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PETER'S HALAKHIC NIGHTMARE: THE 'ANIMAL' VISION OF ACTS 10:9-16 IN JEWISH AND GRAECO-ROMAN PERSPECTIVE

by

J.R.L. Moxon

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Theology and Religion

Durham University

2011

Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to see if better sense can be made of the enigmatic vision of Acts 10:9-16 in which Peter is commanded to eat unclean animals. Although Luke interprets the vision in terms of attitudes to *people*, a striking problem is why a text apparently asking a Jew to violate the food-laws (and thus Torah as a whole), should feature in a book that does not resolve the Jew–Gentile problem in this way elsewhere. That this was an extraneous abolitionist text that Luke unsuccessfully "softened" is not deemed satisfactory. Peter's vision is highly unusual, with marked differences from both Cornelius' angelophany and other NT examples. As a Jewish response to the problem of associating with Gentiles, the account is unique in representing halakhic issues in dream form, but the rather human feel, enigmatic dialogue and oblique application may also suggest Graeco-Roman influences, which if read correctly might help illuminate the vision's real function.

After introductions to the halakha of association and the literary development of dreams in the Mediterranean world, two unusual aspects of the vision are investigated; firstly the connection with Hellenistic anxiety dreams and nightmares, and secondly, with the characteristically enigmatic divine speech of Graeco-Roman religion. These suggest ways in which Luke might want to point to a wider meaning and yet retain the vision's distressing literal imagery. From a survey of other double dreams, it is concluded that pairing revelations with very different forms and degrees of difficulty is a recognisable pattern and may not imply poor editing. Indeed, that the darker and more enigmatic revelation is received by a character struggling to understand the divine will, is particularly characteristic. This not only explains the transgressive feel of Peter's vision, but also how the ironic contrast with Cornelius underscores a Lukan apologetic about mission.

It is concluded that the difficult even paradoxical questions facing Jewish Christians make a "communal anxiety dream" about contact with Gentiles understandable. The vision does not so much commend the abolition of Torah as expose the illegitimacy of allowing such "nightmares" to impede fellowship with Spirit-filled Gentile followers of Jesus. Part of its rebuke is to plunge the Apostle into a state of aporia until enabled to recognise its meaning in the surprising developments at Cornelius' house.

Besides helping to explain an editorial anomaly, and showing how Luke may be experimenting with more personal and enigmatic forms of "revelation", this reading may also add plausibility to a consistent "dual-identity" reading of Lukan ecclesiology, as developed by Jervell et al.

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Abbreviations

1 Terms and Acronyms

ANE	Ancient Near East
BCE	Before Common Era
CE	Common Era
NT	New Testament
OT	Old Testament/Hebrew Bible

2 Standard Reference Works

ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary, D. N. Freedman, ed.
ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts, J. B. Pritchard, ed.
BDAG	Bauer, Walter, Danker, Frederick W., Arndt, W. F. and Gingrich, F. Wilbur, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
EncDSS	Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls
EncJudaica	Encyclopaedia Judaica, F. Skolnik and M. Berenbaum eds.
EncJudaism	Encyclopedia of Judaism, Neusner, J., Avery-Peck, A. J. et al., eds.
ISBE	International Standard Bible Encyclopedia, G. W. Bromiley, ed.
LSJ	Liddell-Scott-Jones, Greek-English Lexicon
NBD	New Bible Dictionary
NIDOTTE	New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis
OTP	The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, J. H. Charlesworth, ed.
SBLSP	SBL Seminar Papers
Str-B	H. Strack and P. Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
TDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, eds.
TDOT	Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament, G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren, eds.
TWOT	Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament, G. L. Archer, R. L. Harris, et al. eds.

3 Publication Series

ICC	International Critical Commentary
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIGTC	The New International Greek Testament Commentary
SBLSP	SBL Seminar Papers

4 Journals

ABR	Australian Biblical Review
AJBS	African Journal of Biblical Studies
AJP	American Journal of Philology
AJSRev	Association for Jewish Studies Review
AmSpch	American Speech
AncPhil	Ancient Philosophy
APB	Acta Patristica et Byzantina
AramStud	Aramaic Studies
ASTI	Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute

ATJ	Ashland Theological Journal
AUSS	Andrews University Seminary Studies
Bib	Biblica
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation
BibRev	Bible Review
BibSac	Bibliotheca Sacra
BTB	Biblical Theology Bulletin
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CFQ	California Folklore Quarterly
CJ	The Classical Journal
ClAnt	Classical Antiquity
ConNT	Coniectanea Neotestamentica
CQ	The Classical Quarterly
CW	The Classical World
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DSD	Dead Sea Discoveries
EcuRev	Ecumenical Review
ETL	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses
EvQ	Evangelical Quarterly
EvT	Evangelische Theologie
ExpTim	Expository Times
FFNT	Foundations and Facets: New Testament
FN	Filología Neotestamentaria
G&R	Greece and Rome
HeyJ	Heythrop Journal
HibJ	Hibbert Journal
HR	History of Religions
HTR	Harvard Theological Review
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
Interp	Interpretation
IRM	International Review of Mission
JAAR	Journal of the American Academy of Religion
JAF	The Journal of American Folklore
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JConscStud	Journal of Consciousness Studies
JETS	Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society
JHC	Journal of Higher Criticism
JHM	Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences
JHPh	Journal of the History of Philosophy
JJS	Journal of Jewish Studies
JLR	Journal of Law and Religion
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JR	Journal of Religion
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JSJ	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period
JSNT	Journal for the Study of the New Testament
JSP	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
Latomus	Latomus: Revue d'Etudes Latines
MGWJ	Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums
NovT	Novum Testamentum

NTS	New Testament Studies
NTT	Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift
P&P	Past and Present
PAAJR	Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research
Phronesis	Phronesis: A Journal for Ancient Philosophy
PMLA	Proceedings of the Modern Language Association
PRSt	Perspectives in Religious Studies
R&L	Religion & Literature
RB	Revue Biblique
ResQ	Restoration Quarterly
RevQ	Revue de Qumran
RSR	Recherches des Sciences Religieuses
ScEs	Science et Esprit
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology
SO	Symbolae Osloenses
SPh	Studies in Philology
STRev	Sewanee Theological Review
TAPA	Transactions of the American Philological Association
TBT	The Bible Today
ThZ	Theologische Zeitschrift
TJ	Trinity Journal
TynB	Tyndale Bulletin
VChr	Vigiliae Christianae
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WW	Word and World
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

5 English Bible Translations

ASV	American Standard Version
ESV	English Standard Version
GNB	Good News Bible
JND	J.N. Darby 1890
KJV	King James Version
NAB	New American Bible
NASB	New American Standard Bible
NCV	New Century Version
NEB	New English Bible
NIV	New International Version
NKJV	New King James Version
NLT	New Living Translation
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
RSV	Revised Standard Version
RV	Revised Version
TEV	Today's English Version
YLT	Young's Literal Translation

6 Biblical and Classical Works

Abbreviations for biblical works follow the general patterns of the SBL Handbook of Style. Those for classical works follow LSJ, with a few exceptions, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, cited directly by his work *Antiquitates Romanae*, *RA*, and Diodorus Siculus, by his Bibliotheca Historica, *BH*.

Chapters and paragraph numbers cited are as for the Loeb edition, where available. When the Loeb's Greek or Latin text has a different numbering scheme to the translation, the

citation is given as for the ET, with the original language paragraphing placed after a "/", e.g. Cic.Div.2:64/132-133. If line numbers are needed for a prose work, then these are given as offsets from the start of the paragraph or section, using the standard Loeb or Teubner text as appropriate.

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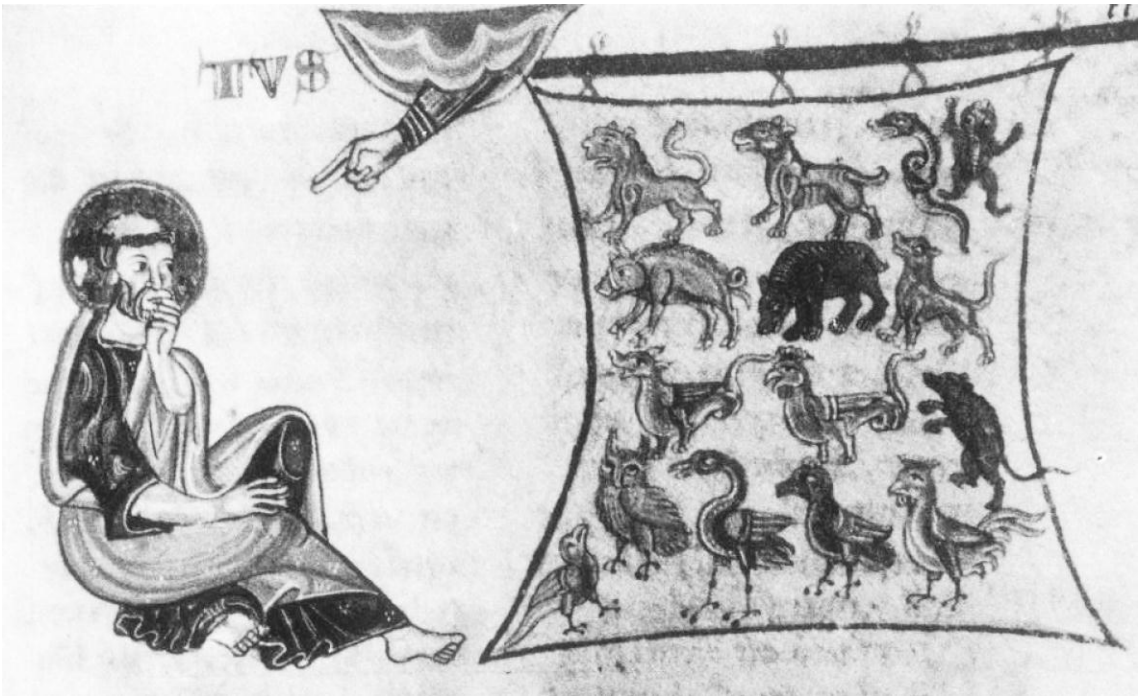
And there came a voice to him, Rise, Peter; kill, and eat …. (Acts 10:13)



Illuminated Acts MSS are rare, but this charming illustration of Peter's animal vision is found in the 13th Veronese Latin manuscript, cod. Chigi A.IV.74, fol. 128r, reproduced in Eleen (1977).

Chapter 1

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1 Purpose, Method and Approach

1.1 Aims

The purpose of this thesis is to see if better sense can be made of the enigmatic dream–vision[1] of Acts 10:9-16 in which Peter is commanded to eat unclean animals. Perennially popular amongst missionaries and social activists[2], the passage presents challenging technical and theological difficulties within its early Jewish–Christian context. Although Luke interprets the vision in terms of attitudes to *people*[3], a striking problem is why a text even *apparently* asking a Jew to violate Torah (thus possibly commending its abolition), should be given such prominence by an author who is otherwise favourable to Judaism, and who does not resolve the Jew–Gentile problem in this way elsewhere[4]. Indeed some question whether fiat Torah abolition fits the theology of any NT author. The standard form–critical explanation that this was an extraneous abolitionist text that Luke unsuccessfully "softened" is not satisfactory. This study seeks to set the passage against both its Jewish background, and more extensively, against Hellenistic and Roman dream accounts to gain new insights into how it might have been understood by the original readers, in spite of its distressing and "contrary" imagery.

1.2 Literature Review

Following Dibelius' 'Conversion of Cornelius' (1947), Hanson's (1978) form–critical investigation was the first full–length study of the Acts 10:1–11:18 story of which Peter's vision forms a part[5]. Although a steady trickle of journal articles followed, it took the "literary turn" in biblical studies to return scholars to the surface level of the text with the functionalist study of Kelley (1991)[6]. After that, the passage received passing attention in broader studies of dreams and visions in Luke–Acts, such as those of Dennis (1994), Day (1994)[7], J.F. Miller (2004, 2007)[8], and Sorensen (2005)[9], variously in relation to Luke's

[1] A term signifying reports variously labelled as dreams or visions, as well as angelophanies and other accounts that can be treated as form-critically congruent. Ancient terminology will be introduced in Ch.3.

[2] The story features in medieval discussions of the fate of the heathen (Turner, 1966: 185), social inclusiveness in the monasteries (Flanagan, 1998: 15-16) and even what Christians should eat (Bazell, 1997). With echoes down through to the mystery plays (Lepow, 1983) and Milton (Schaeffer, 2000: 86-87), it was used by 19th century social campaigners (Lyttle, 1935: 255, Chomsky, 2000: 914), 20th century missionaries (Massey, 2000: 9, 10, WCC, 2010), and has featured in recent debates about gender (Eisen, 2003, France, 1994 and McNichols, 2001) and the rights of homosexuals (Fowl, 1998: 119-126, Perry, 2010).

[3] The vision occurs within the important story of the conversion of the Centurion Cornelius in Acts 10:1-11:18.

[4] i.e. Acts 15, Acts 21.

[5] Bovon's (1967) study on the patristic interpretation of Acts 10:1-11:18 is useful for early post-NT reflections.

[6] S. Kelley, "*And Your Young Will See Visions*"*: A Functionalist Literary Reading of the Visions to Saul and Peter in Acts* (1991).

[7] M. Day, *The function of post-Pentecost dream/vision reports in Acts* (1994).

[8] J. Miller, *"Convinced that God had called us": Visions and the perception of God's will in Luke-Acts* (2004, 2007).

views of Christology, providence, revelation or community. Several studies have attempted to place the Lukan visions as a whole in a specifically Graeco–Roman context, including Squires (1993: 103-120)[10], Koet (1999)[11] and Strelan (2004: 131-190)[12] and for other NT and Jewish dreams, Hanson (1980), Gnuse (1996), Everts (1992), Flannery–Dailey (2000, 2004), Dodson (2006) and Humphrey (2007). Studies of other themes in the story, such hospitality, the Spirit, godfearers, conversion, guidance, decision making etc. that comment on the visions include Crampsey (1982)[13], Johnson (1983)[14], Gaventa (1986)[15], Lukasz (1993)[16], Henrich (1994)[17], Handy (1998)[18] and Arterbury (2005)[19].

In relation to the halakhic imagery of Peter's vision, no dedicated monograph exists, but in addition to journal articles, it is considered in various works on Jewish approaches to the NT such as Tomson (2001) and Kinzer (2005). The commentaries necessarily deal with the passage, but not always with adequate knowledge of dreams or halakha.

1.3 Presuppositions and Method

As a dream–vision with explicitly halakhic imagery, this text may be unique within Jewish literature[20]. To make connections between its form and contents, necessarily involves an exploration of two complex areas[21]. Since the food–laws and other problems of Jew–Gentile association are the better studied, although by no means settled, a brief introduction will be given in chapter 2 with a halakhic reading of the dialogue. However it is the nature of the dream–vision itself, to which most of the remaining effort is directed. In spite of its very Jewish theme, Graeco–Roman traditions may be responsible for some of its more unusual features. These have been difficult for scholars to account for using the standard ANE–based approach to ancient dreams, which is therefore critiqued in chapter 3 via a selection of texts from Homer to Hellenistic fiction before returning to Jewish and Christian writings. Chapters 4 and 5 ask further questions springing from the naturalistic overtones and enigmatic presentation of Peter's vision before considering double dreams in

---

[9] R. Sorensen, *The literary function of Acts' vision narratives* (2005).

[10] A section of his study of providence, *The plan of God in Luke-Acts* (1993).

[11] Koet notes the importance of Hellenistic dream theory (op.cit. 746) but does not pursue it.

[12] 'Seeing Things', ch.5 in his *Strange Acts* (2004), with a special interest in the genre of Acts.

[13] J. Crampsey, *The Conversion of Cornelius (Acts 10:1-11:19) Societal, Apologetic and Ecclesial Tension* (1982).

[14] L. Johnson, *Decision-Making in the Church: A Biblical Model* (1983), later revised as *Scripture & Discernment : Decision Making in the Church* (1996b), both of which use Acts 10:1-11:18 as a worked example.

[15] B. Gaventa, *From Darkness to Light : Aspects of Conversion in the New Testament* (1986)

[16] C. Lukasz, *Evangelizzazione e conflitto : Indagine sulla coerenza letteraria e tematica della pericope di Cornelio (Atti 10,1-11,18)* (1993), focussed on the overcoming of obstacles and with an emphasis on the narrative structure.

[17] S. Henrich, *Godfearing in Acts 10: The changing rules of hospitality in early Christianity* (1994).

[18] D. Handy, *The Gentile Pentecost: A literary study of the story of Peter and Cornelius* (Acts 10:1-11:18) (1998).

[19] A. Arterbury, *Entertaining Angels : Early Christian Hospitality in its Mediterranean Setting* (2005).

[20] Images of the breach of Greek sacred laws are known, however, in Artemidorus.

[21] That Luke's dreams and visions in Acts are explicitly tied up with new Christian halakhic insights, cf. Koet (2003: 103-104).

chapter 6. At each point however, I shall return to one basic question: whether Peter's vision is intended to commend Torah abolition, or whether it engages with the Jew–Gentile problem in a more subtle way.

Given the form–critical consensus, I will not rule out a source but will presuppose Lukan editorial competence, i.e. that perceiving a gross mismatch between the details of the dream and its use by Luke is misplaced, and that whatever its origin, leaving the food imagery in the vision was intended and if read correctly, may support rather than undermine Luke's position.

This study will not concern itself with details of historical fact[22], but will make judgements about various reconstructions of the tensions surrounding Jew–Gentile contact whilst addressing Peter's vision. Although Plunkett (1985: 466) reminds us that Luke's picture of these tensions may not always be accurate, a general sense of plausibility will be brought to bear. The Western textual variants[23] are taken as a useful guide to what later Christians found difficult in the original text and those of Peter–Cornelius section are surveyed by Rius–Camps and Read–Heimerdinger (2004). These will be noted when appropriate, but do not alter any of major judgements made.

1.4 Possible Significance

Shedding fresh light on a perceived editorial anomaly is always valuable, particularly for the otherwise competent Luke. But as a possible counter-example to Luke's view of the law[24], this case develops additional significance. Making Luke consistently non–abolitionist could lend support to the controversial "dual identity" reading of Luke's ecclesiology[25]. Any new insight may also illuminate discussions of Jesus, Paul and other NT authors[26], as well as wider debates about ongoing Jewish identity in the early church[27]. Finally, any understanding of the genre and register of this vision that leads to a more consistent overall reading of the surrounding narrative and Acts as a whole, may provide further clues to the various literary competences shared by Luke and his readers, as well as shed light on other problem passages.

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[22] See discussion in Rackham (1951: 146-147), Bruce (1952: 215, 252), Lüdemann (1989: 126), Haenchen (1971: 346), Conzelmann (1987: 81) et al. concerning both the presence of the Italian cohort and the content of the story.

[23] See Metzger (1975: 259-273), Barrett (1994: 1-29), and on the text of Acts in general, Strange (1991).

[24] On Luke's view of the law in general, cf. Jervell (1971), Wilson (1983), Blomberg (1984), Downing (1986, 1988), Syreeni (1990), Salo (1991), Bovon (2003) et sim.

[25] i.e. where Jews and Gentiles retain distinct identities within the church, as set out in Jervell's 'The Divided People of God' (1972). Called a "two-track" approach by Levine (2007: 74-78), it is often misunderstood as implying two different means of salvation, denied by Peter explicitly in Acts 15:11.

[26] That a consistently Jewish Jesus is now emerging via the works of Vermes (1973, 1983, 1993), Sanders (1985, 1990a, 1990c etc.), et al. and that Paul's whole approach to the law is also being re-assessed since Sanders (1977) with developments in Barth (1979), Gaston (1987), Young (1997), Gager (1999, 2000, 2002), Tomson (1990, 2001) and Nanos (1996, 2002, 2005) makes this question of considerable interest.

[27] That a viable ongoing Torah-compliant Jewish Christian community survived well after this period, as explored in the excellent collection of studies in Skarsaune and Hvalvik (2007), is also extremely pertinent.

2 Peter's Vision: Outline, Contexts and Controversies

2.1 Structure and Sequence

The Peter–Cornelius story of which Peter's vision forms a part extends from Acts 10:1 to 11: 18, although after some intervening narrative, is alluded to again during the apostolic council in Acts 15, convened to address the wider problem of Gentile conversions. The narrative can be conceived in three movements with associated locations of Joppa, Caesarea and Jerusalem[28].

(1) Visions of Cornelius and Peter and the sending of messengers (10:1-23a)

(2) Return to Caesarea, preaching, conversions (10:23b-48b)

(3) Confrontation by members of the Jerusalem church (11:1-18)

The vision of the angel to Cornelius is relatively conventional and instructs Cornelius to dispatch messengers to fetch Peter. While they are on their way, Peter has his rooftop vision (10:91-6) in which animals of every sort descend from heaven and he is bidden by an anonymous voice to "kill and eat". His protests are ignored and the voice insists enigmatically that "what God has cleansed, do not call unclean". As he is coming round from his trance, Cornelius' messengers arrive and Peter receives a word of the Spirit (Acts 10:19-20) to go with them without arguing. Peter takes a small group of local Jewish Christians with him. At Cornelius' house Peter preaches, making special reference to the impartiality of God, and before he finishes, the Spirit falls, amazing Peter's companions. Cornelius and his household are baptized. News travels fast, and on his next visit to Jerusalem, Peter is criticized by other Jewish Christians for even making the visit, and certainly for eating with Cornelius (11:2-3).

In between the Peter–Cornelius story and Acts 15 lie a number of other episodes[29], however the conference is introduced in relation to issues surrounding the initiation of Gentile Christians, especially the need for full Jewish conversion, and apparently precipitated by the experience of Paul and Barnabas in Antioch[30]. In the meeting, a conservative position is set out by Christian Pharisees (15:5).

With Barnabus, Paul and James, Peter too makes a contribution (v.7-11) where he claims to have been chosen to be the first evangelist to the Gentiles (v.7), and specifically mentions that they received the Spirit (v.8) just as the apostles themselves had done, with God making "no distinction" (v.9)[31]. This wording alludes to the Cornelius episode, even if

[28] A more detailed outline is given in appendix 1.

[29] The ministry in Antioch, the famine and aid mission, the martyrdom of James and arrest of Peter, the death of Herod etc.

[30] Acts 15:1-2.

[31] On the importance of the Spirit here, cf. Brockway (2005: 372).

no names or details are mentioned[32]. Peter's theologically awkward vision, however, is not mentioned explicitly.

One the great difficulties in approaching this passage is that it bears upon some critical issues for one's entire reading of Acts and indeed of the New Testament and thus is extremely difficult to approach neutrally. I shall introduce some of these issues here to help explain exactly why the vision has become so controversial.

