזְוֵי רֵאשֵׁהּ עַל־מִשְׁכְּבֵהּ... (7:1) From this point on the term חֲלֹם is not used.

[16]Cf. Husser, 1999, pgs.139-154

few common physiological characteristics, along with dreaming, which indiscriminately become part of *literary expression*, regardless of genre. It is precisely the fact of universal experience which makes the study of dream narratives as literature (or, in the case of this paper, as literary genre) more complex, for in most ancient cultures these two became components along with a cycle of *ritual practices* which all influenced each other in such a way as to make the study of one of them impossible without reference to the other two. In this way, dreams may be conjured or guided by certain incubatory practices the results of which may then influence the author of a literary work. The reverse situation may also be the case where a literary work may initiate a ritual practice which in turn affects a dream. Finally, both the experience of dreaming as well as the practice of incubation may be (and were) reflected in the dream narrative. In relation to the methodology of this paper, though I will make reference to dreams within the greater context of divination, it will not be useful, in my opinion, to attempt an isolation of experiences, practices, and expressions[17] since it is the interconnectedness of these which contributes to the cultural relevance and psychological plausibility, and thus the literary success, of dream narratives as a literary theme.

The reader will have noticed that Job 4:13 does not use the word חֲלוֹם but חֶזְה in the phrase מֵחֶזְיֹנוֹת לָיְלָה translated 'from visions of the night.' The book of Daniel also uses this term, not to describe Nebuchadnezzar's experience in chapter 2 for which the word חֵלֶם and its

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[17]Husser has downplayed the utility of trying to identify an actual dream experience behind a narrative as beneficial to a better understanding of the text. (Husser, 1999, 100)

derivatives are used 18 times, but Daniel's revelation in chapter 7.[18] We commonly distinguish between dreams and visions by associating the former with the physiological reality which often accompanies sleep and the latter with a supernatural appearance which conveys some sort of revelation not previously encountered within our own mind. By the phrase "visions of the night" the two become somewhat confused. In reality, the English language is not as clear as we may have first thought since *Webster's Collegiate* uses "vision" and "dream" interchangeably[19] as does any thesaurus. As we will see, ancient literature also exhibits a certain amount of confusion in relation to dream experiences since there are so few words to describe them. It was only during the Hellenistic period that dream reports began to use words which distinguished between dreams that reflected presages of poetic or religious experiences (όνείρος) and dreams of a more general nature (ένύπνιον); this distinction is retained by the French words *songe* and *rêve* respectively. Of course, this does not help us deal with the relation between dreams and visions in pre-Hellenistic times and the multiplicity of dream experiences represented such as "rêve éveillé, rêve hypnique, état hypnoïde, rêve lucide, imagerie mentale, etc."(Husser, 1994, 22) Even the word חֲלוֹם may not always be clearly translated "dream" of the physiological type: by the phrase יַחְלְמוּ בְנֵיהֶם יִרְבּוּ בָבָּר, "their offspring becomes strong, they multiply with grain,"

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[18]Cf. Miller, "Dreams and Prophetic Visions," pg. 402

[19]**Dream:** *(a)* a series of thoughts, images, or emotions occurring during sleep. *(b)* a *visionary* creation of the imagination. *(c)* an object seen in a dreamlike state: *vision.*
Vision: *(a)* something seen in a *dream*, trance, or ecstasy: a supernatural appearance that conveys a revelation. *(b)* An object of imagination.

(Job 39:4) we see that Hebrew attests meanings other than that of "to dream."[20] As additional

illustrations, parallels of the same word also attest confusing definitions: Husser mentions

Ugaritic *hdrt* which relates to divine radiance and splendour in terms of a divine theophany; *drt*

or *dhrt* refers to visions, spiritual awakening, or a form which makes its appearance while

dreaming. (Husser, 1994, 22) Akkadian *šuttu* ("to dream") is clearly related to *šittu* ("sleep") but

Egyptian *rswt* seems to be derived from the root *r(j)s* which means "to keep watch, be awake."

(Husser, 1999, 59)

The question significant to this study is whether or not we will categorize texts, those which are

helpful parallels to our study of Daniel 2 and those which are not, according to the etymology

which they employ. I believe that it has been made sufficiently clear for the moment that since so

few words are attested that describe dream experiences (whether Hebrew, Aramaic, Akkadian,

Egyptian, Hittite, or otherwise), it will serve this study well to define "dream" in the broadest of

terms.

There are, therefore, certain categories of dreams which are evident according to ancient

literature in general: (a) dreams of a natural sort which are neither coerced nor thought to contain

prophetic[21] import. These were rarely recorded but contributed to the long lists of good or bad

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[20]This is not due to the way in which the book of Job uses the word since the more
common meaning of חֲלוֹם is also attested in 7:14, 20:8 and 33:15. Also cf. Is.38:16; Zc.6:14.

[21]Prophecy: "...inspired speech at the initiative of a divine power; speech which is clear in
itself and commonly directed to a third party." (H.B. Hoffman, "Ancient Near Eastern Prophecy,"
Anchor Bible Dictionary, 1992, 5.477) This definition, though it is not without its problems, will
be adequate for the moment.

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omens which were collected by diviners in Dream Books. (b) Dreams, incubatory or otherwise, which were thought to contain prophetic meaning and were therefore recorded and interpreted. These are sub-categorized as follows: (i) auditory dreams, made up of words, and (ii) visual dreams, made up of images.[22] Beyond this simplistic schema I wish only to note that there are a great many individual pieces which make up each dream narrative: an introduction by the dreamer, a mention of night, sleep, or waking, a professional dream interpreter, a systematic interpretation, a dialogue of the dreamer with a theophany, a response by the dreamer, an expression of fear or of a troubled mind, etc. These individual pieces are rarely all found within a single dream narrative, almost every narrative has a different combination. This should not have to lead us to create a new dream category for each new combination. Rather, as interpreters, prophets, or diviners sought to explore dreams as a means of communication with God or as an imprint of the thoughts of the gods, they were naturally led to syncretism in their practices as well as their literature. Fishbane states, "The international character and style of our biblical exegetical materials were undoubtedly due, in large part, to the residency of local experts in mantology in different royal courts, where they both learned new techniques and shared professional information." (Fishbane, 455) It would consequently not be useful to exclude Job 4:12-16 from our discussion simply on the grounds that it called the experience a "vision" rather than a "dream."[23] A more useful objective would be to identify narratives which share the

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[22]Michael Fishbane, in *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel*, organizes the various mantological genres according to two basic types: (a) visual: dreams, visions, and omens; (b) auditory: oracles. (p.443)

[23]In the next section I will reiterate the theory proposed by several authors that חָזָה may have been used in the place of חֲלוֹם in certain contexts as a reaction against the oneiromantic

greatest number of individual elements with Daniel 2 in order to find the most appropriate context from which to interpret it.

<center>∂⊾   ∂⊾</center>

Again, my purpose is not to analyse all Biblical and extra-Biblical dream narratives exhaustively but to identify parallels in order to situate Daniel 2 within a legacy of dream literature which pervaded the entire Ancient world. The identification of these parallels will lead us to certain implications with regard to our understanding of the genre and interpretation of Daniel 2 which I will relate in the last section. As to the question we began with, it will obviously not be possible to treat either universal experience or ritual practices as a literary genre. These must be seen, in the context of this paper, as exterior influences to the object of study: the written dream reports. Inasmuch as I understand genre to mean a distinctive type or category of literary composition, dream narratives, along with their contexts of experiences and practices, must be made to qualify as a possible literary genre if the term is to remain practicable.

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circles which were closely associated with divination, a practice condemned by the Old Testament. This idea uses the documentary theory of the Pentateuch as a basis for its arguments.

Parallels from the Old Testament Corpus

The following section will provide an overview of the material in the Old Testament relevant to

situating the second chapter of Daniel within a unified genre of dream literature. Throughout this

survey, I propose to address four basic issues: First, how can dreams be defined as a unified

genre within the Old Testament[24] when there is such a diversity of dream experiences, literary

contexts, and attitudes towards the importance of dreams in relation to communication with

God? I will contend that beyond literary plot, setting, theme, or structure, a unified dream genre

may be defined based upon the theological presupposition that the God of Israel *communicates*

that which is good and right.[25] This may be one way of overcoming the plurality of overlapping

sets[26] of genre distinctions which have always been the conclusion when literary-form criteria are

imposed. Identifying the particular genre of a narrative must be regarded as a different and

separate task from identifying its primary focus of theme. The primary interest of most of the

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[24]Note that the recognition of distinct literary genres among the dream narratives of the Old Testament is by no means unusual, but their designations are more specific than what I intend to propose in this paper. I.e., visual-symbolic dream report (Gnuse, 1990, 31), auditory message dream (Gnuse, 1982, 380).

[25]Cf. Mendelson, "Dreams," Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, vol.1, 868. As we will see later on, ANE dream narratives are also written under the assumption that God/the gods both communicate (Jeffers, 138-139) and care (Oppenheim, 1977, 207).

[26]Cf. Wills, 1990, pg193

narratives which contain dreams lies elsewhere than with the phenomenon of dreaming itself.[27] The cupbearer and the baker of Genesis 40 wanted to know whether they would live or die. In this passage Joseph is shown to exemplify a man whom God had blessed with wisdom during his life because of his obedience to the laws of God. Gideon was not so much interested in the fact that a Midianite man had had a dream about a loaf of barley bread, but that God had given him confirmation of his victory over the Midianites that very night.(Jud.7) In Daniel 2, Nebuchadnezzar is said to have had dreams, but this physiological fact (reinforced by the mention of a troubled mind and inability to sleep) is certainly not the primary focus of the chapter; more than half of the 49 verses deal with how the king proposes to extract what he wants out of his startled subjects. In this context, a dream or the interpretation of one becomes Daniel's claim to success in a foreign court. This as well as other themes become the evident foci of the passage, not the initial physiological statement of nocturnal visions. Foundational to all these examples is the fact that God is shown to communicate something which was understood to be favourable to the listener.

Second, how does this God of Israel communicate? In audible words or visual pictures? Does the recipient of the divine communication have to be awake or asleep? Are these messages of an enigmatic nature or are they clearly understood by the recipient? Does God communicate only because people have inquired concerning a specific question or do we receive messages from God that are beyond our own volition? Numbers 12 mentions three of these categories when God is said to have come down in a pillar of cloud to defend the authority of Moses:

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[27]Cf. Gilbert, *Le Récit Biblique de Rêve: Essai de Confrontation Analytique*, 1990, 62

שִׁמְעוּ־נָא דְבָרָי אִם־יִהְיֶה נְבִיאֲכֶם יְהוָה
בַּמַּרְאָה אֵלָיו אֶתְוַדָּע בַּחֲלוֹם אֲדַבֶּר־בּוֹ:
לֹא־כֵן עַבְדִּי מֹשֶׁה בְּכָל־בֵּיתִי נֶאֱמָן הוּא:
²⁸פֶּה אֶל־פֶּה אֲדַבֶּר־בּוֹ וּמַרְאֶה וְלֹא בְחִידֹת וּתְמֻנַת יְהוָה יַבִּיט

(Num.12:6-8a)

According to this passage, provided that the prophet is 'of the Lord,'[29] he may legitimately

receive visions as well as dreams which, I must assume, are either audible or visual since אֶתְוַדָּע

בַּמַּרְאָה אֵלָיו, translated 'in an appearance I will reveal myself to him,' makes it rather difficult

to avoid visual intent. In the next phrase we find that God also speaks in dreams (אֲדַבֶּר־בּוֹ

בַּחֲלוֹם). In relation to Moses' privileged access to God, we note that by the negation of בְחִידֹת,

'riddles,' it is understood that other prophets which may be of a lesser status than Moses may

receive messages in the form of enigmatic sayings. It would therefore seem unreasonable to

propose that God only communicated with people in one and only one way; Job states clearly that

כִּי־בְאַחַת יְדַבֶּר־אֵל וּבִשְׁתַּיִם.(Job 33:14) The rest of the Old Testament supports this idea by the

very fact that there are examples of almost every combination of the categories of audible/visual,

awake/asleep, enigmatic/non-enigmatic, by inquiry/by the volition of God. I must mention,

though, that the Old Testament has a tendency of classifying audible phenomena as non-

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[28]Many passages which refer to dreams, including this one, are generally recognized to be part of the Elohist document. Following are some of the others: Gen.15:1, 20:3, 28:11-12, 31:11, 24, 37:5-7, 40:5-7, 41:1-3, 46:2, Num.22:8, 20. (Cf. Vaulx, J. de, Les Nombres. Sources Bibliques. J. Gabalda, 1972; Noth, M. Numbers: a commentary. Old Testament Library, SCM, 1968)

[29]Alternative translation: 'If there is a prophet among you, I יְהוָה make myself known to him in a vision...' (Budd, Philips J. Numbers. Word Biblical Commentary, No.5, 1984, pg.132)

enigmatic, by the volition of God while the recipient is awake. In Daniel 2 we nearly find the reverse set of characteristics as the king dreams of visual phenomena which are enigmatic while he is asleep; but these are still, as the narrative seems to suggest, of God's volition.

This question of how God communicates in the Old Testament of necessity brings us to the issues of literary convention, the social conditioning and mental state of the dreamer, and the natural, pre-literary, function of the dream; provided, of course, that there is an actual dream and dreamer behind the narrative in question, which may not necessarily be the case. How much of the dream in any given passage is a report of a real dream experience and how much is literary constructions based upon theological presuppositions which were maintained by the dream genre? In Daniel 7:1 we are told that, after having a dream, Daniel רֵאשׁ מִלִּין אֲמַר, which may be translated that 'he related (told) the sum (essential content) of the matters.' Does this mean that there was more in his dream than he actually wrote down or that he is giving a lengthy explanation or interpretation of an otherwise modest vision? If it were possible to reach a satisfactory answer to these issues, our evaluation of dreams in the Old Testament would certainly be more accurate. Since such answers cannot be reached[30] I will have to restrict myself

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[30]Drawing upon the ideological foundations established by Wellhausen, Gunkel and others who have worked towards the goal of being able to distinguish between the various authors, redactors, and mythological sources of a text, scholars have logically entertained the possibility of filtering out literary conventions and social conditioning (etc.) in order to get at the core of a dream: the divine part. Unfortunately, universal experience reaches beyond individual literary conventions and specific cultural markers and makes this goal unattainable. (Cf. Grabbe, 1995, pgs. 119-151; Husser, 1994, pgs. 262-272; Husser, 1999, pg. 96, drawing upon Resch A., *Der Traum im Heilsplan Gottes*, Freiburg im Br., 1964) Lester Grabbe has come to the conclusion that dreams nevertheless contribute valid sociological information: "The gap of the text and reasonable historical information can be bridged to a certain extent because of the nature

to describing the dreams of the Old Testament as we have received them, together with the

conceivable context of an actual dream and/or dreamer with his social background as well as the

literary conventions and theological presuppositions of the author. Without this methodological

framework, we would become hopelessly lost in the descriptive variations of each new dream

narrative. For example, there are many different verbs associated with God's communication of a

dream: God is said to come (וַיָּבֹא אֱלֹהִים...בַּחֲלוֹם; Gen.20:3; 31:24; Num.22:9,20; 1Sam.3:10),

appear (נִרְאָה יהוה...בַּחֲלוֹם; 1Kgs.3:5; 9:2), stand (יָצַב; Gen.28:13; 1Sam.3:10), terrify

(וְחִתַּתַּנִי בַחֲלֹמוֹת; Job 7:14; 33:16), speak (בַּחֲלוֹם אֲדַבֶּר; Num.12:6), say (בַחֲלֹם

וַיֹּאמֶר...הָאֱלֹהִים; Gen.20:6; 31:11; 28:13), and reveal (בַּחֲלוֹם...יִגְלֶה; Job 33:16).[31] In the

absence of our proposed framework which serves to unify all these references, we would be

forced to treat most dream texts as vastly different one from the other. This would make the

question of how God communicates in the Old Testament all the more difficult to answer.

Third, to whom does the God of Israel communicate? If we say that God only communicates to

righteous servants, then how will we explain Jacob who, at the time of his dream, was running

away from his brother Esau for having stolen his birthright and for deceiving his father in order to

get a blessing?[32] Or what of king Nebuchadnezzar: is there any particular reason why, after

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of sociological history...a work of fiction may not tell us about a historical event, but most works
of fiction have the society of the author as the background." (Grabbe, 1995, pg. 214)

[31]Cf. Husser, 1999, pg.123.

