PERCHANCE TO DREAM

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Dream Divination in the Bible and the Ancient Near East

Edited by

Esther J. Hamori and Jonathan Stökl

SBL PRESS

Atlanta

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Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

AASF	Annales Academiae scientiarum fennicae
AB	Anchor Bible
AGAJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AEM I/1	*Archives Épistolaires de Mari, I/1.* Jean-Marie Durand. ARM 26.1. Paris: ERC, 1988.
AIL	Ancient Israel and Its Literature
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AMD	Ancient Magic and Divination
ANEM	Ancient Near Eastern Monographs
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
Ant.	Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOS	American Oriental Series
ARA	*Annual Review of Anthropology*
ARM	Archives royales de Mari
ARM 26	Durand, Jean-Marie and Dominique Charpin. *Archives épistolaires de Mari*. 2 vols. Paris: ERC, 1988.
AS	*Aramaic Studies*
ATD	Altes Testament Deutsch
AThANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
AuOr	*Aula Orientalis*
AYBRL	Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
b. B. Bat.	Tractate Baba Batra in the Babylonian Talmud
b. ʿErub	Tractate ʿErubin in the Babylonian Talmud
b. Maʿaś. Š.	Tractate Maʿaśer Šeni in the Babylonian Talmud
b. Pes.	Tractate Pesaḥim in the Babylonian Talmud
b. Sot.	Tractate Soṭah in the Babylonian Talmud
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BEHER	Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes Études: Sciences religieuses
Bib	*Biblica*
BibOr	Bibliotheca et Orientalia
BibSem	The Biblical Seminar
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*

BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament
BMB	Boston Museum Bulletin
BMW	Bible in the Modern World
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAD	Gelb, Ignace J., et al. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2010.
CAT	*The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani, and Other Places*. Edited by M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartin. Munster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995.
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBS	Museum siglum of the University Museum in Philadelphia (Catalogue of the Babylonian Section)
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CDOG	Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CIS	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
ConBOT	Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series
COS	*The Context of Scripture*. Edited by William W. Hallow. 3 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
CP	*Classical Philology*
CRRAI	Compte rendu de la Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale
CTA	*Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découvertes. Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939*. Edited by Andrée Herdner. Paris: Geuthner, 1963.
CTH	*Catalogue des textes hittites*. Emmanuel Laroche. Paris: Klincksieck, 1971.
DBH	Dresdner Beiträge zur Hethitologie
DCLY	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
DULAT	*A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. Gregorio del Olmo Lete and Joaquín Sanmartín. Translated by W. G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
EJL	Early Judaism and Its Literature
ErIsr	*Eretz Israel*
ERC	Éditions recherche sur les civilisations
ETCSL	Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature

Exod. Rab.	Exodus / Shemot Rabbah
FCB	Feminist Companion to the Bible
FB	Forschungen zur Bibel
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testament
Gen. Rab.	Genesis / Bereshit Rabbah
GMTR	Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record
HBM	Hebrew Bible Monographs
HeBAI	*Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel*
Hist.	Herodotus, *Histories*
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
HUCM	Monographs of the Hebrew Union College
Il.	Homer, *Iliad*
IOS	*Israel Oriental Studies*
ISBL	Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature
JAJSup	Supplements to the Journal of Ancient Judaism
JANER	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JEOL	*Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap (Genootschap) Ex oriente lux*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JNSLMS	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages Monograph Series*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
J.W.	Josephus, *Jewish War*
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi
KBo 11	Güterbock, Hans G. and H. Otten. *Texte aus Gebäude K*. WVDOG 72–73. Berlin: Mann, 1960–61.

SAA 2	Parpola, Simo and Kazuko Watanabe. *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1988.
SAA 16	Luukko, Mikko and Greta van Buylaere. *The Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2002.
SAAS	State Archives of Assyria Studies
SANER	Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records
SHCANE	Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal for the Old Testament*
SJS	Studia Judaeoslavica
SPAW	*Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*
ST	*Studia theologica*
StBibLit	Studies in Biblical Literature
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StBoT	Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten
TAPS	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources THeth Texte der Hethiter
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TThSt	Trierer theologische Studien
TUAT.NF	*Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*. Edited by Bernd Janowski and Gernot Wilhelm. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagsanstalt, 2005–2016.
TWOT	*Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer Jr., and Bruce K. Waltke. 2 vols. Chicago: Moody Press, 1980.
UF	Ugarit-Forschungen
UTB	Universitätstaschenbuch
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WAW	Writings from the Ancient World
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WCAD	Workshop of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary
WdO	*Die Welt des Orients*
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