2.2 Gentile Mission, Table–Fellowship and Conversion

The Peter Cornelius story, which arguably relates the beginning of Gentile mission[33], raises questions that eventually lead to the council in Acts 15[34] which clarifies the principle of direct Christian initiation for Gentiles without the need for a bridging conversion to Judaism[35]. Back in Acts 10 however, Peter and others have the very basic problem of believing that visiting Gentile homes was not permitted[36]. Indeed, the double dream is sent primarily to overcome this problem[37]. Homes and hospitality were important for Christian mission and community[38], and shared meals constituted a special sign of acceptance[39]. However this stretched even positive approaches to Jew–Gentile association to breaking point, as proved by the immediate criticism levelled at Peter after his visit[40].

That table fellowship and the "bridging conversion problem" are related is attested independently in Galatians[41], and stems from seeing Christianity only as Messianic *Judaism.* Indeed, Peter's companions are amazed that the Spirit could even fall on Cornelius at all[42]. The table–fellowship problem arises primarily through this division, and not merely because of the food. Whilst the food laws could be kept in mixed company without too much difficulty, the fundamental worry was about *close association* and implied contact with idolatry, immorality and "uncleanness", although the food laws, circumcision and the

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[32] This would seem certain via the reference to the gift of the Spirit, as well as a verbal link at Acts 15:9 in the word "distinguished" (διέκρινεν) which occurs in cognate forms in the Spirit's instruction (10:20, μηδὲν διακρινόμενος) and Peter's recounting of the same (11:12, μηδὲν διακρίναντα).

[33] The beginning of a universal proselytising mission in the sense of Goodman (1994: 4, 5, 9).

[34] Probably in Acts 15:7-9, although Cornelius is not named.

[35] Circumcision is not mentioned here, but is in Acts 15 where the Cornelius story forms corroborating evidence.

[36] ἀθέμιτος, Acts 10:28, although note the caveat of Plunkett (1985: 466).

[37] That Peter should share a message does not feature as such.

[38] Ashworth (1997), Arterbury (2005), Esler (1987), Denaux (1999), Elliot (1991), Gowler (1993), Matson (1996), Henrich (1994). For similar research on Homer and other classical literature, cf. Edwards (1975), Herman (1987), Plantinga (2007), Reece (1993).

[39] Esler (1987: 71-109) and cf. Blanchard et al. (1999), Blomberg (2005), Blue (1998), Elliot (1991), Heil (1999), Neyrey (1991), Jensen (1998), Smith (2003).

[40] Acts 11:2-3.

[41] Gal 2:11-12, 5:2-3.

[42] There is no evidence that Joel 2's "all flesh" was understood in this period as applying to Gentiles. There were even debates about whether the Spirit could fall on *anyone* outside Israel, as Schweizer (1964: 383), Davies (1982: 40). Note Paul's appeal to Gentile Spirit reception as part of his argument in Gal 3:2.

Sabbath all remained potent symbols of Jewish identity[43]. The Peter–Cornelius episode exactly reflects these sensibilities, with Peter's food–law anxiety on the one hand and his admission that he regarded Cornelius as unclean and could not associate with him or visit him[44].

It becomes a pressing issue to ask exactly how the vision works and what Peter understands when finally enabled to cross Cornelius' threshold.

2.3 Abolition and Alternatives

Given the command in Peter's vision and the later comment in Acts 15:9 that "God made no distinction", it is a near universal assumption amongst commentators that all of Peter's difficulties were solved simply by Torah abolition[45], in line with earlier Jesus sayings[46]. In this perspective, following the link from food to people does not alter much[47], as abolition of *Gentile* "uncleanness" would amount to the same thing[48], making the food laws irrelevant anyway[49]. Either way, it is assumed that Luke invites us to conclude that both are to go[50]. For others, the starting point is less material as they see the vision abolishing clean and unclean *as categories*[51]. Scholars differ as to the basis for this, with some appealing to dominical prerogative[52] and others to eschatology[53]. They differ too on when this happens, whether during[54], before[55] or after the vision[56]. One gets the distinct impression, however, that this conclusion is driven too strongly by dogmatic concerns.

That the dream contains at least a command to eat *imaginary* animals is certain, but that Peter is intended to try this literally at Cornelius' house, or that a general abolition of

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[43] To be explored further in ch.2.

[44] Acts 10:28 "ἀθέμιτόν ἐστιν"

[45] At various points within Rackham (1951), Munck (1967), R.P.C. Hanson (1967), Neil (1973), J.S. Hanson (1978), Marshall (1980), Bruce (1988, 1990), Lüdemann (1989), Scott (1991), Barrett (1994), Dunn (1996) and Schnabel (2004: 1:716). Typical comments include this being the "obvious literal interpretation" (J.S. Hanson, 1978: 81) or the "more natural reading" (Handy 1998: 18). Those seeing this as at least an *implication* of the passage include Milgrom (1991: 726), Handy (1998: 58), Lane (1996: 92), Savelle (2004: 467), Pilch (2004: 5). Conzelmann (1972 ET 1987) reminds us that its ideology may not be Luke's own.

[46] E.g. Mk 7:19b, Lk 10:7-8, Rom 14:14, or some other "dominical tradition", to be discussed further below.

[47] Moving from "immediate context" to "wider narrative", as Bruce (1990: 256).

[48] Neil (1973: 138-139), Marshall (1980: 185-186), Lüdemann (1989: 126-127), Dunn (1996: 139), Rackham (1951: 150), Tyson (1992: 122-123), Bruce (1988: 222, 1990: 256).

[49] As Bruce (1990: 256), Witherington (1998: 354), Hanson (1967: 122) et al.

[50] As Handy (1998: 18), Turner (1996: 379), Humphrey (2007: 76-77), Gaventa (1986: 115).

[51] Scott (1991: 479), Hanson (1967: 120).

[52] Spencer (1997: 111).

[53] Scott (1991: 482), Witherington (1998: 350) et sim.

[54] As Haenchen (1971: 348), Munck (1967: 90), Marshall (1980 186).

[55] Rackham (1951: 150). Marshall (1980: 186) and Conzelmann (1987: 81-82) both *allow* this option.

[56] E.g. when the Spirit falls on Cornelius and his family. Barrett's "revelation of what is eternally in the mind of God" (1994: 508-9) somewhat evades the issue.

Torah is intended are very far from certain[57]. The vision itself displays a certain paradoxical quality. Peter's judgment about the animals is "correct" yet he is criticised for his "pronouncement", suggesting that a clash between divine and human understanding is in view, but in some figurative way[58]. Secondly, Luke's silence about what was eaten later may suggest the visit did not depend on the abolition of the food laws, so much as the negation of Peter's beliefs about association. It is also telling that no such rationale, which would clearly assume seismic proportions[59], is mentioned in Acts 15 or 21.

Although the exact interpretation of the Acts 15 council is debated[60] it speaks both about "the tent of David" and "*other* peoples"[61] and directs its closing instructions, specifically to Gentile disciples[62], guarding apparently only against immorality and idolatry. The passage is, in turn, silent about any changes to the *Jewish* Christian life, leading several scholars to conclude that abolition cannot be in view here[63]. Jewish disciples *are*, however, the focus in Acts 21, where Paul explicitly denies that he teaches them to abandon the law. That God has not *discriminated* between the two does not therefore mean he has forcibly *assimilated* them. If Gentiles can repent, and the Spirit can come upon them, then they become Christians *as Gentiles*[64] and the Spirit in turn, removes any worries about immorality and thus fellowship.

This unusual construction has been particularly associated with Jacob Jervell and his seminal study *Luke and the people of God* (1972)[65] where he pictures Israel plus Gentiles as an "associate people"[66], united under Christ, but with distinct obligations at the level of *detail*[67]. Even more boldly, he suggests that the Paul of Acts 21 is the "real" Paul[68] in

[57] Cf. the reservations of Plunkett (1985: 468), Spencer (1997: 111) and the general approaches of Kinzer (2005: 68-70) and Tomson (2001: 231-234). Hanson (1978: 83) notes the internal nature of the command but still comes back to the "obvious" application.

[58] Willimon (1988: 96-100), Gaventa (2003: 166) and cf. Derrett (1988).

[59] As noted by de Wette and Overbeck (1870: 157).

[60] See Ådna (2000), Barrett (1987), Bauckham (1996), Bockmuehl (1995), Boismard (1988), Callan (1993), Dickinson (1990), Tyson (2001), Jorgensen (1989), Kalu (1986), Malcolm (2002), Meier (1996), Nolland (1980, 1991), Proctor (1996), Segal (2001), Taylor (2001), van de Sandt (1992), Wedderburn (1993) and Wiarda (2003).

[61] Acts 15:15-17. On the use of Am 9:11-12 here, see King (1989), Ådna (2000) and Peterson (2009: 430-433). Contrary to the assumptions of many commentators, that the rules here are "scriptural" does not make them "Jewish".

[62] There is some discussion as to whether these are based on the rules for resident aliens in Lev 17, or represent an early version of the rabbinic "Noachide" laws discussed by Novak (1983). Either way, they remain Gentiles.

[63] Haenchen (1971: 362), Barrett (1994: 493, 494), Gaventa (1986: 104).

[64] Removing the need for bridging conversion.

[65] The volume contained four previously published papers together with some specially written chapters. Jervell takes a lead from the earlier de Wette and Overbeck, and Dahl. Jervell (1972: 138-139) notes Luke's repeated defence of the early Jewish Christians from accusations that they do not keep the law.

[66] Ibid., 147.

[67] Ibid., 134, 143, 145, 1984: 24. He sets out his ecclesiology at greater length in *The Church of Jews and Godfearers* (1988). Contra Wilson (1973: 65), he sees this not merely as permitted, but expected.

[68] Or as Jervell (1980 ET 1984) dubs him, the "unknown" Paul.

contrast to images based solely on "Lutheran" readings of Galatians[69]. Creating a considerable impact[70], Jervell has drawn a variety of responses[71], but the broadest line of counter–interpretation, typified by Wilson, sees Luke's positive stance reflecting an attempt to create an authentic and partly sympathetic picture of Jewish Christianity for readers for whom this era has had long–since ended[72]. In Wilson's picture, Luke maintains a sympathetic picture of Jewish Christianity through to the very end of Acts, but here in Acts 10, cruelly smuggles in a portent of the "Pauline" future to come. If Jervell's reading is accepted, then the commendation of ongoing dual identities is genuine, but leaves the vision running counter to this conviction[73], unless he intends some more subtle figurative meaning. If this rather oblique ploy is to be countenanced, the vision must function in a much less transparent way than most typical biblical revelations, and begs the question of precedent, models and purpose. Whichever line is taken here, the vision remains problematic.

2.4 An Unusual Kind of "Revelation"

Dreams and visions are frequent Lukan devices[74], heralded by the programmatic quotation of Joel 2:28-32[75], and here impressively lead to the conversion of the 'first' Gentile[76]. Of the two coordinated visions[77], Peter's is rather unusual, showing marked differences not only from Cornelius' very biblical angelophany, but also from the vast majority of NT dream–vision accounts. On any reading of Luke's theology, Peter's vision cannot count as very straightforward. In some pictures, such as that of Jervell, the exchange becomes doubly enigmatic. Whether or not Luke himself can see where it is pointing, he has Peter at a complete loss to understand what it is about. Plunkett (1985: 468) emphasises exactly how unusual this is when he asks:

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[69] Paul's circumcision of Timothy and his actions in Acts 21 are often regarded as impossible for the "real" Paul.

[70] Blomberg (1998: 398, cf. 1984); Jervell's (1998) commentary was chosen to succeed Haenchen's is the publisher's series. For a positive assessment see Brawley (1987: 84) and Tomson (2001: 223-228) and more negatively, cf. J.T. Sanders (1985, 1987) and Johnson (1992: 260). For similar problems surrounding the "Lukan Paul", see Lentz (1993), Porter (2001), and as a Jewish believer, Hvalvik (2007).

[71] From the sympathetic Brawley (1984, 1987) and Tomson (2001: 223-228), to the more critical Wilson (1983) and J.T. Sanders (1985 and 1987), Downing (1986, 1988), Seifrid (1987, 1989), Weiser (1986), Maddox (1982: 36-39), Syreeni (1990) and the more recent comments of Gaventa (2003: 46) and Salo (1991).

[72] Wilson (1983: 111). Some see the Lukan picture as genuine as far as it goes, but destined to be superseded in the light of later revelation, as suggested by C.A. Miller (1994). Others see the dual approach as an early experiment started in the Gal 2:9 "compromise", which, ending up in "failure", had to be replaced by the more "proper" Pauline understanding (Levine, 2007: 74-78, cf. Goulder, 1994). There is something unsatisfactory about this reconstruction. Contra the above, Jervell does not imagine two "ways" of salvation.

[73] Wilson (1983: 111) "an awkward exception" cf. Plunkett (1985: 468) "quite out of place".

[74] Cf. Day (1994: 1), Kelley (1991: 1), Koet (1999: 745), Miller (2004: 1), Sorensen (2005: 1) et sim.

[75] In Acts 2:17-21 as discussed by Day (1994: 8).

[76] In spite of the Ethiopian of uncertain status in Acts 8:26-40, Haenchen (1956 ET 1971: 343) takes Cornelius as "effectively" the first.

[77] A so-called "double dream", the subject of ch.6.

> A second question concerns the manner in which [the vision] delivers its message … why does he take such a circuitous route to make the point, describing this mysterious vision which Peter has to decipher? … [compared with] the other visions … Acts 10:9-16 is unique. [In the others] Jesus appears and speaks directly to the recipient, without the least ambiguity in meaning … there is no need to puzzle out an interpretation. [78]

Most commentators have assumed that the dreams and visions of Luke and indeed the New Testament in general are miracles of supernatural revelation that drive the action along, as Haenchen notes, "Luke virtually excludes all human decision … These divine incursions have such a compelling force that all doubt must be stilled"[79]. This is the view taken by Squires when in comparison with aspects of Graeco–Roman literature, he assimilates all the Acts visions to the status of "epiphanies"[80]. Although this may well be true for Mary, Elizabeth, Zechariah, Jesus or Paul, Peter's vision in Acts 10 absolutely stands out as an uncertain, perplexing experience with no clear meaning evident at all during or even shortly afterwards. It is perhaps telling that the only apparent articulation of abolition in *revelatory form* in the whole of the NT should actually be less "revelatory" than puzzling. Whatever understanding Peter comes to, he arrives at gradually, and when finally able to summarise his conclusions to the council in Acts 15 he precisely does not lay claim to an authoritative revelation.

Several recent studies have wondered if Luke is actually commending here a rather different model of divine guidance. Thus Johnson (1983, 1996a) and Miller (2004, 2008: 178, 182), both emphasise that "revelations" are not in fact used to override human judgement in Acts, but are weighed together with other sources of information such as practical experience and scripture, interpreted by the individual, and then discussed in community – a presentation potentially appealing to Graeco–Roman readers[81]. This has added interest if there are known problems with the role of visions in the Pauline "missions"[82].

Whilst the involvement of the human intellect in this way might be novel relative to more traditional views of biblical revelation, one can see its values being independently reflected in Paul's approach to prophecy in the local church, where the others "weigh what is said". But Peter's vision goes beyond the realm of modest discernment into the realm of outright contradiction, paradox and enigma in a vision that uniquely in the NT is never formally interpreted. One of the key aspects of this study will be to ask whether there are

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[78] Cf. also Haenchen (1971: 348), who speaks of a "riddle".

[79] Haenchen (1956, ET 1971: 362), to the point, apparently, of "excluding faith".

[80] Squires (1993: 103-120).

[81] Cf. also Pervo (2001).

[82] Re Galatia: Baird (1985), Arnold (2005: 447-448), Corinth: Barnett (1984) and Goulder (1995) who suggests that the Jewish-Christian opponents of Paul were claiming visions as a source of halakha (ibid., 58-59). Re Colossae: Yates (1985), Fossum (1989), Sumney (1993) and Royalty (2002).

precedents for this more oblique and even distressing model of revelation within the Graeco–Roman tradition, and whether Luke's readers are competent to negotiate this idiom within the otherwise rather biblical narrative of Acts.

3 Redactional, Form–Critical and Literary Perspectives

3.1 Tradition and Redaction

It is widely recognized that Martin Dibelius', 'The Conversion of Cornelius' (1947)[83], with its emphasis on separating pre–Lukan tradition and redactional activity[84] has set the agenda for much subsequent scholarship[85]. Although clear that Luke kept to a traditional stock of basic missionary stories[86] these were often supplemented with additional units. Rather minimally reworked, these sometimes betrayed folkloric features and clashed with the underlying material. Peter's vision was viewed as one such unit. The original Cornelius tradition had been a simpler conversion story similar to that of the Ethiopian Eunuch[87]. The vision, which Dibelius saw as there "to give Peter courage", was identified as extraneous via its curious reinterpretation of *food* in terms of *people* in Acts 10:28[88]. Since a food problem was known to have occurred at Antioch[89], Dibelius saw this as Luke's own interpretation sitting awkwardly on the source material. Conzelmann (1963) reminds us, however, that wherever Luke got the material, its unknown creator *did* hold abolitionist views[90], and leaves us questioning how successfully Luke's adaptation prepares the way for Acts 15.

Not all scholars accepted this reconstruction. Although aware of the difficulties, Haenchen (1965) saw the vision as a Lukan creation designed to *support* the interpretation of Acts 10:28 [91]. Others have wondered again whether Peter's vision was not simply an integral part of the Cornelius tradition, e.g. Bovon (1970)[92], Löning (1974)[93] and Haacker

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[83] ET in the collection edited by Hanson (2004).

[84] He called his approach to Acts "style criticism" (Stilkritisches) to differentiate it from the form and redaction criticism used for the Synoptic Gospels. His perspectives were set out in Dibelius (1923 ET 2004) and are discussed at length in Kelley (1991: 18-22).

[85] Although based on earlier German scholarship (see Haenchen, 1965 ET 1971: 355-357), Dibelius is the starting point for most later scholars e.g. Lüdemann (1987 ET 1989: p124-139 esp.130), Bovon (1970: 25-26, esp.31), Wilson (1973: 172), Gaventa, 1986: 107), Tyson (2000: 182), Kilgallen (1990: 405), Handy (1998: 14ff), Humphrey (2007: 61, 73), Kea (2001: 11).

[86] Dibelius was certain that this core material was not *completely* invented (1947 ET 2004: 140).

[87] Although he retained a vision for Cornelius (2004: 148).

[88] Ibid., 142-143.

[89] Gal 2:11-14, the so-called "Antioch" incident involving Peter, Paul, Barnabus and others. Dibelius (1947 ET 2004: 142-143) suggests a connection with Acts 10.

[90] "Luke found the vision somewhere … he did not construct it himself" (Conzelmann, 1972 ET 1987: 79).

[91] Haenchen (1965 ET 1971: 361).

[92] Whilst admitting a clear allusion to the Cornelius story in Acts 15 (Bovon, 1970: 23-24).

[93] Löning (1974) noted that the food imagery was a standard part of a rhetoric of non-association, a point that will be revisited in ch.2.

(1980: 234-251)[94], who see Luke editing the entire story so as to play down the sense of conflict about the abolition issue[95]. Roloff (1981: 164-67) follows this line too, noting that this would allow the double dream to remain an original feature.

In spite of these moderating arguments, the contrast between the immediate imagery of Peter's vision and its given interpretation remains a problem for many commentators[96], especially those who believe that the vision would have made entire sense in its un–adapted form to one or more "abolitionist" groups. It also raises questions about Luke's editorial abilities in inadvertently advertising a message that he either disagrees with or at least wishes to moderate[97], a tension Bovon notes was obvious to Patristic authors[98].

3.2 Form Criticism

While accepting the basic picture of Dibelius, Hanson's, *The Dream/Vision Report and Acts 10:1-11:18: A Form-Critical Study* (1978), is the first study to take a particular interest in the vision as such. Hanson's schema for dreams and visions distinguishes between the "frame" and the dream–vision proper[99], for which he uses the standard "message dream"/"symbolic dream" categorisation known from ANE studies[100]. He uses linked proformas to describe double dreams where two characters are drawn into a "circumstance of mutuality"[101], and notes how the conjunction can sometimes cause modifications to the individual accounts[102].

Whilst agreeing that double dreams *can* constitute traditions in their own right, he compares various Graeco–Roman examples where other versions are available and shows how at least some are created by the addition of a further dream to a simpler account[103], noting the "folkloric" tendency of the added components[104]. With Dibelius, he sees Peter's vision as extraneous. However in addition to its vocabulary and ill–fitting imagery, he adds further reasons for this judgement based on his understanding of double dreams: it has no

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[94] Haacker (1980: 234-251) questioned whether a "stripped down" Cornelius story was at all similar to the quite complex Acts 8 narrative of the Ethiopian.

[95] Cf. also Bovon (1970: 33-35).

[96] So Tyson (1987 = 1992: 120), and cf. Barrett (1994: 494, 516), contra Haenchen (1971: 362), Scott (1991: 479) and Hanson (1967: 120).

[97] Plunkett (1985: 468).

[98] Bovon (1970: 33-34), with reference to his 1967 study on the Patristic interpretation of this passage.

[99] Hanson does not explain where his form-critical scheme comes from, but it resembles the one used by Theissen (1974 ET 1983: 73-74) for miracle stories.

[100] He also distinguishes between "Audio/Visual", "Auditory" and "Visual" dreams (Hanson, 1978: 22-27). The connection between Hanson and Oppenheim's ANE scheme is noted by Day (1994: 6). This will be explored further in ch.3.

[101] Hanson (1978: 47).

[102] Ibid., 34-50.

[103] Ibid., 48-50, with worked examples in pp.51-108.

[104] Ibid., 49, especially in relation to Josephus, but based on the judgement of Dibelius.

bearing on the visits, contains no real command[105] and contributes nothing to the all–important "circumstance of mutuality", dubbing it "irrelevant" and "useless"[106]. The previous version of the Peter–Cornelius story still had a double dream, but only the one pairing Cornelius' angelophany with Peter's simpler "word from the Spirit"[107]. Form–critically and functionally, this simpler revelation fulfils all the proper requirements, although may of course, have been created from even earlier accounts[108].

One of the weaknesses of Hanson is his approach to the classification of the dream, which he treats as a message dream with an "unusually prominent visual aspect"[109]. With its oddities merely serving to confirm its origin in a source[110], Hanson reads it as an ordinary message dream conveying a command[111]. He does not go on ask whether better identifying the type of vision might not alter its interpretation. He leaves himself with an even more difficult version of the editorial question, namely why make such an addition at all, pressing all the argument back onto questions of theological intent[112].

