

**“There Needs No Ghost, My Lord, Come from the Grave to Tell Us This”¹:
Dreams and Angels in Ancient Egypt**

Egyptology and Ancient Israel

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Abstract: A number of ancient Egyptian texts discuss the appearance in dreams of messengers who could be both benevolent and malevolent. Other texts discuss the sending of messengers to appear to individuals in dreams, or of preventing those messengers from appearing to individuals. This paper will discuss the ancient Egyptian use of dream sending and the messengers that appeared in them.

What Angel Wakes Me from My Flow’ry Bed?²

In a now lost letter to the dead, Merirtyfy writes to his deceased wife Nebetiotef: “Look, I am your beloved on earth. Fight for me! Intercede on behalf of my name! I did not misspeak a sentence in your presence when I performed your funerary rites.³ Expel my body’s illness! Please become an angel⁴ for me in my presence so that I may see you fighting for me in a

¹William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* I.v.125-26.

Due to an oversight on the part of *The SBL Handbook of Style*, the following standard abbreviations will be employed:

BD The Book of the Dead

GM *Göttinger Miszellen*

PT Pyramid Texts

My apologies to my Egyptological colleagues who will doubtless will be confused by the nonstandard abbreviations used by SBL. Also note that Demotic transcriptions will follow standard conventions for the discipline to the extent possible, although three of the characters are not listed in the *SBLHS*, and it is impossible to represent three of the characters using SBL fonts. Hebrew ׳ will be used for Egyptian aleph (ʿ) since it is not in the character set of the SBL fonts.

²William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* III.i.129.

³Literally: “when I caused your name to live on the earth.”

⁴The translation of ׳*h* here relies on the Greco-Roman period equation of ׳*h* and αγγελος; see John Gee, “B3 Sending and Its Implications,” in *Egyptology at the Dawn of the*

dream.”⁵ This First Intermediate Period connection of angels appearing in dreams also appears over two thousand years later in a Roman period ritual found in a priestly archive from Thebes⁶ identified as “another sort of dream sending.” In it the person to whom the dream is sent will stop sleeping “until a powerful angel who does not sleep at night is sent and stands before N in the secret form of the god whom he considers to be the greatest, and says to him: Get up and do X, the command of N! Do every thing he wants!”⁷ The appearance of angels in dreams thus spans almost the entire course of Egyptian history.

A thorough study documenting the changes, if any, in belief and practice over time is warranted for the whole subject,⁸ but the fact that the identical phenomenon appears in almost identical terms more than two thousand years apart shows that the phenomenon is a cultural constant, even though different types of evidence are available from different time periods. The treatment in this essay will therefore flatten the diachronic differences to get a picture of the phenomenon of angels appearing in dreams from the whole of Egyptian civilization.

Twenty-first Century, 3 vols. (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2003), 2:232.

⁵Edward F. Wente, “A Misplaced Letter to the Dead,” *OLP* 6/7 (1975/1976): 596.

⁶For the archive, see Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 168-74; Robert K. Ritner, “Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: the Demotic Spells and their Religious Context,” *ANRW* 18:3333-79; William M. Brashear, “The Greek Magical Papyri: and Introduction and Survey; Annotated Bibliography (1928-1994),” *ANRW* 18:3380-684.

⁷Louvre E 3229 5/2-6, in Janet H. Johnson, “Louvre E 3229: A Demotic Magical Text,” *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 63, Tafel 14; cf. *PGM* IV 1840-1870.

⁸See also Kasia Szpakowska, *Behind Closed Eyes: Dreams and Nightmares in Ancient Egypt* (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2003), 4.

Art Thou Some God, Some Angel, or Some Devil?⁹

The Egyptian term for angel is ḥ. The term “designates entities or beings . . . [and] their (spirit-)state and the power emanating from them.”¹⁰ It was part of a larger spiritual world. The Egyptian spirit world was generally divided into three classes:¹¹ gods (*ntr*, θεός), angels (ḥ, ἄγγελος, πνεῦμα ἄεριον), and demons (*mwt*, δαίμωνα). The larger category of these beings was the spirit (*b*, ψυχή, πάρεδρος). When an individual died, his or her soul (*b*, ψυχη) either became an angel (ḥ, ἄγγελος) or a demon (*mwt*, δαίμωνα) depending on whether the proper rites had been performed, and whether he or she had lived properly.¹²

The term ḥ is frequent in the Sixth Dynasty with many deceased officials identifying themselves as an ḥ.¹³ The term was seen as religious in nature, parallel to the lector priest.¹⁴ Both were noted for their knowledge of secrets (*sst*), powers (*hk*) and texts (*r*).¹⁵ They were

⁹William Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar* IV.iii.279.

¹⁰R. J. Demarée, *The ḥ ikr n R^c-Stelae: On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1983), 192.

¹¹Gee, “B3 Sending and Its Implications,” 230-37.

¹²P. Setna II 1/14-2/15, in F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900), 146-56. The “moral” overtones in this passage reflect overtones present at least as early as the Middle Kingdom; Demarée, *The ḥ ikr n R^c-Stelae*, 228-29, 245, 257, 264, 277.

¹³*Urk.* I 79, 116, 122, 143, 202, 218, 219, 224, 263, 269; Cairo 20539; Louvre C 15; Elmar Edel, “Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie der ägyptischen Inschriften des Alten Reiches,” *MDAIK* 13 (1944): 19-21.

¹⁴*Urk.* I 89, 122, 197, 202, 256; Edel, “Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie der ägyptischen Inschriften des Alten Reiches,” 19-21.