[32]Cf. Jordan-Smith, "The Gate of Heaven," pg.6

having brought Jerusalem to its knees by a siege and then exiled its leaders and wisemen to Babylon, we should understand the king of the tyrant nation to be righteous? Perhaps, then, God only speaks to those that are chosen for reasons unknown to us. Several examples will suffice to show that this also is not the case: when Saul was chosen to be king of Israel, it is stated that the Spirit of God came upon him and he began to prophecy (1Sam.10:10). Surely he had gained a privileged form of communication with God which those who had not been "chosen" did not have. Later, because of his disobedience, God rejects Saul and we find that he simultaneously loses his communicative privileges: בַּיהוָה וְלֹא עָנָהוּ יְהוָה גַּם בַּחֲלֹמוֹת גַּם בָּאוּרִים גַּם בַּנְּבִיאִם וַיִּשְׁאַל שָׁאוּל (1Sam.28:6). In this passage, the witch that Saul later consults is able to do what he is not. Should we conclude that the witch, who was entertaining practices clearly condemned by the prophets, was now "chosen" of God to communicate with Saul? The Midianite man that I referred to earlier is chosen to receive a dream which apparently came from God since Gideon worshipped God for it, and yet a short time later this very man most likely died by the hands of those for whom he was dreaming. Balaam is another example of a prophet who communicated with God (seemingly the same God of Israel) and yet was not part of the "chosen."

In brief, God is seen to communicate to three major sets of people in the Old Testament: prophets, kings, and wisemen. Although it would be tempting to assign an appropriate form of divine communication according to their individual functions in society, prophecy to prophets, dreams to kings, and the general skills of divination to wisemen, such designations are not at all the norm: prophets are shown to practice various forms of divination (Num.22-24; 1Sam.9:8-20,

10:20-22), kings are shown to prophecy (1Sam.10:10-13) and practice divination (1Sam.23:9-11; 1Kgs.3:4-5), and wisemen recognize the importance of dreams (Ps.126:1; Job 33:14-17). By this simple fact we must acknowledge that the question of dreams is only one aspect of a much larger problem which, as this paper will show, may be answered by studying the wider Ancient Near Eastern (ANE) context.

Fourth, what are the implications of focussing on the dream genre of the Old Testament? Are we to understand them to be theological and prophetic or practical and moral? This question is the conclusion to the previous three concerning if, how, and to whom the God of Israel communicates within the proposed dream genre. I believe that it will become clear, as this study of parallels in the Old Testament progresses, that the dream genre which we find presented within the patriarchs, prophets, kings, and wisdom literature supports an interpretation which is not only practical and moral but deeply theological and prophetic. If Daniel 2 is to be regarded as parallel to these passages, we must also recognize Daniel 2 as theological and prophetic rather than a description of a king who tries to rid himself of the torment of a dream or of an exiled wiseman who gains favour in the eyes of a foreign court because of his dedication to the God of Israel. A prophetic focus might also be representative of the tradition lying behind the later apocalypticism of DnB.[33]

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[33]Collins, J.J., "From Prophecy to Apocalypticism," 2000, pg.142

22

Dreams of the Patriarchs

Abraham has various encounters with God (seven in all), three where God is said to appear[34] to

him (Gen. 12:7; 17:1; 18:1-15), and four where God only speaks (12:1; 15:1-20; 18:16-33; 22).

One of these passages (15:1) also states that there was a vision involved (בַּמַּחֲזֶה) and further on

in verse 12, during this same vision where Abraham is conversing with God, we are told that as

the sun was setting וְתַרְדֵּמָה נָפְלָה עַל־אַבְרָם. I am assuming that the words that God tells

Abraham beyond this point were heard in a dream. The earlier mention of חֶזֶה added to the

visual backdrop of the 'dreadful darkness' which fell upon Abraham serves to support this

view.[35] We are not told why Abraham falls asleep at this particular point, seemingly in the middle

of his conversation with God. Was it that he simply got tired and so God continued the

conversation in Abraham's dreams, or did God put him to sleep in order to get the message

across more clearly?[36] This seems to be the result since once Abraham is sleeping, he no longer

raises any objections as in verses 2, 3, and 8. In terms of the wider context of divination, the

passage seems to point to Abraham's knowledge of how to arrange the animals that God had

asked him to bring for the sacrifice even though nothing was mentioned about what should be

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[34]וַיֵּרָא, derived from רָאה, to see, thus there is a possibility of visual intent.

[35]Note that the sun had not yet set and therefore it was not yet dark; the darkness referred to is only in Abraham's dream.

[36]Conspicuously enough, the phrase וְתַרְדֵּמָה נָפְלָה עַל־אַבְרָם reminds us of Genesis 2:21 which uses the very same words in relation to when God put Adam to sleep in order to extract one of his ribs to create his helper. Perhaps the author chose to make this allusion to exemplify how God was to create a chosen people out of Abraham.

done with them once he had brought them.[37] As to the dream itself, it does not seem as if what is communicated by God is in any way good even though it may be the truth. What appears to be more important than personal encouragement or immediate success, which is the net result of most of the dream narratives in the Old Testament, is that God is shown to reveal the distant future of Abraham's descendants: even though there is great hardship in the future for God's chosen, God has preordained these events and will see to it that justice is done in the end and that Abraham's descendants inherit the land. Notice that these themes of future blessing (you will become a great nation, your name will be great, you will be a blessing, you will have a son in your old age, etc.) are the primary focus every time God *appears* to Abraham, including the theophany of chapter 18. This concern for demonstrating the precognisance of God over the history of nations by means of a dream inspired by God is clearly a parallel to Daniel 2.

Not much is known about Abimelech beyond his mislead encounters with both Abraham and Isaac's wives. The encounter with Abraham's wife (the second of a thrice repeated theme) is shown by the narrative to be the reason for God's intervention in Abimelech's dreams. (Gen.20) In this dream, Abimelech is shown to be in a conscious state since he carries on a conversation with God. During his short rebuttal to God's statement of impending judgement, Abimelech calls the God of Israel 'Lord' (אֲדֹנָי) and calls himself 'righteous' (צַדִּיק) having a 'clear conscience' (בְּתָם־לְבָבִי) and 'clean hands' (וּבְנִקְיֹן כַּפַּי). God agrees with Abimelech in relation to his

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[37]This is not the first allusion to divination with Abraham: Genesis 18, with its repeated yes/no questions to God (vs. 23-25, 27-28, 29, 30, 31, 32) also seem likely to correspond to ancient techniques of oracular inquiry.

innocence and decides to keep him from sinning by offering him a way of escape from judgement (again giving us the impression that sinning against God was a concern for the king). All these things tend to contradict with Abraham's initial assessment that אֵין־יִרְאַת אֱלֹהִים בַּמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה רַק, 'surely there is no fear of God in this place.' It is therefore difficult to establish Abimelech's standing before God. Having said this, given the larger context of the narrative, Abimelech's relationship with God is of less importance than Abraham's. Could it be that God communicates with Abimelech in this instance only because of his relationship with Abraham? If this is the case, which might also be applied to Jacob and his dream, personal righteousness may not be a prerequisite to receiving a dream inspired by God, but simply being in contact with or somehow important to the life of someone who is righteous. Seen in this way, without ignoring the obvious moral lesson of the passage, Genesis 20 may be interpreted as an extended part of the prophetic theme beginning with the Abrahamic call in chapter 12; if Sarah had become the wife of another, this prophetic theme would not have been accomplished. And so the narrative is seen here to protect God's interests.

Jacob again listens to the counsel of his mother and runs away from his brother who was planning to kill him for having taken their father's blessing. After travelling some 80 kilometres,[38] Jacob arrives at a place called לוּז, stops for the night, falls asleep and has a dream. As I have already mentioned, Jacob, at least at this point in his life, cannot be considered

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[38]This is the distance between Beersheba and Luz. We are not told if Jacob travelled this distance in only one day. In any event, Jacob is portrayed as physically weary.

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righteous on his own merit; Jacob himself says that he is unworthy (Gen.32:11). There even seems to be evidence that Jacob may not have been worshipping only the God of Abraham since Rachel had stolen her father's household gods (הַתְּרָפִים) and naturally brought them to Jacob's house despite his declaration in 28:21 that וְהָיָה יהוה לִי לֵאלֹהִים. Notwithstanding, whether by his association with the family that God had chosen, by the conceivably ritual blessing which his father had conferred upon him, or by divine preemption in what Jacob would later become, the narrative presents Jacob as having a special communicative advantage with God since he not only has dreams which are said to come from God, but also prospers (31:10-13) and receives blessings (32:24-30) because of this advantage.

Returning to the dream at hand, there is a visual as well as an auditory part, as is often the case in Old Testament dream narratives. If the intent of the words spoken to Jacob in his dream were singularly to inform him that the land on which he was lying was destined to belong to his descendants, then the visual content of the message would not have been needed. (Kugel, 213) Yet this part of the dream is recorded, leaving us with questions as to its function in our understanding of the entire message. Are the words that God speaks to Jacob an interpretation of the images or are they a separate message altogether? Another possibility might be that the images of a stairway leading into heaven with angels ascending and descending act as visual authentication for Jacob (that is, the reader) of the words which are about to be pronounced by God. Jewish mystical thought teaches that Jacob's dream is a depiction of the passage between two worlds since it speaks of the gate of heaven (שַׁעַר הַשָּׁמָיִם), the two worlds being the Great

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Above of God and the Great Below of humanity. (Jordan-Smith, 8) Most try to interpret both the

visual and the oral as one message, each complimenting the other, although doing so requires

some imagination or, as ancient dream narratives would have it, interpretation. After telling Jacob

that he will inherit the land he is lying on, God goes on to say וּפָרַצְתָּ יָמָּה וָקֵדְמָה וְצָפֹנָה וָנֶגְבָּה

וְהָיָה זַרְעֲךָ כַּעֲפַר הָאָרֶץ. The reference to עָפָר, 'dust', does not seem to be a positive one in

that dust is blown this way and that, to the west, east, north, and south: "these words are no

longer a prediction of Israel's expansion and power but of its subjection and dispersion."[39]

(Kugel, 214n.16) The next verse supports this theory since God offers divine assurance and

guarantees to bring the people back from where they had gone. The only other clue in the text

which may allow for a prophetic interpretation is that Jacob wakes up from his sleep frightened

(וַיִּירָא) and calls the place where he was sleeping נוֹרָא, 'fearful.' Why would Jacob be alarmed at

being told that his descendants would be blessed by God unless what he actually saw in his vision

was a symbolic message of the future fate of his people?

It must be noted here that the later appearance of the apocalyptic genre, and with it the completed

book of Daniel, may have influenced the many extrapolations of Jacob's dream based upon the

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[39]I have adopted this interpretation even though Kugel seems to have forced it in order to justify its connection with *The Ladder of Jacob* from the Old Testament pseudepigraphal writings. The word עָפָר is used in this instance to refer to abundance (Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius, 780a) and is used in exactly the same way when God speaks to Abraham about his offspring; that passage even makes reference to the four points of the compass as does chapter 28. Further, the dust is not blown but spreads; the word וּפָרַצְתָּ, 'and you will increase, break over [limits],' both because of the vav prefix and the pronominal suffix, leads us to believe that the figurative use of עָפָר is finished and that the pronoun now refers back to זַרְעֲךָ. Also note Numbers 23:10.

few elements of the text mentioned above. The *Ladder of Jacob*[40] is an elaboration and what is made out to be the previously missing interpretation of Jacob's dream. The text interprets the ladder in Jacob's vision as referring to the present age (of the dreamer) and adds that there are twelve steps on this ladder each representing a period of time in the future of Jacob's descendants. This view of a chronology of nations was maintained in later Jewish midrash.[41] Philo, in *De Somniis*, interprets the ascending and descending of the angels as representing the state of human affairs (*De Somniis*, 1:150-156) creating a picture of how God's chosen people would be repeatedly driven in and out of the promised land in the generations to come. Following this line of thought, Kugel interprets Jeremiah 30:10 as supporting the apocalyptic purpose of Jacob's dream. In the phrase וְאַתָּה אַל־תִּירָא עַבְדִּי יַעֲקֹב נְאֻם־יהוה וְאַל־תֵּחַת יִשְׂרָאֵל, translated 'do not fear my servant Jacob, says יהוה, do not be dismayed Israel,' the word תֵּחַת .according to Kugel, may be read as deriving both from נָחַת ('to go down' or 'to descend') as well as חָתַת ('to be dismayed') in which case the passage would be using a pun to encourage Jacob's descendants "not to go down, not to be discouraged by the long climb that lies before them." (Kugel, 221) Other commentators have even speculated that the stone on which Jacob slept was where Solomon's temple was to be built because of the references to בֵּית־אֵל and the phrase וְהָאֶבֶן הַזֹּאת אֲשֶׁר־שַׂמְתִּי מַצֵּבָה יִהְיֶה בֵּית אֱלֹהִים in verse 22.

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[40]Cf. Charlesworth, vol.2, pg.401

[41]Cf. remark attributed to R. Samuel b. Nahman in Ex. R. 32:7; Lev. R. 29:2; Midrash ha-Gadol Gen. 28:12.

Elaborations upon such materials as dream narratives are not unique to Jacob's dream (i.e.,

Apocalypse of Abraham) and are even found where the original passage upon which the

elaboration is based has no dream (i.e., Apocalypse of Adam, Apocalypse of Elijah, Vision of

Ezra). In the context of this paper, these interpretive extrapolations serve to demonstrate a

predisposition to interpreting the dreams of the Old Testament as supernatural messages of future

events which may have been a catalyst in the emergence of apocalypticism in the first place.

Thus, beyond the superficial parallels between Genesis 28 and Daniel 2 which might include

Jacob and Nebuchadnezzar's fear upon waking, the Lord and the large statue which both stood

above the dreamers, the ladder and the statue which had a רֹאשׁ of enormous proportions, we also

find the determination to interpret visual dream phenomena as mantic revelations of divine

foreknowledge, Genesis 28 by its later pseudepigrapha and Daniel 2 by its successive redactional

levels relating to Daniel's proposed interpretation beginning at verse 36.

The Joseph narrative begins at Genesis 37 and goes on, with the exception of chapter 38, till the

end of the book. Along with the noticeable shift in literary style which promotes the reader's

awareness of a change in the story's central locality (Egypt), we also find somewhat of a change

of heart towards this locality. In this narrative we find that by means of the various dreams which

Joseph interprets, God is shown to provide for the survival and success of the chosen people in

Egypt whereas previously God is shown to dissuade them from going there: God appears to Isaac

and says אַל־תֵּרֵד מִצְרָיְמָה שְׁכֹן בָּאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אֹמַר אֵלֶיךָ (26:2).[42] The many comparisons with

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[42]Jacob is later told in a vision at night to go to Egypt. (Gen.46:2-3)

Egyptian literature[43] certainly go to demonstrating that the Joseph narrative was written by an author who was familiar with the social and literary context of Egypt and naturally lead to a discussion of the Egyptian divinatory context. Even so, I will save these comments for the next section.

In all there are three stages in the development of Joseph's interpretive abilities, each including a pair of dreams of differing visual content but of identical meaning and purpose, according to the interpreter: (1) Joseph dreams and his family interprets (Gen.37:5-11), (2) The Cupbearer and the Baker dream and Joseph interprets (Gen.40:5-22), (3) Pharaoh dreams and Joseph provides not only the interpretation but practical advice relating to his proposed interpretation. (Gen.41) In the first stage, we find a Joseph who, we are lead to believe, was rather spoiled and was disliked by his brothers on several counts. Whether or not Joseph knew the meaning of his dreams and was telling them in order to tease his brothers,[44] both his father and brothers presumed the interpretations of the dreams and rebuked him for telling them. There is no indication at this point in the text that Joseph's dreams were inspired by God except Jacob's thoughts expressed by the phrase וְאָבִיו שָׁמַר אֶת־הַדָּבָר. (Gen.37:11) Of course the rest of Joseph's story supports these

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[43]Vergote has provided a detailed examination of these in *Joseph en Égypte: Genèse chapître 37-50 à la lumière des études égyptologiques récentes.*

[44]The suggestion is made that perhaps Joseph's early dreams are the disguised expressions of suppressed or frustrated ambitions of greatness. (Husser, 1999, 115) This may be a possibility considering the later successes realized, but inasmuch as I have bound myself to examining universal experience only within the scope of literary expression (see Introduction and Methodology) this suggestion seems to be an unwarranted application of modern dream psychotherapy to an ancient dream narrative.

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early dreams and so we may, in retro respect, say that the narrative portrays Joseph's dreams as a

prophetic message of events to come. The fact that Jacob rebukes his son for sharing these

dreams shows that they or their implications were not yet recognized as divine. Beyond

demonstrating that there may not be any recognizable difference between natural and

supernatural dreams, this passage also establishes that even though Joseph told his dreams to his

brothers and father separately, both parties independently came up with the same conclusions in

reference to interpretation. Could this mean that the family had learned certain principles of

dream interpretation? My final comment on this passage is that the derogatory phrase הַלָּזֶה בָּא

הִנֵּה בַּעַל הַחֲלֹמוֹת (Gen.37:19) may indicate a degree of scepticism in recognizing dreams as a

legitimate means of communication with God.