His designation of the simpler double dream as the more proper one also raises some questions about an overly simple definition of "mutuality". His study did not include any major new survey of double dreams to see if this was well founded. What is clear is that the double dream he saves has a fundamentally different feel to it than the present, but more complex one. Concerning itself with mere practicalities, it would not really address all the tensions about table fellowship, Gentile Spirit–reception etc. that are just a little way below the surface in the account as it stands, the very elements that point forward to the discussions of Acts 15. Peter would enter Cornelius' house without difficulty and perform the required tasks. As it stands, the operation is far more costly and perplexing than that, and the dynamic and irony of the double dream more powerful.

3.3 Narrative and Functional Readings

Informed by exactly this instinct, Haenchen's observation that the story *as we have it* "is marvellously rounded and self–contained" where "even those parts which otherwise

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[105] This makes the "response" section impossible, which is "not optional" (ibid., 83).

[106] Ibid.

[107] An "Auditory Message Dream" in Hanson's terminology. Hanson rightly counts three distinct visions, not two, with the word of the Spirit as a distinct event (ibid., 58, 82-83).

[108] Ibid., 84. Whether a two-stage or a three stage process, Peter's vision was added last. Peter could have been fetched from Joppa even without the word from the Spirit, although the sense of reluctance permeating the story would have to be removed at every point.

[109] Hanson reasonably calls Peter's "voice" the "dream figure" (ibid., 75, 78-79), but classifying the event as a normal message dream may be hazardous, as Squires (1993: 116-117) who calls the vision an "epiphany" in a work generally emphasising the *certainty* of divine guidance.

[110] Hanson (1978: 79). This is in spite of realising that the "command" is initially, at least, internal (ibid., 83).

[111] Ibid., 81, "the obvious literal interpretation: it abolishes the usual Jewish distinction between clean and unclean foods". This position arises from assuming all divine speech in dreams (as typically, message dreams) must be issuing commands and commissions.

[112] As noted by Haenchen (1965 ET 1971: 357), "..it can be understood only from the standpoint of its theological meaning".

appear odd and fragmentary lose their strangeness"[113], has been more appreciated since the literary turn in biblical studies[114]. Besides becoming a popular worked example for structuralists[115], the Peter Cornelius story has been approached with a far better understanding of first century narrative technique[116].

Thus Kelley (1991) laments both the "atomism" of Dibelius and the paucity of work on the literary function of ancient dreams[117]. The use of double dreams for both Paul and Peter, and the structural parallels between their "conversion" stories strongly suggests synkrisis as a compositional intent[118].

Day (1994) sees the same problems and brings in Graeco–Roman material for comparison[119]. Although following Hanson form–critically, he nevertheless notices that Peter's vision and two others show extra–biblical influences[120]. Functionally, however, Day holds the traditional view of supernatural guidance as set out by Haenchen and Squires[121]. It is unfortunate therefore that he fails to note the element of *uncertainty* in the visions he identified as different.

This is addressed by J.F. Miller (2004)[122] who, contra Hanson, shows that the Graeco–Roman world did not view dreams uncritically[123], and that Luke's characters are actively involved in interpretation[124]. Sometimes initially mistaken, or opposed by others, they reflect upon experience and scripture and consult the wider community[125]. Contra Haenchen, they are not "puppets"[126]. Although this was observed in the earlier studies of

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[113] Haenchen (1965 ET 1971: 357).

[114] Exemplified for Luke-Acts by Tannehill (1986) et sim.

[115] Cf. Barthes (1970), Marin (1970), ETs in Johnson (1979).

[116] That ancient rhetorical manuals also taught something of "prose composition", cf. Parsons (2003).

[117] Kelley (1991: 2, 11). Kelley notes that, given that the number of visions is similar to that of parables, it is strange that "there has been virtually no critical scholarship on the Lukan vision scenes *as vision scenes*" (ibid., 11, emphasis mine).

[118] Kelley (ibid.) calls these "inter-twined" visions.

[119] Day (1994: 2-3, 30-39), although the wider scope means reduced depth. Day speaks of Acts' vision reports as "a new [post-Pentecost] way of divine communication" (ibid., 152).

[120] Re form, ibid., 4. Although seeing most as standard message dreams (ibid., 152) he notes that Paul's Damascus road vision, Peter's animal vision and Paul's man from Macedonia are certainly different from usual biblical patterns. From Day's comparative material, the chief influence is implicitly Graeco-Roman.

[121] Ibid., 88, 152 re "compelling" guidance, ibid., 152 et sim., echoing Haenchen (1971: 361-362) and Squires (1993: 103-120, esp.116-118).

[122] Miller (2004: 2, 319) is still complaining of a "relative silence" on the Lukan visions. He surveys a variety of Graeco-Roman, OT and Jewish dreams as well as from Luke and Acts, but takes Paul's Macedonian dream of Acts 16:6-10 as his major worked example (2004: 90-112, 127-150).

[123] Hanson (1980: 1398). This had long been understood by Greek scientists, as discussed throughout Holowchak (1997, 2001), and was exploited creatively in the Greek novels, as noted by Bartsch (1989: 80-108), in relation to Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus. This was a novel suggestion within NT studies which was very used to its certain "revelations".

[124] Miller (2004: 2, 24-25, 27). Indeed, Graeco-Roman literature of certain genres can portray protagonists misunderstanding a dream or vision in the earliest stages, sometimes with tragic consequences, understanding only fully somewhat later as the plot unfolds (ibid., 36).

[125] Ibid., 317, 325 et sim.

[126] Haenchen (1971: 362). Miller (2004: 8-9) engages with Haenchen from the outset.

Johnson[127], Miller significantly traces the use of dreams within this process to the Greek novels[128].

Strelan (2004: 131-190), with an interest in the genre of Acts[129], is concerned about an overly "novelistic" reading of the visions[130] and, like Squires, focuses on the political and military leaders of the biographies and histories[131]. Although admitting the element of doubt for Graeco–Roman dreams[132], Strelan sees Luke conducting an "apologetic of veracity" for *Christian* revelations[133]. Although this pulls away from Miller, it highlights the critical need to read the "intertexture" of the Acts visions correctly[134].

Sorensen (2005) is primarily interested in using the dreams and visions as a window onto Luke's theological concerns, especially when highlighted by repetition[135]. He identifies two chief emphases, the "higher Christology" and the "move to a more inclusive community"[136], a theme clearly of relevance to the Peter–Cornelius story[137] and emphasised by those focussing on the hospitality motif[138]. Sorensen notes the great contrast between Cornelius' "astonishingly privileged" and Peter's "bewildering" vision[139] and helpfully suggests that Peter's difficulties represent the hesitancy of an entire section of the church towards "inclusiveness"[140]. This much is evident from the surrounding narrative, but Sorensen does little to explain the vision *as vision*[141], especially when, knowing the

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[127] Miller does not seem aware of Johnson (1983, 1996a) where many of these themes also seen, although may have been informed by Johnson's commentary (1992). For the latter's observations on the Peter-Cornelius story, cf. Johnson (1996a: 89-108).

[128] Miller (2004: 36).

[129] Re genre, cf. Strelan (2004: 2-8), on the supernatural, ibid., 9-14. He is aware that the relative weight accorded to Jewish vis-à-vis Graeco-Roman backgrounds is critical, as well as the social location of the intended readers, ibid., 14-18.

[130] He is concerned that Pervo's word "entertainment" might prejudice a properly contextual reading of the Acts visions, ibid., 31-32.

[131] Ibid., 138, where Strelan emphasises the general role played by portents, dreams and visions in divine guidance, especially in relation to foundation mythology and apologetic, ibid., 141.

[132] Ibid., 131-143 – with many of the same observations as Miller (2004) although unaware of his work.

[133] Strelan (2004: 30), as if in a contest with the surrounding culture. This is the approach taken for the resurrection appearances by Prince (2005). In this, Strelan (2004: 28 and cf. 164) ultimately follows Squires (1993).

[134] Strelan's treatment of the Peter-Cornelius section (2004: 155-164) is, nevertheless, very helpful. On the question of intertexture, we may need to conclude that the Acts visions cannot all be approached in the same way, and that Luke may operate within a number of different idioms and registers.

[135] Sorensen (2005: 2) continues to bemoan the lack of work on the visions. Omitting the angelophanies (ibid., 1, n.2), he considers a selection of visions from Luke and Acts, including Peter's (ibid., 239-295). Taking particular note of repetition and redundancy (ibid., 17, 20-22), following Sternberg (1985) and the methodology of Matson (1994, 1996), he seeks to identify the theological emphases underscored by the vision accounts.

[136] Sorensen (2005: 18). Rather oddly, Sorensen has to expand this latter category to include the "internal" inclusiveness of adopting new leadership structures and admitting new people to the leadership in the church (ibid., 18, 206, 225, 297, 308, 348, 379 et sim). This seems a little artificial.

[137] Ibid., 239-295.

[138] As Henrich (1994), Arterbury (2005) et al.

[139] Cornelius' vision is "astonishingly" privileged (Sorensen, 2005: 249), but Peter's "inexplicable", "disconcerting", "bewildering" (ibid., 250-251). Sorensen does not, however pursue fully the dark irony established by this synkrisis.

[140] Ibid., 243.

[141] To use Kelley's (1991: 11) phrase. One can pick up much of this from the surrounding narrative – leaving the detailed function of the visions *as visions* under-explored.

difficulty, it make things a lot worse for Peter before they get better. The risks that Luke takes in including such a darkly paradoxical and distressing "revelation" are not sufficiently appreciated[142].

The literary approaches above share a general instinct to relate the narrative in its present form to the broader themes of Acts, and an awareness that Peter's hesitancy certainly resonates with wider community difficulties. However, those feeling constrained by traditional views of revelation seem reluctant to allow its dark tone and attendant perplexity to lead too far from biblical expectations. Whilst admitting contact with Greek drama and fiction elsewhere in Acts, for some, it remains safer to link the vision to the epiphanies of the histories and biographies. Finally, amongst those willing to stray a little further from the beaten path, few return from a more "human" reading of the vision to re-assess its concrete intent. In what follows, I shall seek to ask whether the refraction of halakhic controversy through the lens of a particular *type* of vision sheds any light on debates about Luke's understanding of the Jew–Gentile and association problems.

3.4 Conclusions

Scholars have found a surprising number of problems arising from such a short passage[143]. Each of the three areas of research, the tradition–critical, form–critical and literary-critical, have their own questions, but how to reconcile the form–critical consensus with the more holistic instincts of the literary studies remains an important challenge. Whether the dream and interpretation come from different sources or not, the majority of scholars do still opt for an "abolitionist" reading of the complex as a whole, seeing a simple revelation of the end of the food laws *and* the distinction between Jew and Gentile.

4 Intertextual Readings of Acts 10:1-11:18

Several scholars see the key to understanding the Peter Cornelius narrative in dependencies on or allusions to other texts. Besides the more concrete relationships described by the term "intertextuality", scholars also speak of a broader net of cultural and intellectual relationships that some dub an "intertexture"[144]. That authors of this period valued quotations, allusions and broader imitations of genre, plot and form is certainly accepted[145]. While the OT and the Gospel provide obvious resources[146], Luke also draws on

[142] That Luke moves beyond an expression of *difficulty* into the realm of *nightmare* is not properly registered.

[143] Barrett (1994: 495), "This … means that the interpretation of Acts 10 is unlikely to be simple".

[144] Cf. the usage in Bloomquist (2002), Byrskog (2003), Sisson (2002), Watson (2002) et al.

[145] For a general statement, see MacDonald (2001b), and that Graeco-Roman mimetic practice informed Luke's own use of the LXX, Brodie (1984). On the mimetic tendencies of the Second Sophistic, see Whitmarsh (2005: 9). More general relationships with cultural debate, e.g. about food and foreigners is more properly called inter*texture*.

[146] Re OT, see Arnold (1996: esp. 301), Green (1996: 289-293), Litwak (2005). On links with Luke's Gospel, see Marguerat (2002: 56), who notes that this internal intertextuality is essentially the same as synkrisis. Cf. also Green (1996: 293-297), Henrich (1994: 61-62).

Graeco–Roman literature, via explicit quotations and general imitations of technique[147]. Although claims about abstruse allusions will always remain speculative[148], Luke clearly presumes fairly competent readers[149]. For the Cornelius–Peter episode, scholars imagine both narrative and formal imitation, but also the creation of narrative out of sayings[150].

4.1 Old Testament

4.1.1 Commissioning Narratives

The pattern of command, refusal and riposte in Peter's vision has reminded numerous commentators of the so–called commissioning narratives, known in Homer[151], but more obviously from the Pentateuch and prophets[152]. Whilst some NT stories certainly fit this pattern, some have questioned over–zealous identification[153] and for Peter's vision to be seen in such terms[154] is open to some objections. Although prophetic commissioning can certainly occur in visions, a purely imaginary command to "eat" is hardly a commission in the normal sense[155]. Commentators have grown so used to seeing a launch for the Gentile mission (as Peter's own "gloss" in Acts 15:7) that the more conceptual and preparatory nature of the vision is often overlooked[156].

4.1.2 The Book of Jonah

Beyond commissioning patterns, the book of Jonah has been seen as a specific model for the Peter–Cornelius story by numerous scholars[157], who besides the general connection

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[147] Re historiographical method, see Dibelius (2004), Hemer and Gempf (1989), Palmer (1993), Balch (1985). Re the speeches, Dibelius (2004), Hogan (2002), Neyrey (1984), Winter (1993), and on declamation, Penner (2003) and the Acts 17 speech, Reis (2002). On links with Homer, cf. MacDonald (2003a), Virgil, Bonz (2000), and on the Greek novels, Pervo (1987). On possible Lukan awareness of the Progymnasmata, cf. Parsons (2003).

[148] Brodie's (2004: 436-442) suggestion of the Samarian famine in 2 Kg 6:24-7:20 seems rather speculative.

[149] i.e. that Luke's readers are capable of distinguishing several different mimetic registers through to "over-coding and parody" is amongst the stronger of such claims, as Green (1996: 205-297).

[150] This is especially true for the vision, which clearly has no simple OT precedent. Jn 1:51 takes an ibid. dream (Gen 28:10-17) and turns it *into* a saying.

[151] Of the ten divine-human dialogues not specifically cast in dream or vision form, about half show a pattern of command, objection, re-assurance and reiteration, e.g. *Il.*3.385-440, 5.710-909, 18:165-203, 19:1-39 and *Od.*20:22-55.

[152] Habel (1965), Kuntz (1967), Baltzer (1968), Richter (1970), Long (1972), Zimmerli (1979) and others. The idiom has been extended to include New Testament texts including Luke-Acts by Mullins (1976), Hubbard (1977, 1978) and Czachesz (2002, 2007).

[153] Hubbard (1977) finds 25 cases and Mullins (1976), 37 .Of these, only 5 contain the protest element (Luke 1:5–25, 1:26–38, Acts 9:10–17, 10:9-23, 22:17-21) and neither of the "conversion" visions of Paul or Peter contain "commissions" in the sense understood here. Whilst Sorensen (2005: 11-13) accepts the broad emphasis of Hubbard and Mullins, he shows that the fit with Acts is much less good than supposed, cf. also Miller (2004).

[154] E.g. by Mullins (1976: 606), Hubbard (1977: 118-119) and Czachesz (2002: 36).

[155] As for example, the command to eat a scroll in Ezek 3:1. This certainly symbolises the "inward digestion" of the word that will be required for Ezekiel's ministry, but does not imply a commission to eat scrolls in real life.

[156] Even those who do not take this as a literal command tend to suppose that it must correspond to *some* real life command, as does Fitzmyer (1998: 453) who speaks of a command given "in symbolic form". I shall argue in later chapters that this is not a foregone conclusion.

[157] As Williams (1964: 135), Wall (1987), Spencer (1997: 113), Green (1996: 293), Williams, D.J. (1995: 188), Czachesz (2002: 36-37), Park (2003: 30-32), Pilch (2004: 85), Pervo (2009: 255-257), and frequently in missiological literature, as Oxley (2004), Royer (1995), and the WCC (2010) paper, "Towards Common Witness".

with mission to Gentiles[158], note the Joppa location, Simon's patronym, the three–fold "commission" and the "rise and go" formula[159]. Although these correspondences are dismissed as weak by some[160], the note of apostolic reluctance and surprising Gentile repentance are hard to resist, and ruling out a loose allusion here because it is not more definite may be rather unfair[161]. Nevertheless, Jonah does not have a dream or vision, and Peter's hardly reflects the Ninevite story[162]. Less frequently noted, however, is the relationship between the dialogue of Peter's vision and the battle of wits at the end of Jonah where God performs a destructive act that annoys the prophet in order to reveal the inconsistency of his attitude to the Ninevites[163], a connection that will be explored later.

4.1.3 Prophetic Signs

The only clear intertextual allusion in Peter's vision occurs when Peter's refusal to eat unclean animals echoes Ezek 4:14 where Ezekiel refuses to eat bread cooked over human dung as a sign of exile[164]. Although not identically worded, the two refusals start with the same robust negative "μηδαμῶς"[165] and go on to a denial of ever having eaten anything unclean[166]. Although certainly a resonance[167], the contextual correspondence is poor[168]. The question of a general relationship to the prophetic signs is interesting, however, particularly as some involved a "transgressive" or shocking element including cutting Ezekiel's hair[169], Isaiah's nakedness[170], Jeremiah's temptation of the Rechabites[171] or Hosea's forced

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[158] Not only in the general sense, but also, as Spencer (1997: 113), because Luke's version of the Q Sign of Jonah saying in Lk 11:29 makes the link to Gentile mission contra the version in Matthew which is used to speak of the resurrection.

[159] Re Joppa, cf. Jon 1:3. Simon is called *bar Jonah*, in Mt 16:17 but not in Luke-Acts, but cf. Wall (1987: 80, 85.n3). Re "arise and go" (ἀναστὰς κατάβηθι καὶ πορεύου, Acts 10:20), cf. LXX Jon 1:2, 3:2 ἀνάστηθι καὶ Πορεύθητι. On the 3-fold repetition, cf. Williams, D.J. (1995: 188).

[160] They are called "weak and dubious" by Handy (1998: 41) and "extremely unlikely" by Miller (2004: 277-278 n.135). Williams (1964: 153) concedes that the parallel is not laboured.

[161] Especially since loose, vague and teasing similarities are simply part of the mimetic repertoire of authors like Luke, cf. Litwak (2005: 1) "the Scriptures .. pervade Luke-Acts ... not just when being quoted".

[162] No question about Jonah eating Ninevite food is raised.

[163] That an issue of personal hypocrisy is at stake is suggested by Spencer (1997: 112) and cf. the similar accusation in Gal 2:11-14, discussed by Dunn (1993: 124-125).

[164] He is commanded to lie next to a model of the city, "bearing the sins of Israel and Judah", and imitate the future exiles who must "eat unclean things among the nations". On such prophetic signs in general, cf. Stacey (1990: 1-2) and on similar phenomena in the Second Temple Period, Gray (1993).

[165] μηδαμῶς translates the Hebrew אהה, used also at Ezek 9:8, 11:13 and 21:5. On the force of μηδαμῶς, see LSJ, 1125.

[166] LXX Ezekiel 4:14 has "ἡ ψυχή μου οὐ μεμίανται ἐν ἀκαθαρσίᾳ" and continues with examples of cases that are counted as unclean. Peter in Acts 10:14 has "οὐδέποτε ἔφαγον πᾶν κοινὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον". The intertext will be explored in more detail in ch.2. Salo (1991: 197) sees a strong connection between the passages.

[167] Pettem (1996: 42) and Handy (1998: 45-47) certainly expect the allusion to be recognised.

[168] The offenses do not really match. Ezekiel's was probably only an affront to decency.

[169] Ezek 5:1-4, a ritual humiliation typically performed upon captives discussed by Stacey (1990: 190), but questionable for a priest in the light of Lev. 21.5.

[170] Isa 20. Isaiah's nakedness is primarily an act of humiliation pointing to captivity, although also linked to madness, drunkenness or ecstatic frenzy (ibid., 124, 132). It was subject to religious restriction only in relation to priestly ministry at the altar (Ex 20:26, 28:42).

marriage[172]. But there are problems too. With no "audience"[173], a better comparison might be with gestures specifically performed in *visions*, such as Ezekiel's eating of a scroll, or Zechariah's re–clothing of Joshua[174]. None of these expect to be performed in real life, nor indeed can they all be[175]. Such actions may not even translate *symbolically* into specific commands in real life, but rather fulfil a didactic function. I shall develop this observation later in relation to Graeco–Roman dreams and visions.

4.1.4 Other OT Passages

A surprising number of other OT passages have been seen as informing aspects of the Peter–Cornelius story, whether providing narrative elements, concepts, or even just words and phrases. These include the stories of creation[176], Naaman the Syrian[177], the Samaritan famine[178], Leviticus on sacrifice[179] and priestly inspection[180] and Deuteronomy on non–ritual slaughter[181] and impartiality[182]. Although none is probably decisive for the interpretation of the passage, that one or more such allusions could come to mind is not impossible within the typically diffuse intertextual practice of the period.

In conclusion, whilst the book of Jonah and certain prophetic visions resonate more with the overall feel of Peter's experience, the remarks about permitted species and/or declaring or making clean do seem intended to bring pentateuchal passages to mind, although in an allusive, almost riddling manner. The resulting mix, however, would be typical of the eclectic, playful kind of intertextuality practiced in this period.

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[171] Jer 35:1-18 (ibid., 159-162). Jeremiah is asked to try to get the Rechabites to break their traditional Nazirite-style clan vow of alcohol abstention. That the ploy failed was intended to teach Jeremiah a lesson. This comes closest to the feel of Peter's vision, where a transgressive command may be intended to teach "something else".

[172] Ibid., 96-111. Although no law has been broken, the ethical problems are frequently discussed.

[173] Most of the prophetic signs are performed in front of others, with Jer 51:63-64 (throwing a scroll) uncertain (ibid., 132-133). Only Jer 13:1-11, 35:1-18 and Ezek 3:22-27 are done privately.

[174] E.g. Ezekiel's eating of a scroll in Ezek 3:1-11, the re-clothing of Joshua in Zech 3:1-10, Ezekiel's preaching to the dry bones in Ezek 37:1-14.

[175] No demonstration of eating non-permitted food is attempted by Peter, and even his critics focus on his eating *with* Gentiles (Acts 11:2-3), which is a different issue and which he is happy to confess. The assumption that there must be *some* command being enjoined, even if symbolically (as Fitzmyer, 1998: 453) is not certain.

[176] Cf. Barrett (1994: 506), Bruce (1951: 218), Derrett (1988) and others.

[177] As noted and developed by Handy (1998: 48-51). The story in 2 Kings 5 is mentioned in Luke 4:27.

[178] As Brodie (2004: 436-442). This connection does seem a little eccentric.

[179] Handy (1998: 40) lists various authors picking up on echoes of this language in the angel's address to Cornelius.