Perchance to Dream

Esther J. Hamori

> That weren't no DJ, that was hazy cosmic jive.
> —David Bowie, "Starman"

Throughout the ancient Near East and eastern Mediterranean, as in so many other places and times, communication from beyond seemed at once ubiquitous and perplexing. Deities communicated with human beings in a variety of ways, from directing the movements of the stars and encoding divine messages on the livers of sacrificial animals to directly addressing selected individuals or sending lesser divine beings to speak for them. While expressions of this differed from one context to another, and the predominant modes of divination, methods of interpretation, and literary reflections were far from uniform, the underlying assumption that the gods spoke to people both directly and indirectly, and both explicitly and obliquely, is reflected in the literature of the regions represented in this volume (and beyond).

Among the many forms of divine-human communication seen in these corpora, dreaming occupied the peculiar sphere of being in some ways and at some times a quite direct mode of communication, akin to prophecy, and in other ways and at other times rather opaque, more like the symbolic "writing" of the gods on the liver. Accordingly, some dreams could be understood by the dreamers themselves—as in ARM 26 232, a letter to Zimri-Lim, king of Mari, from a woman named Zunana, who reports how the god Dagan had spoken to her directly in a dream. She is so confident of the clear meaning of Dagan's words to her (that Zimri-Lim should help Zunana locate her servant girl) that she tells the king that on Dagan's command, he should do so. Other dreams were apparently less clear, requiring interpretation either by technical specialists—sometimes

with the help of dream books, used especially in Mesopotamia and Egypt to aid expert dream interpreters in their task[1]—or by those with special insight or privileged access to divine knowledge. This category encompasses widely ranging literary portrayals, from the touching poetic story of the devoted (and divine) Geštinanna interpreting her brother Dumuzi's dream, to the matter-of-fact exchange between two men overheard by Gideon which includes a dream interpretation he takes to be more encouraging than Yahweh's own words to him (Judg 7:9–15), to the talmudic tale of the somewhat sketchy Bar-Hedya interpreting the many dreams of the sages Rava and Abaye (see Weiss's contribution to this volume).[2]

Like messages received through other forms of divination, some dreams were apparently met with more acceptance than others. In ARM 26 238, Addu-duri reports to Zimri-Lim that Iddin-ili, priest of Itur-Mer, had a dream in which Belet-biri said (among other peculiar things) that the king should be careful; Addu-duri therefore advises the king to be careful. On the other hand, in ARM 26 229, a report of the dream of a woman named Ayala, the writer reports having already checked Ayala's dream through bird divination, and confirms that the dream really "was seen," meaning that it was understood to have been sent by a deity.[3] Moreover, the writer has enclosed Ayala's hair and hem for the recipient to check further; apparently substantial verification is needed here.

This shows that not every dream was thought to contain a divine message, even when it seemed so to the recipient. In a world understood to contain reflec-

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[1] On the use of dream books in Mesopotamia, see A. Leo Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East: With a Translation of an Assyrian Dream-Book*, TAPS 46.3 (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1956); and in Pharaonic Egypt, see Kasia Szpakowksa, "Dream Interpretation in the Ramesside Age," in *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K. A. Kitchen*, ed. Mark Collier and Steven Snape (Bolton: Rutherford Press, 2011), 509–17. For later Egyptian dream texts see Luigi Prada, "Oneirocritica Aegyptiaca: Artemidorus of Daldis, Egypt, and the Contemporary Oneirocritic Literature in Egyptian," in *Artemidor von Daldis und die antike Traumdeutung: Texte—Kontexte—Lektüren*, ed. Gregor Weber, Colloquia Augustana 33 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015), 263–310, and Luigi Prada, "Dream Books in Ancient Egypt: The Evolution of a Genre from the New Kingdom to the Roman Period; with the Edition of an Unpublished Demotic Dream Book" (DPhil diss., University of Oxford, 2014).

[2] Dumuzi's Dream, ETCSL 1.4.3 [http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=t.1.4.3#]. In the Judg 7 story, Yahweh anticipates that even after telling Gideon directly that he will prevail against the Midianites, the hero might still be too afraid to go into battle, and so Yahweh instructs him to go listen to what the men are saying in the camp and be emboldened by it (vv. 9–11); and thus Gideon hears the dream interpretation and prepares for battle (vv. 13–15).