The trip to Egypt must have done more for Joseph than simply make him into a slave since the

second dream narrative describes a man of wisdom and principle; the Joseph of Egypt no longer

provokes people with his words but inspires trust and respect. This character change along with

the recurring injustices which befall his innocence make Joseph, from the narrative standpoint, a

worthy recipient of divine inspiration. A closer look reveals that perhaps Joseph is not as

innocent as we are lead to believe since he uses his ability of dream interpretation in order to gain

favour with the existing government. Unlike Daniel who is shown to ask God for the

interpretation (Dan.2:17-19), Joseph seems to interpret from his own wisdom. Even his

declaration that הֲלוֹא לֵאלֹהִים פִּתְרֹנִים is immediately followed by סַפְּרוּ־נָא לִי (40:8). This

same verse also points to the idea that in order for symbolic dream messages to be properly

31

understood, one must consult a professional interpreter. How did Joseph know that baskets and branches referred to days rather than hours, months, years, or any number of other things which might have been enumerated?[45] Certainly inspiration by God or by some form of learning has a large part to play in the interpretation of dreams. Note also the form that the interpretation takes more often called "atomization" referring to the interpreter's method of isolating the various visual elements of a dream and assigning each its meaning. This form of interpretation is the best indication that a dream-book of some kind may have been used to resolve the meaning of a vision. For example, a cow was often referred to as signifying fertility. (Husser, 1999, 111) I will allude to dream-books again later on.

In the last stage, Joseph is shown to apply wisdom to his gift of interpretation. He has become a wise and discerning man and even states בִּלְעָדָי אֱלֹהִים יַעֲנֶה (41:16) demonstrating his humility before God. Pharaoh, who has the dreams which are regarded as worthy of consideration, is depicted as a man of honour who listens to wisdom and even recognizes, in reference to Joseph, that רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים בּוֹ (41:38) and so resolves the climax of injustice to which, up until this point, Joseph has been made subject. As to the content of Pharaoh's dreams there are no spoken words, only images.[46] The first dream is an instance where a dreamer sees himself, as occurs commonly

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[45]Perhaps the Pharaoh's birthday (40:20) marked the time when such prisoners were dealt with (or some other custom we are not aware of) and so Joseph set his prediction for this time.

[46]Gnuse remarks that this may be the case for obvious theological reasons: God cannot be seen to communicate to a pagan ruler and, therefore, the divine message must be veiled and cryptic. At the same time, the theme criticizes the god-like view of kingship in the ancient world. (Gnuse, 1990, 32)

in reported universal experience. In any case Pharaoh is unable to decipher the meaning of them

by himself and finds it necessary to call his magicians (חַרְטֻמֵּי) and wisemen (חֲכָמֶיהָ) who,

unlike Joseph's family entourage, were unable to provide an interpretation.[47] The question

remains, why would the God of Israel want to warn the leader of Egypt (emphatically as it

appears) of a coming famine? On the practical and moral plane, God may be described as the

divine benefactor and protector of the earth. More germane to the context of patriarchal dreams is

the idea that God uses the medium of dreams in order to elevate Joseph's social position, correct

injustices, and protect the line of Abraham. This said, we have again come to the Abrahamic

covenant and must therefore admit that the narrative teaches of a God who communicates dreams

with slaves and Pharaohs alike in order to achieve a particular purpose; that purpose being on the

higher, theological and prophetic plane.

Genesis 41 is one of the most important passages in the Old Testament with regards to

establishing the greater context and genre of Daniel 2. The many similarities between the two

narratives (mention of two years in first verse, visual and enigmatic dream of ruler, troubled spirit

upon waking, professionals called to interpret dream, none can interpret emphasizing

insufficiency of human knowledge, repetition of ruler's request, revelation of things to come,

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[47]This situation seems rather awkward and perhaps unlikely since the dreams are relatively straightforward: cows, which I have already mentioned, and grain were commonly understood as symbols of fertile land. I would prefer to think that the narrative is seeking to establish that the message received by Pharaoh was not from Pharaoh nor was it from his gods but came from the God of Abraham, now also the God of Joseph.

acknowledgement that dream is from God, and Hebrew interpreter is exalted)[48] lead us to think

that one of the narratives served as a "source" for the other[49] or else both narratives made use of a

preexisting context or genre of dream identification and interpretation. The latter position is the

contention of this paper beginning with the presupposition that Daniel 2 must be interpreted in

the light of its wider ANE context.

Dreams of the Prophets

In a definition of prophecy which I mentioned earlier (note 21) it was established, at least

sufficiently for my purpose, that a prophet is a mediator between God and humankind who claims

to receive non-enigmatic messages from God by various means and who communicates these

messages to a third party. This definition not only helps us decide what materials should be

included in this section but also introduces an important shift in the way dreams were employed.

All the dreams we have presented so far, except maybe for Pharaoh's dream, have concerned only

the dreamer in that only he was prepared, encouraged, or lead by the message of his dream. Even

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[48]For a more complete list, cf. Gnuse, 1990, 41; also Driver, 17; Heaton, 122-123; Davies, 400-401; Lacocque, 1988, 36; Collins, 1993, 155.

[49]Among many other theories, Buchanan's commentary on the book of Daniel suggests that Daniel 2 is a midrash based upon Genesis 41. (Buchanan, 37) Beyond the fact that this commentator does not define what he means by "midrash," I believe that the premise is essentially based on the emphatic overstatements of Daniel which we find by comparing the two passages: Nebuchadnezzar is much more irrational than Pharaoh, in Genesis 41 Pharaoh states that no one can interpret the dream (41:8, 24) while Nebuchanezzar's frightened wisemen say that no man on earth can perform the feat (Dan.2:10; note that in this case the request is also much more difficult), finally the Daniel narrative is more dramatized what with the excessive repetitions and extreme threats. Gnuse suggests the following: "Daniel's dependence upon the Joseph novella is not an isolated example. The story may have been used as a form of encouragement for postexilic Jews, and possibly diaspora Jews in particular." (Gnuse, 1990, 31); also cf. Gunkel, *Genesis*, 434; Montgomery, 185.

Pharaoh's dream may be seen as personal since he acted upon it without promoting any further circulation of its message. With the prophets we find that dreams have almost no personal import but are meant to be announced to a group of followers for their benefit. Note that while I have attempted to present the following material chronologically, the development of views concerning the function of dreams in communication with God will sometimes overlap with material from the next section.

Beginning at the burning bush, Moses is seen throughout his life to possess communicative privileges with God which are above even prophets. In Numbers 12:8, the difference with the way God communicated with him seems to have been that God פֶּה אֶל־פֶּה אֲדַבֶּר־בּוֹ (also cf. Deut.34:10). This is not to say however that dreams and visions (often reported as enigmatic riddles, בְּחִידֹת) are prohibited by this text. On the contrary, their existence and use is affirmed. Deuteronomy 13 teaches that it is not necessarily the method that God chooses to communicate which is of import but the content of the message. Whether prophet or dreamer (both are acknowledged), both must proclaim to be אֶת־יהוה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם בְּכָל־לְבַבְכֶם וּבְכָל־נַפְשְׁכֶם אֹהֲבִים (Deut.13:4b) or else be put to death. One further comment on Deuteronomy: chapter 18 refers to detestable practices which the Israelites were not to imitate from other nations, one of them being divination or the observation of signs (v.10, קֹסֵם קְסָמִים מְעוֹנֵן וּמְנַחֵשׁ) implying seeking power to learn secret things. If dream interpretation belongs to this description, regardless of precisely when this passage was written, we have a clear example of Israel's struggle to identify a legitimate source of divine communication given the strong tendencies

35

towards the syncretism of theologies.

The candid character of Scripture is once again demonstrated by Israel's encounter with the prophet Balaam.[50] He is neither one of the chosen nor is he willfully sympathetic of them; in fact, he is hired to pronounce a curse on them. Although it is apparent that Balaam made constant and successful use of sorcery (Num.24:1), he is still presented as being able to inquire of the same God of Israel[51] and receive an answer. As to whether Balaam had dreams, my inference is based upon the following: both delegations are told to spend the night (Num.22:8, 19); the next morning we are told that Balaam got up and spoke to the delegation (v.13); finally, after the second delegation had come, the passage states וַיָּבֹא אֱלֹהִים אֶל־בִּלְעָם לַיְלָה. (v.20) Of course this does not rule out the many possible rituals that Balaam may have been performing; rituals that he was no doubt used to performing (he is not even surprised when a donkey speaks to him!). The main reason for mentioning Balaam in this paper is the obvious connections which this

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[50]Some prefer to characterize Balaam as a seer rather than a prophet since he could be paid for his services which included predicting the future and performing miracles. Generally speaking a seer was a man of action (i.e., interpretation of dreams, sacrifices, predicting, etc) while the prophet was restricted to words. (Grabbe, 1995, 100) There are several lacunae with this definition in relation to Numbers 22-24 though: there are instances where other prophets are paid for divinatory services (i.e., 1Sam.9:7); Balaam only said what God had told him to say and did not perform the service that was asked of him and so was not paid; it was really Balak who offered most of the sacrifices while Balaam's chief action was the utterance of words. The distinction between seer and prophet being thus unclear, I will elect to call Balaam a prophet since he shares inspired speech with a third party.

[51]The narrative of Numbers 22-24 is rather confusing in its depiction of the person of God since not only does אֱלֹהִים evidence a change of mind (יהוה is also used) but after telling Balaam that he could go, God is shown to be angry at him and proceeds to inhibit his donkey. Perhaps Balaam was serving another deity whom the text also calls אֱלֹהִים or יהוה.

passage has to certain divinatory practices (which I will refer to later) that serve to reinforce the hypothesis that the supernatural messages recorded in the Old Testament find their proper context within the divinatory practices of the ANE. The book of Daniel, with its many references to paid professionals in the various fields of divination (including the interpretation of dreams) which were called upon to accomplish particular tasks, fits very comfortably with the Balaam narrative.

Gideon, with a mere 300 followers, is told by God that he would be victorious over the whole Midian army whose camels are said to be as innumerable as the sand on a seashore (Jud.7:12). During the night (v.9) God perhaps sees that Gideon is afraid of the outcome of the battle (v.10-11) and so tells him (in a dream?) to go down to the Midianite camp for confirmation of his victory. The dream that he later overhears from one of the Midianites is probably the passage most easily associated with modern dream theory since it may have easily been the unconscious expression of the Midianite man's conscious apprehensions of the upcoming battle. More likely, it was not the dream but the interpretation which became subject to the prevailing apprehensions of the camp. Therefore, the reason for Gideon's sudden courage, as the narrative teaches, may be either of the following: Gideon recognized that God caused the Midianite man to dream and then to tell a friend who provided a satisfactory interpretation; God told Gideon to spy on the camp so that he would hear first-hand what the mood of the camp was by means of the dream and strategically act upon that advantage. In both cases the result is still the authentication of what God had already told Gideon. Once again the person who dreams is not really of any consequence; in this instance not even the interpreter bears any importance. As to the dream, we find a parallel with Daniel 2 in that atomization is the interpretive method: barley bread

37

represents Israel, the tent represents the Midianite camp; the statue represents the kingdoms of the world, the stone represents the kingdom of God. This passage also shows an interesting parallel with interpretive practices found in ancient dream-books in that the dream interpreter may have been using paronomasia to aid in his judgement of the dream's purpose since the letters לחם mean 'bread' as well as 'fight, do battle.'[52]

The word חזון is only used twice in the books of Samuel and they both appear in chapter 3 of the first book at the beginning of Samuel's ministry. The statement in the first verse that חזון נפרץ אין leads us to believe that this was a poor state in which to be and therefore encourages a positive view of visions. Though the text establishes that Samuel was regarded as someone through whom God spoke (1Sam.3:20), there is little to support the idea that he received messages through dreams. There are nevertheless clues throughout this passage: first the whole plot occurs at night when the oil in the lamp of God had not yet run out (3:3) indicating that it was probably late at night or early in the morning (Gnuse, 1982, 382); Samuel was likely to be asleep when the Lord called him. When Samuel was finally instructed by Eli on how to respond to the voice he was hearing, it is stated that ויבא יהוה ויתיצב as if in a dream.[53] Whether or not the passage is trying to depict that Samuel saw God standing there is still uncertain. The passage also states that God continued to appear (להראה) at Shiloh. (3:21) Finally there are two

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[52]Cf. Husser, 1999, 118; Hallo, 1997, 52; Pritchard, 495; a similar example of paronomasia is found in Amos 8:1-2; for examples from the Joseph narrative cf. Vergote, 51.

[53]As we will see, this theme is also found in ancient dream literature.

references to the Word of God being revealed (vs.7, 21) which demonstrate the hidden, oracular nature of communication with God but still do not remove the uncertainty of any visual content.[54] Visual or not, Samuel certainly hears a voice as audibly as if it had been Eli in the next room and from this time forward communicates freely with God. Samuel is presented as a man of action (cf. note 50) and even calls himself a seer (1Sam.9:19); he is rarely seen to give lengthy prophecies to Israel, but he serves in the temple (3:15), teaches (7:3; 8:10-18; 12:1-15; 15:22), offers sacrifices (7:10), sets up altars and shrines (7:12), acts as a judge (7:15), anoints kings (10:1; 16:3), and performs miracles (12:18). All this goes to confirming the similarities between the activities of Samuel and Balaam even though their allegiances were different. It also demonstrates that we have again found our proposed dream narrative within the context of a list of rituals and practices which often accompanied communication with God. This context is best described within the perspective of ANE literature.

Quite a number of years have passed in the evolution of Israelite society from the initial conquest of Palestine to the writings of the prophets. In fact, as the kingdoms of Israel and Judah draw nearer to their exiles, the number of prophetic writers increases; many beginning at the time of the rediscovery of the Law during the Josianic reforms (~640-610 BCE). A theme which becomes prominent in the later prophets is the scepticism and disapproval of the widespread practices of seeking out and declaring visions and dreams as messages from God.[55] I emphasize that there was

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[54]Note that there is no self-identification of God in this passage. Perhaps Samuel's vision of God eliminated the need for God to be identified. (Cf. Gnuse, 1982, 384)

[55]I.e., Lam.2:9

a development of this theme since earlier prophets still seem to be rather positive about the subject: Joel speaks of when God's Spirit will be poured out on all people, the result being that sons and daughters will prophesy, old men will receive dreams and young men will receive visions. (Jl.2:28) Hosea rebukes Israel for her sin but declares that it is possible to turn back from it as God spoke to the prophets and gave them many visions for this very purpose. (Hos.12:11) Still, much of the terminology of the prophets has gravitated towards the preferred חָזוֹן[56] rather than חֲלוֹם.[57] Even though the prophets admit that they saw something (i.e., Isa.1:1, 2:1, 21:2, Ez.1:1), they will rarely relate these images.[58] The divine message is always presented as non-enigmatic words communicated only by the volition of God to an appointed prophet in a wakeful state. The mention of dreams later on always has a didactic purpose as a warning against the enigmatic visual phenomena of inquiring sleepers. Everything concerning the if, how, and to whom the God of Israel communicates is brought into question. Isaiah associates visions with the state of inebriation (Isa.28:7) and denies that dreams have any relation to the physical world (Isa.29:7-8). Jeremiah equates visions with divination and delusions of the mind (Jer.14:14b,

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[56]I.e., Isa.1:1, 2:1, 21:2, Jer.14:14, Ez.1:1, 7:13, 8:3-4, 40:2, 43:3, Zec.1:8; Ob.1, Nah.1:1, Mic.3:6, etc. Note that in Daniel 2:19, Daniel has a vision and not a dream as Nebuchadnezzar had. This goes to reinforcing the idea that perhaps because of the influence of the prophets, only gentiles had "dreams" while the chosen had the more accepted "visions."

[57]Later Jewish thought seems to concur with this idea since Midrash Rabbah calls the dream the unripe fruit of prophecy.

[58]One instance in Isaiah where a vision is described is the vision in the year the king Uzziah died (chapter 6). There are also several examples in Ezekiel (i.e., 1:1-28; 8:1-4; 11:22-25; 37:1-10) and Zechariah (i.e., 4:1-3; 5:1-2; 5-11; 6:1-8).

23:26b)[59] and flatly forbids his audience from listening to dream interpreters (Jer.27:9, 29:8). It is

not all dreams and visions that the prophets are condemning though, but only false visions (שָׁוְא

חֲזוֹן) and dreams (חֲלֹמוֹת הַשָּׁוְא). Both Ezekiel and Zechariah condemn these false visions

(Ez.12:24, 13:7, 16, Zech.10:2) and yet their books are full of detailed visual imagery that they

claim to have received from God.