¹⁵*Urk.* I 116, 117, 142-43, 173, 186, 218, 256, 263; Cairo 20539; Louvre C 14; PT 77 § 52; Edel, “Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie der ägyptischen Inschriften des Alten Reiches,” 22-26; Elmar Edel, “Zum Verständnis der Inschrift des *Jzj* aus Saqqara,” *ZAS* 106 (1979): 105-16;

beings for whom all the proper rituals were performed.¹⁶ We know the content of these rituals, they are called *s'hw* texts, that is texts for “making one an angel,” and both the Coffin Texts¹⁷ and the Book of the Dead¹⁸ explicitly identify themselves as *s'hw* texts. By extension, since the Coffin Texts called *s'hw* are also used in the Pyramid Texts,¹⁹ those texts can also be classified as *s'hw*.

That an angel could appear as a god is noted in many Roman period texts,²⁰ but he was actually something else: “know that he is divine; it is an aerial spirit that you see” (γινώσκειται ὅτι οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ θεός. πνεῦμά ἐστὶν ἀέριον ὃ εἶδες).²¹ The angel had many powers:

he sends dreams, leads women and men without substances, kills, destroys, hurls winds up out of the earth, carries gold, silver and bronze, and gives them to you when the need arises, loosens the bonds of those fettered in prison. opens doors, makes invisible so that

Demarée, *The ḥ ikr n R^c-Stelae*, 193-94, 200-1, 203-6, 208, 224-25, 239, 243-44, 277; Winfried Barta, *Dei Bedeutung der Pyramidentexte für den verstorbene König* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1981), 62-64, 104-5.

¹⁶*Urk.* I 173, 187, 263; ECT 158 II 360, 760 VI 390, 1116 VII 447, 1117 VII 448, 1131 VII 474; BD 17, 113, 148; Amduat, 2nd hour, 3rd hour, 11th hour; Tomb of *wsr-ntr*, in Margaret A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas, Part I* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1905), pl. XXIII; Edel, “Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie der ägyptischen Inschriften des Alten Reiches,” 26-30; Gertie Englund, *Akh — une notion religieuse dans l'Égypte pharaonique* (Uppsala: Universitatis Upsaliensis Boreas, 1978), 108-9, 158, 192.

¹⁷ECT 1 I 1. The variants are *s'hw* and *ḥ't-^c m md't nt sm'^c-hrw s m hrt-ntr* “beginning of the book of vindicating a man in the necropolis.”

¹⁸BD 1 also explicitly identifies not only itself but also the collection it belongs to as *s'hw* literature. See also BD 100, 130, 133-34, 136, 141-42, 190.

¹⁹Adriaan de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 7 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935-1963), 1:xix. PT 260 §319 = ECT 1 I 1-7 = BD 169.

²⁰Louvre E 3229 5/2-6, in Johnson, “Louvre E 3229,” *Enchoria* 7 (1977): 63, Tafel 14; *PGMI* 73-95.

²¹*PGMI* 96-97.

no one can see you at all, brings fire, water, wine, bread, whatever you wish in the way of food, olive oil, vinegar—just not fish—lots of vegetables, he will bring what you want, . . . and [whatever] you command [him to] do, he will do, and you will see him excelling in other ways; he stops ships and again releases them, he stops most evi[l demon]s, halts beasts and suddenly breaks fierce reptiles’s teeth, puts dogs to sleep and silences them, changes into whatever form you want, b[east], bird, fish, four-footed beast, reptile. He will carry [you into] the air, and again, cast you into the waves of the sea or river, and into the waves of the sea, he will freeze rivers and the sea suddenly even, so that you can run across if you like, . . . he will light lamps and extinguish them.²²

These are all features of the ḥ, who had power over the damned,²³ and the living,²⁴ could cause

²²PGMI 98-127: ὄνειροπομπῆι, ἄγει γυναῖκας, ἄνδρας δία οὐσίας, ἀναιρεῖ, καταστ[ρ]έφει, ἀναρίπτει ἀνέμους ἐκ γῆς, βαστάζει χρυσόν, ἄργυρον, χαλκόν, καὶ δίδωσί σοι, ὅταν χρεῖα γένηται, λύει δὲ ἐκ δεσμῶν [ἀ]λύσει φρουρούμενον, θύρας ἀνοίγει, ἀμαυροῖ ἵνα μηδεὶς [κ]αθόλου θεωρήσῃ, πυρφορεῖ, ὕδωρ φέρει, οἶνον, ἄρτον καὶ [ὄ] ἂν ἐθέλεις ἐκ τῶν ἔδεσμάτων, ἔλαιον, ὄξος, χωρὶς ἰχθύων μ[ό]νων, λαχάνων δὲ πλῆθος, ὃ θέλεις, ἄξει . . . κα[ὶ] ὅποταν αὐτὸν] κελεύσης διακο[ῦ]σαι], ποιήσει, καὶ ὄψη προ[τερή]σαντα ἄλλοις. ἴστησι πλοῖα καὶ πάλιν] ἀπολύει, ἴστησι πονήρὰ δαιμόνια πλείστα, θῆρας δὲ παύει καὶ ὀδόντας ῥήξει ἐρπετ[ῶν ἀν]ημέρων συντόμως, κύνας δὲ κοιμίζει καὶ ἀφώνου[ς ἴσ]τησι, μεταμορφοῖ δὲ εἰς ἣν ἐὰν βούλῃ μορφήν θη[ρίου], πετηνοῦ, ἐνύδρου, τετραπόδου, ἐρπετοῦ. βαστάζει σ[ε εἰς] ἀέρα καὶ πάλιν ῥίψει σε εἰς κλύδωνα ποντίων ποταμ[ῶν καὶ] εἰς ῥ[ε]ῦ[μα] θάλασσιων, πῆξει δὲ ποταμούς καὶ θάλασσα[ν συντ]όμως καὶ, ὅπως ἐνδιατρέχῃς σταδίως, ὡς βούλει. . . . λύχνους ἀνά[ψ]ει καὶ κατασβέσει πάλιν.

²³Hu Bowl 3-5, in Alan H. Gardiner and Kurt Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead Mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdoms* (London: EES, 1928), plates IV-IVA.