[180] Ibid., 42, especially re the language of distinguishing, as explored further in ch.2.

[181] As Dion (1984) and later, Derrett (1988: 208) re Deut 12:15, 21, to be discussed further in ch.2.

[182] Deut 10:17, authors listed by Handy (1998 41 and n.5).

4.2 New Testament

4.2.1 Mk 7:19b ("all foods clean"), Rom 4:14 et sim.

A large number of scholars taking Peter's vision in a broadly abolitionist sense link it to the synoptic hand–washing discourse of Mk 7[183]. Although the comment "thus he declared all foods clean" (7:19b) is probably editorial[184], many see it as typical of dominical, even "messianic" sayings[185] similar to the possible agraphon in Rom 4:14 and of which Luke is assumed to be aware[186]. This is in spite of the fact that Mk 6:45-8:31 is not in Luke. Although usually understood as a gap in his source[187], Pettem (1996) considers it a deliberate omission, driven by a desire to "correct" Mk 7:19b[188]. Noting that the missing section is dominated by images of food and contact with Gentiles[189], he sees it transformed into the Peter–Cornelius story[190], where the food–to–people link is developed[191]. If Luke was prepared to go to such lengths to commend this more subtle view, however, it still leaves us with the problem of why he leaves such a substantial trace of the very view he wishes to correct[192].

4.2.2 Lk 10:7-8 ("eat whatever is set before you")

Another dominical saying cited in relation to the Acts vision occurs within in Luke's sending of the 70 in Lk 10:1-12[193], where in addition to the instructions given to the 12, the

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[183] Mk 7:1-23. After a discussion of various hypocritical behaviours where adherence to one law is used to cloak failure in moral obligations, the argument is clinched with the aphorism that nothing going into a person from the outside "defiles". However, Mark's final "thus he declared all foods clean" (7:19) is omitted by Matthew and thus often taken as editorial.

[184] Although the discourse appears in Mt 15:1-20, Mk 7:19b is omitted.

[185] Barrett (1994: 509) feels that Acts 10 requires something like a messianic dissolution of the Torah in spite of the well-known conclusions of Davies (1952) that the evidence for any such idea in Jewish thought is extremely thin. Others taking Barrett's line include Spencer (1997: 111), Peterson (2009), Scott (1991: 482) and Witherington (1998: 350).

[186] Rom 14:14 is sometimes taken as an agraphon, as effectively Marshall (1980: 186), Neil (1973: 139), Rackham (1951: 150), R.P.C. Hanson (1967: 122), D. J. Williams (1995: 188). That similar statements existed in dominical tradition, cf. Spencer (1997: 111), Conzelmann (1972 ET 1987: 79). A connection between Rom 14:14, Acts 10 and Mk 7 is suggested by Luz (2001: 332) and Nolland (1989: 2:665). Williams (1995: 188) works the connection the other way round, seeing the Markan gloss derived from oral tradition about the Petrine experience.

[187] The so-called "Great Omission", making any link with Mk 7 tenuous, as Witherington (1998: 344-345) and Barrett (1994: 509).

[188] Witherington (1998: 345 n.67) can just about countenance Luke doing things like this, but is not convinced here.

[189] E.g. the feeding of the 4000, the "scraps" puzzle, the "yeast" warning, and the Syrophoenician woman's plea for "crumbs" (Pettem, 1996: 47). The section is largely set in Tyre, Sidon and the Decapolis.

[190] Pettem's conjecture that Luke is moving the issue of table-fellowship with Gentiles to its "correct place" in the history of the church rather than during the ministry of Jesus is not fully convincing.

[191] Pettem (1996: 52). This is related to the view of Dibelius. Hanson (1967: 119) notes that a connection with Mk 7:19b and the vision *in its original source* had crossed both Dibelius' and Conzelmann's minds.

[192] Matthew's solution seems neater. His omission of this one phrase allows the moral/ritual contrast of the dialogue to retain its full force without the unfortunate suggestion for his own (*Jewish*) readers that they must now change their diet to match the Gentile one.

[193] This additional sending is related to the similar material in the Q sending of the 12 known in Lk 9:1–6//Mt 10:5–15, which is also visible in the brief reference in Mk 6:6b, thus constituting a Mk-Q overlap.

missionaries are enjoined to eat and drink whatever their hosts provide[194]. Although Samaritan homes might have been visited[195], that Gentile homes and breaches of food law were involved is difficult to imagine[196], although it is possible that the 70/72 assimilation might imply that the passage was later understood in this way[197]. Whilst it is certainly true that hospitality is an important motif for Luke[198], and in a Graeco–Roman context, *reciprocation* carried a special significance[199], this still does not tell us that breaching food laws was specifically imagined in Lk 10:8[200], nor that the saying was in Luke's mind in Acts 10-11[201]. That the saying already existed within Jewish hospitality codes[202] suggests that the tolerance being encouraged in Lk 10 was intra–Jewish, and that the general point was about being a grateful guest[203].

4.2.3 Other NT Passages

Looser connections certainly exist between the Peter–Cornelius account and those of Paul's conversion[204] and Pentecost[205], although hardly provide formal intertexts. Claims of links with Zechariah in the temple or the Good Samaritan and are also rather tenuous[206]. For all the above efforts, Peter's vision remains very singular.

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[194] The remark is made twice in vv. 7, 8. The connection with Acts 10-11 is made by Lane (1996: 91, 92), Ravens (1995: 81,82), Handy (1998: 51-54), Matson (1996: 23, 86-134) with further discussion in Sorensen (2005: 26, 73-75). Arterbury (2005: 177) suggests a general connection to the later practice in the Gentile mission, but remains reticent about the Cornelius story as such.

[195] As Lane (1996: 91), following Moessner (1989: 138) and cf. Ravens (1995: 81,82). That some halakhic problems existed over contact with Samaritans is clear from M.Ber.7:1, 8:8, M.Sheb.8:10, but none of these involves the consumption of forbidden foods.

[196] Contra Esler (1987: 92), Matson (1996: 39, 43-44), Neyrey (1991: 381), Schweizer (1984: 175-176) and Just (1993: 165). None of the 72 expresses a worry about food laws and no such accusation is made at Jesus' trial. On the contrary, Manson (1949: 257), Egelkraut (1976: 147-48) and Handy (1998: 54) see the mission as intra-Jewish. The assumption of Wilson (1973: 65, 67) and Keck (2003: 742) that 1 Cor 9:20-22 implied sporadic breach of food laws by Paul is not certain, as contested by the thesis of Rudolph (2011).

[197] Tannehill (1986: 1:233).

[198] Henrich (1994), Arterbury (2002 , 2003, 2005), Matson (1996: 14, 39, 49, 86-134), Denaux (1999). Those noting the special significance for the Peter Cornelius episode include Gaventa (1986: 109), Tannehill (1986: 2:136), Johnson (1992: 181, 185 n.22, 187 et sim.), Witherup (1993: 48), Blue (1998: 491), Seccombe (1997: 58) and Rackham (1951: 152).

[199] Arterbury (2005: 16-54), Reece (1993: 25, 29), Stählin (1964a: esp. 17-25), Mason (2000: 1:68 n.573, 5:130 n.136,), Malina (1986: 181, 185) and Tomson (2001: 106). For the emphasis on reciprocality in Acts 10:1-11:18, see Arterbury (2005: 135-181) and Tannehill (1986: 2:136).

[200] Cf. Rudolph (2011: 147, 183-187).

[201] Acts 10:1-11:18 never mentions this, even though a Gentile home is being visited.

[202] E.g. Sir 31:16 within Ben Sirach's banquet rules in 31:12-32:13, discussed in Smith (2003: 134-144). Cf. also God's instructions to the angel visiting Abraham in T.Abr 4.7.

[203] One can certainly see here an encouragement to reciprocal hospitality even with Gentile homes, but without a necessary mandate to eat non-permitted food.

[204] As Kelley (1991), throughout.

[205] Cf. Witherington (1998: 134).

[206] Green (1996: 294), McDonald (1993).

4.3 Graeco–Roman Narrative

4.3.1 Colonisation Literature

Wilson (2001) has noted a number of connections between the Peter–Cornelius story and Greek colonisation tales. These often featured a surprise revelation to an otherwise reluctant founder, consultations with the elders of the metropolis, the transfer of sacred fire and the choosing a new laws and constitution for the colony. The procedures and literature are described more fully in the study of Malkin (1987). Whilst this is attractive in the light of Conzelmann's original hypothesis of a mission story explaining the foundation of the Caesarean church, the analogy has been critiqued by Schnabel (2004: 1:717) who notes that the Caesarean church is absent from view and the revelations are not quite the same[207]. A comparison with Malkin also reveals that the customary identification of a suitable location via riddling oracles and the demarcation of sacred precincts are also absent. Accepting these deficiencies does not mean that the Cornelius story would not catch the eye of someone familiar with such tales[208], particularly if viewed as a subversion of some of the normal features. Since at least some colonisation stories involve double dreams, this analogy will be pursued again in a later chapter.

4.3.2 Homer's Dream of Agamemnon

MacDonald is one of a number who see NT authors adapting Homeric passages and themes[209]. Given Homer's prominent role in education this is not unreasonable[210], although has not convinced many NT scholars[211]. MacDonald suggests a Homeric intertext to the Peter–Cornelius story[212]. Iliad 2 tells of the setback suffered by the Achaeans when Agamemnon is sent a "lying dream" tricking him into an untimely attack on the Trojan forces[213]. Whilst war and mission do not immediately resonate, and making Cornelius and Peter "Agamemnon" and "Odysseus" is unconvincing, nevertheless, Agamemnon's dream is paired with a symbolic portent in which animals stand for people and "eating" for conquering[214]. This suggests at least that the uncomfortableness of NT interpreters with the food/people metaphor in Peter's vision is somewhat unwarranted[215]. In addition, the overall

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[207] For Squires (1993: 106-107) to see most of the Acts visions as "epiphanies" creates some of this confusion.

[208] For positive assessments of their significance, cf. Balch (1989, 2003b), Penner (2003, 2004: 262-330).

[209] Cf. MacDonald (1994, 2000, 2001a, 2003b), collected and expanded in his *Does the New Testament imitate Homer?* (2003a).

[210] On Greek education in general, see Too (2001), Morgan (1998) and Cribiore (2001). On the importance of Homer, see Cribiore (op.cit. 194-197). That the earliest education of Luke and Paul would have included Homer, cf. Hock (2001).

[211] E.g. Mitchell (2003) and Sandnes (2005).

[212] MacDonald (2003c).

[213] *Il.*2:1-19.

[214] *Il.*2.301-320.

[215] MacDonald (2003a: 22). The link is very normal in Homer, and of course is explicit in the original Levitical statement of the rationale of the food laws. Peter is, of course, not going to "conquer" Cornelius, although could

response to this extraordinary pair of revelations has the dream report repeated three times, and the calling of a council to consider its import, both of which also feature in Luke's story. The Homeric passage was much imitated in later Greek writing[216], making it all the more probable that Luke would be familiar with it. If there is a parallel with Homer, however, then it would form an erudite aside rather than a serious key to the overall narrative and the function of the double dream[217].

4.4 Conclusions

It would be difficult to see any evidence that places Acts 10 in a direct relationship with just one intertext. That aspects of the narrative resonate with a number of OT, NT and Graeco–Roman texts is clear, however, and typical of the period. It would probably be fair to say that any judgements will come down more to inter*texture* than specific inter–text, e.g. in relation to halakhic overtones, ecclesial tensions, and links to literary dream traditions.

5 Peter's Vision – Fresh Observations and New Questions

In spite of all the scholarly debate, there is still some value in simply re–reading the text. Since scholars have tended to approach the passage with relatively fixed presuppositions and questions, I shall try to note features less often observed, but of potential significance. As part of a double dream, points of comparison with Cornelius's angelophany will be noted when appropriate.

5.1 Deixis

Deixis refers to the personal and circumstantial information given in the introduction to stories. A standard feature of dream and vision reports[218], this includes the identity of the dreamer, place, time, their state of mind etc. Often rather conventionally styled around the status of the dreamer, the visions here provide rather unusual and certainly contrasting details. Cornelius, the head of a godfearing household is praised for his piety and almsgiving, keeps the time of (Jewish) afternoon prayer[219] and has a "very clear" vision of an angel. By contrast, the Apostle's situation is riddled with ambiguity. Resting in an "unclean" house[220], Peter tries to pray on the roof, but in the midday heat[221], "falls into a

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perhaps be seen as "winning" him. That Jesus uses the analogy of *fishing* does not place such transfers completely beyond belief.

[216] MacDonald (2003c: 29-43). Besides evidence for a high incidence of pedagogic use of *Il.*1-2, MacDonald notes numerous specific imitations of the revelations, both separately and as a pair. On its probable influence on the Xerxes-Artabanus sequence in Herodotus, cf. Dodson (2006: 109-111).

[217] The two revelations in the Homeric passage are given to members of the same army, confirming a single message. No mutuality need be established. Although a message dream is here paired with a symbolic portent, both are fairly transparent. The problem is simply deception by the gods, who unfairly exploit a rather technical ambiguity in the word "now". Peter's sense of complete puzzlement is not mirrored in either of the Homeric revelations.

[218] Hanson calls this "scene setting" (Hanson, 1978: 1).

[219] The commendation of his almsgiving echoes the language of LXX Lev 2:2, 9, 16, Ps 141:2; Tob 12: 12 (Handy, 1998: 40).

[220] i.e. the home of Simon the *Tanner*, as pointed out in the commentaries.

trance" while waiting for lunch. For dream interpreters of this period, all of these rather "human" details, point to natural causes more than they do divine revelation[222]. A great "spread" placed frustratingly off limits by religion and a struggle with an improper suggestion also beg natural explanations.

5.2 Form

After Cornelius' very auspicious introduction, he receives an angelic visitation fit for any Jewish saint [223]. In a vivid, terrifying but very biblical vision, the angel comes right into his house. He reassuringly addresses Cornelius by name and praises him in words typically used of pious Jews[224]. The only instructions given are that he fetch a certain Simon Peter. This form of vision is very typical of the classical theophanies and angelophanies of the Old Testament and is never normally used with foreigners, who receive symbolic dreams like those of Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar with their images of cows, trees, statues etc.

Peter's vision, stranded awkwardly between these classical types, is superficially like some prophetic visions in the OT, which combine visual elements with a divine explanation[225], but is actually rather "non–standard". The speaker is unknown, the imagery unexplained, the "command" improper, the argument unresolved, and the ending, ominous. Although most of Luke's visions are very traditional[226], we know he incorporates Graeco–Roman features in some of them, suggesting a reasonable line of inquiry here[227].

5.3 Content

Whilst animal imagery is common in apocalyptic, Peter's animals have curiously come down from heaven as "lunch", although the sheer choice might have struck a Greek as ostentatious[228]. Nevertheless, that this imagery is religious is clear, but is unique in presenting the permitted and non–permitted species of Leviticus in dream form, something never seen the Old Testament. Worse still, is that he is invited to eat whatever he likes. Such images of the "violation of sacred law" (to use the Greek term[229]) are also unknown in

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[221] The 6th hour = midday, the usual time for (Roman) prandium. It is not a normal Jewish prayer hour. It is an inauspicious time in the oneirocritical manuals.

[222] Heat and hunger are classic precursors of nonsensical or inconsequential dreams, as Oppenheim (1956: 226-227), Lane Fox (1988: 150), Henrich (1994: 193), Handy (1998: 94), Holowchak (1997: 26-86, 156-188).

[223] He is sent a classical biblical angelophany.

[224] 10:4, "your prayers and alms have ascended etc.", cf. Dan 9:21-22, Tob 12:12 et sim.

[225] E.g. Jer 1:11-12, 13-16 et sim., Amos 7:1-3, 4-6 et sim., Zech 1:1-6:8 et sim.

[226] Cf. the visions of Zechariah and Mary at the start of Luke's Gospel.

[227] Once for Paul's conversion vision, with its voice and bright light (Acts 9:3-9), and again with the man from Macedonia (Acts 16:9-10), which whilst of a standard form, is odd in featuring a human dream figure. That Luke is comfortable incorporating Graeco-Roman influences in, say, the *speeches*, is rarely contested.

[228] See Wilkins (2000: 257-311).

[229] See Parker (2004).

the Bible[230], but eating nonsensical or unpleasant things or breaking other taboos like incest are known from the dreams brought to popular Graeco–Roman interpreters who became adept at turning them round to some more positive meaning[231]. Instead of asking questions, as other biblical dreamers do, Peter's straight refusal is also very striking, as is the riddling reply about not calling unclean what God has "cleansed". At no point is it revealed what the dream is *about* and the state of loggerheads at the end of three identical exchanges when the animals are withdrawn is as enigmatic as it is ominous. That such terminal confusion was, in biblical terms, normally reserved for the likes of Belshazzar could hardly have been comforting. As we shall see, however, it was not unknown in Graeco–Roman biography.

5.4 Interpretation

Although Peter does eventually "learn things", unusually, his enigmatic vision cannot be, and indeed never is explicitly interpreted. In ANE, Greek and Jewish contexts, this would be worrying[232]. Indeed, the lack of divine commentary within the dream (as offered to prophets) or expert opinion after the dream (as sought by kings) is quite unprecedented[233]. For some, Peter's confusion is just a cover for not liking the abolitionist message[234], but if genuine, surely invites readers to imagine what he might have been thinking. Should he take the scene as some kind of allegory, or look for a wordplay?[235] Neither of these traditional expedients produces obvious solutions, and contending with the voice just results in more riddles ("what God has cleansed … etc."). That Peter is taken off to Cornelius' house while still trying to make sense of the vision is also unusual. Indeed, Peter's developing understanding is articulated by a series of rather theological statements ("I truly understand that … etc.") which seem based as much on what happens in the house as on the dream itself[236]. Linking the narrative to the vision requires a reverse analogy between his entirely *legitimate* avoidance of forbidden food and his apparently *illegitimate* avoidance of Gentiles[237]. In terms of typical biblical modes of interpretation, such an inverted correspondence seems so inexplicable that commentators routinely dismiss it

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[230] Some prophetic signs did transgress custom and decency. Only the story of God's command for Jeremiah to tempt the Rechabites (Jer 35:1-18) gets close to a breach of sacred law.

[231] Cf. On disgusting foods, see Artemidorus in White (1975: 164 et sim.). On incest dreams, see Grottanelli (1999).

[232] Oppenheim (1956: 219), cf. Alexander (1995a: 245 and n. 32). An uninterpreted dream was often viewed as polluting, requiring apotropaic sacrifices or purification rituals, as *RA* 5:54.3, Plu.*Alex.*41:6, Ap.Rh *Argo.*4:659ff et sim.

[233] Although again, known in Graeco-Roman tradition, where in the epics and later Hellenistic biographies, the majority of dreams are interpreted by the dreamers alone, although sometimes with the help of relatives or friends.

[234] As Plunkett (1985: 468), Hanson (1978: 80-81), Barrett (1994: 493), Dunn (1996: 133).

[235] As traditionally for symbolic dreams.

[236] Acts 10:28, "God has shown me …", Acts 10:34, "I truly understand …" etc. This process of interpretation from experience over a sequence of episodes is not the usual ANE/court pattern, but is common in Greek drama and fiction. It is not surprising that the interpretive summaries entirely supplant the awkward details of vision itself in Peter's report to the Jerusalem council.

[237] 10:28, "God has shown me that I should not call anyone profane or unclean".

altogether as a failed Lukan gloss[238]. This must beg the question of whether paradoxical and reversing links between dream content and circumstances are known in the ancient world.

5.5 Genre

The above observations beg questions about the genre and register of this account. Although dreams and visions are often read as prophetic revelations, this may not be the best way of reading this account. The vision appears to carry two unobviously related sets of overtones.

The first set belongs to the world of ancient anxiety dreams. The very human circumstances noted by Luke - Peter's struggle with a transgressive suggestion, the three-fold iteration of an incomprehensible reply leaving Peter in a state of perplexity all seem to point in this direction. Any approach to "interpretation" may have to look in a very different direction to the more usual prophetic commissions.

The second set of overtones come from Peter's observations about *learning* something, and particularly about his own inconsistency in his attitudes to Gentiles, i.e. the vision also has a conceptual, didactic feel, and is thus an *instructive* anxiety dream. This paradoxical combination actually conspires to bring a certain irony, even humour to subject matter which in reality is fraught with terrible tensions[239].

If one were to ask whether there was any other example of a text with such dual horizons, one need only think of the Lukan tale of Dives and Lazarus, which for all its imagery, is not a revelation of Heaven and Hell in the *apocalyptic* sense[240]. Although ruthlessly exposing personal inconsistency, Dives' "nightmare situation" and his protests across the "divide" have a pantomimic quality, and God's dismissal of his "great idea" at the end relies on what the rhetorical manuals would call pretended ignorance or εἰρωνεία[241]. Peter's "mad" dream has some of these qualities too, and his "divine" voice feigns ignorance of the law in its opening invitation[242]. It too seeks to expose personal inconsistency in the face of a divine favour unexpectedly extended to those habitually excluded. One can certainly imagine such a dream appealing to Luke. And if the Jew–Gentile question did constitute something of a nightmare for parts of the church, it is not

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[238] As Tyson (1987 = 1992: 120), Hanson (1978: 81), Handy (1998: 18) et al.

[239] Jónsson (1985: 211-212) reads the passage in relation to rabbinical humour, and on possible awareness by Luke of New Comedy and the novels, cf. Chambers (2004), Grassi (1986), Harrill (2000), Brant (2005), Ascough (1996), Chance (1998) and Pervo (1987).

[240] Lk 16:19-31.

[241] Cf. LSJ, 491, Morris (1992), Damm (1998).

[242] Allowing didactic dissimulation here helps avoid over-serious ethical concerns (as Barrett, 1994: 493, 507), although Peter is rather cruelly placed in a double bind where "if he obeys, he disobeys; if he disobeys, he disobeys anyway".

impossible that veiling and lightening the treatment has a pastoral intent[243]. If any of the above survives further scrutiny, then the pointed contrast with Cornelius and his grand "biblical" angelophany would make additional sense as part of a highly ironic synkrisis. Although raising a wry smile from us, Peter's experience is anything but amusing for him, unfortunately.

5.6 Conclusions

This initial and instinctive reading of Peter's vision has had a serious purpose. Many of the problems raised by the commentators may stem from not observing what is genuinely unusual about the vision, and perhaps not asking what kind of vision it really is.