[3] Annette Zgoll, *Traum und Welterleben im antiken Mesopotamien: Traumtheorie und Traumpraxis im 3.–1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. als Horizont einer Kulturgeschichte des Träumens*, AOAT 333 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2006), 76–77, 234, 353–60.

tions of the divine sphere in the sensory realities of the human plane, sometimes in explicit form (as through prophecy) and sometimes encoded, comprehensible only to specialists (as through astrology or haruspicy), an event might be recognized as communicating a divine message—or not. The sign of the fleece in Judg 6:36–40 is surely unusual, with the relative wetness of a sheep generally being a cosmic non-issue. Like other potentially meaningful events, some dreams were accepted as ordinary occurrences, not containing divine communication. Others were recognized as "significant," warranting attention to the divine message within. These included both "symbolic" and "message" dreams—that is, dreams in which the divine meaning is opaque and requires interpretation, and those in which the meaning is overtly stated.

Aspects of dream interpretation can differ substantially across corpora and cultural contexts and should not be universalized or essentialized. It is therefore not the goal of this volume to draw conclusions about dream divination throughout the ancient Near East and eastern Mediterranean, let alone from the period of the Sumerian king Gudea to that of the Babylonian Talmud. However, certain themes and questions do arise repeatedly. I will point to a few such threads here, and observant readers may notice others.

Consider the Sumerian royal cylinder inscription of Gudea of Lagaš, which begins with praise for the ruler chosen to build Ningirsu's temple, and then goes on to relate Gudea's dreams in which Ningirsu instructs him to build the temple (see Metcalf). A bit like the modern American trope, "God told me he wants me to be President," the message of the dream promotes the authority of the dreamer, and it is not coincidentally the dreamer's own narrative. One might wonder, then, if this mode of revelation had the distinct advantage of its messages being impossible to corroborate—and, to be sure, there are plenty of texts from a range of genres in which people dream something that stands to benefit them. In the Hittite text known as the Apology of Hattušili III, Great King Hattušili III has dreams that demonstrate the goddess Šaušga's support for him (see Mouton). In Gen 37, Joseph's dream of the sheaves indicates his primacy over his brothers (see Ede), and in 1 Sam 3, young Samuel receives communication indicating God's choice of his future leadership, displacing the house of Eli (see Russell). In the Ugaritic Baal Epic, the god El's significant dream serves to bolster his authority among the gods (see Kim).

But in fact, the situation is more complicated than this. As noted above, it was recognized that not all dreams were sent by the gods, and so dreams which appeared to contain divine messages were sometimes "verified" by oracular means—and this was so even in the case of kings reporting their own dreams. This is seen, for instance, in the Hittite report of oracular inquiry after the king dreams that the deity has ordered him not to go to Ankuwa, and the question is posed for ritual verification, "Did the deity forbid the king to go to Ankuwa?" (KBo 24.128 rev. 1–4 [CTH 570]; see Mouton). At other times, the dreams of

kings required interpretation by a specialist or someone with privileged knowledge, as when Pharaoh (Gen 41:8; see Ede) and Nebuchadnezzar (Dan 2 and 4; see Stökl) turn to their magicians and wise men to interpret their respective dreams. The rhetorical function in the Israelite texts is to highlight Joseph and Daniel's divine access when the king's usual interpreters fail, but the point at the moment is that even kings relied on dream interpreters. As Metcalf observes, the two dreams of Gudea of Lagaš each necessitated one of these: after his first dream, Gudea turns to Nanše for interpretation, and his second dream requires verification through a liver omen. Metcalf notes that this dual example demonstrates both "the importance and the difficulties of dream interpretation in Mesopotamia" (p. 12 in this volume). When a king has dreams that will benefit him, but they must be interpreted by one type of specialist or verified by another, where does the power lie?

This is not only an issue when the dreamer is royal, though such cases particularly raise the question. The power dynamic between dreamer and interpreter varies enormously. In some instances the reliance on an interpreter actually functions as further support for the dreamer's own power, as in the case of Gudea, where interpretation by a deity, the goddess Nanše, does not only elucidate the meaning of the dream—it also inherently demonstrates divine approval. In other cases, the dependence on a dream interpreter serves to undercut the authority of the dreamer, as in tractate Berakhot of the Babylonian Talmud, where the dreams of the well-known Torah scholars Rava and Abaye are subject to the interpretation—and whims—of the unknown interpreter, Bar-Hedya (see Weiss). These examples fall near the two ends of the spectrum; in between is a significant gray area. The power relationship between dreamer and interpreter is an intriguing dynamic in general, and especially so when the dreamer has political or religious authority that might be tempered by the instrumental role of the interpreter. Many of the essays in this volume address issues related to the locus (or loci) of authority in dream divination in a given corpus or text, such as the Qumran Aramaic texts that reflect a particular interest in revelation through dreams (see Perrin), and the major dream narrative of Homer's *Odyssey* (*Od.* 19.535–69), which includes Penelope's dream, Odysseus's interpretation, and Penelope's thoughtful response (see Metcalf). In one way or another, this tension is present in many of the texts under discussion in this volume, from the earliest, in the Gudea cylinder, to the latest, in tractate Berakhot.