²⁴Demarée, *The ḥ ikr n R^c-Stelae*, 277.

health,²⁵ sickness,²⁶ childbirth,²⁷ financial distress,²⁸ or general malady.²⁹ They could also send dreams,³⁰ lead men and women,³¹ do work,³² fight demons, light lamps,³³ kill,³⁴ move ships,³⁵

²⁵OIM 13945 4, in Alan H. Gardiner, “A New Letter to the Dead,” *JEA* 16 (1930): 19-20; *Urk.* I 202; Demarée, *The ḥ ikr n R^c-Stelae*, 210-11.

²⁶Cairo CG 25375 2-4, in Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, 7-8, plates VI-VIA; Bentresh Stele (Louvre C 284) 9-12, in Adriaan de Buck, *Egyptian Readingbook* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1963), 107.

²⁷OIM 13945 4, in Gardiner, “New Letter to the Dead,” 19-20; Demarée, *The ḥ ikr n R^c-Stelae*, 215.

²⁸Cairo JE 25975 4-9, in Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, plates I-IA.

²⁹Berlin bowl, in Gardiner and Sethe, *Egyptian Letter to the Dead*, plates V-VA; Demarée, *The ḥ ikr n R^c-Stelae*, 194, 269-70.

³⁰ECT 89 II 55, 98-101 II 93-105, 103-104 II 110-12; John Gee, “Oracle by Image: Coffin Text 103 in Context,” in *Magic and Divination in the Ancient World*, ed. Leda Ciruolo and Jonathan Seidel (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 83-88; Gee, “B3 Sending and Its Implications,” 230-37.

³¹P. Setna I 4/38-5/30.

³²BD 5-6.

³³BD 137, 137A, 137B.

³⁴*Urk.* I 90, 142, 202; T. G. H. James, *The Mastaba of Khentika Called Ikhekhi* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1953), 19-20, 37-38, plate V; Elke Blumenthal, “Die ‘Reinheit’ des Grabschänders,” in *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten*, ed. Ursula Verhoeven and Erhart Graefe (Leuven: Peeters, 1991), 47; Scott Morschauser, *Threat-Formulae in Ancient Egypt* (Baltimore: Halgo, 1991), 67-68, 79; Demarée, *The ḥ ikr n R^c-Stelae*, 206-7.

³⁵P. Setna I 3/27-30.

transform themselves into lotuses,³⁶ barley,³⁷ falcons,³⁸ phoenixes,³⁹ herons,⁴⁰ geese,⁴¹ swallows,⁴² ibises,⁴³ vultures,⁴⁴ other birds,⁴⁵ bulls,⁴⁶ crocodiles,⁴⁷ snakes,⁴⁸ spirits,⁴⁹ gods,⁵⁰ fire,⁵¹ air,⁵²

³⁶BD 81A-B.

³⁷ECT 269 IV 6-7.

³⁸ECT 273-274 IV 11-15, 286 IV 36-38, 302 IV 53-55, 312-313 IV 68-93, 989 VII 197-99; BD 77-78.

³⁹BD 83.

⁴⁰ECT 272 IV 10, 292 IV 43-44; BD 84.

⁴¹ECT 278 IV 23-25, 287 IV 38-39.

⁴²ECT 283 IV 33, 293-294 IV 45-47, 678 VI 305; BD 86.

⁴³ECT 386 V 53.

⁴⁴ECT 955 VII 169-70.

⁴⁵ECT 271 IV 9, 703 VI 334-35.

⁴⁶ECT 208 III 161-62.

⁴⁷PT 317 §§507-10; ECT 268 IV 1-5, 285 IV 35-36, 991 VII 201-3; BD 88.

⁴⁸ECT 374 V 37; BD 87.

⁴⁹BD 85.

⁵⁰PT 317 §§507-10; ECT 252 III 352, 256 III 365-66, 261 III 382-89, 268 IV 1-5, 270 IV 8, 276-277 IV 17-22, 280-282 IV 28-32, 285 IV 35-36, 290 IV 42, 301 IV 52-53, 316-317 IV 98-135, 322 IV 148-51, 325-326 IV 154-62, 330-331 IV 166-76, 464-467 V 336-78, 546-547 VI 142-43, 612 VI 225-26, 669 VI 297, 712 VI 343, 957 VII 172-76, 991 VII 201-3, 993 VII 205-7, 1016 VII 235; BD 79-80, 82, 88.

⁵¹ECT 284 IV 34, 316 IV 98-109.

⁵²ECT 288 IV 40.

whatever form desired,⁵³ and in that form they could appear in various places, to whomever they wished.⁵⁴ They open doors,⁵⁵ travel through fire,⁵⁶ loose bonds,⁵⁷ drive away crocodiles,⁵⁸ snakes,⁵⁹ vultures,⁶⁰ pigs,⁶¹ cockroaches,⁶² and other undesirable creatures,⁶³ control water,⁶⁴

⁵³ECT 275 IV 16, 573 VI 177-83, 794 VII 4, 829 VII 30; BD 17, 64 variant, 76; P. Setna I 5/31-36, 6/9-17, in Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Denkmäler. II. Die demostiche Papyrus* (Strassburg, 1906), 2:pls. XLVI-XLVII.

⁵⁴ECT 99 II 103-5; 101-4 II 110-12; P. Setna I 6/2-3, in Spiegelberg, *Die demostiche Papyrus*, 2:pl. XLVII; Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, 136-37.

⁵⁵ECT 242-243 III 327-31, 264 III 393, 323-324 IV 152-53, 645-646 VI 265-66, 1007 VII 223; BD 67, 92.

⁵⁶ECT 246-248 III 337-42; BD 63.

⁵⁷ECT 343 IV 348-64, 473 VI 3-16, 475-481 VI 26-47; BD 91, 153, 153B.

⁵⁸ECT 342 IV 346-47, 424 V 265-68, 586 VI 205-8; BD 31-32.