6 Summary and Plan of Investigation

For all the scholarly debate about the Law[244], Acts 10:9-16 is unique in the New Testament as being the only passage that could be construed as an abolition of the Torah in revelatory form[245]. Although Peter reads the vision as merely exposing a wrong attitude to foreigners, many commentators assume that this "soft reading" has been badly draped over an originally abolitionist tract that reflected a genuine stream of opinion. On any account, the passage is both "explosive" for the wider debate, but also inexplicable in terms of Luke's denial of this charge later in Acts[246]. Whatever Luke's reasons for including the vision, his strategy seems unbelievably risky, playing right into the hands of a view he is labouring hard to counter[247]. If this study could help unpack a coherent authorial intent here and a believable readerly competence, then it could help resolve this tension and incidentally shed light on similar questions elsewhere in the New Testament.

The working hypothesis from here on will be that both the abolitionist reading of the vision and the accompanying picture of editorial incompetence are unsatisfactory. Instead, I will seek ways of allowing Luke to retain his positive view of the law, whilst purposely including a vision of this kind.

Chapter 2 starts with the social and halakhic background of the food laws and the problem of association before exploring various traditional understandings of the curious "eating" and "cleansing" references in the visionary dialogue. These include some helpful

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[243] A good case can be made that Luke intends his readers to understand how difficult this issue really was for him and Jewish Christians like him, and that this was still a live issue at the time of writing, contra Plunkett (1985: 479).

[244] E.g. Blomberg (1984), Bovon (2003), Downing (1986, 1988), Jervell (1971), Pettem (1996), Salo (1991), Wilson (1983) et sim.

[245] If taken as indicating the abolition of the Jewish food laws, then the entire Torah is undermined. Re the form, there are claims that sayings such as Mk 7:19b, Rom 10:4, and Rom 14:14 constitute declarations of equivalent import, but Luke's would be the only vision.

[246] The episode in Acts 21 where the Apostles in Jerusalem know that such an abolitionist position has come to be associated with Paul, and stage an elaborate denial for him to help calm anxiety in the still predominantly Jewish church in Jerusalem.

[247] Plunkett (1985: 468).

"soft" readings pointing only to a rejection of a particular stance on association. The next three chapters turn to the vision itself.

Chapter 3 introduces ancient dreams and visions and show how the standard OT/ANE form–critical options of "message dream" and "symbolic dream" have closed off consideration of the more personal and flexible forms evident within later Graeco–Roman literature. These sources display dreams with hybrid, popular and other non–formal elements that challenge the standard picture and allow not merely villains, but also heroes to be given dreams of an upsetting and ambiguous nature as they wrestle with their destinies. That the Graeco–Roman tradition has influenced some post–biblical Jewish and NT dream accounts is suggested.

Chapter 4 turns from the usual connotations of biblical dreams to the uncertainties of natural dreaming, anxiety dreams and nightmares and their appropriation by Graeco–Roman writers seeking to transcend older dichotomies of "true" vs. "false", "divine" vs. "natural" etc. That in literary texts, even "significant" dreams could be given a naturalistic and confusing hue leads to the question of whether Luke is attempting something similar with the vision of Acts 10. The striking image of transgression, providing so much difficulty for commentators, is discussed in relation to the "principle of opposites" by which some sought to salvage good meanings from such nightmarish presentations.

Chapter 5 starts with Peter's bafflement. Enigmatic, riddling and paradoxical utterances had long been a feature of Greek oracles, as well as within some philosophical teaching, but had never been typical of divine speech in the Bible. However, they appear increasingly in Hellenistic and Roman dreams, particularly in divine rebukes. Graeco–Roman discussions as to how and why the truth might be *concealed* as well as revealed by such dreams, as well as more grudging admissions from Jewish and Christian writers are surveyed and brought to our understanding of Acts 10.

Chapter 6 returns to the observation above that the dark complexion of Peter's vision seems to stand in very striking contrast with the dignity and clarity accorded Cornelius in his proper biblical angelophany. That Peter's vision provides no useful information for his forthcoming meeting has traditionally led to its "extraneous" designation, leaving the transparent "word of the Spirit" to complete the double dream. This would, however, destroy the single most striking aspect of the pair in its present form. However, after a survey of numerous examples of popular Hellenistic double dreams it is concluded that making the reluctant hero struggle with some issue while giving supporting instructions to a helper is a common configuration, playing to a certain ironic reversal in relation to the traditional roles and status of the two protagonists. That the main block to mission lies with

the apostle and not the foreigner is an irony known to interest Luke elsewhere, and is present too in the Greek and Roman negotiations of identity in a multi–cultural world.

Chapter 7 will present a briefer concluding section drawing some of the above threads together, hoping to see if a new reading of the vision can make better sense within the post–Jervell "new look" on Luke. The main possibility that this study opens up is a dream that portrays a leading figure grappling with the paradox, even the nightmare of what contact with foreigners might mean, yet where the total abolition of sacred law itself is not really intended. It rather plunges Peter into an unresolved, even unresolvable intellectual challenge that nevertheless enables him to recognise a soon–to–unfold but surprising development.

Chapter 2

Chapter 2 – Halakhic Intertexture of Peter's Vision

1 Introduction

The Peter–Cornelius story makes much of its sub–plot in which a religious and social problem threatens to prevent the occurrence of an important missionary encounter. Whether Peter's rooftop vision is understood to be developed in situ, or awkwardly imported, it is clear that author is inviting the reader to see its content as bearing upon the problem and its solution. Unfortunately, interpretation of the whole is somewhat dogged by the fact that we do not fully understand the nature of the social and religious problems being addressed, nor, via the curious ambiguities of the dream, the exact sense in which it is supposed to be helping. Any solution offered, however, must also help to make sense of the council of Acts 15, which apparently refers to the Peter Cornelius episode[1]. Both passages portray a Jewish Christian church discussing Jewish issues in distinctly Jewish terms and contain technical halakhic language. Halakha may be defined as the post–biblical development and adaptation of Jewish law and custom[2] and our text touches upon several distinct issues affecting Jew–Gentile association: holiness and profanity, food laws, ritual purity and morality. These are complicated by multiple meanings and uncertain translations of technical terms as well as diversity within Jewish interpretation. The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the halakhic problems and social context before turning to the interpretation of the dream dialogue.

2 Halakhic Background

2.1 Explicit and Implicit Issues in Acts 10:1-11:18

The halakhic questions raised by this passage are not presented in an analytic manner, but via a narrative, requiring us to discern implicit as well as explicit concerns. Thus as well as Peter's expressed worry about associating with Cornelius, which he simply calls ἀθέμιτος ("unlawful"), implicit concerns may include non–permitted food[3], the profanity, uncleanness or immorality of Gentile persons[4] or other questions of halakha and interpretation[5]. The non–technical nature of ἀθέμιτος[6] makes one wonder whether Peter

[1] Acts 15:7-11.

[2] Cf. Zeitlin (1948), Berkovits (1983), Urbach (1986), Safrai (1987), Neusner (2002), and the particularly helpful Jaffee (2001).

[3] If merely visiting a Gentile home is perceived as a problem in its own right, then unwittingly eating non-permitted food as a result constitutes a "worst case scenario". Houston (1993: 14-15) opens his very technical treatment of the Jewish food laws with some stimulating reflections on Peter's vision.

[4] Cf. Acts 10:28b, 11:18.

[5] E.g., it is not clear that in the NT period, a sense of moral and religious taint had been formalised in a concept of intrinsic (ritual) Gentile impurity (Hayes, 2002: 45-67).

[6] ἀθέμιτος indicates any seriously moral or religious transgression. Not as common as its cognate ἄνομος, it was not used by Jews for anything at the level merely of divergent halakha.

believes such visits were literally unlawful[7], by custom *effectively* unlawful[8], or merely constituted hyperbole for difficulty or disgust[9]. With many other Jews, he may not have worried much about where one issue left off and the other began, treating popular halakhic conclusions simply as "Torah".

The relationship between possible issues noted by NT scholars is sketched in the diagram below. The naïve and perhaps unselfconscious version of the "ἀθέμιτος" conviction, is set out in the upper part of the diagram. A second line of justification, seeing the visit primarily as *inadvisable*[10], is sketched in the lower part, along with related halakhic issues. A Jew like Peter could be quite aware of the underlying logic even if continuing to use vague and non–technical terms in ordinary speech.

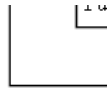

Fig. 1: possible halakhic issues lying behind Acts 10:1-11:18

The diagram amalgamates theories scholars have *suggested* for what might have been going on. Not all necessarily correspond to prime concerns in the 1st century. Indeed, unwitting anachronism[11] and/or inexpert grasp of halakha by NT scholars, has almost certainly caused confusion, with as much trouble arising from failure to make distinctions,

[7] This "naïve" reading is the working assumption of many of the older commentators, e.g. Rackham (1951: 149).

[8] Although Jews were generally aware of the secondary, indeed non-binding nature of such rulings, at least some probably felt that they should, in the ordinary course of piety, be obeyed. Philo speaks of a culture of voluntary virtue in this regard (*Spec.Leg.*4:148–50, *Leg.*115).

[9] It is clear that at least some teachers did speak in this way, as possibly in Mt 5:22b, 28-39a, 8:22, 10:34-, 16:25, 17:20, 18:8,9, 19:9, 24-26 (cf. the move from δυσκόλως, "hard" to ἀδύνατόν, "impossible" in this passage).

[10] Whilst some teachers may have been aware of this, it is not clear that ordinary Jews always were.

[11] As the general warning of Malina and Pilch (2008: 1-6).

as from making them too finely[12]. To compound things further, for all Luke's apparent interest in Jewish life, scholars have also regarded his own knowledge of Jewish customs and halakha as somewhat amateur. The detail here may have to remain a gentile Christian *gesture* towards the not entirely understood concerns of an earlier Jewish–Christian generation[13].

2.2 The Biblical Laws

2.2.1 Fixed States of Separation and Distinction

2.2.1.1 Holiness and Profanity of People, Places and Objects

A major set of biblical distinctions and degrees is articulated via the terms קָדוֹשׁ, (*qdš*, holy, separate, special) cf. חָלָל, (*ḥll*, profane, common, ordinary)[14]. In the LXX, Philo and Josephus, the translations ἅγιος and βέβηλος (less commonly, κοινός) are used[15], with the verb forms ἁγιάζω[16] and βεβηλόω[17]. חָלָל is used for ordinary (non–Sabbath) days, ground outside the temple, money not in "Corban", food not given to priests[18] and animals not slaughtered in a sacrifice[19]. However, relative holiness can also be specified; the High Priest, Priests, Levites, Israelite men, Israelite women, resident aliens and other Gentiles forming a hierarchy of graded holiness with regard to temple access[20]. Being relatively profane was not linked to sin or uncleanness, although improper use of or access to something holy (called *profanation*[21]) was a sin.

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[12] The solutions proposed by some rely on subtleties that may already be blurred within the discursive level presupposed in the text. The constant pairing "κοινὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον" might be alerting us to this.

[13] As Plunkett (1985: 479).

[14] Cf. Procksch and Kuhn (1964), Wright (1992a) and on Temple access, Hayes (2002: 34-35). "Special" vs. "ordinary" would be good working terms, although "holy" and "profane" are most often used in scholarly literature.

[15] ἅγιος is not a particularly common word in Hellenistic Greek, but is the staple of the LXX translators for lack of an alternative (Procksch and Kuhn, 1964: 94-97). Perhaps surprisingly in relation to Acts 10:1-11:18, where κοινός features several times, the LXX, does not use κοινός to translate חָלָל but rather βέβηλος.

[16] "To sanctify"; classical and Koine Greek prefer ἁγίζω, as BDAG, 9.

[17] "To profane", LSJ, 312, i.e. to make inappropriate use of a special object or enter a holy place when unqualified. The object of the verb is normally the thing or place profaned, but in moral discourse, the term "profaning oneself" can be used of behaving "little better than a pagan".

[18] The plural חֻלִּין becomes a technical term in later rabbinical literature for this "ordinary food" (as M.Hullin).

[19] As Deut 12:15-16, 2-25.

[20] Cf. Jenson (1992), Hayes (2002: 35 and n 46), Poirier (2003), Milgrom (1990, 1994), Regev (2003) et al. A person straying into an area not permitted to them is an "encroacher" (זָר, *zar*). The warning notice in Herod's temple shows the sensitivity about such profanation (cf. Segal, P., 1989).

[21] The verbal forms are derived from חלל. The word "defilement" is usually reserved for the transfer of ritual impurity. In Greek, βεβηλόω is most commonly used for the verb to *profane*.

2.2.1.2 Permitted and Non–Permitted Food

Jewish food laws, sometimes referred to by the post-biblical term *kašrût*[22] are also based on a permanent separation or division, this time of species of animals, birds and fish[23]. The core requirements are set out in Lev 11 and clarified in Deut 14[24], with a few additional rules from elsewhere[25]. The Torah also specifies how animals must be killed, especially that no blood be left in the flesh[26]. Gentile meat, even if passing on both these accounts, was banned on a third account if previously offered to an idol, a context that eventually led to worries about wine and other Gentile food[27]. A curiosity in relation to the permitted species is that although the separation is conceptually similar to the חָלָל/קָדוֹשׁ distinction, and is presented as an analogy for the Jew/Gentile divide in Lev 20:25-26, the species are confusingly designated "clean" and "unclean" (טָמֵא/טָהוֹר, LXX καθαρός/ἀκάθαρτος, as in the purity system, below[28]). This anomaly has caused difficulty for casual readers and some debate amongst scholars[29]. Deliberate breach of a biblical food law did not make a person ritually unclean, but did constitute a sin[30], and surprisingly a sin described in the language of "abomination", otherwise reserved for serious moral failings[31]. The general problems of association were certainly exacerbated by the food laws.

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[22] *kašrût* meaning "correctness" or "appropriateness" includes more than food regulations. Although not biblical, derivatives of the verb כָּשֵׁר (be advantageous, proper or suitable) do occur (e.g. Esth 8:5, Eccl 10:10, 11:6), with cognate terms in Aramaic (cf. BDB, 506-507).

[23] Cf. Wenham (1981), Houston (1993), Averbeck (1997), Douglas (1966), Grimm (1996), Hübner (1992), Schramm (1992) and Wright (1992b). For the general importance in relation to community and identity, see Reinhartz (1999) and various sections of Esler (1987).

[24] Animals must have cloven hooves and chew the cud. Permitted and non-permitted "flying things" are listed (mainly birds), although the rationale is not specified. Locusts are allowed but other insects not. Sea-creatures must have fins and scales.

[25] E.g. no eating of the "sinew of the thigh", following Jacob's injury (Gen 32:33), no eating of a limb cut from a live animal (Gen 9:4), no mixing meat and milk (via Ex 23:19; 34:26; Deut 14:21), and one or two more re the Passover (Ex 12:8-14).

[26] Deut 12:23-25 et sim.

[27] This is not a food law in the usual sense, but counts as an inappropriate link to idolatry, cf. Witherington (1993), Cheung (1999), Garland (2003), Still (2002), Niederwimmer (1998: 120-121). The 1st century saw some concern about Gentile wine, since it may have been offered as a libation, and less explicably, olive oil (as Goodman, 1990).

[28] Lev 20:24b-26. The occurrence of καθαρός/ἀκάθαρτος in the LXX for Lev 11 is clear and consistent, following טָהוֹר (*ṭhr*, clean) / טָמֵא (*tāmēʾ*, unclean).

[29] Cf. Tomson (2001: 98) and more extensively, Klawans (2000: 31-32) who concedes that such distinctions are listed with other purity laws but are "not purity laws per se" (ibid., 31). Eating "unclean" food was a sin, but did not make one *ritually* unclean.

[30] Cf. Maccoby (1999a: vii). An unwitting breach counted as an "error or negligence".

[31] When Lev 11 repeatedly adds that "you shall not *defile* yourselves" [lit. souls] (אַל־תְּשַׁקְּצוּ אֶת־נַפְשֹׁתֵיכֶם) (with various foods) "[because] it is unclean for you" (לָכֶם הַטָּמֵא) it is using שֶׁקֶץ (*šqṣ/šeqeṣ*), one of a range of words roughly meaning "abomination" or "wickedness", of which תּוֹעֵבָה (*tʿb/tôʿēbâ*), זִמָּה (*zimmâ*) are more or less synonyms. Such words are reserved for contraventions which are not only sinful (because not permitted), but sinful in a particularly "disgusting" way. Besides the consumption of non-permitted food, they are often used in relation to idolatry and sexual sin.

2.2.2 Changeable States of Purity and Defilement

2.2.2.1 Ritual Purity

Ritual purity, affecting both people and objects, is a different concept from holiness[32] although interacts with it in some contexts[33]. Key terminology here comprises the verbs טהר (*thr*: *Qal* "be pure," *Pi'el* "purify; declare clean", adj. טָהוֹר) and טמא (*tm'*: *Qal*, "be/become impure," *Nip'al* "defile oneself; be impure, adj. טָמֵא)[34]. In Greek, as expected, καθαρός[35] and ἀκάθαρτος[36] are the routine translations[37]. טָמֵא verb forms are usually translated by μιαίνω in the LXX[38] ("defile" in English). In contrast to profanation or the breach of a food law, acquiring ritual impurity was not a sin[39], although it had to be cleansed before certain actions were performed or places entered[40]. Unlike profanity, ritual impurity could be conveyed from object to object, object to person and from person to person, subject to complex rules[41]. The severest impurity, arising from contact with any human corpse, was the most transferable, the most ritually "damaging" for the Temple[42], and the most difficult to remove, involving the mysterious Red Heifer rite[43]. The carcasses of non–permitted animals produced less severe effects[44], which, with a host of lower grades of impurity, could be removed by washing and/or waiting for certain periods[45]. An exception arose in the case of food, which if rendered unclean by contact with a dead fly,

[32] There are many theories as to the origin and meaning of such systems, as explored by Douglas (1966).

[33] E.g. in the realm of temple access, where Jews in states of ritual uncleanness could have their access to the temple restricted.

[34] The adjective *ṭāhôr* "pure" can be used, for instance, of gold, but the dominant use is within the purity system (BDB, 372). The substantive *ṭohŏrôt* ("cleansings") acts as the name for the corresponding Mishnaic tractate. For further notes, cf. Hauck (1964c), Averbeck (1997), Wright (1992b). On NT usage, see Hübner (1992).

[35] καθαρός is mainly used for ṛ/ḥf in Lev. 7:19; 10:10 et sim. with καθαρίζω for the corresponding priestly declarations (Lev. 14:18; 12:8; 16:30). It is also used within moral discourse e.g. in Ps. 51:10; Hab. 1:13 et sim. and Ezek. 36:25. The query of Klawans (2000: 32-36) as to which of these uses should be regarded as *metaphorical* continues to fascinate.

[36] ἀκάθαρτος, *impure, unclean*, besides its pairing with καθαρός in biblical purity law, is attested in cultic contexts in a wide range of classical and Jewish Greek literature (including LXX, Ep.Arist., Philo, Josephus, T.12.Patr. etc.) as BDAG, 34, LSJ, 46 etc.

[37] LXX Lev 10:10 neatly brings together all four terms when it commands priests to διαστεῖλαι ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ἁγίων καὶ τῶν βεβήλων καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ἀκαθάρτων καὶ τῶν καθαρῶν.

[38] This word for staining or polluting (129x in the LXX) has a wide usage in Homeric and Koine Greek in similar contexts, cf. BDAG, 650, LSJ, 1132. On Greek concepts of purity, see Parker (1983).

[39] Ritual purity states (of various kinds) were possessed more or less incidentally, and in some situations *had to be* acquired (e.g. in procreation and in burying the dead), as noted frequently by Sanders (1985, 1987, 1990a, 1994 etc.).

[40] See note 33 above.

[41] Later rabbis identified six levels of severity/transferability, with corpse impurity at the apex, with "fourth grade derived impurities" constituting the mildest category, as explained helpfully by Maccoby (1999a: 214-215).

[42] On temple defilement at Qumran, see Regev (2003).

[43] Cf. Maccoby (1999a: 94-117).

[44] Lev 11:32. In time, this rule was understood by some to imply that touching food made with non-permitted meat could convey ritual impurity in the same way as a *carcass*. Other means of acquiring ritual impurity were in relation to various bodily emissions, childbirth and some skin conditions.

[45] In regard to the cleansing of people, although not stipulated in the Bible, washing was often thought to imply immersion in a special pool in NT times in Palestine. There are many examples of such pools (Miqvaoth) in archaeological remains from this period. The famous agraphon in P.Oxy.V840 discussed by Jeremias (1957: 36-48) features Jesus discussing ritual bathing in the temple court with a Pharisee.

for example, could not be cleansed, but had to be thrown away[46]. Significantly for our text, Gentiles could not technically acquire or transmit ritual impurity, although their corpses[47] and their food could[48].

2.2.2.2 Moral Purity

The use of purity and defilement language in relation to behaviour in the OT and indeed the NT[49], should not properly be described as a "system" in quite the same way as *kašrût*, *kodašim* or *ṭohărôt*[50]. Although sexual sins, murder and idolatry are spoken of as impurities[51], "defiling" the individual, the temple and the land[52], using the same verb, μιαίνω, as the LXX uses for ritual cases[53], this defilement cannot be removed merely by ritual means[54] and is not transferable[55]. Moral discourse can also appropriate the language of profanation via the verb βεβηλόω[56]. In addition to טָמֵא/טָהוֹר [*thr*/*ṭm*ʾ] (clean/unclean), special terms of moral outrage are used in these cases, such as שֶׁקֶץ [*šqṣ*/*šeqeṣ*], תּוֹעֵבָה [*tʿb*/*tôʿēbâ*] and זִמָּה [*zimmâ*], all loosely translated "abomination" (LXX, βδέλυγμα)[57]. There has been considerable debate as to the appropriateness of dubbing purity language in these contexts "metaphorical", in so far as it might seem to make ritual impurity more real[58]. Klawans has recently argued for the reverse case and generated quite some discussion[59]. Of course, in the high polemic of the Maccabean revolt, where outraged Jews were compelled to abandon their laws and customs, the resulting cascade of such terms is not easy to disentangle[60]. Even if Gentiles lived upright, honest and chaste lives, their

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[46] I.e. ritually unclean, even if "permitted" in the general sense, as in Lev 11:33 et sim.

[47] Their only interaction with the purity system is in death, when Gentile corpses are able to transmit corpse impurity (the most severe kind) to Jewish people, as per the rules in Num 19:10b- 22 (Maccoby, 1999a: 1-29).

[48] As per note 46 above, which applied to all food. Given the much greater worries about idolatry, an odd dead insect would seem the least of any Jewish visitor's worries.

[49] Hartley (1992: 147).

[50] Cf. Neusner (1973), Maccoby (1999a), Haber (2008), Harrington (1993, 2000, 2004), Hayes (1999, 2002), Regev (2003, 2004). Klawans (2000: 26) lists five major differences between moral and ritual purity (1) the connection with sin (2) lack of transferability (3) duration (4) means of removal (5) additional special language.