The question remains then, what makes a dream valid? Beyond any comment on the content of

these false dreams which was probably contradictory to the "accepted" prophets, the answer

might be more clearly found in describing how the prophets thought messages from God should

be received as well as who should receive them. Jeremiah states אֲשֶׁר אַתֶּם מַחְלְמִים

אַל־יַשִּׁיאוּ לָכֶם נְבִיאֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר־בְּקִרְבְּכֶם וְקֹסְמֵיכֶם וְאַל־תִּשְׁמְעוּ אֶל־חֲלֹמֹתֵיכֶם (Jer.29:8b)

which has the idea that these prophets and diviners were deceiving the people in regards to the

divine import of their dreams and perhaps even encouraging them to seek out dreams. Jeremiah

also speaks of dreams that people tell one another (23:27) and words stolen one from the other

claiming them to be of divine origin (23:30). The concept that immerges from the passages

mentioned so far is that the use of dreams as a source of divine communication had become so

widespread that the people began to depend upon and seek for them as a diviner seeks for oracles

and inquires upon idols for divine messages. Ezekiel provides us with proof that this was

occurring by saying וּבִקְשׁוּ חָזוֹן מִנָּבִיא (Ez.7:26).[60] More than how divine messages should be

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[59]Also cf. Zec.13:4, Jer.27:9, Isa.47:13-14, 65:4

[60]Cf. Jer.23:33-40

received, Jeremiah also qualifies who may receive them:

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלַי שֶׁקֶר הַנְּבִאִים נִבְּאִים בִּשְׁמִי
לֹא שְׁלַחְתִּים וְלֹא צִוִּיתִים וְלֹא דִבַּרְתִּי אֲלֵיהֶם
חֲזוֹן שֶׁקֶר וְקֶסֶם וֶאֱלוֹל וְתַרְמוּת לִבָּם הֵמָּה מִתְנַבְּאִים לָכֶם:

(Jer.14:14)

Twice more the phrase וַאֲנִי לֹא־שְׁלַחְתִּים (14:15, 23:32b) is used emphasizing that God did not

appoint these prophets who were proclaiming false dreams. Beyond the accomplishment of a

dream or sign as it was spoken, there is not much to help us determine how the Israelites decided

if a prophet was appointed by God or not.

The didactic dream material of the prophets may be identified as closely related to Daniel 2 in

that it provides a practical response to Israel's struggle to determine proper ways in which to

communicate with God: Daniel reaffirms God as willing and able to communicate that which is

good and right; God is the revealer of mysteries (Dan.2:22, 28, 29, 45, 47). Further, God may

communicate to whomever by means of dreams: Daniel reassures the king that וּמְהֵימָן פִּשְׁרֵהּ

וְיַצִּיב חֶלְמָא (Dan.2:45b). The similarity in structure between Daniel 2 and Genesis 41 might be

an indication of a nostalgic statement of the patriarchal relationship with God. Finally, Daniel

passes the test of telling the king what he has dreamed and so authenticates his appointment by

God to tell the interpretation. As to all the other court professionals, Daniel provides a realization

of what the prophet Micah wrote:

וּבֹשׁוּ הַחֹזִים וְחָפְרוּ הַקֹּסְמִים
וְעָטוּ עַל־שָׂפָם כֻּלָּם כִּי אֵין מַעֲנֵה אֱלֹהִים:

(Mic.3:7)

Dreams of the Kings

Whether because of the chronicling nature of the records of the kings or because of the declarations of the prophets against divinatory practices, the dream narratives within these books are fewer in number than those found in the Pentateuch and the books of Samuel. The function of the dreams in this section are not so much for divine encouragement and direction or for proclamation as a message from God as was the case for the patriarchs and the prophets respectively, but is directed towards the political end of legitimacy with regards to kingship. All the kings which will be named here had good reason to employ dreams for political purposes since "the honour of access to and communication with the gods was given to those who were regarded as the earthly representatives of the divine." (Seow, 144) If a king could establish himself as a representative of the divine, it stands to reason that no subject would then question the legitimacy of his throne.

Saul had been officially rejected by the prophet who had anointed him king and so was in a constant struggle for the validation of his position. The first book of Samuel makes it quite clear that God no longer communicated with Saul by dreams, Urim, or prophets (1Sam.28:6, 15), thus Saul resorted (or returned; cf.1Sam.9:6-9) to an unauthorized form of divination which he himself had supposedly expelled from the land (1Sam.28:3). David, Saul's political rival, not only acquired the epithet הִכָּה שָׁאוּל בַּאֲלָפָו וְדָוִד בְּרִבְבֹתָיו (1Sam.18:7, 21:11, 29:5) but received the sought after visions: אָז דִּבַּרְתָּ־בְחָזוֹן לַחֲסִידֶיךָ (Ps.89:20; cf.Ps.17:15). David is

43

also shown to inquire of God by means of the ephod[61] (1Sam.23:9, 30:7, 2Sam.6:14, cf.2Sam.5:19). As if to make the contrast between Saul and David complete, David is recorded to have seen visions and made successful use of accepted divinatory practices as well as receive visions by means of a prophet: the word of the Lord comes to Nathan at night (2Sam.7:4, 1Chr.17:3) and is later told to David (2Sam.7:17, 1Chr.17:15). The phrase כֵּן דִּבֶּר נָתָן אֶל־דָּוִד וּכְכֹל הַחִזָּיוֹן הַזֶּה הָאֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים כְּכֹל (2Sam.7:17) makes reference to the fact that Nathan told David about the words that he had heard as well as the vision that he had seen. As to the content of the vision, the political implications of a phrase like כִּסְאֲךָ יִהְיֶה נָכוֹן עַד־עוֹלָם (2Sam.7:16) are obvious.

With Solomon we again see the influences of ancient rituals in proximity to the report of a dream since the king is recorded to have offered sacrifices after the kingdom was securely in his hands (1Kgs.2:46).[62] Immediately following these sacrifices the Lord appeared to Solomon during the night in a dream (1Kgs.3:5) and authenticates his reign by promising to give him discernment in administering justice (1Kgs.3:11). Many commentators mention that Solomon's trip to Gibeon to

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[61]Priests normally wore this garment when serving in the presence of God (Ex.28, 39). The fact that the author of the books of Samuel portrays David using it shows that he was seen as equivalent to a priest (cf.1Sam.2:18, 28, 14:3) and certainly regarded as an "earthly representative of the divine." Note also that the ephod was associated to many other practices, some of which were legitimate (i.e., Urim and Thummim: Ex.28:30, Lev.8:8, Num.27:21, Dt.33:8, Ezr.2:63, Neh.7:65, 1Sam.28:6), some not (i.e., Jud.8:27, 17:5, 18:14, 17, 18, 20, Hos.3:4).

[62]Cf. Seow, "The Syro-Palestinian Context of Solomon's Dream." Other kings in the Old Testament who offered sacrifices after having secured the throne: Saul (1Sam.11:15), David (2Sam.5:3), Absalom (2Sam.15:7-12).

offer sacrifices followed by this encounter with God in a dream makes a good case for incubation which was also a common practice of neighbouring nations. In this particular dream Solomon seems to be cognisant in his sleep since he has a conversation with God as Samuel did in the temple. After God finishes speaking to him, Solomon wakes up and realizes that it was a dream.[63]

The dream of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 4 is rather different than the dreams described so far in this category in that it describes enigmatic visual elements in the style of the patriarchs and the other dreams and visions of Daniel. Further, none of the kings mentioned had or required an interpretation; the message was in words and was clearly understood. Daniel 4 might therefore be categorized as part of a sub-genre of dreams that occur within a court setting including Genesis 41 and Daniel 2. The context of political relations and supernatural intervention in the book of Daniel make this sub-genre a logical and appropriate choice. Characteristics which Daniel 4 shares with this sub-genre are that the dream occurred at night while sleeping (Dan.4:2), the dreamer was troubled in his mind (v.2), the court professionals were called (v.3), the professionals are unable to interpret the dream (v.4), the Spirit of God is recognized to dwell in the interpreter (vs.5, 15) who is set apart from the other interpreters, and the interpretation in all three cases turns out to be negative: Pharaoh is told that a famine is coming, Nebuchadnezzar is told that his throne is more finite than he had hoped, and Daniel 4 proclaims a judgement on his sins. Dreams with negative implications are not confined to this sub-genre though since

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[63]Note that the parallel passage in Chronicles negates the dream genre (2Chr.1:7, 12). The fifth verse of this chapter does not refer to Solomon inquiring of the Lord but that Solomon sought (or frequented) *the altar* which was made by Bezalel. (Cf. Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius, 205a; also cf. Amos 5:5-6)

45

Abraham, Jacob, the Baker, Balaam, and Samuel also receive them. Daniel 4 also shows an interesting parallel with Genesis 41 in that both include not only an interpretation but words of wisdom on how to avoid the impending disaster.[64] Pharaoh, having listened to Joseph's advice, avoided the devastating effects of drought. Nebuchadnezzar, on the other hand, did not heed the warning that was given him (Dan.4:24) and was therefore punished. The phrase אַרְכָה לִשְׁלֵוְתָךְ

וַחֲטָיָךְ בְּצִדְקָה פְרֻק וַעֲוָיָתָךְ בְּמִחַן עֲנָיִן הֵן תֶּהֱוֵא may be a clue to the political agenda of this passage. The theme is also reminiscent of the book of Esther and the Jewish woman who tactfully asks the king to free the oppressed. The legitimacy of Nebuchadnezzar's throne is retained by verses 23 and 33 that guarantee the king's return and restoration after having paid his penance.

The theme of legitimacy in regards to kingship is also found in the dream of Daniel 2, not that it works towards establishing the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, but, on the contrary, it seems to disclose the uncertainty of the political system and the insecurity of its ruler. Fewell makes many references to this in *Circle of Sovereignty* (1988, 1991) by the following observations: Nebuchadnezzar's insistence that his dream be told to him (Dan.2:5, 6, 9, 26), the accusation that his courtiers were scheming (v.8) and conspiring (v.9) against him as if they expected his reign to come to an end in the near future (v.9), and the ease at which he decides to execute a portion of the ruling class of Babylon (v.12). The dream itself portrays a top-heavy and therefore unsteady statue (v.32), the crushing of all human authorities (v.40) and the forming of political alliances

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[64]As we will see later, "taking steps to frustrate destiny was not seen as a contradiction in the Ancient Near East. In Mesopotamia, life's events were understood to be fixed and determined, but not inevitable." (Butler, 3)

46

(v.43); "Nebuchadnezzar fears dismemberment and his vision is dismembered." (Fewell, 1988, 60)

The dreams of the kings may therefore be included in our ever widening circle of parallels which have as premise that God communicates that which is good and right and, further, that God may communicate by means of a dream. We have also reaffirmed here that dreams are found within a context of practices more properly understood from the perspective of ANE literature.

Dreams according to Wisdom Literature

I have now come full-circle in this overview of dream materials in the Old Testament. In the introduction to this paper, I referred to the dream experience recorded in Job 4 as representative of various issues connected with dream literature in the ANE such as the mystery and secrecy of their disclosure, the mutating role of the interpreter, and the ambiguous use of the terms 'dream' and 'vision.' As with the prophets, we find that wisdom literature speaks of dreams primarily for didactic purposes. From the perspective of the rest of the Old Testament dream materials, this didactic purpose focuses upon the physical reality of dreams rather than the question of divine causality. Ecclesiastes teaches that dreams are a result of emotional anxiety (Ec.5:3) and, as in the case of a fool's many words, are meaningless (v.7) in that they offer no eternal relevance. The book of Job, which has four references to dreams and visions, also alludes to the physical reality by describing a dream's relation to fear and trembling (Job 4:14, 7:14), hair standing on end (4:15) and a dream being forgotten upon waking up (20:8). Job also teaches that God may use dreams and visions in order to speak warnings of wrongdoing and pride for the purpose of saving

a person's soul from שַׁחַת, 'the pit.' This teaching might also be supported by a proverb: עַם

בְּאֵין חָזוֹן יִפָּרַע (Prov.29:18). Thus, according to wisdom, God makes moral standards known to

humankind by means of the natural world, that is, by the physical reality of dreaming. I have

included these few paragraphs in an attempt at being comprehensive in showing the unity of the

Old Testament in its use of the premise behind our dream genre: however dreams are described,

they are nevertheless understood as a link with the divine.

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In this study of dreams where God is recorded to have communicated with various people in

various ways throughout the Old Testament, we have seen that a unified dream genre may be

recognized and employed in the definition of the genre of Daniel 2 in at least four ways:

(1) dreams, both as a subject and an occurrence, make us aware of the ongoing struggle which the

Jewish nation had with syncretism. (2) By the many variations of dream occurrences

communicated to an even broader group of people, dreams in the Old Testament teach that God

communicates how and with whom God pleases. (3) Every dream of the Old Testament

supernaturally reveals theological and/or prophetic knowledge which was otherwise hidden.

(4) Despite the accusations of the prophets, dreams continued to be recognized as divine

authority.

Parallels from the Ancient Near East

In this section I will attempt to sort through the writings of the Ancient Near East (ANE) for the purpose of extracting those texts which are relevant to affirming Daniel 2 as properly contextualized within ancient dream literature. The questions which I began with in the last section are still relevant and therefore I will apply them here:

First, how can we define dreams and dream narratives as existing within a unified genre when, as was the case with the Old Testament, ANE texts provide us with a varied if not fragmentary attitude towards dreams? As with the study of most themes which rely upon ancient narratives, one is never positive that the identification of a particular theme and its variations are due to a widely held belief and the development of this belief or else a theme misguidedly dependent upon the accidents of discovery.[65] The frequency that a certain literary genre, such as the dream narrative, appears to have been used may not be the final index of the social, political, and religious context of the area. Unlike what the book of Genesis leads us to believe, the use of dreams as a literary device is attested far more often in Mesopotamian tradition than it is in Egypt.[66] The only two symbolic dreams represented in all the Egyptian royal inscriptions are the

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[65]Cf. Jeffers, 7

[66]Cf. Oppenheim, 1956, 187a, 207a

dream of Tanutamun and that of the Prince of Bekhten (App. I, 4, 5) which both appear much later by comparison, about the time of Alexander and his triumph and subsequent establishment in Alexandria. In the light of this fact, it is difficult to posit Genesis 41 as a source for Daniel 2 or, further, to say that Genesis 41 represents the mainstream of Egyptian beliefs and practices in relation to dream phenomena.[67] Added to the uncertainties associated with the quantity of distribution, authors, editors, and compilers had individual preferences. The "Elohist" document, for example, is responsible for nearly all the dream narratives in the Old Testament, the Gospel of Matthew records the occurrence of dreams in the New Testament[68], and the majority of dream narratives in the ANE come to us by means of the Hittite king Hatushili and the Assyrian king Assurbanipal. (Oppenheim, 1956, 187a-b, 199b) In terms of practice, contrary to what Daniel 2 presents, Mesopotamian religious life confirms very few references to what we have understood to be professional dream interpreters. (Oppenheim, 1956, 200a)

Moving beyond these doubts, it seems unlikely that the many civilizations of the ANE would ascribe to a single attitude in relation to dreams: "It is not possible to talk of a general ancient attitude towards dreams and their interpretation without differentiating between epochs, locales, and their cultural and social environments." (Berchman, 117) Even so, a unified dream-genre may be defined from a multiplicity of positions by resorting once again to the presuppositions which make up the background to communication with the gods through dreams. Dreams, within

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[67]"L'interprétation des songes est une pratique trop généralement répandue dans le monde pour que nous puissions...attribuer à une influence Égyptienne des manifestations qui pourraient...être le produit de croyance spontanées." (Sauneron, 52)

[68]i.e., Matt. 1:20; 2:12, 13, 19, 22; 27:19

the context of the ANE, are usually unsolicited revelations of the future realization of fate which may be defined as "the nature with which a supreme cosmic power or order has endowed every individual at birth, a country or city or even a stone of a specific kind..." (Oppenheim, 1956, 229b) Thus every natural and supernatural phenomenon, including dreams, is deemed to be "endowed" by the gods and, based upon this assumption, of prognostic import. (Oppenheim, 1956, 237b) As we will see, this motivation behind dream exegesis is uniform throughout the ANE as well as over a long period of time. This being the case, I will seek to present my information from a synchronic perspective. The use of source criticism here is therefore not to establish "sources" but to prepare us to appreciate the stereotypical features of the narratives[69] and, by this means, to provide a more apt analysis of the genre of Daniel 2.

Second, how are these revelations of the future realization of fate from the influence of the supernatural world received? As we might expect, dreams are received with at least as much variety as in the Old Testament. The most important distinction is that ANE texts do not exhibit any kind of polemical struggle with this or that form of divine communication as we find in the Old Testament. Parenthetically, it may not be coincidental that dreams in the Old Testament which contain a symbolic message are all addressed to gentiles (i.e., Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar) or that along with the Deuteronomic reforms, traditions associated with shrines were suppressed and lost and dreams then avoided their revelatory character and came to be contrasted with "true" prophecy. (Jeffers, 139) This is not to say, however, that ANE customs, beliefs, and literary conventions did not impose restraints upon certain dream phenomena. "Evil dreams" were

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[69]Cf. Collins, 1993, 155; Wills, 1990, 68

understood to be caused by malevolent forces at work in a person's life. Recipients of such dreams sought to rid themselves of any residual presence of it and, by so doing, cancel out any evil effects which the dream foretold. The dream was reported to a diviner who then prescribed an appropriate remedy which, if correctly applied, would free the individual.[70] This type of dream was never adapted to narrative form because superstitions prevented them from being retold except for cathartic purposes. Rather, the visual elements were collected along with a proposed apodosis in what became a diviner's guide to identifying evil dreams: the Dream-book.