⁵⁹ECT 369 V 31, 378-379 V 41-43, 381-382 V 44, 434-436 V 283-89, 586 VI 205-8, 885 VII 94-98; BD 7, 33-35, 37, 39, 41B.

⁶⁰ECT 425 V 269-70, 430 V 277.

⁶¹ECT 440 V 293-96.

⁶²BD 36.

⁶³ECT 439 V 292, 441-443 V 297-309, 450 V 319, 453-454 V 322-36, 579 VI 194, 698 VI 332, 750 VI 379-80, 891 VII 101-2; BD 40-42.

⁶⁴ECT 353 IV 392-400, 356 V 8, 359 V 12-14, 361-362 V 15-22, 431 V 278-79, 451 V 320, 467 V 363-78, 820 VII 20-21, 994 VII 208-9, 1015 VII 233-34.

winds,⁶⁵ fire,⁶⁶ and enemies,⁶⁷ brings bread,⁶⁸ water,⁶⁹ beer,⁷⁰ and other foods.⁷¹ As shown in the following table, the descriptions overlap considerably showing that the Roman period description is a continuation of previous pharaonic understandings, and that both ἄγγελος and πνεῦμα ἄεριον are attempts to render the Egyptian term ḥ into Greek.

Table 1

	ḥ	ἄγγελος
sends dreams	X	X
leads men and women	X	X
kills	X	X
destroys		X
hurls winds	X	X
carries metals		X
loosens bands		X
opens doors	X	X
makes invisible		X
brings fire	X	X

⁶⁵ECT 355 V 1-7, 676 VI 304.

⁶⁶ECT 799 VII 7, 1009 VII 224; BD 137, 137A, 137B, Pleyte 171.

⁶⁷ECT 569 VI 168-69, 799 VII 7; BD 10-11, 65, 134.

⁶⁸ECT 371 V 33-34, 421-22 V 258-60, 604 VI 218, 661 VI 287, 797 VII 5; BD 82.

⁶⁹ECT 353 IV 392-400, 356 V 8, 359 V 12-14, 361-362 V 15-22, 431 V 278-79, 451 V 320, 467 V 363-78, 1015 VII 233-34; BD 57-59, 62-63, 136.

⁷⁰ECT 604 VI 218; BD 82.

⁷¹ECT 591 VI 211, 599 VI 215, 739 VI 367; BD 106, 136.

	’ <i>h</i>	ἄγγελος
brings water	X	X
brings wine		X
brings bread	X	X
brings food	X	X
does commands	X	X
stops ships		X
stops demons	X	X
stops beasts	X	X
transforms into birds	X	X
transforms into beasts	X	X
transforms into fish	X	X
transforms into reptiles	X	X
transforms into plants	X	
transforms into gods	X	
transforms into fire	X	
carries in air		X
casts into water		X
freezes rivers	X	X
lights lamps	X	X
heals	X	
causes sickness	X	
causes financial distress	X	

In English, the term “angel” is used to mean “a ministering spirit or divine messenger;

one of an order of spiritual beings superior to man in power and intelligence,”⁷² whereas in Greek the term ἄγγελος means simply “messenger” without any spiritual overtones.⁷³ Since in all cases under consideration, the messengers in the Egyptian texts represent “spiritual beings superior to man in power and intelligence,” use of the English term “angel” is justified.

Ancient Egyptian texts refer to the appearance of all three spiritual entities in dreams, sometimes by the generic terms (*b*³, πάρεδρος), which can be translated as “ghost”⁷⁴ which I will use as the generic term in this paper.

To Sleep Perchance to Dream⁷⁵

Thirty rituals for dream oracles have come from Roman period Egypt.⁷⁶ But these rituals are said to be “handed do[wn to us in] numerous scrolls” (καταλει[πόμενα ἡμῖν ἐν] βίβλοις μυρίαις).⁷⁷ reflecting a compilation of previous traditions. Requests for dream oracles involving Egyptian gods (Pre Φρηυ, Ptah Φθα, Horus-Khenty-Khety Ἄρχεντεχθα, Seth Σηθ)⁷⁸ could

⁷²*Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. “angel.”

⁷³*LSJ* 7.

⁷⁴Gee, “B3 Sending and Its Implications,” 233.

⁷⁵William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* III.i.64.

⁷⁶*PGM* I 42-195; I 262-347; III 1-257; IV 1716-1870; IV 2441-2621; IV 2622-2708; IV 3172-3208; V 370-446; V 459-488; VI; VII 222-249; VII 250-254; VII 255-259; VII 311-16; VII 359-369; VII 407-410; VII 478-490; VII 664-685; VII 703-726; VII 795-845; VII 862-918; VIII 64-110; X 24-35; XII 1-13; XII 14-95; XII 107-121; XII 144-152; XII 190-192; XIII 308-318; XXIIb 27-31; XXIIb 32-35.

⁷⁷*PGM* I 46.

⁷⁸*PGM* VII 250-254; VII 359-69.

involve lamps set up for divination.⁷⁹ The lamp used was either a special one prepared for the occasion or the one used in the daily temple liturgy (τὸν λύχνον τὸν καθημερινόν).⁸⁰ The lamp is used as a conduit for the dreams, just as it was used as a conduit for divination.⁸¹

Such Stuff as Dreams Are Made on⁸²

In the Middle Kingdom, the instructions we have for the use of “an image of clay of . . . upon which the name of a man has been placed”⁸³ in a rite for sending a dream in which a soul would appear to someone and deliver a message. In the Roman period, a figure is made of wood into which the name of the individual to whom the dream should be sent is placed so that the spirit might “stand before her, having the likeness of the god or daimon whom she worships, and say what I desire.”⁸⁴ Examples of the clay figurines with the names written on them have

⁷⁹*PGM* I 262-347; IV 3172-3208; V 370-446; VII 222-249; VII 250-254; VII 359-69; VII 407-410; VII 478-490; VII 703-726; VIII 64-110; XII 1-13; XII 14-95; XIII 308-318; XXIIb 27-31; XXIIb 32-35.