Concern in some texts about the source of a dream is matched elsewhere by concern about the source of interpretation. In some cases, the ancient writers appear attentive to the relationship between human effort or technical skill and divine revelation. It is repeatedly emphasized in the Joseph story that Joseph's interpretations come from God, not from himself (see Ede). In Daniel, each interpretation of a dream is explicitly attributed to divine intervention, a development Stökl refers to as the "prophetization" of dream divination. The concern with the source of divinatory interpretation finds its own expression in some

biblical material (differently through various Joseph and Daniel texts), but it is not unique to the Bible. Portrayals in some biblical texts of technical divination as distinct from divine inspiration misrepresent broader ancient Near Eastern views. Technical diviners required specialized knowledge and texts, but these things too were understood to be divinely inspired.[4] Throughout the broader region, the salient question was not whether a certain type of divination was inspired, but whether a certain occurrence represented a message sent by the gods. All forms of divination required divine inspiration—even if this inspiration took different forms, and those engaged in "technical" and "intuitive" methods of divination performed their roles differently (and often occupied different social locations).[5]

The explicit attribution of not only the dream, but also the interpretation, to a divine source plainly bolsters the authority of both dream and interpretation. It can also serve to solidify the authority of the dreamer. As mentioned earlier, this is one of the effects of Nanše's interpretation of Gudea's dream. The role of the *angelus interpres* in some Qumran dream texts has a related function (see Perrin). There is a particularly striking example of this rhetorical maneuver in the Baal Cycle, where, as Kim elucidates, El is in control of every aspect of his own dream divination.

Of course, these essays (like all work on dream divination) are not actually evaluating dreams. What is available to us in each case is a text several steps removed from the dream itself. As Mouton frames it, what we have is a distortion: first was a dream, then the oral account of the dream, and then a written dream account, which itself is shaped by the scribal conventions and agendas of the genre in which the dream account is transmitted. Literary conventions and matters of genre are therefore relevant in all analyses. For example, the use of dreams to promote the dreamer's authority varies with genre. In texts like the Gudea cylinders or the Apology of Hattušili III, the royal statement of divinely supported royal authority is effective in real time—that is, while the king is in

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[4] See, e.g., Francesca Rochberg, "Continuity and Change in Omen Literature," in *Munuscula Mesopotamica: Festschrift für Johannes Renger*, ed. Barbara Böck, Eva Christiane Cancik-Kirschbaum, and Thomas Richter, AOAT 267 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1999), 415–27.

[5] On the relationship between "technical" and "intuitive" divination, especially considering the issue of social location, see Martti Nissinen, "Prophecy and Omen Divination: Two Sides of the Same Coin," in *Divination and Interpretation of Signs in the Ancient World*, ed. Amar Annus, OIS 6 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 341–51. See also Jonathan Stökl, *Prophecy in the Ancient Near East: A Philological and Sociological Comparison*, CHANE 56 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 7–11, and his contribution to this volume; and Esther J. Hamori, *Women's Divination in Biblical Literature: Prophecy, Necromancy, and Other Arts of Knowledge*, AYBRL (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 26–30; also 4–8.

power. In a retrospective story like 1 Sam 3, the tale confirms the dreamer's authority, but within the narrative Samuel needs Eli's help to understand what he is hearing. In the establishing tale of Joseph, in addition to being a retrojected fiction about a time already ancient from the author's perspective, Joseph's dream is verified only through later events and so does not have the function of creating or ensuring his authority before he has it. Several of the essays in this volume explicitly address questions relating to use of the expected form and content of a dream divination text (see Russell, Perrin, and Weiss). How is each text shaped by the forms and needs of its genre, and what do we learn about dream divination from these differing presentations? How do various writers utilize expected forms or adapt familiar tropes and literary conventions in order to suit their own purposes, to achieve their particular religious and political goals?