An interesting fact among dream narratives in the ANE is the perpetual desire for a message received in a dream to be confirmed either by another dream or else by some other sign. According to Oppenheim, this tendency may be an indication that "the objectivity of a 'sign' activated by the god himself is clearly preferred to the subjectivity of the dream-experience." (Oppenheim, 1956, 212b) This may be a clue to the Old Testament's own distrust of dreams.

Third, what type of person can receive dreams? Earlier I mentioned that the ANE concept of history dictates that a supreme cosmic power may "endow" even a rock with its predestined fate. The question is not whether a particular person may receive a revelation of his predestined fate, but whether or not he is able to interpret the dream for its mantic import. (Oppenheim, 1956, 240a) Having said this, I would be unable to state that a person's social position had no bearing upon the value of his dream or its interpretation since most of the dream narratives I will refer to involve royalty or some other ruling class. It stands to reason that no one is interested in

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[70]Cf. Husser, 1994, 4

preserving the revealed fate of a person of no political influence.

Fourth, what are the implications of focussing on the dream narratives of the ANE? In relation to what I mentioned earlier about a more apt analysis of the genre of Daniel 2, it will become obvious that the dream narratives of the ANE were not understood to be either practical or moral but consistently mantic[71] and revealing more about the author's ideas about the supernatural world than about the dream recipient and his world.[72] By excluding the practical aspect of dreams, I wish to differentiate between the literature which we are studying here and the cathartic practices of the diviners whose Dream-books find their proper context among ANE extispicy, lecanomancy, and libanomancy.[73] As to the moral aspect of dream literature, a lacuna to its absence is found within the Hittite royal inscriptions which are closely linked to the piety of the king rather than a means of discerning the future. (Husser, 1999, 58; Vieyra, 89) I will examine this in more detail later.

In the interest of brevity and in order to sufficiently analyse the vast amount of material in the ANE which might benefit the recontextualizing of Daniel 2 within a dream-genre, I will

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[71]Dreams in the ANE "occur exclusively in literary texts where the interest of the poet and his audience is always directed towards the future. Mantic, the prediction of things to come, is paramount in all these dream-reports." (Oppenheim, 1956, 185b)

[72]Our present concept of symbolic dreams is that they always reveal something of the personality of the individual who dreamed, whereas the dream narratives of Mesopotamia reveal the message of the deity. (Oppenheim, 1956, 219b)

[73]The dream-narrative and the evil dream cannot be studied in terms of the etiology of dreams in general; this type of study would not adequately reflect Mesopotamian views. (Grunebaum, 342)

approach this study topically rather than chronologically or systematically: (1) assumptions behind dream literature in the ANE, (2) literary frames of dream narratives and other philological parallels, (3) interpreters and atomized exegesis, and (4) dreams and politics. My purpose throughout will be to highlight what I believe to be parallels of the dream narrative of Daniel 2.

Assumptions behind Dream Literature in the ANE

If nothing else, the number and variety of texts found in the ANE which concern divinatory practices demonstrates that divination was a main preoccupation. This was especially true in the context of a ruler's court which was "concerned to guide its activities by consulting the divine world through divinatory means." (Grabbe, 1995, 150) If we are to examine the assumptions behind ancient dream literature, we cannot help but do so from the perspective of divination. The natural world (of which humans are a part) was unavoidably subject to fate; fate, of course, was predetermined by a deity. Both the manipulation and coercion of hidden powers (magic) and the art of reading signs which reveal future events (divination) were practiced within this system of rationality in order to realize a certain amount of independence from it. (Jeffers, 2) The very presence of Dream-books and other divinatory hand-books along with various types of sorcery all under the supposed religious umbrella is reason enough to posit that the ancient world made no strict delineation between "science," "religion," and "magic." (Jeffers, 16) On the contrary, a single world-view was responsible for all of these expressions and insights into the supernatural world. Nebuchadnezzar seeks to have his dream interpreted simply because he exists within "a cultural tradition in which secrets are regularly revealed by divinity to humanity." (Buchanon,

49)[74] Whatever phenomenon a human being may perceive, whether that be the movements of smoke in the air or of oil mixed with water or of a dream during the night, the supposition remains that it occurs not only due to specific if unknown causes, but for the benefit of the diligent observer. (Oppenheim, 1977, 207) This observer will, by his scrutiny, reveal the intentions of a supernatural agency, thereby relieving the threat of the unknown.

Three basic assumptions which seem to be common to all dream narratives of the ANE are that (a) dreams represent a real communicative link to the deity which may be established artificially (i.e., incubation) or spontaneously (i.e., by the deity's own volition). (b) Dreams are sent by one god; that is, spirits do not send dreams. (Jeffers, 139) Even the obvious polytheism of the Epic of Gilgamesh (Enlil, Humbaba, Shamash, Ishtar, Anu) still portrays dreams as emanating from one deity. (c) Dreams occur when the power of the body has been minimized, as in extreem fatigue, sleep, or the awareness of physical inability; for it is "only during sleep that the power of the soul speaks out with its full clarity." (Covitz, 24) Note that sleep as such may not be understood as a prerequisite for receiving dream messages of divine origin. For instance, as I mentioned in the introduction to this paper, Akkadian šuttu (dream) is a cognate of šittu (sleep) demonstrating the close relationship between the two in common understanding. Egyptian, on the other hand, has rswt (dream) and r(j)s (to keep watch, be awake) as derivatives. (Husser, 1999, 59; Leibovici, 65)

Unlike most ANE cultures which associated dreaming with sleep, ancient Egypt saw it as a

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[74]Cf. Lawson, "The God who reveals."

heightened state of awareness; an awakening, as it were, into another world.[75] Thus dreams were

not necessarily considered natural phenomena instigated by the gods, but a perspective upon the

other world. (Husser, 1999, 59; Sauneron, 19) This other world was understood to be a return to

chaos and to a reality separate and untouched by creation. Since time was considered to be part of

the created world, the dreamer, during his "awakening" moments, could access a place where "le

temps irréversible d'ici-bas...n'a plus cours et où le future peut se révéler comme un aspect

perceptible du présent." (Sauneron, 20) As far as divinatory practices, Egypt was much less

complex than Mesopotamia and showed little evidence of any interest in actively seeking out and

interpreting signs which would foretell the future. Divination dealt primarily with choices that

had to be made in the present and solicited answers of the type "yes" or "no." The interpretation

of dreams, however, is well attested and, by its presence, affirms its independence from

divination. (Husser, 1999, 71) A dream interpreter was therefore not an observer and chronicler

of unusual phenomena but a wiseman endowed with knowledge of the other world. Such

practices as incubation only appear late in Egyptian literature to the extent that a Hellenistic

influence cannot be ruled out. A few scholars support the theory that later Egyptian divination

and oneiromancy was borrowed from Mediterranean cities: "il faut du moins souligner le fait que

c'est en Egypt, dans un milieu mixte où se combinaient les pratiques traditionelles et les

emprunts méditerranéens, qu'elle s'est développée avec peut-être le plus de faveur..." (Sauneron,

53) Evidence of influences which many have thought to come from Egypt (i.e., the Joseph

narrative and, by its similarity to Genesis 41, Daniel 2) may in effect have originated from

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[75]Cf. Foucart, G. "Dreams and Sleep (Egyptian)." Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion
and Ethics. Vol. 5

Mesopotamia or even Israel.[76]

The Hittite texts have no symbolism; the dream appearances of Ishtar, the dreams of Hattushili and the Queen all tell of a message received within a dream which was directly and clearly understood.[77] These dreams are also, as I mentioned earlier, linked to the piety of the king.

> My brother Muwatalli named me for (an ordeal by means of) the sacred wheel. My Lady Ishtar, however, appeared to me in a dream and said to me in the dream as follows: "Shall I abandon you to a (hostile) deity? Be not afraid!" And with (the help of) the goddess I was acquitted. Because the goddess, my Lady, held me by the hand, she never abandoned me to a hostile deity (or) an evil judgment. (App. 1, 28)

Beyond the king's obvious use of this and other dreams to present his usurpation of rule as guided by the goddess Ishtar, we find that a certain intimacy is established between the king and the goddess (and therefore the divine will) which validates the king as protected and separated from "evil judgement." In the third dream-appearance of Ishtar, we find that dreams were "instruments used by the gods to bend human behavior to conform to their divine will." (Husser, 1999, 58):

> To whatever nobles Urhi-Teshup had ever banished, my Lady Ishtar appeared in a dream (saying): "Aimlessly (?), you have tired yourselves out(?)! I, Ishtar, have turned all the lands of Hatti to the side of Hattushili!" (App. 1, 30)

The particularity I am emphasizing here is that dreams were used to portray the deity as being in control rather than a means used by humans to discern the designs of the gods. The Hittite dream narratives are less interested in predicting the future than they are in determining the present will

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[76]Cf. Caquot, 112; Jeffers, 131

[77]This is somewhat similar to the Egyptian corpus which, without counting the dreams of Tanoutamon and Ptolemy Soter, are also all non-enigmatic.

of the deity, usually at a time of crisis. (Vieyra, 89, 97)

Finally, in the Babylonian concept, all dream experiences were thought to be dangerous: "Ishtar heard my desperate sighs and said (to me in a theophany): 'Be not afraid (that you see me)!' (This alone) put confidence in my heart (and she continued)..." (App. 1, 22) Whether of mantic import or not, a dream was something from which to be freed. (Leibovici, 66) Later on, at the time of the Neo-Assyrians, the prestige of oneiromancy and, consequently, of dream narratives was overshadowed by other divinatory techniques. Further, divine apparitions (usually attributed to a dream experience) seem to have been the unique privilege of a certain class of officials such as clergy or royalty who, as I mentioned earlier, were chosen by the gods as delegates. (Leibovici, 81)

Whether or not Nebuchadnezzar's reaction to his dream (i.e., troubled mind, unable to sleep, summoning of diviners, worship and rewarding of Daniel who provides the interpretation) was because of his worry about the future fate of his kingdom, the passage is clearly concerned about guiding the activities of the court according to the influences of so-called supernatural phenomena. Nebuchadnezzar is prepared to go to great lengths to get an interpretation for his dream all because of the assumption that he believed that there was something to be learned from it which would somehow aid in his ability to rule the kingdom. Another possibility might be that, as Babylonian dream narratives have taught us, he was afraid of the evil effects of the dream and sought for the deliverance of his person by having it interpreted. Lastly, if the book of Daniel patterns itself according to the Mesopotamian view of dream interpretation and divination and

the independence of the two, the person of Daniel in his role of dream interpreter becomes a wiseman and not one among the court diviners.

Literary Frames of Dream Narratives and Other Philological Parallels

Careful consideration of ANE dream narratives reveals quite readily that these were written with certain restrictions or guidelines in mind. (Oppenheim, 1956, 185a) Having read widely enough to distinguish between the individual and the typical characteristics, these guidelines become apparent both for the dream report itself as well as for the story within which it is found. (Oppenheim, 1956, 186b) The results of these literary restrictions have been called a "frame"[78] which is essentially composed of a (a) setting or details concerning the dreamer such as who, when, where, and the circumstances for the dream, (b) the content of the dream itself, and (c) a fulfilment or reaction to the dream. As we will see, many of the dream narratives warrant a more detailed frame.

There are perhaps two logical reasons why such a frame was generated, the first being that the literary structure represents universal experience which could easily have been responsible for a similar cross-cultural and synchronic representation. The second is that the compositional technique of the dream narrative, however it was initiated, proved to be well suited to the structuring of a narrative text. (Husser, 1999, 103) For instance, a crisis may lead to a dream which, in turn, may forecast the outcome of the crisis and simultaneously create a climactic lead toward the actual resolution of the crisis. Thus a dream has a unifying effect upon the various

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[78] I.e., Oppenheim 1956, 1970, 1977; Husser 1994, 1999; Butler, 1998.

elements of a narrative, carrying it to its conclusion and providing it with a symmetrical organization.[79] I am not prepared to say that the frame which we find to be so consistent in the ANE is due to some kind of manual providing authors with a list of guidelines for writing dream narratives. At the most, this consistency over time and over geographical area only demonstrates the popularity of the literary theme and its malleability for reuse. Again, "it matters little [to this study] whether or not [dream narratives] correspond to factual incidents if only their recording follows the stylistic requirements evolved in the specific type of literature." (Oppenheim, 1956, 202a)

Note that ANE dream narratives are categorized in various ways: Philo organized them as enigmatic, distinct, oracular, imaginative, and apparative (*De Somniis*, 1:1-2; 2:1-2) according to a complex series of characteristics. This categorization of literary dream phenomena led to our modern view of positing not only that dreams may be differentiated based upon separate philological elements, but that these separate dream categories may have developed from distinct "religious" practices and social conditions.[80] Contrary to this theory, a review of the various ways in which dreams have been classified[81] will reveal that there are many overlapping sets of

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[79]This is also the case in the Old Testament: the dreams of the Joseph narrative are a major contributing factor vis-à-vis the unity of the whole; the dreams told at the outset of the narrative foretell and prepare the reader for what is to come. (Redford, 69)

[80]Cf. Grabbe, 1995, 100-116; Husser, 1999, 100

[81]Some other classifications are as follows: message, symbolic, and mantic (Oppenheim); mythical, provoked, and historical (Leibovici); direct revelation and symbolic or allegorical (Redford); message dreams involving a divine decree and symbolic dreams portending the future (Husser); simple message dreams, symbolic dreams, and incubatory dreams (Jeffers).

characteristics which breed confusion if one is trying to establish a clear path from literary

composition back to "religious" practice. However the dream narratives are classified and beyond

the numerous observations which serve to emphasize their dissimilarities[82], consideration of the

so-called frame serves to reveal the unity of the literary context within which they were written

from the Sumerian writings of 3000 BCE to Ptolemaic Egypt to Mesopotamia...to the book of

Daniel.

Of the dream narratives analysed[83], I have chosen the dream of Tammuz from Sumerian literature

(App. I, 14) as my starting point. The sequence of events (or frame) of this narrative is described

here in tandem with parallels from the book of Daniel:

> (1) A description of the setting. This dream comes as a foretelling of the death of
> Tammuz; Dan.1:1-2:1.
>
> (2) Declaration that a dream has been received: "the shepherd lay down in the southwind,
> to dream he lay down"; Dan.2:1.
>
> (3) Confused awakening: "he arose—it was a dream...he rubbed his eyes, full of daze";
> Dan.2:1.
>
> (4) Insistent demand for an interpreter: "Bring my sister, bring!" (Tammuz also calls for a
> scribe, songstress, wise-one, and "one who knows the heart of matters"); Dan.2:2-13.
>
> (5) Legitimization of the interpreter: "Oh my sister who knows dreams well"; Dan.2:16-

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[82]For example, censorship of symbolic dreams in the ANE is rigorous and admits them
only reluctantly. (Oppenheim, 1956, 206a) Further, symbolic dreams are recorded only in literary
texts dealing with epical material whereas message dreams are found primarily in the royal
inscriptions. (Oppenheim, 1956, 209b) Message dreams are more strictly conventionalized than
symbolic dreams: the dreamer is a king or male hero, there is a moment of crisis, the message is
stated in clearly understandable words, and the "sleeper" is awake. (Grunebaum, 346)

[83]I have provided a list in Appendix I

30.

(6) Description of the dream content itself: lines 11-26; Dan.2:31-35.

(7) Atomized interpretation: lines 27-41; Dan.2:36-45. The rest of the Tammuz narrative was lost.

(8) In Daniel 2, from verses 46 to 49, there is a final step where the interpreter is honoured.

This last element is not represented in ANE dream narratives except perhaps for the statement of the Egyptian king Tanutamun in response to an interpretation: "True indeed is the dream; it is beneficial to him who places it in his heart but evil for him who does not know it." (App. I, 4) A more inclusive title for this step might be that it is part of the reaction or fulfilment to the dream and thus included as one of the three major components of ANE dreams as suggested by Oppenheim and others.

From this point on, though the narratives show similar patterns, each presents a slight variation on the characteristics listed above. I have represented some of these in the table below. From this sample we begin to recognize the more prominent characteristics around which others may or may not cluster. Note that this table somewhat misrepresents the aforementioned frame in that there are instances where the narrative "violates" the sequence of events typified by it. A few of these are inconsequential such as the Old Babylonian version of Gilgamesh (App. I, 15) which has the legitimization of the interpreter following rather than before the description of the dream. More significant is the confused awakening which, in Thutmose IV, Tanutamun, Bekhten, Djoser, Taimhotep, and Nektonabōs (App. I, 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, respectively), appears after the dream report. This seems to me to be rather important since it exemplifies a reverse literary

perspective; in these narratives the dream is reported from the perspective of the dreamer and not a third party. It may be for this reason that Oppenheim did not consider (3) as part of his essential frame.