⁸⁰*PGM* VII 407-10.

⁸¹P. Mag. 5/1-34, 6/1-8/11, 16/1-17, 16/18-30, 17/1-23, 17/23-26, 17/26-18/6, 25/1-22, 27/13-36, v 24/1-13, v 31/1-6; *PGM* I 263-347; IV 52-153, IV 930-1114, IV 3172-3208; VII 540-578; John Gee, “The Structure of Lamp Divination,” in *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies*, ed. Kim Ryholt (Copenhagen: The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies University of Copenhagen, 2002), 207-18.

⁸²William Shakespeare, *The Tempest* IV.i.156-57.

⁸³ECT 103 II 110.

⁸⁴*PGM* IV 1840-1870: “παρασταθεὶς αὐτῇ εἴπηρ, ἃ προαιρούμαι, ὁμοιωθεὶς ᾧ σέβεται θεῶ ἢ δαίμονι.”

survived;⁸⁵ we call them execration figures, the Egyptians called them *rstyw* “dream figures.”⁸⁶ Ritual texts explicitly link the destruction of enemies and sending of dreams with minor variations in the same rite.⁸⁷ Execration texts were left for “the able angel” (*ʿḥ iqr*)⁸⁸ in cemeteries,⁸⁹ so that the ghosts of the dead (*bʿw*)⁹⁰ could haunt the targets of the ritual with dreams or death. Those targeted were the victims of wrath (*bʿw*) and the terms for “ghosts,” “wrath” and divine “manifestations” (*bʿw*) are indistinguishable.⁹¹ The haunted victims of the Execrations Texts could then become the victims of the victorious Pharaoh. The same rituals with the same techniques could be used privately to haunt victims and compel them to fall head

⁸⁵G. Posener, *Princes et pays d’Asie et de Nubie* (Bruxelles: FERE, 1940).

⁸⁶For the reading, see Robert K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1993), 185-90. Ritner would derive the meaning as “those who are guarded” from *rs* “to watch/guard” (*WÄS* 2:449-51). I derive the meaning from *rswt* “dream” (*WÄS* 2:252) in parallel with *šbty* “shabti, replacement figure” (*WÄS* 4:435) from *šbt* “exchange, replacement” (*WÄS* 4:436).

⁸⁷*PGM* IV.2441-2621: the rite “κατακλίνει γενναίως καὶ ἀναιρεῖ ἰσχυρῶς, ὄνειροπομπῆ καλλίστως, ὄνειραιτητῆ θαυμαστῶς;” *PGM* IV.2622-2707.

⁸⁸Jürgen Osing, “Ächtungstexte aus dem Alten Reich,” *MDAIK* 32 (1976): 154. For the phrase as a technical term and its meaning, see Demarée, *The ʿḥ iqr n R^c-Stelae*, 189-275.

⁸⁹Kurt Sethe, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefässscherben des Mittleren Reiches* (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1926), 1; Jean Vercoutter, “Fouilles à Mirgissa,” *REg* 15 (1963): 70-71; A. M. Abu Bakr and Jürgen Osing, “Ächtungstexte aus dem Alten Reich,” *MDAIK* 29/2 (1973): 97.

⁹⁰*WÄS* 1:413.

⁹¹J. F. Borghouts, “Divine Intervention in Ancient Egypt and its Manifestation (*b3w*),” in *Gleanings from Deir el-Medīna*, ed. R. J. Demarée and Jac. J. Janssen (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1982), 1-3.

over heels in love, so that they would be willing to do anything.⁹²

In That Sleep of Death What Dreams May Come?⁹³

Two of the dream summoning rituals involve the use of a strip of linen placed at the head.⁹⁴ Two texts concern the use of a branch placed at the head.⁹⁵ The branch is inscribed with astronomical figures indicating the zodiac.⁹⁶ The linen placed “at the head of an angel”⁹⁷ is attested archaeologically with linen disks placed at the head of mummies.⁹⁸ Some of these are marked with figures that appear on astronomical coffins in association with the zodiac.⁹⁹ An

⁹²P. Setna I 4/38-5/30; P. Mag. v16/1-7, v17/1-8, v19/1-7; *PGM* IV 94–153, 296–466, 1265–74, 1390–1495, 1496–1595, 1716–1870, 1928–2005, 2006–2125, 2441–2621, 2708–84, 2891–2942, 2943–66; VII 191–92, 300a–310, 385–89, 405–6, 459–61, 462–66, 467–77, 661–63, 969–72, 973–80, 981–93; VIII 1–63; X 1–23; XIc 1–19; XII 474–79 (+*PDM* xii 135–46), XII 480–95 (+*PDM* xii 147–64); XV 1–21; XVI 1–75; XVIIa 1–25; XIXa 1–54; XIXb 1–3, 4–18; XXIVb 1–15; XXXII 1–19; XXXIIa 1–25; XXXVI 69–101; 134–60, 187–210, 295–311, 333–60, 361–71; XXXVIII 1–26; XXXIX 1–21; LXII 1–24; LXVII 1–24; LXVIII 1–20; LXXVIII 1–14; CIX 1–8; CXXII 26–50; *PDM* lxi 128–47, 148–58, 159–96, 197–216;

⁹³William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* III.i.65.

⁹⁴*PGM* VII.664-85; VIII 64-110.

⁹⁵*PGM* VII.664-85; 795-845.

⁹⁶*PGM* VII 795-845.

⁹⁷BD 162.

⁹⁸Ashmolean 88, 1982-1095; Berlin 6900, 7792; BM 8445–8446, BM EA 36188, 35875, 37907–37909; Bruxelles E 6319–6320; Budapest L 009; Cairo CG 9443–9448; Hermitage 8737; Leiden AMS 62; Louvre AF 1936, E 6195, 18940, 26834a, N 3105, 3109, 3181–3182, 3524–3525; Petrie Museum UC 16407–16409; Philadelphia L-55-15D, 29-86-436, 29-87-613; Torino 16346–16352; Zagreb 889–891.