[51] "Defiling acts" classically include sexual sins (Lev 18:24-30), idolatry (Lev 19:31, 20:1-3) and bloodshed (Num 35:33-34).

[52] Re the temple, cf. Lev 20:3, Ezek 5:11 and the land, Lev 18:24-25. Num 35:33-34 et sim. There has been extensive debate between Milgrom (2000), Maccoby (1999b: esp. 199-208) and more recently Klawans (2000: 27-31) about how this occurs.

[53] Lev 18:24, WSol 14:24 et sim.

[54] For lesser individual sins, the ḥaṭṭāʿt sacrifice is used to bring closure to a process that must involve repentance and restitution, however, this is not applicable for murder or serious sexual sin, cf. Wright (1992b: 738). Gross sin at the national level eventually causes the departure of the Shekinah and the expulsion of the people into exile or galut, as Klawans (2000: 27-28, 30, 118ff).

[55] Moral contagion cannot be transferred and operates separately from ritual purity states (Klawans, 2000: 29).

[56] Cf. LXX Ezek 36:22.

[57] The verb βδελύσσομαι is almost always used when a moral rather than a purely ritual issue is at stake.

[58] For an example of a discussion about morality using an analogy of ritual impurity transfer, see Hag 2:1-14.

[59] Klawans (2000: 32-36) contra Neusner (1973: 108), Ringgren (1980a;1980b) and Wright (1991: 162-154).

[60] In 1 Macc. 1:48-63, βεβηλόω, βδελύσσομαι, μιαίνω, ἀκάθαρτος and other words of ritual and moral offense are all used in rapid succession.

idolatrous religious practice constituted a major problem for Jews. Spoken of as שֶׁקֶץ in the OT, and linked with sexual sin and violence in biblical tradition and 1st century anti–Gentile rhetoric, the presumption of idolatry drove much of the later restrictive halakha on association[61].

2.3 Halakhic Intensification and the Rhetoric of Separation

When Leviticus sets out the food laws, it does so within an exposition of Jewish election that is dominated by moral concerns, particularly in relation to foreign idolatry and behaviour, with the food laws symbolising the distinction at both levels[62]. The late Second Temple period, overshadowed by the Antiochene attempt to suppress Jewish customs[63], saw a subtle transformation of the rhetoric of distinction. While retaining moral concerns, it ended up as against as a polemic against *association*, and thus against its most intimate expression, table–fellowship[64], a transformation shown classically in the invective of Jub 22:16 – "separate yourselves … do not eat with them … their deeds are defiled, and … their ways are … despicable". Within this context, the food laws began to be understood as a divine ploy intended to make this association harder[65], as in Ep.Arist.139, 142, "to prevent our … being perverted by contact with others", Moses "*hedged us in on all sides* with strict observances connected with meat and drink"[66], and gradually, these safeguards underwent diversification and intensification[67].

Whilst elaboration of the laws of *kašrût* was able to place more foods of Gentile origin under suspicion[68], it is clear that this mechanism alone could not prevent association that didn't involve food. Similarly, although the moral argument remained at the broader cultural level, it was difficult to outlaw every trading relationship, simple courtesy and even friendship on grounds of a fear of falling into bad behaviour or idolatry with quite the sense of alarm raised by Jubilees. In later post–Maccabean texts, one can thus see a secondary shift in the analysis of exactly why association should be avoided to grounds such as

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[61] Cf. the various discussions of M.AbodZar.

[62] Lev 20:22-23, 25-26.

[63] Dunn (1983: 12-13). After this, circumcision, food laws, Sabbath observance and racial purity etc. become more important as cultural boundary markers, cf. Taylor (1992: 747), Dunn (1991: 105), Lieu (2002, 2004: 108), Brett (1996: 10 et sim.), Cohen (1989).

[64] Esler (1987: 71-109).

[65] Schmidt (2001: 241).

[66] Ep.Arist.139 is very striking when it says "he ... surrounded us with unbroken palisades and iron walls to prevent our mixing with any of the other peoples in any matter".

[67] "Intensification" is used by Schürer, Millar, Vermes et al. (1973: 2:81-84), Asano (2005: 182) and others.

[68] E.g. wine, where libations were a worry (cf. Add.Esth 14:17). In spite of this concern about *use*, much of the debate ended up centring on *provenance*, as in Jdt 10.5, 4QMMT. On the later decree about Gentile olive oil, cf. Goodman (1990).

supererogatory caution[69], a symbolic underscoring of election, or a desire to avoid anything that might appear to condone Gentile behaviour or idolatry.

It is interesting that Aristeas uses compounds of the word μείγνυμι (to mix, join together) of the association[70], as does Philo in his expansion of Balaam's oracle ("in virtue of their distinction … they do not mix")[71], begging the question of whether an allusion to the biblical law against mixed crops is intended[72]. In fact, although neither LXX Lev 19:19 nor the exogamy polemic in LXX Ezra 9:2[73] uses μείγνυμι, that it can carry both sexual and *social* overtones (as Aristeas and Philo, above) provides a resonance with some rhetorical force[74]. It is suggestive that μείγνυμι compounds survive in 1 Cor 5:11 where one must not "associate" (συναναμίγνυσθαι) with a brother that is sexually immoral (πόρνος) or an idolater (εἰδωλολάτρης), concerns that appear in the decree of Acts 15[75].

Indeed, in more extreme polemic, simple over–friendliness was equated with "making a covenant with Canaanites" and committing idolatry by proxy[76]. Indeed, given that manifest moral corruption was clearly not evident in every case, arguments based on worries about *indirect* contact with idolatry became particularly prevalent[77]. Separation thus became meritorious in and of itself and appeared to rely on a sense of moral defilement by *association alone* rather than corruption as such[78]. In this picture, the dangers of accidentally eating non–Kosher food remained relatively academic in comparison with the undesirability of the contact itself[79]. The key worry, of course, was the potential effect of such ambiguous messages on other Jews[80].

Scholars have debated whether such rhetorical intensification included a belief in the intrinsic ritual uncleanness of Gentiles[81]. Although ritual impurity did not theoretically

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[69] As Ep.Arist.139, 142, above.

[70] In Ep.Arist.139, the phrasing is ὅπως μηθενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ἐπιμισγώμεθα κατὰ μηδέν.

[71] In *Mos.*1:278, Philo expands LXX Num 23:9 by adding (among other things) "… by reason of .. their remarkable customs … they will never mingle (μὴ συναναμιγνύμενος) with any other nation so as to depart from their national and ancestral ways".

[72] As developed in the Mishnaic tractate M.Kilayim.

[73] LXX Ezra 9:2 "παρήχθη σπέρμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐν λαοῖς τῶν γαιῶν".

[74] Cf. our phrase "sleeping with the enemy".

[75] Cf. also the anachronistic slip in Mt 18:17, where an erring Christian brother is to be treated as a "tax collector *or a gentile*".

[76] Possibly via Ex 34:15, as suggested by the later T.AZ 4:6 [C] warning that by table fellowship with Gentiles, Jews "make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land".

[77] as M.Hul.2:7, M.AZ 5:5 et sim., discussed by Bockmuehl (2000b: 59).

[78] Sanders (1990b: 186) concludes that the main worry in associating with Gentiles was indeed the general *taint* of idolatry and immorality rather than some technical problem, or even the risk of eating non-permitted food by mistake, cf. Schürer, Millar, Vermes et al. (1973: 2:81-83), and Bockmuehl (2000b: 59).

[79] Sanders (1990b: 185-186) and cf. Chilton and Evans (2005: 109).

[80] On differing boundaries towards outsiders distinguishing one inner group from another, cf. Goodman (2003), Miller (1989: 96-97) on Q, Schwartz (2001: 348-349) on the rabbis and Esler (1996) on Galatians.

[81] Schürer, Millar, Vermes et al. (1973: 2:81-84, esp. 83) followed by Asano (2005: 182) and others.

affect Gentiles, 4QMMT's stance against Gentile grain, food boiled in Gentile vessels etc. appears to outlaw various secondary forms of contact[82], which together with later rabbinical statements[83] has led many scholars to presume that Gentiles, their homes and possessions were viewed as ritually unclean in the 1st century. Following Str–B, Büchler and Alon[84], many NT commentators make blanket assertions of Gentile uncleanness[85], with only a few careful to use inverted commas[86]. Although some imagine an intrinsic uncleanness linked to profanity[87], temple access[88] and intermarriage[89], and others, more peculiarly, the effects of Gentile *diet*[90], most presuppose "standard" ritual impurity[91], transferable by contact[92] or even simply association[93]. Later rabbinical judgements about idol statues[94], Gentile lands[95], houses[96], cooking utensils[97] and other possessions[98] are likewise read as additional deterrents to association within the NT period, creating the impression that the reluctance of

[82] 4QMMT 1-9. Chilton and Evans (1992: 109) note that Lev 11:29-36 *could* provide a rationale, but Büchler (1926) is clear that the issue did not prevent normal social contact and trade between Jews and Gentiles.

[83] For Gentiles defiling as "*zavim*" see Hayes (2002: 122-131), and re implications for the immersion of proselytes, ibid., 116-117.

[84] Strack and Billerbeck (1922), Büchler (1926), Alon (1977) all presuppose the intrinsic uncleanness of Gentiles.

[85] E.g. Rackham (1951: 149), Hauck (1964c: 420), Jeremias (1964: 93), Oepke (1964: 535), Dunn (1983: 18, 20, 1990: 142), Plunkett (1985: 465, 467, 469, 473), Booth (1986: 81), Tannehill (1986: 2:135), Esler (1987: 85), Tiede (1988: 177), Soards (1990: 40), Lincoln (1990: 141), Hübner (1992: 743), Taylor (1992: 747), Miller (1994: 82, 2002: 306), Rhoads (1994: 348), Matson (1996: 43 n.71, 66, 81, 105, 109 et sim.), Wefald (1996: 15), Turner (1996: 355), Kieffer (1998: 84), Eisen (2003: 168), Kim (2004: 98), Wahlen (2005: 505), Jewett (2007: 102) and many others.

[86] Hauck (1964c: 428), Schmidt (2001: 241), Humphrey (1995: 75), Flemming (2005: 36), Dunn (1993: 119).

[87] Soards (1990: 40), Matson (1996: 109), Borg (1992: 809), Kelly (1969: 161), Hooker (1997: 40), Asano (2005: 119) et al. For a major refutation of this position, cf. Hayes (2002: 45-67, 107-144).

[88] In spite of eschatological texts such as Isa 52:1, Sanders (1990b: 176) shows that temple exclusion was not pentateuchal, but appeared under Antiochus III (as *AJ* 12:145f). He nevertheless concedes that although "not biblical", first-century Jews did think Gentiles were "impure" (cf. Park, 2003: 18).

[89] On the ban in Ezra, see Olyan (2004). Whilst Klawans (2000: 43-46) sees this as originally to prevent idolatry, Hayes (1999, 2002, 2002) concludes that it did develop into a loose concept of genealogical impurity in the Amoraic period (ibid. 2002: 58-59). For similar issues in Christian circles, cf. Gillihan (2002).

[90] For this confused idea cf. Wilson (1983: 68), Tyson (1987: 627), Bruce (1990: 256), Barrett (1994: 516), Parsons (2008: 150) and Peterson (2009: 333). Kister (2001: 151-154) shows that defilement by consumption does, however, appear in some later rabbinical material, although is clearly acknowledged not to be biblical.

[91] E.g. Dunn (1988: 142-143), Munck (1967: 93), Sorensen (2005: 45), Hauck (1964c: 428), Nolland (1989: 1:138-139) and even Schürer, Millar, Vermes et al. (1973: 2:83).

[92] Thus explicitly Büchler (1926: 24) and by implication Meyer (1992: 782), Borg (1992: 809), Hagner (1979: 742), Stählin (1964b: 127) (on kissing in Jos.Asen.8:5-7), all contra the lone voice of Sanders (1990b: 176 and 187 n.11).

[93] Schürer, Millar, Vermes et al. (1973: 2:83) casually followed by Barrett (1994: 515). The general ideal is taken up by House (1983) in his concept of defilement by association.

[94] Hayes (2002: 131-138).

[95] The perception goes back again to Str-B's citation of M.Ohol.2.3, M.Tohar.4.5, B.Shabb.15b, all of which probably reflect a concern about corpse impurity, and thus do not establish a general rationale for intrinsic uncleanness of Gentile land. The misconception is unfortunately followed by Hooker (1997: 157), Schrage (1964: 815), Rhoads (1994: 348), Schweizer (1964: 383), Guelich (1989: 283).

[96] Cf. Nolland (1989: 1:317, 319), Handy (1998: 42), Luz (2001: 10), Bruce (1951: 222), Esler (1987: 100), Tannehill (1986: 1:114), Sorensen (2005: 257), Matson (1996: 43 and n.72), Fitzmyer (1983: 1:652) and many others. House (1983: 144 n.4) discusses the reverse case of Gentile entry into Jewish homes.

[97] 4QMMT and Schürer, Millar, Vermes et al. (1973: 2:83), Bruce (1951: 222, 1990: 259) et al. with useful counter-examples from Büchler (1926: 24).

[98] As Peterson (2009: 333), which he derives from Barrett.

Peter to enter Cornelius' house must have been primarily ritual[99]. Whilst there is some evidence that unwittingly contracting corpse impurity could have been a concern for priests in certain circumstances[100], Klawans and Hayes have robustly questioned the idea both of the intrinsic ritual impurity of Gentiles[101] and/or their possessions, lands, houses etc.[102] at least in the 1st century, and thus Sanders, Hayes and others now express considerable doubts that *ritual* purity concerns lie behind the association problem[103].

There is no doubt, however, that in view of the degree of overlap between the popular terminology of *kašrût, ṭohărôt*, and moral discourse[104], it is likely that the association problem involved a popular rhetoric of "uncleanness", even if, as Sanders implies, Jews were *not fully sure* of the sense in which Gentiles were impure[105]. This would seem to be confirmed by Peter apparently confessing in Acts 10:28b to an illegitimate *use of language* about Gentiles "God has shown me that I should not call anyone profane or unclean."[106] Although the technicalities are not clear, a concern that such language may obscure the principle of divine impartiality is implied[107].

2.4 Association and Table–Fellowship in Theory and Practice

From the rhetorical point of view, it is clear that writers from both the Jewish and the pagan sides were aware that food and table–fellowship were particularly contentious problems. Whilst the letter of Aristeas continues to wring out a moral didactic from the forbidden animals[108], the standard post–exilic picture of Jewish reluctance to transgress food laws or eat with Gentiles (as Dan 1:8, 2 Macc 7:1-2, Add.Esth 14:17, Tob 1:11, Judith 10:5, 12:7-9, Jos.*Vit.*13-14, 3 Macc 3:4, 4 Macc 5:2, 18-20, Jos.Asen.7.1 etc.) is corroborated by numerous remarks by Graeco–Roman authors[109]. Against this backdrop, Peter plays straight to type when he says, "You are well aware that it is unlawful for a Jew

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[99] In specific relation to the Peter Cornelius incident, cf. Dunn (1996: 149), Witherington (1998: 353), Aune (1997b: 194), Bruce (1951: 222, 1990: 259).

[100] As possibly at John 18:28 "They [the Jews] did not enter the praetorium … ἵνα μὴ μιανθῶσιν ἀλλὰ φάγωσιν τὸ πάσχα", although the exact worry here is not specified. Contra Haenchen (1984: 2:178), this can hardly be turned into a general principle affecting all Jews entering all non-Jewish buildings.

[101] Klawans (1995, 2000). Hayes (2002: 47-50, 107-144) demonstrates that intrinsic and/or ritual impurity of Gentiles is not clearly present in biblical (ibid. 33-34) or Second Temple texts (ibid. 66-67, including Qumran), cf. also Schmidt (2001: 219).

[102] On lands and houses, cf. Hayes (2002: appdx.A: 199-204, appdx.B: 205-214), Klawans (2000: 134-135) and cf. the remark in Rogers (2004: 180). On statues of gods, cf. Klawans (2000: 113-114).

[103] Sanders (1990b: 185), Hayes (2002: 138-142), Chilton and Evans (2005: 108).

[104] As noted in noted in §2.2.2.1 and 2.2.2.2, above.

[105] Sanders (1990b: 176).

[106] Spencer (1997: 112) sees Peter as being called to "drop the 'unclean' *label* for Gentiles" (emphasis mine).

[107] As 10:34-35 and cf. Bassler (1985).

[108] Ep.Arist 144-147.

[109] Hecateus of Abdera, Apollonius of Molon, Diodorus Siculus, Pomeius Trogus, Tacitus and Philostratus, as given in Stern (1974 Vol.1).

to associate with a foreigner or visit him." (Acts 10:28, ἀθέμιτον ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ Ἰουδαίῳ κολλᾶσθαι ἢ προσέρχεσθαι ἀλλοφύλῳ).

However, it is important to see this rhetorical posturing for what it is, and recognise that in practice, contra the one–sided picture presented by Esler[110], there is very clear evidence that all sorts of social contact between Jews and Gentiles did in fact occur, and, with a few simple safeguards, not only business transactions, but friendly visits and even shared meals could occur[111]. Indeed, it is precisely the evidence of Jewish texts that show that it did happen, including not only the easier option of Gentiles at Jewish meals[112], but the harder reverse scenario of Jews enjoying hospitality from Gentiles[113], with the various practicalities explored by Bockmuehl[114]. Sanders points out that many of the LXX stories presuppose strategies of this kind and aim to *enable* rather than prevent association[115] concluding that "in real life there was a broad range of social intercourse, which depended on the strictness of the Jew in question"[116]. A corollary of this is that Jub 22:16 and Jos.Asen.7.1 attest a rather extreme view not representative of most Jews in practice[117]. One should note too, that all of the above considers routine contact with ordinary, though perhaps not profligate Gentiles[118]. The more specific guarantees in regard to behaviour and idolatry that come with a *god–fearing* Gentile[119], perhaps already attending synagogue and fully able to negotiate food issues, would make the contact all the easier[120].

2.5 Luke's Portrayal of the Jerusalem Stance

Peter's "ἀθέμιτον" and the later worry that he "went in to uncircumcised men and ate with them"[121] place his group at the very conservative end of existing Jewish practice. Whilst this raises interesting questions about Luke's perception of the types of Jews being

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[110] Esler (1987), addressed and countered by Sanders (1990b: 171, 176-178, 180).

[111] Sanders (1990b: 176-180). Dunn (1983: 20-21) allows this more as a concession, but see the more thoroughgoing Bockmuehl (2000b: 58-61), Rajak (2000b: 344-346), Tomson (1990: 221-258), and Hayes (2002: 47ff).

[112] Sanders (1990b: 181).

[113] As attested by M.AbodZar.5:5, T. AbodZar.4:6 (cf. B.AbodZar.8a-b) and PesRK 6:2, discussed by Dunn (1983: 20-21) and especially Tomson (1990: 231-232 and n 57).

[114] Bockmuehl (2000b: 58). Sanders (1990b: 181) rightly points out that in the long run, a one-sided accommodation could not be sustained because of the ideal of reciprocity, as set out in Capper (1998), Kirk (2003) and Neyrey (2005) and in respect of meals and hospitality in particular, Neyrey (1991) and Arterbury (2005: 18 et sim.).

[115] Sanders (1990b: 176-177). Cf. also Hayes (2002: 48) on 3 Macc 3:1-10 (for intro, cf. Anderson, 1992).

[116] Sanders (1990b: 180), expanding on Dunn (1990: 147).

[117] Sanders (1990b: 177).

[118] The analogy with 1 Cor 10:27 is at least suggestive.

[119] Viz. Jervell (1988), Kraabel (1981), Lieu (2002a, 2002b).

[120] On the social functions of the 1st C synagogue, see Fitzpatrick-McKinley (2002), Rajak (2002). It would seem likely that Jews could feel confident enough to allow a good degree of association with such godfearers, and Kinzer (2005: 70 n.38) suggests that this could include eating together.

[121] Acts 11:3.

drawn into the church[122], there is no evidence that he wishes to attribute this to one particular strategy of halakhic intensification. Given the caricatures of this position in Jubilees and Joseph and Aseneth, the Lukan presentation seems to rely on the general concern about "associating too much" with the world of Gentile immorality and idolatry[123]. That ἀθέμιτος is used of gross moral violations in other texts makes this the most likely explanation[124]. Indeed, moral concerns surface when the Jerusalem elders conclude that "God has granted even the Gentiles repentance unto life" (Acts 11:18), and when Peter adds that the Spirit has "cleansed" their hearts (Acts 15:9), then purity language is being used in exactly this sense.

Two immediate oddities arise from this conclusion. The first is that Peter's unstated agenda clashes sharply with the readers' knowledge about Cornelius who is presented as a particularly righteous Gentile, establishing a certain irony[125]. The second is that after so much worry about food laws, association and other halakhic technicalities, at the end of the story, Cornelius remains a Gentile. This may seem like a truism, but is extremely significant. The Spirit has not made Cornelius a Jew, but *has* added a guarantee of moral transformation[126]. Unless one adopts an abolitionist reading of the dream, and/or of the Spirit descent[127], the approach to association is merely moved towards the "confident" end of existing Jewish practice[128]. This starts to reduce the overall problem of interpretation to one of making sense of the apparent Torah abolition in the dream. This would seem a rather "hard" solution to the association problem, given that the narrative could function just as well with one or more of the "softer" options envisaged above.

2.6 Initial Questions for the Interpretation of the Dream

We have seen earlier that a major difficulty for the form critics was the allegorical shift between Peter's vision and its interpretation in relation to people, suggesting that it originated in a different context[129]. Since dream interpretations are always performed after the event and attached to the dream account, that Luke does this should not be taken as an

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[122] The claims of Acts 15:5 and 21:20 have been difficult for the majority of commentators, as Fitzmyer (1998: 551-558, 690-694), Conzelmann (1987: 116), Pervo (2009: 369, 372). On Acts 21's "myriads", cf. Cook (1988).

[123] This is the terminology offered by Sanders (1990b: 186).

[124] E.g. 1 Pet 4:3, Josephus *BJ* 1:650, 4:562, *Vit*.26 and cf. 2 Macc 6:5 re sacrificing forbidden things, 2 Macc 7:1 re eating pork, and 2 Macc 10:34 re Gentile blasphemies. The word is used by Ptolemy of the "hated Jews" themselves in 3 Macc 5:20.

[125] Acts 10:1-2, 4, cf. Stenschke (1999: 148-152).

[126] As suggested by Acts 10:47. On the use of purity language re the Spirit's work of moral transformation, cf. Keener (1997). This resolution leaves Cornelius "profane", but "clean".

[127] The question is analogous to that of the Torah in the messianic age, as discussed by Davies (1952), but receives far less attention. If Davies' results were applied, the Spirit might cleanse and empower, but not make Gentiles into *Jews*. The eschatological fall of the Spirit would thus not effect a de facto abolition.