Dream Title/Characteristic	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Dream of Gudea (Sumerian)	•	•			•	•	•	•
Gilgamesh (Old Babylonian version)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Gilgamesh (Neo-Assyrian version)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
First Dream of Gilgamesh	•	•	•		•	•	•	•
Dream of Enkidu	•	•				•		•
Dream of Gyges (Ashurbanipal)	•	•				•		•
The Crossing of the River Idid'e	•	•				•		•
A Warning Dream (Ashurbanipal)	•	•				•		•
Dream of Thutmose IV (Sphinx stela)	•	•	•			•		•
Dream of Tanutamun	•	•	•	•		•	•	•
Dream of the Prince of Bekhten	•	•	•			•	•	•
Dream of Taimhotep	•	•	•			•		•
Dream of King Nektonabōs (Greek sc)	•	•	•			•		•
First Dream-Appearance of Ishtar	•	•				•		•

Note also that ANE dreams have many characteristics beyond the eight that I have listed above: Though many narratives mention that there is an awakening (eight of the fourteen I have listed), very few record any indication that the dreamer fell asleep. The second dream of Gilgamesh states,

> [And the mountain] brought a dre[am   ]
> [It m]ade for him [   ].

> A cool draft passed by, [a zephyr (?)] bl[ew],
> It made him fall asleep... (App. I, 17)

The dreams of Thutmose IV and the Prince of Bekhten (App. I, 1, 5) also specify that the dreamer fell asleep. The book of Daniel mentions a bed, lying down, and sleep (Dan.2:28-29; 4:7. 10) as does Sethos, a Greek source (Herodotus 2:139). Other characteristics not listed are cases where the dreamer petitions the deity for a dream (App. I, 7, 9, 11, 17; note that Daniel petitions God to reveal Nebuchadnezzar's dream in 2:18), the dreamer provides his own interpretation (App. I, 5), the awakes refreshed rather than perturbed (App. I, 1, 6), and some sort of offering is presented prior to receiving a dream (App. I, 11, 17). Finally, the first dream-appearance of Ishtar is the only Hittite narrative that I have listed in the table for the simple reason that all of the Hittite texts follow the same pattern.

For reasons that I noted earlier, identifying such as frame may not in itself prove that ancient authors passed on guidelines from generation to generation for the writing of dream narratives throughout the ANE. Nevertheless, a literary frame as unified as we have here can certainly go to defining a legitimate dream genre.

In an attempt to point out further parallels, I propose to isolate various words and phrases along with their denotative meanings in order to show that there is a preferred vocabulary or manner of communication which is peculiar to our dream genre. This does not exclude the possibility that certain phrases (i.e., the statement of the regnal year) were present more generally in ancient literature and are therefore simultaneously part of several sets of characteristics defining several

genres. Note, therefore, that the philological parallels I wish to focus on here are semantic rather than lexical or syntactic.

Following the chronological order of the established frame, there are several dream narratives which validate the context of the dream by stating a regnal year in proximity to it as is the case in Daniel 2. The Egyptian dream of Tanutamun begins thus: "Year 1 of his installation as king...His majesty saw a dream in the night." (App. I, 4) The same statement is found in the Dream of Nabonidus, "...in the first year of my everlasting rule..." Later the text only mentions the period of the king's reign, "During my lawful rule, the great lords became reconciled with this town...and they let me see a dream." (App. I, 24) In the dream of Taimhotep we find a more elaborate explanation including other reference points besides the year of the king's reign:

> Year 9, fourth month of Inundation, day 9, under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Philopator Philaderphos, the son of Re, Ptolemy (XIII), beloved of Ptah and Isis, (was) the day on which I was born. Year 23, third month of harvest, day 1 (?) under the majesty of this Lord of the Two Lands... (App. I, 7)

In the Egyptian dreams from Greek sources, we find that the regnal year is dropped in favour of various calendars. (App. I, 11-12)

Next, still as part of the context of the dream, many narratives describe the emotional state of the dreamer *before* the dream is received as in the dream of Djoser, "...while I was sleeping in life and happiness..."[84] (App. I, 6) Other examples: "The army saw the river Idid'e (which was at that moment) a raging torrent, and was afraid of the crossing," (App. I, 21) "Ishtar heard my desperate

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[84]Alternate translation: "Tandis que je dormais tranquillement..." (Sauneron, 29)

signs and said..." (App. I, 22) "With regard to the conjunction of the Great Star and the moon, I became apprehensive." (App. I, 25) Other narratives describe the physical state of the dreamer such as the dream of Gyges (App. I, 20) which has a messenger inquiring about the health of the king and the first dream appearance of Ishtar (App. I, 27) which reports that the dreamer is "still a child." Although Daniel 2 does not reveal the emotional or physical state of Nebuchadnezzar *before* his dream, Daniel 4 resembles Djoser: אֲנָה נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר שְׁלֵה הֲוֵית בְּבֵיתִי וְרַעְנַן בְּהֵיכְלִי (Dan.4:1)

As was mentioned earlier, since dreaming most commonly involves sleep, five of the narratives listed in Appendix I include the word "bed." (App.I, 5, 22, 23, 25, 26) Four others perhaps imply a bed by the dreamer's action of lying down (App. I, 2, 14, 18) and getting up (App. I, 16). Both dream narratives of Daniel also use the word. (Dan.2:28-29, 4:2) Whether the awakening of the dreamer is found before or after the description of the dream, many narratives describe the dreamer's emotional reaction upon waking. Following are a few examples: dazed (App. I, 14), the dreamer's heart became quiet, perturbed and confounded (App. I, 17), tears (App. I, 18), woke with a start and was afraid (App. I, 22), and refreshed (App. I, 6). This last dream is rather confusing since the dreamer's emotional state is described positively both before and after the revelation, yet during the experience the theophany of the creator Khnum says, "My arms are round about you to compose your body and to heal your limbs..." indicating that Djoser was emotionally unsettled. The three dreams of Gilgamesh mention paralysed limbs. (App. I, 17) Note that these emotional outbursts demonstrate the dream's validity and authenticity because they reflect universal experience and because they underline the vividness and objectivity of the

66

experience. (Oppenheim, 1956, 191a) As for Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar is troubled and cannot sleep (Dan.2:1) and is afraid and even terrified of the images passing through his mind (Dan.4:1-2). Emotional distress and physical weakness in relation to visions becomes a recurring theme throughout the book of Daniel (i.e., Dan.7:15, 8:17, 27, 10:16-19).

When a dream narrative is about to make the transition into the description of a dream or, after a dream has been told, the interpretation, most have what I will call an introductory or transitional statement. For example, in the Sumerian dream of Gudea, after the dream is exposed to the priestess Nanshe by the dreamer, the interpreter starts by saying, "My shepherd [Gudea], I will interpret your dream for you..." (App. I, 13) making it clear that what follows is an interpretation. An equivalent phrase is found in Daniel 2:28-30. Another interesting phrase found mostly in ANE dream-theophanies is the injunction to cease to be afraid of the apparition: "Ishtar heard my desperate sighs and said (to me in a theophany): 'Be not afraid (that you see me)! (This alone) put confidence in my heart (and she continued)..." (App. I, 22; the same statement is found in 26). A reassuring statement voiced by a theophany is a common occurrence in ANE documents, especially the Assyrian theophany records (Oppenheim, 1956, 200b), as well as throughout the Old Testament (i.e., Gen.15:1, 21:17, 26:24). In Daniel 4, Nebuchadnezzar takes the place of the theophany and reassures Daniel, who was terrified by the vision he had been told, to not be alarmed by the dream. (Dan.4:16)

Also in relation to dream-theophanies, many narratives describe the position of the apparition.[85] For example, the dream of Nabonidus states, "Marduk, the great lord, and Sin, the luminary of heaven and earth, stood (there) both..." (App. I, 24) presumably before the dreamer. The second dream of Nabonidus has a similar description, "...(in a dream) a man stood (suddenly) beside me and said..." (App. I, 25) Again in Djoser, "While I was sleeping in life and happiness I found the god standing before me." (App. I, 6) Of course, these correspond with Daniel although Nebuchadnezzar does not see a theophany but a vision of a large statue: צְלֵם...קָאֵם לָקֳבְלָךְ אַנְתָּה מַלְכָּא חָזֵה הֲוַיְתָ וַאֲלוּ (Dan.2:31) translated that the statue stood before him. There are also examples in the Old Testament such as when God calls Samuel; the passage states that וַיָּבֹא יהוה וַיִּתְיַצַּב וַיִּקְרָא (1Sam.3:10) presuming again that the apparition stood in proximity to Samuel. Along with reference to position, the dreamer also describes the size or beauty of the vision in superlative terms. In the dream of Gudea, we find a simile: "In the dream, the first man—like the heaven was his surpassing (size), like the earth was his surpassing (size)..." (App. I, 13) The dream of Merenptah also makes use of a simile, but the object of comparisson was corrupted: "Then his majesty saw in a dream as if it were the image of Ptah standing in the presence of the Pharaoh, (and) he was as high as...(and) he said to him..."(App. I, 3) An example of a description of beauty is found in dreams from Ludlul bêl nêmeqi: "...a man, surpassing in size, of glorious form, beautifully(?) clad..." and later "...in a dream which I had that very (same) night [   ] like a human being [   ] a maiden with beautiful fea[tures]." (App. I, 26) Again in the

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[85]It should be noted here that references to the size, beauty, and position of an apparition have an important presence not only in the ancient world but also in the western (classical) world, which presents the possibility of a link between the two. (Oppemheim, 1956, 189bf)

dreams of Gilgamesh, "The sheen became stronger, a man [ ] His beauty exceeded any beauty in the country..." (App. I, 17) Daniel states that the image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream was הֵילֹ רַב וְזִיוֵהּ יַתִּיר...וְרֵוֵהּ (Dan.2:31). In Nebuchadnezzar's second dream, the image (in this case the cosmic tree) is described as having "great height" (וְרוּמֵהּ שַׂגִּיא, Dan.4:7) and that כָּל־אַרְעָא וְרוּמֵהּ יִמְטֵא לִשְׁמַיָּא וַחֲזוֹתֵהּ לְסוֹף (Dan.4:8).

Another parallel I would like to mention here is represented in Daniel 4 by Daniel's wish that the dream he was about to unveil applied to Nebuchadnezzar's enemies. (Dan.4:16) The statement acts as a preemptive announcement of the negative significance of the dream. Such phrases are also found in ANE texts. The dream of Tammuz has, "My brother, your dream is not favourable, it may not be removed..." (App. I, 14) and then proceeds to give the interpretation. In the second dream of Gilgamesh, Enkidu (Gilgamesh's friend and dream interpreter), after having been told the dream, says "Dear fri[end], your dream is favourable! The dream is precious indeed..." (App. I, 17) In Daniel 2, though the dreamer is not present at the time, the literary effect of verses 19-23 is similar; neither the dream nor the interpretation is known, yet Daniel's expressions of thanksgiving similarly act as a preemptive announcement of the interpretation to come.

Finally, as I mentioned in the introduction, ANE dream narratives also demonstrate the interchangeability of the terms "dream" and "vision" as the Old Testament sometimes does. The dream from Ludlul bêl nêmeqi begins thus: "(In a) dream as well as (in a) vision at dawn it was shown (?)..." (App. I, 26)

Interpreters and Atomized Exegesis

The progress of this section through the assumptions, literary frames and other philological parallels of ANE texts has purposefully been synchronic in its approach. When we come to the subject of dream interpreters, a theme which is explored by the book of Daniel, we are forced to acknowledge that only symbolic (i.e., enigmatic, allegorical) dreams require and therefore have an interpretation. The relationship between symbolic and message dreams[86] may be described in two ways: (a) If we adopt the previously mentioned theory that symbolic and message dreams developed from distinct "religious" practices (i.e., message dreams from incubation rites and symbolic dreams from oneiromancy. Husser, 1999, 100), then we must conclude that there is very little relation between symbolic and message dreams. Since the information presented thus far does not cooperate with this conclusion, at least from a literary point of view, the second position is that (b) they share similarities based upon the phenomenological foundation of universal experience and develop their distinctions due to variations in the starting point of that experience. Dream theophanies, for example, have been described as a prototype of message dreams. (Oppenheim, 1956, 191bf) In later texts, the distinctive features of a theophany (i.e., dramatic impact, the forcible penetration of the supernatural world into the natural, the terror-inspiring sight of the apparition) were dropped perhaps for the sake of validity and the appearance of the deity only provides a context for the message, the true purpose of the narrative, to be declared.

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[86]For the sake of simplicity, I will define message dreams as clearly understood words communicated by a deity to a "dreamer" that have no visual content of any import to the message.

It may be that the loss of these transcendental features also occurred in relation to symbolic dreams in that oneiromancy was not highly esteemed in Mesopotamia and, consequently, there are very few references to professional interpreters and dream interpretation in general. (Oppenheim, 1956, 200a; 1977, 350) This is especially pronounced in the Hittite texts where dreams were understood as a medium of communication between the supernatural and the natural which was thought to be received directly and clearly. (Husser, 1999, 53) Daniel 2, in its use of the interpreter-theme, makes it appear that this process of revelation and interpretation was done according to the common techniques and procedures of the time (Dan.2:4, 10-11), but in reality this may not be the case. (Fröhlich, 24-25) In fact, Daniel 2 presents a dream motif which differs from all other ancient symbolic dreams in that the revelator or interpreter is not a god but a human being. Speaking from a literary point of view, Daniel 2, with its ingenious and miraculous interpretation, represents a unique innovation in dream narratives. (Oppenheim, 1977, 350) Nevertheless, from the symbolic dreams available in the ANE, I have gathered several comments concerning the person of the interpreter, the symbolic dream to be interpreted, and the literary type produced which may further contextualize Daniel 2.

None of the symbolic dreams give the impression that the interpreter, once he/she has been introduced into the narrative, should be understood as the focus of the story; the interpreter is always incidental to the message that is revealed to the dreamer. Paramount as it is, the enigmatic message is not subjected to any hermeneutical technique so as to somehow preserve its divine integrity. Rather, the interpretation seems to rely solely upon the creativity (or inspiration) of the interpreter. Following are a few examples from the dream of Tammuz which I have reconstructed

71

here to show the interpretation next to the image recounted in the symbolic dream:

> Rushes were rising for me, rushes grew for me,
> > *Bandits on a razzia will rise up against you(?);*
> One reed standing alone shook the head(?) for me,
> > *Your mother who bore you will shake her head for you;*
> (Of) two several reeds, one was removed.
> > *I and you, one (of us) will be removed...* (App. I, 14)

Note that in this instance the interpretation is very methodical (atomized) as it is in Daniel 2; the interpreter reveals the meaning of one symbol at a time. The dreamer's dependence upon inspiration goes to affirming the interpreter's special relationship with the source of the dream (in this case deity) since he understands the hidden messages that the deity sends. (Oppenheim. 1956, 211b) It also affirms the wisdom of the interpreter as able to solve the enigma presented to him. For creativity and wisdom, the interpreter has been understood as both an artist and a wiseman. (Oppenheim, 1977, 349) Daniel 2, along with the Joseph narrative, displays similar characteristics by making symbolic dreams serve as a vehicle for demonstrating the piety and sagacity of the inspired interpreter. (Oppenheim, 1956, 210a) Added to this characteristic and intertwined with it is the theme of the disgrace and vindication of Daniel who, by his success, emasculates the other courtiers who are shown to fail in their attempt at an explanation and do not even try to dispel any consequences or turn to a god or some ritual of which they had many. (Collins, 1993. 155)

The Babylonian Talmud teaches that the dream and its interpretation form an indivisible unit. (Berakhot 55a) This supports an opposite view of the interpreter held by later prophetic literature in minimizing the role of intermediary "inspiration" and maintains that the divine substance of

the symbolic dream remains with the dreamer. The divine message stays hidden and needs only to be subjected to reason. "To the image of the mountain that occurs in this situation, there corresponds, without a doubt, the pyramid into which conscience, through rationalization, transforms it. And when this dream image is subjected to reason, it then acquires its full symbolism." (Zambrano, 190) We might even go so far as to say that the interpretation of symbolic dreams may be dependent upon the intelligence of the dreamer and not the interpreter. (Oppenheim, 1956, 207a-b) The Egyptian king Tanutamun dreams of two serpents, one on his right, the other on his left. (App. I, 4) The interpreters, in this case referred to as "they" and most likely not professional interpreters but simple courtiers who happened to be present at the time of the king's awaking, declare that the king will conquer the whole land of Egypt. When the prediction is fulfilled, the king does not praise the "interpreters" but acknowledges the truth of the dream and, in so doing, implies that he is proud of his personal presence of mind in recognizing that the dream had divine (and thus mantic) import.