⁹⁹Cairo CG 9449; Louvre N 3182, N 3525 A1/3.

analysis of this material is beyond the scope of this paper¹⁰⁰ other than to raise the question: Why does a mummy need an amulet to summon dreams? “In that sleep of death what dreams may come?”¹⁰¹

I Have Had a Most Rare Vision. I Have Had a Dream, Past the Wit of Man to Say What Dream it Was¹⁰²

Far from adapting a Viking view that “there is no meaning in dreams,”¹⁰³ for the ancient Egyptians dreams could be interpreted. They can be interpreted precisely because messengers, such as angels could appear in them and take on any form they desired.¹⁰⁴ Two manuals for the interpretation of dreams have survived. One dating to the New Kingdom¹⁰⁵ belonged at one time

¹⁰⁰I intend to deal with this in part in another paper.

¹⁰¹William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* III.i.65.

¹⁰²William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* IV.i.204-206.

¹⁰³“Ekki er mark að draumum.” *Gunnlaugs Saga Ormstungu* 2. The phrase is not exactly true of the Vikings either, as the rest of *Gunnlaugs Saga Ormstungu* shows, Þorstein's dream comes to pass.

¹⁰⁴PT 317 §§507–10; ECT 208 III 161-62, 252 III 352, 256 III 365-66, 261 III 382-89, 268–274 IV 1–15, 275-278 IV 16–25, 280–288 IV 28–40, 290 IV 42, 292–294 IV 43-47, 301–302 IV 52-55, 312–313 IV 68-93, 316-317 IV 98-135, 322 IV 148-51, 325-326 IV 154-62, 330-331 IV 166-76, 374 V 37, 386 V 53, 464–467 V 336-78, 546–547 VI 142–43, 573 VI 177-83, 612 VI 225–26, 669 VI 297, 678 VI 305, 703 VI 334-35, 712 VI 343, 794 VII 4, 829 VII 30, 955 VII 169-70, 957 VII 172-76, 989 VII 197-99, 991 VII 201-3, 993 VII 205-7, 1016 VII 235; BD 17, 64 variant, 76–80, 81A-B, 82–88; P. Setna I 5/31-36, 6/9-17.

¹⁰⁵P. Chester Beatty III, in Alan H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 3rd series. *Chester Beatty Gift*, 2 vols. (London: British Museum), 1:9-27, 2:pls. 5-12A.

to the family of Qenherkhopeshef,¹⁰⁶ the other dating from the Roman period.¹⁰⁷ In both cases, the relationship between the dream and the interpretation is often obscure if not opaque to us without the requisite cultural background. For example, one of the more curious pairings is that “if a man sees himself eating donkey meat (*iwfn* ^ꜥ) in a dream, it is good since it is his promotion (*s*^ꜥ=*f*).”¹⁰⁸ The cultural context of this passage is found in the Book of the Dead, where the donkey devourer (^ꜥ*m* ^ꜥ) is the one who punishes sinners (*isftyw*) for their evil deeds, and who is repulsed only by an individual’s purity.¹⁰⁹ The individual notes that “I have no sins on record (*nn isft=i r* ^ꜥ *n sh*)”¹¹⁰ Many officials make similar statements in connection with their promotions to office, that is they note that they received their appointments to office because

¹⁰⁶Jaroslav „ erný, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1973), 334-36; P. W. Pestman, “Who Were the Owners, in the ‘Community of Workmen’, of the Chester Beatty Papyri,” in *Gleanings from Deir el-Medīna*, 155-72.

¹⁰⁷P. Carlsberg 13 and 14, in Aksel Volten, *Demotische Traumdeutung (Pap. Carlsberg XIII und XIV Verso)*, AnAe 3 (Kopenhagen: Einar Munksgaard, 1942).

Volten gives two other examples of dream texts that are not actually dream texts:

P. Cairo 50138, 50139, 50140 and 50141, in Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Demotische Inscriften und Papyri III*. (Berlin, 1932), 98-103 and Tafel 59. Volten (*Demotische Traumdeutung*, 5) suggested this was a dream interpretation text.

Felix v. Oefele, (“Astrologisches in der altägyptischen Medizin,” *ZÄS* 41 (1904): 120) suggested that P. Berlin 8679 was a dream book; see Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Demotische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1902), 29 and Tafel 98. Volten (*Demotische Traumdeutung*, 5) accepted his suggestion. The text deals with minerals and herbs and is not a dream text. Perhaps v. Oefele mistook *iny* “stone” for *sdr* “sleep.” For a writing of *sdr* similar to *iny* in P. Berlin 8679, see Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenauge* (Strassburg: Strassburger Druckerei, 1917), 260 (#744).

Both these texts have been reclassified as “other divinatory texts;” see Mark Depauw, *A Companion to Demotic Studies*, Papyrologica Bruxellensia 28 (Bruxelles: FERE, 1997), 108.

¹⁰⁸P. Chester Beatty III 2/21, in Gardiner, *Chester Beatty Gift*, 1:12, 2:pl. 5.

¹⁰⁹BD 40.

¹¹⁰BD 40.

they were free from blame.¹¹¹ Thus there is more than just the word play between donkey (𐏩) and promotion (s𐏩) here,¹¹² there is a common cultural context that covers nearly two millennia.