The majority of papers collected in this volume were first presented in a two-year series on dream divination in the Prophetic Texts and Their Ancient Contexts section of the Society for Biblical Literature at the annual meetings in Baltimore (2013) and San Diego (2014). When we started the process of inviting colleagues to present in this series and to contribute essays we were struck by the relative absence of scholarship on theoretical questions such as those mentioned above. There is ample material for those interested in the interpretation of certain visions or dreams, but less scholarship that addresses how dream divination functioned in various corpora. Each chapter in this volume addresses questions about dream divination itself—such as issues of agency, authority, verification, incubation, or literary and political function—with respect to a specific text or corpus. Together they present a snapshot of current ideas about dream divination in a range of ancient Near Eastern (including biblical), eastern Mediterranean, and early Jewish texts.

Some noteworthy corpora are not represented in this volume, such as texts from Egypt and Mari. This is not due to design, but to the availability of scholars working on dream divination in these sources during the period of production of the volume. The current work does not represent an attempt to be exhaustive. The essays that follow should provide interested scholars and students a window onto an array of issues in dream divination across these ancient texts.

Christopher Metcalf ("Horn and Ivory: Dreams as Portents in Ancient Mesopotamia and Beyond") focuses on Mesopotamian texts that reflect the need to verify the significance of dreams by means of other divinatory techniques, illustrating this primarily through an analysis of the detailed dream episode in the Sumerian Gudea cylinder inscriptions. He compares examples of dream interpretation elsewhere, particularly in Homer's *Odyssey*.

Alice Mouton ("Portent Dreams in Hittite Anatolia") provides an overview and analysis of the Hittite sources dealing with portent dreams, considering a range of genres, including historical records, oracular reports, accounts of vows,

and prayers. As she notes, each genre has its own agenda; we can observe through them somewhat different aspects of portent dreams and the reactions they provoked.

Koowon Kim ("When Even the Gods Do Not Know: El's Dream Divination in KTU 1.6 iii") offers a detailed analysis of one text, the presentation of El's dream divination in the sixth tablet of the Baal Cycle. Kim focuses on the literary function of this episode, considering how and why the Ugaritic author uses the device of El's incubation and interpretation of his own dream.

Scott Noegel ("Maleness, Memory, and the Matter of Dream Divination in the Hebrew Bible") explores a connection between dreaming in the Hebrew Bible and conceptions of maleness. He argues that several issues—relating to virility, memory, and more—can be brought together to inform our understanding of Israelite dream divination. This connection would then help to explain why only men dream and interpret dreams in the Hebrew Bible.

Franziska Ede ("Dreams in the Joseph Narrative") offers an analysis of dreams and their functions in Gen 37–45. She observes differences between Gen 37 and Gen 40–41 in the presentations of Joseph and his dream divination, with particular attention to the authors' concerns with the source of Joseph's dream interpretation. Ede points to an increasing emphasis on the importance of divine guidance in the formation of the narrative.

Stephen Russell ("Samuel's Theophany and the Politics of Religious Dreams") compares 1 Sam 3 to the literary depiction of dream theophanies elsewhere in the ancient Near East, considering especially the Sumerian legend about Sargon and Urzababa. He shows how the Samuel text has played with the literary conventions governing the depiction of dream theophanies in order to emphasize Eli's authorization of the house that will displace his. These tropes in 1 Sam 3 thus have primarily a political function, supporting the transfer of power from one house to another.

Jonathan Stökl ("Daniel and the 'Prophetization' of Dream Divination") argues that the early chapters of the book of Daniel present dream interpretation—in a Mesopotamian context a form of "technical" divination—as a form of "intuitive" divination. The latter chapters, however, shy away from this and add the figure of the *angelus interpres*. Both of these strategies would later become part of the genre we know as "apocalypse," and in Daniel we can see them before the genre reached a more fully formed state.

Andrew Perrin ("Agency, Authority, and Scribal Innovation in Dream Narratives of the Aramaic Dead Sea Scrolls") examines the Aramaic writings from Qumran which include instances of dream episodes and interpretation. He focuses on the presentations of dreamers and interpreters, considering the questions of where the writers located agency and authority in dream revelation.

Haim Weiss ("'All the Dreams Follow the Mouth': Dreamers and Interpreters in Rabbinic Literature") analyzes the story of Bar-Hedya in tractate Berakhot

in the Babylonian Talmud, in which the unknown interpreter temporarily exerts clear authority over the great sages Abaye and Rava through providing interpretations with the power of performative speech, that is, creating the results in the sages' lives through his spoken interpretation. Weiss considers the narrator's purpose in presenting such a potentially problematic conflict of authority.

As we near the end of a long project—from conversations about dream divination with potential contributors, through two years of conference sessions focused on substantial discussion of themes and questions across corpora, to development of the volume—Jonathan Stökl and I would like to thank this international group of scholars for their continual investment in thinking together about dream divination in our respective corpora.

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