Part of the confusion in determining the role of the interpreter is our uncertainty as to the purpose of dreams: are they to inform a person or for catharsis? Are they to be understood as source material for exegesis or an opportunity to apply therapeutic measures for the dreamer? Akkadian *pašāru*, Sumerian *búr*, Hebrew פָּתַר, Aramaic פְּשַׁר, and Arabic *fsr*, all translated as "interpretation," may either mean "to tell" or else "to remove" in relation to some sort of therapeuto-magic rite.[87] Other possible meanings related to these cognates include: release,

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[87]Brown-Driver-Briggs-Gesenius, 837b, 1109a; Oppenheim, 1956, 218a-219a; 1977, 350

73

dispose of, relax, loosen, dissolve, absolve. Thus, although reporting a dream or interpreting a series of enigmatic images may be possibilities, we cannot ignore that the commonalities in meaning is in relation to the purpose of "interpretation" being cathartic. In ANE texts, the same words are used for telling an evil dream to a lump of clay as for interpreting a symbolic dream. In the third dream of Gilgamesh, Enkidu refuses to deliberate with his friend about a dream and encourages him to "accept" it giving the impression that his successive dreams were evidence of inner turmoil which needed to be released. (App. I, 17) Another example of the various connotations of *búr* is found in the dream of Tammuz where Geštinanna answers Dumuzi, "My brother, your dream is not favourable, it may not be removed (*búr*)..." (App. I, 14) This answer comes despite Geštinanna's plea stating "I will report (*búr*) my dream to her..." in a desperate attempt to escape fate which was to be his inevitable death. In this sense, the latter phrase could be rendered "I will dispose of my dream by telling it to her..."

In short, the question I have been trying to bring to the fore is whether, in the context of ANE dream narratives, the dream and its message or the interpreter and his techniques are the more important focus. The implications to the study of ANE dreams as well as to the contextualizing of Daniel 2 within this milieu are many, especially since, as I mentioned in the introduction, genre identification begins with our identifying what we consider to be the focus of a particular text. In this case, I believe it would be a mistake to decide upon a single and universal focus for all dream narratives since both perspectives contribute to an effective literary type of which Daniel 2 is a part.

Dreams and Politics

In the previous three sections I have not had much occasion to describe the content of the messages received by means of a dream. The unified themes of these messages are by far the easiest to identify since they are, almost without exception, political in nature. This fact becomes all the more startling when we consider that the narratives I have included in this study span more than 18 centuries. The representative themes are these: (a) an announcement of victory over an opposing army (App. I, 9, 14, 20, 21, 22), (b) a demand on the part of the deity to restore or rebuild a particular sanctuary (App. I, 6, 7, 11, 13, 24), and (c) a promise of continued or increased kingship (App. I, 1, 4, 7, 23, 24, 27, 29, 30, 32, 33). The genre designation *Königsnovelle* defines literature of this type as recounting and celebrating a royal act such as a military expedition, the restoration of a sanctuary or the digging of a well.[88] I have identified dreams within this literature as political in that they somehow record the exercise of power by a central figure within an organized society. With the exception of the early Sumerian sources, all the dreams this paper has referred to involve kings. Even within the epic of Gilgamesh, although Gilgamesh is not called a king, he is nevertheless the hero-demigod and leader of his city.

More often than not a dream will report the genesis of a radical change in political orientation. For example, Gyges, the king of Lydia, is told to "lay hold of the feet of Aššurbanipal" (App. I, 20) meaning to accept his sovereignty and by so doing obtain the ability to conquer the Cimmerians. Thus his dream promotes the forming of an alliance. A factor in keeping with the political perspective of the Egyptian (and a few other) sources is that most of them were

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[88]Cf. Husser, 1999, 62; Pritchard, 246, 449; Oppenheim, 1956, 251

75

composed as stelas (App. I, 1, 4, 5, 6, 7) and were thus made available to be read by the general population; that is, if the general population knew how to read. Some texts make it rather obvious that their function was to coerce a population into subjection by the use of dreams. On the occasion of impending civil war between Assurbanipal and his brother Šamaššumukîn, a man dreams that he sees the following inscription:

> Upon those who plot evil against Aššurbanipal, king of Assyria, and resort to (actual) hostilities, I shall bestow miserable death, I shall put an end to their lives through the quick iron dagger (of war), conflagration, hunger (and) pestilence...This (dream) I (Aššurbanipal) heard and put my trust upon the word of my lord Sin. (App. I, 23)

Another common theme is the use of dreams in order to aid in the validation of usurped power. Between Nebuchadnezzar II and Nabonidus three kings rose and fell within a few years under questionable circumstances (Awēl-Marduk, Neriglissar, and Labašî-Marduk). In his dream, Nabonidus declares Nebuchadnezzar to be his legitimate predecessor and has him acting as an advisor/interpreter from the other world. (App. I, 25) From this passage, along with the "historical" context provided by Nabonidus (Pritchard, 307ff), we may conclude that the focus is not necromancy but political manipulation. (Oppenheim, 1956, 204a) It will be noticed that the dreams of Taimhotep and Nabonidus (App. I, 7, 24) have been included in both themes (b) and (c). This is because a deity has requested that a sanctuary be rebuilt in connection with the continued rule of the king. Marduk says to the king in a dream, "Nabonidus, king of Babylon, bring bricks on your own chariot (drawn by your own) horse, (re)build the temple É.ḪÚL.ḪÚL and let Sin, the Great Lord, take up his dwelling there!" (App. I, 24) Nabonidus complains that he cannot do this because the Medes were laying siege to the very area of the temple grounds to which Marduk answers abruptly, "The Umman-manda of whom you spoke, they, their country

76

and (all) the kings, their allies, shall cease to exist!" thus joining the religious and political

spheres together into a world-view not uncommon in the ANE. In a letter from the Mari archives

a man who is said to come from Shakka reports his dream stating that he sees himself going into

a temple of Dagan. As he prostrates himself, Dagan speaks to him and asks if the Yaminites have

made peace with Zimri-Lim. Upon the man's negative response, Dagan reprimands him saying,

"Why are the messengers of Zimri-Lim not in constant attendance upon me, and why does he not

lay his full report before me? Had this been done, I would long ago have delivered the kings of

the Yaminites into the power of Zimri-Lim." (Pritchard, 623) The bargain is struck that in

exchange for devotion Dagan would increase the political power of Zimri-Lim. This so-called

"full report" was a letter addressed by a king to his deity following a victorious military

campaign which outlined its details.[89] Receiving such reports along with the "constant

attendance" of a king obviously had political implications for the sanctuary involved. It may be

that the author of this dream narrative was soliciting these privileges and thus attempting to

rekindle the fading influence of the sanctuary.

Transactions such as these are common in the dream narratives. The dream of Djoser has the

deity asking for a sanctuary to be built in return for the assurance that "I shall pour forth for you

the inundation without a year of failure and scarcity in the entire land, and all plants will grow

and bend under the(ir) fruit." (App. I, 6) A similar proposition is found in the dream of

Taimhotep: "Let a great work be carried out, a splendid place of Ankhtawy, a place where

corpse(s) may be hidden, and I shall make for you in return for it a male child." (App. I, 7) Three

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[89]Cf. Oppenheim, 1956, 195; Pritchard, "A Letter to a God," 627

of the Hittite dreams (App. I, 27, 32, 33) promise the health of the king, who was probably sick at the time, in return for some sort of offering declaring the king's devotion to the deity. Another Hittite dream accuses the king of being stingy in his offerings to the Weather-god. In response, a priestess (Hepa-SUM) states, "One must give the huhupal-instruments and the lapis lazuli stones to the great deity." (App. I, 35) All the above examples serve to demonstrate the symbiotic relationship between the political and religious systems. At times it is difficult to tell whether the political system is making use of the religious for its purposes, or the other way around. In the case of the Hittite dreams relating to Hattushili (App. I, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 35) a relatively clear case might be made for the king's desire to legitimize his usurpation of the throne by exposing it as instigated by the goddess Ishtar. (Oppenheim, 1956, 197a)

A last theme I would like to describe here is the king's tendency to resort to incubation at a time of crisis. The epic of Gilgamesh recounts the story of Gilgamesh and his friend Enkidu who decide to climb Cedar Mountain in order to confront and perhaps kill Humbaba the guardian of the mountains. On their way up, perhaps out of fear or uncertainty, Gilgamesh attempts three times to inquire of the gods as to their will concerning the matter: "He offered his meal-offering [(saying):] 'Mountain, bring me a dream'..." (App. I, 17) A second example comes to us by means of Herodotus where we are told that Sethos, the king of Egypt, was confronted by Sennacherib and his army. Sethos, being distressed because of his inability to fight against his aggressor, "entered into the inner sanctuary and, before the image of the god, bewailed the fate which impended over him." (App. I, 9) Of course it is at this moment that he falls asleep and a

god comes and stands at his side to encourage him. From Hittite sources we find the Plague

Prayers of King Mursilis:

> When I celebrated festivals, I worshipped all the gods, I never preferred one temple to another. The matter of the plague I have laid in prayer before all the gods making vows to them (and saying): 'Hearken to me, ye gods, my lords! Drive ye forth the plague from Hatti land! The reason for which people are dying in the Hatti land—either let it be established by an omen, or let me see it in a dream, or let a prophet declare it!" (Pritchard, 394f)

Though no dreams are recorded here, we may safely say that kings occasionally sought out

dreams in times of political crises.

Throughout this section we have seen that the content of dream messages may focus on various

themes: an explanation of the genesis of a radical political change such as an alliance, the

manipulation of a population, the validation of a king's position, the declaration of a transaction

between a king and a god, and a king's reaction to a crisis situation. Again, all of these themes

relate to a king's rule of a nation and how dreams (whether perceived as "religious" or otherwise)

played a role within this political structure. Daniel 2, as well as many of the Old Testament

passages we identified in the first part of this paper, relates to these political themes on many

levels; under the subtitle "Context of the Kings," I mentioned some of these. Overall, this short

summary of political themes taken from the message content of ANE dreams serves to confirm

the existence of a valid and surprisingly consistent dream-genre and to establish once again that

Daniel 2, by reason of its many parallels, may properly be defined as part of this genre.

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In this study of parallels from the ANE I have sought to approach a series of dream narratives from four thematic starting points in an effort to contextualize Daniel 2 within a definable dream-genre. I have found that not only do ANE dreams demonstrate similarities among themselves despite the diverse origins of sources, but that from every perspective, be it in reference to suppositions, structure, philology, or politics, the text of Daniel 2 is such that it must be identified as parallel to the dream-genre I am attempting to define.

An Interpretation of Daniel 2 within the Context of Dream Literature

Having gone to some lengths to establish parallels of Daniel 2 from the Old Testament as well as from the ANE, I am again confronted with the banality of what I have done. It is always possible to identify certain elements of a narrative which are similar to elements of another and then to compile them as a class of literature and call them a "new" genre. In a recent article, Todorov has come to this very conclusion: "Is there any virtue in calling the result of such a combination a 'genre'?" (Todorov, 198)

To answer this question I appeal first to Collins' evaluation of apocalyptic genre. An interpreter, no matter the literary form he is about to read, must begin with an assumption (whether right or wrong) about the genre of the text before him. The text must, in the interpreter's mind, conform to some typical usage common to him if it is to be understood at all. (Collins, 1981, 85-86)[90] The question is not *if* we should begin with presuppositions regarding genre but *which* genre will we choose to interpret a given text.

Parenthetically, Barton questions whether or not people of the time of the development of the Old Testament read religious texts such as Daniel 2 with a critical mindset. (Barton, 141)

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[90]Cf. Barton, 141

To us it is immediately obvious that historiography is something quite different from prophecy, psalmody from didactic literature, apocalyptic from romantic fiction. But we have already seen, in studying the development of the canon, how little such distinctions mattered in our period. (Barton, 144)

Thus, in ancient times, the content of a text was more likely to change any presuppositions concerning "genre" than for "genre" to alter interpretation. This nevertheless does not depreciate the value of critical study; at the very least this perspective of critical thought should serve as an important guideline for future thought about genre.

The problem with Daniel 2, as I suspect it is for many narratives, is that there is more than one context from which to choose.[90] In the introduction to this paper I mentioned "wisdom tale," "court tale," "heroic fairy tale," and "Jewish novel," to which I might add that DnA can easily be interpreted in the light of the more recent visions of DnB where the narrative framework becomes incidental to the revelation mediated by an otherworldly being.[91] To some extent, many have been content to interpret the tales of Daniel as an extension of the focus and intension of the visions claiming that past scholarship has been "completely preoccupied with intermediate levels of redaction prior to the final form of the text,[92] leaving the received text largely unexplored as an

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[90]Cf. Collins, 1981, 84

[91]I am referring here to Collins' definition of the apocalyptic genre: "A genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world." (Collins, "Apocalypse: Toward the Morphology of a Genre," Semeia 14 (1979), 9)

[92]This has been termed *Überlieferungsgeschichte*, the history of the transmission of tradition.

editorial creation with its own distinctive contours and emphases." (Stone, 78) Although this may

be true in reference to Old Testament critical studies in general, when we come to the distinctive

"editorial creation" of the tales of the book of Daniel, we find that trying to solve its complexities

by tacking on the term "apocalyptic" is not sufficient. On the contrary, the application of this

genre classification to DnA seems rather vague and, in relation to Daniel 2 in particular, it

becomes useless since there is no "otherworldly being," the revelation (in this case a dream) does

not act as a window into the supernatural world, and its foretelling of an "eschatological

salvation" is questionable since the rock which was cut out without human hands, though it

struck the feet of the statue representing the chronology of nations, destroyed the whole statue

(Dan.2:34-35) and is therefore not only concerned with the *eschaton*.[93]

I return, then, to the suggestion which triggered this research paper in the first place: the story of

Daniel 2 must be interpreted from its wider ANE context. Again, from the many contexts which

may be seen as parallel to Daniel 2, I have chosen royal dreams[94] because of the number as well

as the surprising similarities of the parallels which I have summarized in this paper.

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[93]Cf. note 90 above. The dream of Daniel 2 acts as a window of events which are to occur in the future political systems *on earth*, not in another, supernatural world. As to "eschatological salvation," borrowed from the Greek Εσχατος (η,ov; cf. Mt. 12:45, 19:30, 20:16; Mk.12:6), I am assuming that Collins is referring to a deliverance which will be brought about for subjects of the "last" kingdom. Daniel 2 seems more interested in the theme that God is sovereign over all the nations of the world, from the head of gold to the feet of iron and clay. (Dan.2:45)

[94]As have many, i.e., Hartman and DiLella, 1978, 142; Collins, 1993, 155; Husser, 1994, 253; Fröhlich, 1996, 21-24 (These have not identified a "dream genre" as such, but have nevertheless acknowledged the importance of the dream narrative context.)

Before I launch into a discussion of the benefits of adopting this particular genre, I wish to anticipate a few detractors. One of the first rebuttals to be voiced in reference to the identification of a genre is the question of what is to be done with the elements of a text which do not fit within the proposed classification. Derrida, in an article entitled "The Law of Genre," argues that as soon as a limit is drawn (such as in the identification of a genre), norms and interdictions are not far behind: "'Do,' 'do not,' says genre." (Derrida, 5) I suppose that this "logical" sequence grows out of a view of genre which is understood to be static and universal; a set of principles which continued unaltered over time. Of course, this cannot be true if we are to retain the autonomy, spontaneity, and originality of self-expression. Literary genres must be seen as "historically determined, dynamic entities." (Duff, 4) Originality often dictates that an author *not* respect certain "acceptable" guidelines. (Todorov, 194, 196) In the case of the tales of Daniel, this limiting effect of genre identification has certainly affected its interpretation over the years. Among the many examples of attempts at finding an all-inclusive genre (some of which I have included in my introduction), Gammie has written two articles, one where he has labelled the genre of DnA as "romances" (Gammie, 1976) and another where he claims that this classification may obscure rather than illuminate the intention of the narratives since it draws no attention to the revelatory elements of chapter 2, 4, and 5. (Gammie, 1981, 285) And such is the circuitous route of genre studies; a single genre may simultaneously illuminate certain elements of a narrative while at the same time obscuring others.

In terms of the tales of DnA, a solution may be reached by considering apocalyptic literature as a

complex of genres rather than a unified collection of narratives.[95] DnA would then be understood to have been included with the later visions of DnB not because of their similar structures (or other compositional elements) but because they contained themes which, in whole or in part, conveyed an analogous message. As to Daniel 2, Humphreys claims that its later inclusion into the apocalyptic composition of Daniel did violence to its basic emphasis. (Humphreys, 1973, 223) Gammie states, "The original extent of the book of Daniel was supplemented and its original intention modified in accordance with the shifting historical circumstances of the Jewish community." (Gammie, 1976, 204) I suggest, then, that a solution to the identification of the genre (and therefore the intention and interpretation) of Daniel 2 begin from a historical-critical perspective.