A similar Egyptian cultural background and its use in dream interpretation also figures in the biblical story of Joseph and his interpretation of Pharaoh's dreams.¹¹³ In Pharaoh's first dream he sees seven heifers (*pārôt*) devoured by seven other heifers.¹¹⁴ In his second dream he sees seven ears of grain (*šibbālîm*) devoured by seven other ears of grain.¹¹⁵ Pharaoh summons the chief lector priests of Egypt (*ḥartummê misrayim* = *ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp*),¹¹⁶ who by virtue of their being lector priests were both literate and had access to things like the dream manuals.¹¹⁷ Although they are unable to interpret the dream, Joseph, who previously had the reputation as an interpreter (*pôtēr*) of dreams,¹¹⁸ is able to do what the king's advisors are not, which is an Egyptian literary trope.¹¹⁹ Pharaoh's dreams do not involve Hebrew word play, instead they

¹¹¹Many are collected in John Gee, *The Requirements of Ritual Purity* (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1998), 88-217.

¹¹²Gardiner, *Chester Beatty Gift*, 1:12 n. 2; Szpakowska, *Behind Closed Eyes*, 82.

¹¹³Genesis 40-41.

¹¹⁴Genesis 41:2-4.

¹¹⁵Genesis 41:5-7.

¹¹⁶For the equation, see Jan Quaegebeur, "On the Egyptian Equivalent of the Biblical *Ḥartummîm*," in *Pharaonic Egypt, the Bible and Christianity*, ed. Sarah Israelit-Groll (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1985), 162-72.

¹¹⁷Genesis 41:8.

¹¹⁸Genesis 40:5-23; 41:14-36.

¹¹⁹For the trope, see Anthony J. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 101-14. For the private version of this trope where it is a priest rather than the king that can do what the advisors cannot, see P.

involve Egyptian cultural background. The seven heifers bring to mind both the seven Hathors—who is depicted as a cow or cow-headed goddess¹²⁰—with their ability to predict the future,¹²¹ and the seven cows in the Book of the Dead who give bread and beer¹²²—both derived from barley and wheat,¹²³ the major cereal crops of Egypt.¹²⁴ The hieratic forms of the ear of grain and the sign for *hsbt* “regnal year”¹²⁵ are graphically similar.¹²⁶ Thus the dreams both focus on food production, but one emphasizes the futurity of the events while the other indicates that years are involved. Both dreams can be argued to be the work of angels who can transform

Vandier 1/1-3/15, in Georges Posener, *Le Papyrus Vandier* (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1985), 39-63.

¹²⁰*Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, 7 vols., ed. Christian Leitz (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 5:75-76.

¹²¹P. D’Orbiney 9/8-9, in Alan H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories* (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1932), 19. The parallels between P. D’Orbiney and the Joseph story have long been noted.

¹²²BD 148.

¹²³A. Lucas and J. R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th edition (1962), 13-16.

¹²⁴Annie Gasse, “Economy: Temple Economy,” in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, 3 vols. ed. Donald B. Redford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 1:434-35.

¹²⁵For the reading, which has often been in dispute, see Girgis Mattha, *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo Univ.* 20/1 (May 1958 [1962]): 17-20; Jürgen von Beckerath, “Die Lesung von ‘Regierungsjahr’: Ein neuer Vorschlag,” *ZÄS* 95 (1969): 88-92; Karl-Theodor Zauzich, “Das topographische Onomastikon im P. Kairo 31 169,” *GM* 99 (1987): 83-84. Zauzich’s evidence is definitive.

¹²⁶Compare the signs in Georg Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1927), 1:26 (#270), 2:24 (#270) to those in *ibid.*, 1:28 (#293), 2:26 (#293).

themselves both into barley,¹²⁷ and into bovines.¹²⁸ The Egyptian elements can also be used to date the story: although neither the graphic similarities in hieratic nor the literary trope are useful for dating, the transformation into barley and bovines appears mainly in Middle Kingdom texts, and Book of the Dead 148 has a Middle Kingdom antecedent,¹²⁹ all of which argues for a date before the New Kingdom.

While P. Chester Beatty III notes what happens if a man sees himself in a dream¹³⁰ there are other entities that can be seen in a dream. Worthy of note is the section in P. Carlsberg 14 dealing with the appearance of snakes in dreams.¹³¹ The snake was one of the forms in which an angel could appear,¹³² and most snakes were considered the manifestation (‘*h*’) of a deity.¹³³ Unfortunately, the interpretive portion of the papyrus is lost so we cannot match the

¹²⁷ECT 269 IV 6-7.

¹²⁸ECT 208 III 161-62.

¹²⁹See Thomas G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 236.

¹³⁰The key question in this passage is what it means to see oneself in a dream. Does one see oneself from inside or outside oneself. If one sees oneself from outside, since an angel can take whatever form desired, there is nothing to say that an individual could not be seeing the angel transformed into the individual. On the other hand, if one sees oneself from inside, the way one sees oneself while awake, then one cannot postulate that the self one sees is an angel. Szpakowska (*Behind Closed Eyes*, 18-22) discusses the role of seeing in dreaming but neither the evidence she brings forward nor her discussion elucidates the issue, although her statement, “the dream was an autonomous phenomenon, external to the dreamer, which existed as a spatial dimension” might be taken to mean that the dreamer views himself or herself from the outside.

¹³¹P. Carlsberg 14 a 16- c 2/1, in Volten, *Demotische Traumdeutung*, 92-95, Tafel 3-4.

¹³²ECT 374 V 37; BD 87.

¹³³P. Brooklyn Museum 47.218.48+85 1/16-2/16 (chapters 16-38), in Serge Sauneron, *Un traité égyptien d’ophiologie* (Caire: IFAO, 1989), 10-36.

interpretation of a particular snake with the deity for which it is a manifestation. We can, however, match the things seen in dreams with the forms in which angels could appear. Since seeing a god in a dream was a good thing,¹³⁴ it is noteworthy that when “a powerful angel who does not sleep at night is sent and stands before” an individual in a dream, it is “in the secret form of the god whom he considers to be the greatest” that the angel delivers his or her message.¹³⁵ The recipient of the dream is assured “know that he is god . . . whom you see” (γινώσκεται ὅτι οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ θεός . . . ὃ εἶδες).¹³⁶

Our Little Lives are Rounded with a Sleep¹³⁷

Although an angel could appear in a waking state,¹³⁸ the principle way was in a dream.¹³⁹ The message delivered by the angel could be extensive, for which we have an historical example. In 1942 B.C.,¹⁴⁰ the founding pharaoh of the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty, Sehetepibre Amenemhet

¹³⁴P. Chester Beatty III 2/14, in Alan H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 3rd series. *Chester Beatty Gift*, 2 vols. (London: British Museum), 1:12, 2:pls. 5-5A.