[128] Contra Sim (1995: 280).

[129] As discussed in ch.1.

immediate sign of inauthenticity[130]. A symbolic relationship between diet and identity should hardly seem artificial, given that the two are clearly linked in Lev 20:25-26[131]. If the dream *is* about the ending of food–laws and the Jew–Gentile divide, then the commentators would be right to question how the move from one to the other adds anything[132]. Less often noticed however is the way that eating is hardly a typical metaphor for accepting[133] nor indeed transgression a metaphor for abolition, suggesting that it may not be functioning as a simple allegory. If its target is not the Jew–Gentile distinction so much as the illegitimate ascription of *uncleanness* to Gentiles, then its entire meaning is developed in a more subtle way, but hardly goes beyond the lesser/greater comparisons and category–crossing analogies of halakhic discourse. The traditional (abolitionist) reading solves the problems of diet, identity and association totally but *crudely*, riding roughshod over all the subtleties the text takes time to introduce. The second reading leaves Torah in place, but challenges those halakhic formulations that prevent legitimate association, particularly as bolstered by a rhetoric of Gentile uncleanness[134]. That Peter apparently repents of inappropriate halakhic intensification and/or use of language[135] would seem to support the latter.

For all these possibilities, most commentators still see the literal imagery of the dream as rendering any subtlety unnecessary. Any new reading of the vision will have to provide an adequate explanation of how and why it can present its solution in spite of the haunting presence of the "spectre" of abolition. Although I hope to show that the key to this lies in the type of dream account, I shall first review the various difficulties encountered by face–value approaches to the dialogue.

3 Peter's Vision in Halakhic Perspective

3.1 Introduction

The dialogue in Peter's vision is peculiar at a number of levels, ranging from low–level ambiguities in relation to particular words and phrases, through to the overall shape and feel of the dialogue. Whilst differing on details, commentators tend to read the conversation more or less realistically[136] and thus as a form of commissioning narrative. This has the effect of making Peter's refusal either an inexplicable inability to understand,

[130] The practice suffers from the very similar ways that interpretations attached to parables were often viewed as secondary (cf. Guelich, 1989: 196 re Mk 4).

[131] A cue already followed in the Animal Apocalypse, as Bryan (1995: 98-185).

[132] As noted in ch.1, n.41-43.

[133] "devouring" is, however, a metaphor for *conquering* in both biblical and Greek epic tradition.

[134] As Miller (2002: 159) and Kinzer (2005: 70) contra Wahlen (2005: 508 n.12) who insists that ἀθέμιτος can only involve major matters of law.

[135] As suggested in §2.3 above, and cf. Gaventa (2003) "What is at issue between Peter and the heavenly voice is not [the] menu but the way he applies the terms 'profane' and 'unclean.'"

[136] I.e. as opposed to an "oneiric" dialogue that might allow for more surreal possibilities.

or a culpable reluctance to accept what God is saying, neither of which do full justice to his perplexity[137]. Taking the perplexity at face value may involve recognising the surreal, enigmatic and cloaked nature of the dreaming context, distancing the conversation from *simple* realism. For the moment, however, I shall take the halakhic implications of the various elements at face value until it becomes clear how the dream framework distorts them. Indeed, this may conceivably retrace Peter's own thoughts[138]. The following analysis takes the visual presentation, the command, the refusal, the riposte and the closure of the vision in order[139], although interconnections will inevitably arise.

3.2 The Visual Scene

Although it may seem obvious, the exact meaning of the dialogue, and of the initial command in particular depends to some extent on what exactly Peter sees.

> Acts 10:11-12 "He saw the heaven opened and something like a large sheet …in which were all kinds of four–footed creatures and reptiles and birds of the air " ([11]καὶ θεωρεῖ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεῳγμένον και καταβαῖνον σκεῦος ....[12]ἐν ᾧ ὑπῆρχεν πάντα τὰ τετράποδα και ἑρπετὰ τῆς γῆς και πετεινα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ).

Although the opened heaven is often said to be an apocalyptic motif[140], these creatures are not apocalyptic "beasts" but recognisable animals with an essentially didactic purpose[141]. That the descent from heaven might be a halakhic device rather than an apocalyptic one[142] is further suggested by commentators' immediate questions about whether all the animals were of non–permitted species, or a mixture[143].

Barrett (1994: 506) and Bruce (1951: 218), noting the creation allusion[144], assume some clean animals were present, although Bruce imagines "many" were disqualified. Marshall (1980: 185), on the other hand, while correctly observing what the text does *not* say[145], takes Peter's refusal as implying that there cannot have been any clean creatures. But assuming with most authors that there must have been *some*[146], Bruce asks why Peter could

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[137] Plunkett (1985: 468) sees this as a purely Lukan device.

[138] Inviting speculation about dreamers' own thought processes will be noted as typically Hellenistic.

[139] (1) Scene (vv.11-12) (2) Comamnd (v13) (3) Refusal (v.14) (4) Riposte (v.15).

[140] As Barrett (1994: 506), Witherington (1998: 349), Parsons (2008: 145), Pervo (2009: 270) and Peterson (2009: 329). Others imply as much by comparison with Lk 3:21 or Acts 7:56 (Fitzmyer, 1998: 454, Johnson, 1992: 184 and Lüdemann, 1989: 126).

[141] Almost all commentators casually make this remark without realising that the motif of "heavenly descent" can function in other ways.

[142] Note how other halakhic discussions start from anomalies caused by *translation* between the two domains, such as the fate of the woman and her seven husbands in Mk 12:18-27.

[143] The answer will affect what the command might be understood to mean (if it was a test, was success possible?), what problem Peter perceives and what, therefore, Peter's refusal might imply.

[144] Via Gen 6:20's threefold division of the animal world, as also Marshall (1980: 185) and Derrett (1988).

[145] Cf. Haenchen (1971: 348) – the issue is "disregarded".

[146] Besides Bruce, Barrett, also Witherington (1998: 349), Dunn (1996: 137), Wahlen (2005: 510).

not have simply eaten one of the *clean* creatures[147]. Although some regard this as a rather curious question[148], scholars divide over this very matter while aware that Peter will immediately make a very robust refusal – i.e. there is something "wrong" with what he is asked to do. I shall consider that question after briefly looking at the wording of the command itself.

3.3 The Command

After the descent of the sheet, Peter is commanded "Rise, Peter; kill and eat" (ἀναστάς, Πέτρε, θῦσον καὶ φάγε, Acts 10:13). This follows a Septuagintal, but therefore simply biblical pattern[149]. Although the comparison with Jonah is often made[150], the combination "rise and eat" is seen in the Elijah narratives[151]. Whilst most Septuagintal cases add further instructions as required, this command has a rather concise, rhetorical feel that would be made more striking still if Πέτρε were not original[152]. This would leave a memorable triadic tricolon of a type not generally found in the Bible, but certainly prized amongst Graeco–Roman authors[153]. On any account, a command simply to *eat* could hardly constitute a prophetic commission[154]. Beyond the more trivial sense of responding to Peter's hunger[155], the command's prime intent would seem to be to "create a problem", suggesting a didactic idiom more than a prophetic one.

From the halakhic point of view, θύω (sacrifice or slaughter) has occasioned some comment as the verb is used in LXX Deut 12:15, 21 to translate זבח in what has come to be termed "non–ritual" slaughter, as noted by Dion (1984) et al.[156] Besides the evidently non–sacrificial context for Peter's "lunch"[157], Deut 12:15's "θύσεις καὶ φάγῃ" and a slaughterer that may be ἀκάθαρτος … καὶ ὁ καθαρὸς, are somewhat suggestive. Although the passage lists an animal later adjudged dubious[158], there is no evidence that this was ever used to

[147] Bruce (1952: 218 n.15).

[148] Gaventa (2003: 168).

[149] That Wilcox (1965: 72-73) finds septuagintalisms, semitisms and Lukanisms in these verses is hardly surprising.

[150] Jonah 1:2, 1:6, 3:2, as noted by Williams (1964: 152-153), Wall (1987: 80). The similarity is, in fact, rather loose (c.f. Ἀνάστηθι καὶ πορεύθητι κτλ.)

[151] E.g. 1 Kg 19:5, but again worded differently, Ἀνάστηθι καὶ φάγε.

[152] Barrett (1994: 507) notes that the address is omitted in P^{45}.

[153] As Julius Caesar's "Veni, vidi, vici".

[154] Contra Mullins (1976: 606) and Hubbard (1977: 118-119). No OT commission is given in figurative language.

[155] To be developed, however, in ch.4.

[156] E.g. Derrett (1988: 208), Peterson (2009: 329) and Parsons (2008: 145-146).

[157] Conzelmann (1987: 81) is happy to leave θύω as "kill".

[158] The Gazelle, an oddity skirted around in various ways in the Targums and Midrashim (Cf. Derrett, 1988: 208).

circumvent the law systematically[159]. The case remains unconvincing, except perhaps in regard to the verbal resonance[160].

In conclusion, the command to kill, although based on biblical patterns has a rhetorical compactness that prevents any definite identification of specific OT allusions, leaving a rather enigmatic utterance that, in any case, Peter perceives as outrageous.

3.4 The Problem

Before proceeding considering the refusal formula, the simple fact is that Peter perceives an enormous problem. Commentators come to the refusal, however, with differing conceptions of what the difficulty is. Some imagine (1) that Peter is free to choose a permitted animal, but the mixing of the species has made all of them un–usable. In this scenario, his indignant reply suggests "God" should have known this. Others, however, imagine (2) that the unqualified invitation to kill and eat constitutes a positive command to select *without discrimination*, which in a rather conceptual sense, he also cannot do. Neither approach is problem–free.

3.4.1 Defilement by Association

That Peter would have had no difficulty distinguishing the species suggests problems arising from the "mix"[161]. Although Bruce (1952: 218 n.15) sees Peter as "*scandalized* by the unholy mixture"[162], others read the scene in terms of a technical "defilement by association", which rendered the entire spread inedible. There is considerable confusion, however, about how this is supposed to operate. Supposing that some analogy is being set forth for transmissible Gentile uncleanness[163], some imagine that non–permitted live animals literally rendered the permitted animals unfit to eat[164]. Foundering on a confusion between farming and food preparation[165] or the mixing law[166], this was rightly dismissed by Haenchen (1971: 348)[167] but revived by House (1983), who believed that it existed amongst some Jews[168]. House sees evidence of Peter's error in the way his linking of κοινόν and

[159] The reminder in v.23 to be careful to pour the blood out onto the ground suggests that all the normal biblical restrictions were in force as usual.

[160] Parsons (2000: 265) notes that if such an allusion is intended, it is lost on Peter.

[161] House (1983: 145) notes the way that Peter looked at the animals *very intently*, a common motif in Acts, as noted by Strelan (1999).

[162] Emphasis mine.

[163] Contra the labours of Klawans, Hayes and others, referred to in §2.3 above.

[164] As Witherington (1998: 350) and Robertson (2000: 153).

[165] Live animals cannot contract impurity.

[166] Lev 19:19 bans only the *interbreeding* of species.

[167] Haenchen (1971: 348) contra Wendt (1913: 180), cf. also Polhill (1992: 255 n.83).

[168] House (1983: 147), cf. Witherington (1998: 350 and n.95) and Parsons (2000).

ἀκάθαρτον produced a correction from the "voice" when it tells him only "μὴ *κοίνου*"[169], However, this probably makes too much of a lexical distinction when in a popular discourse, κοινόν and ἀκάθαρτον were routinely assimilated, and indeed takes no account of the purely aesthetic aspects of the word arrangement[170].

Although the approach has the merit of focussing on a problem we *know* Peter has (i.e. association) and indeed in having God dismantle popular halakha as opposed to the Torah[171], it has the interesting result of (at least by analogy) criticising Peter for worrying about profaning *himself*[172]. More fundamental problems arise through the relationship between the dream imagery and real life. If there is an allegorical movement from dream to reality, this does not work comfortably. Indeed, if the metaphors are not mixed enough, when House (1983: 151) speaks of "defilement by association with *symbols*" (emphasis mine) then this becomes rather confusing. If defilement by association is at best a marginal idea in the real world, imagining the dream targeting this via a mixed livestock halakha for which there is even *less* evidence, would seem strange[173]. Secondly, if association is the target, this is obscured in the dream by an issue which is not analogous. Thirdly, a relatively mild problem has been symbolised by an inappropriately severe one, i.e. eating non–permitted food. Although such hyperbole was known in intra-Jewish invective (e.g. "May what I eat of yours be like pig meat" etc.[174]), this has the unhelpful result here of focussing Peter on a gross violation of which he is *innocent,* and distracting him from the more subtle error of which he is *guilty*. Besides making the dream extremely oblique, these observations place further strain on the remaining dialogue.

3.4.2 Not Discriminating

A rather different position that has also not met with unanimous acceptance[175] is taken by Conzelmann (1987: 81) and others who see Peter invited to kill and eat *without*

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[169] House (1983: 145), followed by Parsons (2000: 266), and in varying measures by Witherington (1998: 350 and n.95) and Wahlen (2005: 510-516).

[170] Cf. §3.6.3 below.

[171] House (1983: 149).

[172] Within the general concept of defilement by association, these two are corollaries of each other, of course, but the interpretive emphasis in the passage lies elsewhere.

[173] Unless this can be put down to the strangeness of the dreaming context.

[174] Such hyperbole is known in some wisdom teaching, e.g. Mt 5:21-22, 27-28, M.Ber.4:4[A], M.Sot.3:4[H] et sim. The device can be used in halakhic discourse and sometimes involves food, as at M.Sheb.8:10 where R. Eliezer concludes, "One who eats bread [baked by] Samaritans is like one who eats pork" and cf. also the intra-Jewish insults considered in M.Ned., "May what I eat of yours be … like pig meat" (M.Ned.2:1[B] – with variants "carrion", "abominations", "creeping things" and cf. the Racah insult in Mt 5:22b). It is interesting that R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus (1^{st}–2^{nd} century CE – a rough contemporary of Luke), should be associated with such utterances since he was known as a very conservative figure, and notorious for a confrontational style of engagement. Linked by the Talmud to the famous Aknai oven discussion and later excommunicated, tradition places him, in the later part of his career, at Lydda, in the very region in which Peter's vision is set.

[175] Haenchen (1971: 348 n.3) thinks it "highly artificial".

discriminating[176]. This view is attractive, because it diverts attention away from the distracting theoretical presence of clean animals, which can now be left as adiaphora[177]. Like the previous view, however, it relies on hints outside the dream via Peter's later musings on "non–discrimination" (Acts 10:34, "God does not show favouritism", 10:43, "*everyone* ...", 11:17 "the *same gift*", 15:9, "… no *distinction*")[178]. Although an explicit qualification of this kind would have amounted to a very circumlocutory abolition of Torah, its very pregnant omission might point to a time–shifted or alternative reality in which discrimination would not be necessary. The two suggestions most often made are the creation and end times respectively[179], and both embody paradoxes.

The creation gift of *all* species for food (as Gen 9:3) does seem to be re–enacted in the vision. Whilst clearly "good" initially, in later Judaism, "creation" food becomes *Gentile* food[180]. To help rationalise this anomaly, the work of separating things during creation is laden with the later language of food laws and election[181]. Indeed, similar anomalies from the "time before the law" became routine devices within halakhic discourse[182]. But if the dream is obscurely speaking of the distant past in this way, what does it hope Peter will understand? The Spirit, of course is "brooding upon the waters", but all such thoughts appear lost on Peter[183]. The eschatological line of thought, on the other hand, looks forward to the messianic age, when the distinctions between animals (and Jews and Gentiles) might be dissolved. Although such a scenario is often presumed by NT scholars, Davies (1952) has shown that the case for this is weak[184], and making sayings such as Mk 7:19b "messianic" is not convincing[185].

The "not discriminating" reading, however, does not critically depend on either of the above if, within the dream, we leave the nightmarish offense to stand for itself and look for wordplays and other more random connections. One relates to a word missing from the dream but present in two later comments, namely διακρινῶ[186]. In the active, διακρινῶ

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[176] Noted also by Barrett (1994: 516), Dunn (1996: 137), Plunkett (1985: 468) et al.

[177] As Marshall (1980: 185).

[178] Barrett (1994: 519) has several helpful observations about this (cf. also Bassler, 1985).

[179] The two are, of course, connected, as noted by Barrett (1994: 508-509) and Peterson (2009: 330). Unannounced time-shifts are not unknown within the Graeco-Roman dream tradition.

[180] Cf. PesRK 6:2 (ET Braude, 2002: 174) and the discussion of Tomson (1990: 232 and n.57).

[181] Via ldB (Gen 1:4) used of Israel's election and the separation of clean and unclean in Lev 20:24-26, Nu 16:9 etc. cf. also Noah's apparent knowledge of clean and unclean animals in Gen 8:20. The task of separating later falls to the priests (Ezek 22:26), as noted by Derrett (1988: 213-214) when he casts Peter in this role.

[182] Cf. Jesus' use of the device in the discussion about divorce in Mk 10:6-9 and Paul on election in Gal 3:17.

[183] With Derrett (1988: 213-214), the vision is "at best, *cryptic*".

[184] Cf. also Davies (1963: 163-167, 447ff).

[185] Contra Spencer (1997: 111), Peterson (2009), Scott (1991: 482), Witherington (1998: 350) and Barrett (1994: 508-509).

[186] It will be shown later that examples of this mechanism occur in Artemidorus.

means separate, and thus figuratively distinguish, discriminate or judge[187]. Although not used of the food laws in LXX Lev 20:24-26[188], Peter's remark in Acts 15 that God "made no distinction" (διέκρινεν) is rather suggestive. Earlier, there are two occurrences of the middle διακρίνομαι. Often erroneously translated doubt or hesitate[189], Spitaler (2007) shows that this sense is unknown to classical and patristic authors[190] and prefers the usual meaning of contend, or dispute[191], leaving the Spirit in Acts 10:20 urging him to go without *arguing* (μηδὲν διακρινόμενος)[192]. This has the merit of resonating with the dream–dialogue where Peter clearly "contends" with the voice. Whilst not quite the double entendre suggested by Dunn[193] these curiosities do seem to add up to a certain playful ambiguity[194] or riddling[195] that Gaventa links to the dream format[196].

3.4.3 Consequences for Rationale

Two interpretive routes have been sketched. The first imagines a "soft" version of the command, where, at worst, Peter eats a ritually impure but permitted animal. The second sees him commanded to choose "blind", and thus risk eating something not permitted at all. Both could occur in accepting Cornelius' hospitality, but share the interesting feature of emerging only very subtly (possibly via wordplay) rather than directly from the text.

If the invitation to eat is taken as some kind of test (as Barrett, 1994: 507, citing 1 Kg 13.18), it can hardly be as banal as assessing Peter's ability to recognise which *were* the permitted animals. In any case, the "test" is somewhat cruel, as it places Peter in a double–bind where dire consequences could follow from both obedience *and* disobedience[197]. All of this starts to suggest some kind of riddle.

3.5 The Refusal: μηδαμῶς, κύριε .. κτλ.

[14]μηδαμῶς, κύριε, ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἔφαγον πᾶν κοινὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον (NIV "By no means, Lord; for I have never eaten anything that is profane or unclean").

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[187] Also, interpret dreams, as LSJ, 399, and cf. Büchsel (1964).

[188] Lev 20:24b-26 translates ׁdB by διορίζω and ἀφορίζω.

[189] Büchsel (1964: 947), LSJ, 319, BDAG, 231, cf. NIV, NRSV, ESV, TEV, NAB, NLT (*hesitate*) KJV, ASV, Darby, YLT, NCV (*doubt*), NASB and NASB95 (*misgivings*) etc.

[190] Spitaler (2007) traces the conviction of TDNT, LSJ, BDAG that this is the case to early Latin translations of the Fathers. From these universally used resources, however, he shows how this meaning has found its way into nearly every major NT commentary touching upon Mt. 21:21, Mk. 11:23, Acts 10:20, Rom. 4:20, 14:23, Jas. 1:6, and Jude 22.

[191] As Büchsel (1964: 947). Note that when Peter reports the manner of his arrival at Cornelius' house, he says (Acts 10:29) that he came ἀναντιρρήτως, without disputing.

[192] Cf. those who in 11:2 "criticise" him, διεκρίνοντο πρὸς αὐτόν.

[193] Dunn (1996: 150), cf. Parsons (2008: 147) et al.

[194] Parsons (2008: 147), re Ps-Cicero, *Rhet.Her.*4.53.67.

[195] Haenchen (1971: 348).

[196] Gaventa (2003: 165).

[197] This motif occurs in other Hellenistic dreams with a rebuking aspect, to be explored later.

3.5.1 The Ezekiel Allusion

The refusal formula has attracted comment not only for the robust negative "μηδαμῶς"[198] but also for its link with LXX Ezek 4:14 which begins with the same protest "μηδαμῶς, κύριε" and shows considerable verbal similarities thereafter[199]. Although probably a deliberate allusion, exactly how far the analogy might be pressed is disputed. That Ezekiel's refusal occurs in relation to food and defilement does make the parallel difficult to ignore, in spite of the differences.

In one of his prophetic signs[200], Ezekiel must act out the impending siege of Jerusalem and, like the future exiles, eat cakes baked over human dung[201]. He refuses with the words "No, Lord, God of Israel, I have never defiled myself (ἡ ψυχή μου οὐ μεμίανται ἐν ἀκαθαρσίᾳ)[202]. Since human dung is not unclean in the biblical system, the offense might be against decency rather than biblical law as such, suggesting a popular rather than technical use of ἀκαθαρσίᾳ[203]. Nevertheless, Ezekiel's protest of innocence mentions specific food–laws particularly affecting priests[204]. Eating non–permitted species is presumably *so* inconceivable as not to warrant inclusion[205].

Peter's reply "οὐδέποτε ἔφαγον πᾶν κοινὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον", however, constitutes a similar blanket denial, in the face of a far worse request. That a concession is offered to Ezekiel but not Peter[206] adds a certain irony and highlights the understandable perplexity of the latter[207].

3.5.2 Κοινός καὶ ἀκάθαρτος

Although most translators opt for "common" and "unclean" here[208], there is some debate as to exact nuance within the present context[209]. Taking these terms in reverse order, it was shown how טָמֵא/טָהוֹר (LXX καθαρός/ἀκάθαρτος) were used not only for states of

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[198] μηδαμῶς translates אֲדָנָי used at Ezek 9:8, 11:13 and 21:5. On its force, see LSJ, 1125.

[199] Salo (1991: 197) sees a strong connection.

[200] Ezek 4:1-17, sometimes called prophetic dramas, as Stacey (1990).