Many have detailed various theories relating to the multiple redactional levels of Daniel 2.[96] So much so, in fact, that Delcor states that "c'est peut-être mettre trop de logique dans un genre littéraire où beaucoup de place est donnée à l'imagination." (Delcor, 142) Rather than restate this multitude of details, I wish to show that these redactional levels may be identified *a posteriori* based upon thematic elements which demonstrate a change in the intention (and therefore the genre) of the text. Of course I will have to begin with the presumption that the final form of the book of Daniel was completed during the Maccabean era, which is agreed upon by the authors I have listed above. (cf. note 96)

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[95]Cf. page 4 of this paper; also cf. Koch, "The Rediscovery of Apocalyptic." Studies in Biblical Theology 2/22 (1976), 18-33.

[96]I.e., Ginsberg, Collins, 1993, Husser, 1994, Bickerman, Buchanan, Davies, Delcor, etc.

Starting from this presumption, many themes established in the later visions of Daniel may easily

be found in the narratives. One of the most prominent is that in DnB the present reality is beyond

human control and is within the sphere of God's omnipotence. Thus the text assumes that the

most decisive events are yet to come and are סְתֻמִים וַחֲתֻמִים (Dan.12:9) from general

inspection. Daniel 2 fits quite well here with the king's wisemen unable to access his dream

which was supposedly of divine origin, with Daniel who inquires of and is shown to be

completely dependent upon God to reveal secrets hidden from all the courtiers, and with king

Nebuchadnezzar himself who acknowledges and even worships the proclaimed source of both

the dream and the interpretation. A second theme found in DnB is the periodic determinism in

relation to history which is represented in Daniel 2 by the interpretation of the metalled statue:

the grand scheme of the consecutive kingdoms is laid out before us as one image (Dan.2:31-35),

each part fitting in with the other as if preordained and predetermined before they came into

existence. Politically speaking, DnB seeks for much more than a new administration, but hopes

for a new world order where the faithful are given positions of power along-side the judgement

seat of God. In our narrative, a אֶבֶן דִּי־לָא בִידַיִן (Dan.2:34) smashes every part of the figure

representing the kingdoms of the world and thereafter becomes a לְטוּר רַב וּמְלָת כָּל־אַרְעָא

(Dan.2:35) typifying ultimate power and longevity. Note also that in chapter 2 Daniel is accorded

a position of power along-side the throne of Nebuchadnezzar. DnB is also consistent in its view

that God's purpose is no longer to work through gentile rulers but to abolish them. Again, the

statue of Daniel 2 is destroyed by a rock which was cut without human hands (Dan.2:34)

signalling that this kingdom no longer required a human intermediary. Finally, DnB, with its

visions of monsters and demonic battles, has the effect of causing fear and not the comfort of the dispossessed. Daniel 2 has a Nebuchadnezzar who is said to be troubled in his mind and is prevented from sleeping as if he had had a nightmare. Perhaps his rash death-threats reveal the fear which had taken hold of him.

There are literary elements, however, which do not easily agree with the proposed theme of the final form of Daniel and which reveal the presence of earlier redactional levels. The most obvious is Daniel's apparent submission to Nebuchadnezzar: throughout the narrative, Daniel is shown to have a positive relationship with the king; he comes into the king's presence twice (Dan.2:16, 25) even though he was not part of the usual gathering of courtiers, he admits that the king's dream was evidence that God had spoken (Dan.2:28) and had done so for his benefit (Dan.2:30), and he easily identifies the head of gold as Nebuchadnezzar (Dan.2:38) and proceeds to characterize all the other parts of the statue as inferior to this head. (Dan.2:39) Finally, Daniel accepts the praises offered to him by the king (Dan.2:46) and even delegates his newly acquired political responsibilities in order to remain in the royal court with the king. (Dan.2:49) These themes are not likely to have been written by an author of the Maccabean period where submission to and cooperation with the political establishment was strained at best. Davies suggests, "Without the knowledge that the story was told in conditions of religious and political crisis, we may do justice to other facets of the story which could not have been prominent in its Maccabean context." (Davies, 395)

Davies goes on to propose two themes which may have existed as the primary intent of an

87

intermediate and original redactional level: at an intermediate stage we find verses10-11 and 27-

28 exemplified by the phrase לָא־אִיתַי אֲנָשׁ עַל־יַבֶּשְׁתָּא דִּי מִלַּת מַלְכָּא יוּכַל לְהַחֲוָיָה which

emphasize the contrast between Daniel's God and the courtier's gods. Perhaps the intent of this

theme was to illustrate the possibility of success in reference to the struggle against syncretism in

exile. Note that Deutero-Isaiah also makes use of this theme within a Babylonian context.[97] At an

"original" level, Davies interprets the progressively inferior kingdoms[98] represented by the statue

as the anticipation of the establishment of a great and permanent Jewish kingdom. (Davies, 399)

It is at this earliest stage that the narrative of Daniel 2 finds its closest link to the dream genre I

have identified in this paper. That is, the original form of the narrative, without its present

apocalyptic themes derived from political unrest and without any agenda against syncretism,

represents the genre I wish to bring to the fore.

From this critical perspective, the question I began with is solved since the literary elements

which supposedly "do not fit" within the definition of our so-called dream genre are simply the

result of later redactors who had different intentions and who therefore emphasized different

themes. This same perspective might also explain the confusion in genre studies when the

chapter is identified as a contest between courtiers even if Daniel was not yet a courtier, or when

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[97]Cf. note 5; also cf. Davies, 395

[98]Why these kingdoms or kings (in this case perhaps Amel-Marduk, Neriglissar, and
Nabonidus who left the kingdom in the hands of Belshazzar) are interpreted as successively
inferior is most likely part of the author's intent since, as history demonstrates, the period
between the Assyrian and Archaemenid Empires manifests a progressively more powerful realm
until the death of Alexander the Great.

it is seen as the conquest of a wiseman even though the focus is repeatedly that the knowledge revealed by the dream does not come from any human being, or again when it is identified as the revelations of a prophet when not only would it be difficult to postulate that Nebuchadnezzar was a prophet, but also Daniel (the character as well as the book) is often not regarded as prophecy. (Barton, 20, 36-37, 55) The literary product of each new redaction would naturally contain elements from a previous genre making the identification of the genre of the final form of the text impossible. At best, we would have to posit a composite genre. (Gammie, 1976, 192)

Having provided sufficient reason to regard Daniel 2 as a dynamic creation containing several redactional levels, I return to my initial statement that the earliest form of Daniel 2 must be interpreted from the perspective of dream literature based upon the many parallels from the Old Testament as well as the ANE which I have provided.

In reference to prophetic literature, Barton writes that if a person in ancient times were asked to define a "prophetic book," nothing would be said about literary types and the characteristics which define them. Rather, the definition would have included "proof" of the book's divine origin or the inspiration of the prophet which allowed him to then write down the oracles that had been revealed to him. (Barton, 147) Essentially, a judgement concerning genre would not have been made based upon internal criteria but upon a preconception of the kind of material prophetic literature was supposed to contain: "Prophetic scriptures existed to teach truths that one could not know otherwise. What literary genres they adopted in doing so was quite beside the point."

(Barton, 148)[99] When we come to what I have called "dream narratives," although ancient

cultures may have been more interested in the fact of inspiration over the manner in which it

occurred, I believe that this overview of parallels has uncovered an overarching perspective

which is characteristic of all dream narratives and which, despite the variations in the genre of

individual texts, follows a distinct pattern leading us to interpret Daniel 2 within this context

which I have called "dream genre."

I would like to begin by reiterating one of the assumptions I mentioned in relation to dream

narratives of the ANE: the natural world was understood as unavoidably subject to the control of

supernatural powers, that is, fate. Both magic and divination were practised within this

perception of reality in order to realize a certain amount of independence from it. The occurrence

of dreams and the understanding that they represented a form of communication with a higher

being captured the imagination of the ancient world (as it did the classical, medieval, and even

modern) because it symbolized autonomy from the anonymity and hopelessness of fate. Whether

for the political end of the validation of kingship as in the case of many of the Hittite dreams, for

determining the will of a deity in a time of crisis as in The Crossing of the River Idid'e, or for

seeing into the future as in many of the Egyptian dreams, the underlying concept is the search for

a power greater than that which may be found in the natural world. When we come to the dream

narratives of the Old Testament, their focus may not be an interest in recording past events so

much as "to provide pictures of the promises of God which will come to pass in the future."

(Barr, 1980, 36) Even though their literal referents may concern the past, their theological intent

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[99]Cf. Barton, 117

is directed toward the future.

Beyond various individual characteristics such as the political pursuits of Samuel and Kings, the concern for prosperity in Genesis 20, and the inquiry in a time of crisis in Numbers 22-24, the dreams of the Old Testament are very similar to those of the ANE. They affirm or assume that the God of Israel is creator and therefore above every created being, Lord over all kingdoms of the earth, and omniscient of events past and future. Both Daniel 2 as well as Genesis 41 draw upon this theme almost identically in their use of dream narratives. Joseph's misfortune followed by his achieving great success in the court of Pharaoh because of his ability to interpret dreams acts as a prelude or a "picture of the promises of God" which are then confirmed by the events of Exodus. Notwithstanding Joseph's powerless position, the dreams of a king serve to establish not only that God directed fate in order to accomplish a preconceived plan in relation to Joseph, but also that God is in control of Pharaoh's capacities as a ruler and is completely aware of the future fate of the land. In the same way that the Joseph narrative serves as a prototype to the deliverance from Egypt, perhaps the narratives of Daniel serve as a prototype of the expected deliverance from Babylon and the eventual establishment of a great Jewish kingdom.

The "virtue," then, of identifying Daniel 2 as part of a universal dream genre and thereby interpreting it within the context of dream literature, canonical and non-canonical, is that the resulting interpretation is more suited to the chapter in question rather than a product or piece of the complex puzzle of the whole book of Daniel or even the narratives of DnA. A king's dreams and the lowly Hebrew exile who interprets them gives us a clear picture of the omniscient God of

Israel who presides over king, courtier, and exile alike, and who asserts lordship over the kingdoms of the earth, past, present, and future. How else would we properly explain Nebuchadnezzar's indifference with the content of the interpretation after having so ruthlessly threatened for it if only that, after receiving confirmation of his dream as well as an interpretation, he was satisfied that he was no longer anonymous in the eyes of deity since a greater power had ordained the events of his kingdom? This perspective also does justice to the dream characteristics of the narrative, which in most cases has been disregarded, allowing us to posit that other, parallel dream narratives can be legitimately included in exegetical discussions of Daniel 2. Studying Daniel 2 within this context also qualifies its place within an apocalyptic book: certainly, themes affirming the omniscient lordship of God ordaining the events of exiles, kings, and kingdoms serve as a perfect starting point to the goal of apocalypticism which is to foresee events of final retribution and victory for the oppressed and judgement for the kings and kingdoms of the oppressors. In fact, the themes represented by the dream genre are so theologically generic and their phenomenology so intriguing that they were used as a starting point for many different purposes as we have seen.

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In this section I have given several reasons why the identification of dream parallels of Daniel 2 are important to its interpretation. In reference to this identification of literary type, I have answered the question of what to do with themes which "don't fit" by reaffirming the dynamic quality of genre from a historical-critical perspective. The overarching theme which I believe this

genre reveals is autonomy from fate and the acknowledgement of an ultimate power, omniscient and lord over kingdoms past and future.

Conclusion

From the outset of this paper I have stated that the identification of the genre of a text is decisive in determining its function, focus, and interpretation. In the identification of the genre of Daniel 2 I have given priority to the dream elements of the narrative and in so doing have opened a window of understanding and clarity which surpasses that offered by the many other genre classifications suggested for this same passage. Key to establishing the widespread use of this theme was the overview of dream narratives from canonical as well as non-canonical sources. In the Old Testament we have seen that God is shown to communicate by means of dreams, among other things, and that these dreams served as a type of authentication to encourage the reader to recognize the message which was being received as divine authority. The Old Testament is not without its struggles with dreams, as we have seen, but there is nevertheless a consensus that dreams reveal knowledge from God which is otherwise hidden. From the non-canonical texts, we have discovered a vast collection of dream narratives from Mesopotamia to Egypt which, despite the wide variance with regard to dating, have shown a high degree of regularity in structure, vocabulary, and political focus. The acknowledgement of dreams by the political establishment serves to demonstrate that they were concerned to guide their political activities by the reality of an overseeing god who reveals his purposes willingly by means of dreams (or at least to give the population the impression that this was the case). Overall, the dream genre which becomes evident from all these parallels, and from which Daniel 2 may properly be interpreted, is one

where dreams are an acknowledgement of a higher power who controls, directs, and reveals.

Appendix I

Egyptian Dreams

1. Thutmose IV (Sphinx Stela, lines 8-12) trans. Oppenheim, 1956, ' 8, no.15; also Sauneron, 23
2. Aménophis II (W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, (Urkunden des aegyptischen Altertums IV)*, Heft 17, p.1306-1307) trans. Sauneron, 22
3. Merenptah (W.M. Müller, Egyptian Res. I pl.22, lines 28-29) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 16; also Sauneron, 25
4. Tanutamun (Stela published by Maspero, Revue Archéologique 17, 329ff) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 17; also Sauneron, 26f
5. Prince of Bekhten (Bentresh Stela, lines 24-25) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 18; also Sauneron, 27f
6. Djoser (Hunger Stela, lines 18-22) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 19; also under the name ALe songe d=un roi en détresse,@ Sauneron, 29
7. Taimhotep (Stela, lines 1-15) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 20

Egyptian Dreams (Greek sources)

8. Khabaka (Herodotus 2, 139) trans. under the name ALes songes des rois éthiopiens,@ Sauneron, 26
9. Sethos (Herodotus 2, 139) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 22; also Sauneron, 25
10. Ptolemy Soter (Plutarch, *De Iside* 28; also Tacitus, *Historiae* 4, 83) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 21; also Sauneron, 28
11. Nektonabes (U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemaerzeit*, 81, 369-374) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 23; also Sauneron, 44
12. The Serapeum Papyri (U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemaerzeit*, 81, 353ff) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 24; also Sauneron, 28f

Sumerian Dreams

13. Gudea (Gudea, Cyl. A IV, 7-VI, 14) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 1
    Tammuz from Dumuzi (Genouillac Kirk II D 53 and C 45) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 2

Akkadian Dreams

14. Gilgamesh (Old Babylonian version, University of Pennsylvania, University Museum) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 3; also Leibovici, 77

15. Gilgamesh (Neo-Assyrian version, Thompson Epic, pl. 6-8 V, 25-VI, 27) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 4

16. Three Dreams of Gilgamesh (Berlin, Staatliche Museen IV 48, 6-19) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 5

17. Enkidu (Hittite, Berlin, Staatliche Museen VIII 48 I, 2-22) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 6; also Leibovici, 78f

18. Death-Dream of Enkidu (Thompson Epic, pl. 29 IV, 14-54) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 7; also Leibovici, 80

19. Dream of Gyges (Ashurbanipal, Rawlinson, Sir Henry, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, 1 ff. II, 95-104) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 8

20. The Crossing of the River Idid=e (Ashurbanipal, Rawlinson, Sir Henry, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, 3, V, 95-104) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 9; also Leibovici, 81f

21. Priest of Ishtar (Ashurbanipal, H. Winckler, Tablets in the Kouyundjik collection of the British Museum 3040, rev. 10ff) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 10

22. A Warning Dream (Ashurbanipal, Rawlinson, Sir Henry, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, 2, III, 118-127) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 11

23. Nabonidus (Rawlinson, Sir Henry, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, 64, I, 13-55) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 12; also Leibovici, 82

24. A Second Dream of Nabonidus (Vorderasiatisch-ägyptische Gesellschaft, 1 (1) pl. 76, VI, 1-36) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 13

25. Dreams from a Religious Poem (Ludlul bêl nêmeqi) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 14

Hittite Dreams

26. First Dream-Appearance of Ishtar (Vorderasiatisch-ägyptische Gesellschaft, 29 (3), 6ff. ' 3) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 25

27. Hattushili (Vorderasiatisch-ägyptische Gesellschaft, 29 (3), 6ff. ' 4) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 26

28. Second Dream-Appearance of Ishtar (Vorderasiatisch-ägyptische Gesellschaft, 29 (3), 6ff. ' 12) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 27

29. Third Dream-Appearance of Ishtar (Vorderasiatisch-ägyptische Gesellschaft, 29 (3), 6ff. ' 12) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 28

30. Another Dream of Hattushili (Vorderasiatisch-ägyptische Gesellschaft, p.46) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 29

31. A Dream of the Queen (Staatliche Museen, Vorderasiatische Abteilung, XV 1 I, 1-11) trans. Oppenheim, ' 8, no. 30

32. A Second Dream of the Queen (Staatliche Museen, Vorderasiatische Abteilung, XV 1 III, 8-16) trans. Oppenheim, '8, no. 31
33. A Third Dream of the Queen (Staatliche Museen, Vorderasiatische Abteilung, XV 3 I, 17-20) trans. Oppenheim, '8, no. 32
34. A Dream of the King (Staatliche Museen, Vorderasiatische Abteilung, XV 5, III, 4-14) trans. Oppenheim, '8, no. 33

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