¹³⁵Louvre E 3229 5/2-6, in Johnson, “Louvre E 3229: A Demotic Magical Text,” 63, Tafel 14; *PGM* IV 1840-1870.

¹³⁶*PGM* I 96-97.

¹³⁷William Shakespeare, *The Tempest* IV.i.157-58.

¹³⁸P. Setna I 5/31-36, 6/9-17.

¹³⁹Wente, “A Misplaced Letter to the Dead,” 596.

¹⁴⁰The date is based on the Memphite chronology found in Ulrich Luft, *Die chronologische Fixierung des ägyptischen Mittleren Reiches nach dem Tempelarchiv von Illahun* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992), 224-29, and assumes coregencies between Amenemhet I and Sesostri I, Sesostri I and Amenemhet II, Amenemhet II and Sesostri II, and accepts eight regnal years for Sesostri II; for which see Mark C. Stone, “Reading the Highest Attested Regnal Year Date for Senwosret II: Stela Cairo

I was assassinated.¹⁴¹ The dirty deed was the work of a harem conspiracy¹⁴² although the conspiracy probably did not extend as far as some modern scholars imagine.¹⁴³ Soon after his assassination, Amenemhet appeared to his son, Sesostris I, and delivered an “instruction” (*sb³y.t*) in “a true report” (*m wp.t m³.t*) to him.¹⁴⁴ The vocabulary used is reminiscent of the vocabulary used throughout the divinatory literature.¹⁴⁵ Although divine audiences are attested in the Middle Kingdom,¹⁴⁶ a dream setting for this necromantic audience is also likely.

JE 59485,” *GM* 159 (1997): 91-100.

¹⁴¹The death is recorded in Sinuhe R5-6, in Roland Koch, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe* (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1990) 4. That it was an assassination may be found in P. Milligan 1/7-2/7, in Aksel Volten, *Zwei altägyptische Politische Schriften, AAeg 4* (Copenhagen: Einar Munksgaard, 1945), 108-12.

¹⁴²Clear from the line *in imy k³=i ir tswt* in P. Milligan 1/7, in Volten, *Zwei altägyptische Politische Schriften*, 108.

¹⁴³Robert K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1993), 199-201. Ritner imagines that the entire family of the vizier Intefiqer was involved in the harem conspiracy, fell from favor and was execrated. Ritner finds evidence for this proposition in that the vizier Intefiqer did not survive the reign of Amenemhet I because there is no mention of him in later inscriptions. Unfortunately, Ritner’s assertion is based on the fallacy of negative proof, and is not true. The vizier Intefiqer is mentioned in a graffiti in the Wadi el-Hudi datable to year 20+x of Sesostris I, between ten to eighteen years after the death of Amenemhet I. The inscription is found in Ashraf I. Sadek, *The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi*, 2 vols. (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1980), 1:22-24, #8. A full discussion of the survival of Intefiqer as vizier into the reign of Sesostris I may be found in Georges Posener, “Le vizir Antefoqer,” in *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays presented to I. E. S. Edwards* (London: EES, 1988), 73-77; see also Detlef Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20.-16. Jahrhundert v. Chr.)* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1984), 119-20. Franke finds no incontestable evidence for Intefiqer under the reign of Amenemhet I.

¹⁴⁴P. Milligan 1/1-2, in Volten, *Zwei altägyptische Politische Schriften*, 106.

¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁶John Gee, “The Earliest Example of the *ph-ntr*?” *GM* 194 (2003): 25-27.

Never Harm, Nor Spell, Nor Charm Come Our Lovely Lady Nigh¹⁴⁷

Since an angel appearing in a dream could be both beneficent and maleficent, for desired or manipulative ends, bad dreams, or their appearance, were something to be avoided. With all the dispatching of dreams, there needed to be ways of warding off unwanted night visitors. In the Middle Kingdom, the Execration Texts are directed against “every bad dream.” From the New Kingdom we have a ritual to “drive away every bad dream that [a man] has seen.”¹⁴⁸ We also have several amulets from the Third Intermediate Period designed to prevent bad dreams, especially the appearance of demons in one’s dreams,¹⁴⁹ and gold cases for carrying such papyrus amulets.¹⁵⁰ Such phylacteries last through Roman times.¹⁵¹

Flights of Angels Sing Thee to Thy Rest¹⁵²

Angels were an important component in ancient Egyptian dreams. As carriers of good and bad messages, they were welcomed with good news and feared with bad. Angels and other ghosts could be summoned or sent to deliver messages in dreams. Many of the dreams and interpretations thereof become meaningful as the angels involved are taken into account. As

¹⁴⁷William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* II.ii.16-18.

¹⁴⁸P. Chester Beatty III 10/10-19, in Alan H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 3rd series. *Chester Beatty Gift*, 2 vols. (London: British Museum), 1:19; 2:pls. 8-8A.

¹⁴⁹I. E. S. Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees* (London: British Museum, 1960).

¹⁵⁰Fitzwilliam Museum E.12.1940, in Eleni Vassilika, *Egyptian Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 84-85.

¹⁵¹*PGM* VII 311-16; X 24-35.

¹⁵²William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* V.ii.360.

such, dreams became a contact point between the mortal and divine realms. Dreams thus could become a situation where the boundaries between this world (*tp-t³*) and that world (*hrt-ntr*) were permeable and messages could pass between.