[201] LXX Ezek 4:13, " Thus .. shall the sons of Israel eat unclean things among the nations" (Οὕτως φάγονται οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ ἀκάθαρτα ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν).

[202] Cf. the idiom in Lev 20:25.

[203] It is anachronistic to call the cakes "non-kosher", as Allen (1994: 69). On issues of decency and custom constituting part of the halakhic system, as per Philo's "voluntary virtue" (*Spec.Leg.*4:148–50, *Leg.*115), cf. Porton (1992: 26). On hand-washing, cf. Maccoby (1999a, 2003) and defecation, Josephus *BJ* 2:149.

[204] 4:14 "I have never eaten what died of itself or was torn by animals, nor … carrion flesh". The final item is בָּשָׂר פִּגּוּל, LXX κρέας ἔωλον, "out of date" (lit. "day old") meat, which via Lev 7:18; 19:7 is not permitted to priests .

[205] Contra the NIV, which gives the impression that it *is* included when it translates κρέας ἔωλον by "unclean meat".

[206] Cf. Zimmerli (1979: 1:171).

[207] Contra Plunkett (1985: 468), who sees this as a Lukan device.

[208] As JND, ESV, KJV, NKJV, RSV, ASV and NCV.

[209] GNB adds "ritually" to unclean and reverses the order. κοινός is rendered "profane" (NEB, NRSV, NAB), "unholy" (NCV, NASB) and "impure" (NIV, NLT).

ritual purity but also permitted and non-permitted categories of food. Permitted food could be rendered ritually non–usable (ἀκάθαρτος) by contact, but could not be made clean again[210]. In the LXX, κοινός simply meant "common" in the sense of *shared*[211] and חָלָל (*profane*) was usually translated by βέβηλος with neither, in this period, referring to *food*. In the period leading up to the NT, however, two tendencies can be observed. The first is κοινός being used as a synonym for βέβηλος in the sense of *profane*, and secondly, both terms starting to be used of food and/or moral outrage. We thus see κοινός used plenonastically alongside βέβηλος for חָלָל or instead of βέβηλος for sanctuaries[212] and of an "ordinary" (i.e. Gentile) manner of life[213]. In relation to food[214], 1 Macc 1:47ff refers to slaughtering "swine and other 'profane' animals" (θύειν ὕεια καὶ κτήνη κοινα) and eating unclean food (φαγεῖν κοινά) as Josephus at *AJ* 11:346ff (κοινοφᾰγεῖν). Acts 10-11 would seem to reflect this later, post-LXX usage[215]. In the realm of moral discourse, as with βεβηλόω and μιαίνω[216], Mk 7:20-23 notes that fornication, theft, murder etc. *defile* a man (κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον).

In the light of the above, it is just possible that "κοινός καὶ ἀκάθαρτος" refers to non-permitted (κοινός) food and unusable permitted food (ἀκάθαρτος) as two *distinct* categories. However, in the Jewish rhetoric of cultural outrage, such terms can be "piled up" in a rather haphazard ways, leading to a certain blurring of formal categories. Thus, as noted above, βέβηλος can pair with ἀκάθαρτος, as in 1 Macc. 1:48-49 (βδελύξαι τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἐν παντὶ ἀκαθάρτῳ και βεβηλώσε)[217] and where, between vv. 48-63, βεβηλόω, κοινόω, βδελύσσομαι and μιαίνω are all used in various combinations to say the same thing[218]. Peter's "πᾶν κοινὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον" comes across as just such a formula[219], where the two terms function as pleonastic complements more than they refer to different offenses[220]. Within this picture, it is unlikely that Peter's protestation hinges on any *subtle* halakhic distinction between the two terms.

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[210] Peter's conversation is thus most simply understood in reference to non–permitted species.

[211] Cf. Barrett (1994: 508), Hauck (1964a) and LXX Prov 1:14, 15:23, 21:9, Add.Esth 5:1, Sir 18:1, 50:17, WSol 7:3 et sim.

[212] *AJ* 3:181, 12:320 and Acts 21:28.

[213] *AJ* 13:4. The majority of these uses are still related to profanity, although Mk 7:2's curious reference to κοιναῖς χερσίν may show a vaguer pattern of popular usage.

[214] The usage is patchy, and is not seen in 2 Macc. or Philo, which continue with κοινός as *shared*.

[215] As possibly also in Rom 14:1-23.

[216] As §2.2.2.2, above.

[217] Possibly in imitation of Lev 10:10.

[218] Cf. the similar informal use in 4 Macc 7:6 where a priest "has not defiled his sacred teeth" (οὐκ ἐμίανας τοὺς ἱεροὺς ὀδόντας) nor "profaned his stomach with defiling food" (γαστέρα ἐκοίνωσας μιαροφαγίᾳ).

[219] Rhetorically, an "onomoasticon of denied transgressions".

[220] Contra House (1983), Parsons (2000) et al.

3.5.3 The Conjunction καί

In spite of the above, some commentators have continued to insist on a significant difference by noting the slightly peculiar wording "common *and* unclean"[221], where in English, one might have expected *or*[222]. Καί does not normally carry this sense[223], and unlike Gal 3:28, one cannot appeal to a similarly phrased OT allusion[224]. Indeed, Peter's later "κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον" in Acts 10:28 may be an unselfconscious correction of a "slip" during the dream itself[225]. Parsons (2000), however, sees "καί" as a specific assertion of both defilement by association *and* intrinsic Gentile uncleanness in Peter's original statement which God selectively negates with the single imperative of the reply "μὴ κοίνου". This is not convincing, however, particularly in the light of earlier observations about pleonastic formulae. A simpler explanation may simply be an infelicity caused by the negation of an abomination list previously expressed in positive conjunctive form, as 1 Macc 1:48's "παντὶ ἀκαθάρτῳ καὶ βεβηλώσε", a possibility explored below in section 3.6.3. Whilst it is clear that outside the dream–vision, Peter will indeed have misgivings about associating with Cornelius, and indeed, perceive that in some sense he has been "calling" Gentiles unclean, it is difficult to require the wording here to bear the whole weight of a specifically *ritual* construction of either these perceptions or any special distinction between them.

3.6 The Riposte – ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἐκαθάρισεν ... κτλ.

Following the command and refusal, there has been considerable debate as to what God says in reply – ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἐκαθάρισεν, σὺ μὴ κοίνου[226]. Problems include the contextual senses of the verbs and their respective tenses. In addition, as indicated above, some scholars link the reply to very specific construals of the protest that Peter has never eaten anything κοινός *καὶ* ἀκάθαρτος, with each element relating to a different halakhic issue[227]. Some of these claims will surface again as we consider each of the clauses in turn.

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[221] Particularly Parsons (2000).

[222] Many translators simply opt for "or" to avoid aporia, as ESV, GNB, JND, KJV, NCV, NEB, NIV, NKJV, NRSV, RSV, as also Fitzmyer (1998), Johnson (1992), Barrett (1994), Pervo (2009) and Peterson (2009).

[223] BDAG, 494-496, LSJ, 857-858.

[224] Via Gen 1:27.

[225] That dreamers can find themselves saying rather odd things in dreams is observed by Aristides, with some examples given in ch.5.

[226] Cf. the varied translations of the English versions.

[227] As House (1983) and Parsons (2000), discussed above.

3.6.1 Clause 1: … ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἐκαθάρισεν

καθαρίζω carries the basic sense of make clean, cleanse, purify[228]. Interpreters are naturally drawn to ritual and religious applications in view of the way in which Peter has refused to eat food which at least includes non–permitted species (designated ἀκάθαρτος) and more marginally, permitted animals rendered non–usable (also ἀκάθαρτος). As with nearly all such terms, however, καθαρίζω can be used figuratively within moral discourse[229], as it is later in Acts[230]. In the context of the dream dialogue, however, two ideas have been particularly explored by commentators – that of active cleansing on the one hand[231] and priestly inspection on the other[232], with both affecting translations of Acts 10:15[233]. In regard to cleansing, καθαρίζω cannot apply in this sense to food, since species cannot be inter–converted and food rendered ritually non–usable must be disposed of[234]. However, there was occasionally a need to decide on dubious species[235] or foodstuffs of questionable purity[236] and the Mishnaic formula "Rabbi X *cleanses*"[237] might be reflected in the καθαρίζω of Mk 7:19[238].

With God as the speaker, however, neither *divine* cleansing nor pronouncement bear a clear relationship to priestly or rabbinic ministry[239]. Here one can only look forward to the cleansing power of the Spirit, or imagine a declaration (past, present, future or even "eternal") that reverses the apparently arbitrary choices of Torah. Curiously, the different time–frames here can lie within the permitted senses of the aorist ἐκαθάρισεν. In addition to the punctiliar "what God *cleansed* or *declared clean*"[240], the aorist also allows a "constative" sense of "eternally" declared[241]. Most translators opt for the contextual perfect "what God *has cleansed*, or *declared clean*"[242] with the implication of a known point in

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[228] The routine LXX translation for טָהֵר.

[229] Ezek 36:33, Sir 38:10, and cf. 2 Cor 7:1, Heb 9:14 et sim.

[230] Acts 15:9 "καὶ αὐτῶν τῇ πίστει καθαρίσας τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν".

[231] As perhaps Ex 29:37, Ezra 6:20, Mt 8:2.

[232] As Lev 13:6, 14:7, 48.

[233] "Make clean or cleanse", cf. NRSV, NAB, NASB, KJV, RV, NKJV, NIV, ASV, NCV, ESV. "*count or reckon*", NEB, NLT, "*declare*", TEV, Haenchen [ET].

[234] As noted in §2.2.2.1 and note 46 above.

[235] As later re the זֶמֶר in Deut 14:5 (LXX καμηλοπάρδαλιν, or Giraffe, cf. Peters (2007: 157).

[236] Cf. M.Hul.4:7, discussed by Eilberg-Schwartz (1987: 368-369).

[237] Cf. M.Kel.9:4 et sim, (ibid.).

[238] As Guelich (1989: 378), Hooker (1997: 180), Witherington (2001), Collins (2007: 356) et al.

[239] For God to play "priest" or "rabbi" would be a form of anthropomorphisation, to be discussed in ch.5.

[240] Only YLT renders the aorist in this way.

[241] A constative aorist suggests a stable state of affairs, implicit in Barrett's (1994: 508-9) "eternal decree".

[242] NIV, TEV, NAB, NASB, NCV, ASV, KJV, RV, NKJV, RSV, NRSV, ESV, called a "dramatic" aorist by Wallace (1999: 564-565), based on a Semitic stative perfect.

past, but the less common "gnomic"[243] reading also allows the habitual or proverbial "what God *cleanses*, or *declares clean*"[244]. This has the merit of taking the emphasis away from a particular occasion and focussing on the sense of divine–human contest that pervades the dialogue[245]. This latter reading could encompass the gift of the Spirit if seen as a typical rather than unique action. Of all the possibilities here, the present active proclamation "I *here and now* declare clean" is unfortunately the one least easily squeezed from ἐκαθάρισεν[246].

Returning to whether "cleansing" or "declaring clean" is the best way of understanding this utterance, most scholars favour declaration, although Barrett probably goes too far when he says that it renders any other mode of action redundant[247]. Whilst House reads ἐκαθάρισεν as a kind of rabbinical decree annulling only halakha of association[248], the majority appeal to it to support an eschatological or fiat abolition of the food laws and/or the distinction between Jews and Gentiles[249], although καθαρίζω would not be the most natural way of making such a declaration[250]. Authors differ, however, on when this "declaration" happens, whether in the vision[251], earlier in the ministry of Jesus[252], or even both[253]. The "moment of creation" aired by Pervo[254], the "cross" favoured by older commentators[255], and Barrett's "eternally in the mind of God"[256] no doubt highlight valid overtones, but all collide awkwardly with Mosaic law, as admitted in Acts 15:21.

"Making clean" or "cleansing" is still preferred by some, however[257]. Given the impending descent of Spirit, some authors see ἐκαθάρισεν looking forward to moral transformation[258] although Pervo (2009: 271) suggest that this would be a more "figurative" sense than the declarative one. On any account, a reference to the future descent of the

[243] Turner (1963: 740), Wallace (1999: 562, 753).
[244] Wallace (1999: 562-563), cf. NEB and NLT.
[245] Cf. Derrett (1988: 209) and Wallace (1999: 487ff).
[246] As, unfortunately, House (1983: 149).
[247] Barrett (1994: 509).
[248] House (1983: 150).
[249] Witherington (1998: 353), Johnson (1992: 184).
[250] Hanson (1967: 122) seems to notice this.
[251] As Haenchen (1971: 348), Munck (1967: 95) et al..
[252] As Rackham (1951: 150).
[253] As apparently Marshall (1980 186). Conzelmann (1987: 81-82) reminds us the text does not say.
[254] Pervo (2009: 271), cf. Johnson (1992: 184).
[255] As Rackham (1951: 152) and numerous others listed by House (1983: 148 n.20).
[256] Barrett (1994: 508-9). This reading relies on reading ἐκαθάρισεν as a constative aorist (cf. Moulton et al., 2006: 3:72).
[257] Cf. Dunn (1996: 138), Witherington (1998: 350 n.96).
[258] As Bruce (1990: 256).

Spirit via an aorist would constitute a curious temporal shift between dream and reality[259]. Almost all commentators thus return to the declarative sense as the permissive rationale of what the Spirit does[260].

All in all, the degree of ambiguity displayed by this utterance is strikingly high[261], particularly with the teasingly open referent "that which God has" … (ἃ ὁ θεὸς …). Whatever its figurative application to Gentiles, its immediate referent is not at all clear. Given that the meaning of the first clause has to be solved together with the second, σὺ μὴ κοίνου, I shall consider that before drawing any further conclusions.

3.6.2 Clause 2: … σὺ μὴ κοίνου

μὴ κοίνου is a negated present imperative, with the simplest sense "do not profane"[262]. This translation should be understood in the light of the developments in the use of κοινός, where, beyond the idea of commonality and sharing, κοινός and κοινόω are starting to function as synonyms for βέβηλος and βεβηλόω, and used of non–permitted food[263]. This leads to the appearance of *unclean* in some English translations[264]. In a manner analogous to καθαρίζω[265], translators also allow "*count, reckon as* or *call* common or profane"[266], a reading made explicit in Peter's own words in Acts 10:28 "God has shown me that I should not call anyone profane or unclean" (ὁ θεὸς ἔδειξεν μηδένα κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον *λέγειν* ἄνθρωπον)[267]. But the simplest reading of the dream dialogue is to see the object of κοινόω as the unclean animals in the sheet, and by analogy, Gentiles (contra the *clean* animals and *Peter,* for House). Although Acts 10:28 clearly envisages the association problem, as noted above, this is probably not, in the 1st century, tied to ritual concerns[268].

In relation to tense and mood of κοίνου, the majority of translations opt for a simple present imperative "do not profane/call profane" commending a general principle[269], but it can allow the continuous "do not keep doing X"[270], which may imply a criticism of previous

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[259] Such aspects of enigmatic dream speech will be explored in a later chapter.

[260] As Bruce (1990: 256) and, by implication, Witherington (1998: 354).

[261] Cf. n.194-195 above.

[262] Although NASB [footnote] and RV offer "make common", it is not clear that active profanation is in view.

[263] As §3.5.2 above.

[264] TEV, NIV.

[265] Which can, in context, bear the sense of counting, reckoning, judging or declaring something to be unclean (as §3.6.1 above)

[266] *Say* (NLT), *Consider* (NASB, TEV), *Call* (NRSV, NEB, KJV, NKJV, NAB, NIV, NCV, ESV), *Declare* (YLT) and cf. Bruce (1951: 218) "reckon" and Munck (1967: 93) "consider" etc.

[267] Λέγειν can certainly bear this sense.

[268] As described in §2.3 above.

[269] "Do not" (NIV, TEV, YLT, NCV, ASV, KJV, NKJV, RV, RSV, ESV) cf. "you must not" NRSV, a "general precept", as noted by Wallace (1999: 724f). The negative form would not necessarily assume that the action had happened or was going on.

[270] NASB only.

habit[271]. Nevertheless, this underplays the immediate struggle between the voices in the dream, where the utterance may simply be a blocking riposte to Peter's repeated "κοινὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον". Indeed this tension is noted by Derrett (1988: 213) who sees God defeating his "high priest" Peter in a "binding and loosing" contest, where via a rabbinic analogy, he notes that "it was not unheard of for a teacher to order a rival, under threat of a ban, to do something his conscience forbade"[272]. In this reading, the gnomic aorist would refer to God's authority *in principle* to declare anything clean as he liked, in contrast to the young upstart's doomed attempts to outwit God[273]. This connection with the stand–off itself is underlined by the emphatic pronoun σύ, standing in apposition to ὁ θεός, a device heightening the sense of contest[274]. That this lesson has to learned at all, even in a dream *form*, begs some connection to Acts' warnings about resisting the divine will[275].

3.6.3 Rhetorical and Stylistic Observations

One feature of the divine reply that has caused some confusion is the way that it takes the two terms of Peter's original protest (common and unclean) and splits, selectively negates and reverses them, with one ascribed to God, and the other to Peter, an oddity some scholars linked to subtle distinctions in the halakha of association[276]. Since Peter reunites these terms in Acts 10:28[277], we should, perhaps, not read too much into this, and look rather to rhetorical or stylistic explanations. One reason why only κοινός is turned into the negative imperative is that ἀκάθαρτος simply does not have a cognate verbal form in the way that κοινός does in κοινόω for profanation[278]. If "do not declare unclean" could only be rendered by periphrasis[279], or the more usual μιαίνω, then the whole sound and balance of the phrasing would be destroyed. Others note that the reply takes the adjectives in the refusal, converts them to verbs, negates them, and reverses their order"[280], a device Spencer calls "chiastic inversion"[281] and Parsons, "reciprocal change" or "commutatio", a trope in classical rhetoric[282]. If the protests and reply are thus arranged primarily for aesthetic effect,

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[271] Cf. Wallace (1999: 724f) on the negative present imperative of "cessation of activity" and cf. the suggestive gap re Peter's own behaviour in relation to his confession at 10:28.

[272] Derrett (1988: 213), citing M.Rosh.Hash.2:9.

[273] Cf. Jonah.

[274] Barrett (1994: 508), Wallace (1999: 487ff), Derrett (1988: 213).

[275] Tannehill (1986: 2:132).

[276] As House (1983) and Parsons (2000), discussed in §3.4.1 above.

[277] "God has shown me that I should not call anyone κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον"

[278] The very sparsely attested ἀκᾰθαρτίζομαι is not known in the principal readings of the LXX (LSJ, 46).

[279] Although Parsons (2000: 266) suggests this would be easy to do, it would need both verbs to appear in each half of the statement.

[280] Gaventa (2003: 166) and cf. Spencer (1997: 111) and Parsons (2008: 146).

[281] Spencer (1997: 111).

[282] Parsons (2008: 146).

it becomes a more difficult to maintain that the word order and tenses encode some very technical halakhic distinctions[283].

One hitherto unobserved stylistic feature, although hinted at by the possible presence of a "gnomic aorist", is that God's reply constitutes an aphorism[284] or כְּלָל, expressing a universal, often ethical principle[285]. Many aphorisms display a two part structure with a negative in one half, e.g. Hillel's "What you would not wish others did to you …"[286], and Jesus' "He is God not of the dead, but of the living"[287], "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath"[288], "what God has joined together, let no one separate" etc.[289] Of these, the Sabbath saying shows a perfect chiastic inversion and the marriage aphorism bears a particular resemblance to God's riposte in Peter's vision, with the common structure "what God has …do not ….", and even a gnomic aorist in the protasis, a pattern omitted in the survey of Aune[290] viz.:

Mk 10:9	ὃ οὖν ὁ θεὸς συνέζευξεν ἄνθρωπος μὴ χωριζέτω,
Acts 10:15	ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἐκαθάρισεν, σὺ μὴ κοίνου

In rabbinical contexts, such כְּלָלִים can be used to conclude the discussion of a halakhic anomaly, making a legal/didactic discourse pattern here rather suggestive, albeit of a rather enigmatic kind[291].

3.6.4 Summary

In respect of the riposte, the use of καθαρίζω presents some uncertainty as to whether altering profanity status or ritual impurity states is in view, neither of which clearly relate to the upsetting command "kill and eat" (probably, without discrimination). There are also difficulties in resolving whether a cleansing action or declaration is being spoken of, and finally, there are difficulties in understanding whether "God" is speaking of an event that has occurred within time, an eternal truth that has only just come to light, or a habitual divine activity or stance that Peter seems to oppose. As a pseudo–aphorism[292], the riposte sounds like it should be resolving the argument, but just opens up further problems of reference. Its gnomic aorist originates within, but reaches beyond the confines of the dream

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[283] as House (1983) and Parsons (2000), discussed above.

[284] Pithy "gnomic" sayings expressing a universal insight, common across the Semitic and Graeco-Roman worlds, cf. Tannehill (1986: 2:132), Watson (1992), Aune (1991a: 93-95), Patte (1983).

[285] כְּלָל Lit. "perfect/complete" and thus a "universal" (saying), often used in rabbinic discourse for legal generalisations, as the examples from M.Ket 3:9 discussed by Alexander (1991 and esp.1997: 383-388).

[286] B.Shab.31a.

[287] Mk 12:27.

[288] Mk 2:27.

[289] Mk 10:9 and more loosely, Mt 25:40 and 1 Tim 4:4.

[290] Aune (1991b: 227-236).

[291] Haenchen (1971: 348).

[292] I.e. it is not an otherwise *known* aphorism, like Paul's "goads" of Acts 26:14.

and invites application. Readers are left to wonder whether this is purely a precautionary rebuke, anticipating the later difficulty of crossing Cornelius' threshold, or whether Peter's attitude and past behaviour makes the experience a turning point more like Paul's. Whilst this polyvalence might frustrate modern commentators, it is not inconceivable that Luke is taking his cue here from dream accounts he is observing elsewhere in Koine literature of this period[293].

3.7 The Repeats and the Closure of the Vision

That the pattern of command, refusal and riposte go through three non–progressing iterations is extremely important for the overall dynamic of the encounter, and (hopefully) distances the dialogue from any that might occur in real life, where some clarification might result. That three attempts are made to get through the impasse is a proverbial commonplace, indicating that no further effort need be wasted. That no progress is made at all, is very unusual within the models of dialogue thus far considered, i.e. commissioning dialogue, other prophetic dialogue, or indeed halakhic discourse. This "block" will be discussed later in terms of certain forms of ancient dream.

Finally, of course, the sheet and its contents are taken back up into heaven. Besides offering a certain symmetry with the manner in which the vision started, this indicates divine foreclosure of the dialogue, conceivably the end of any further discussion. Indeed, in so far as the dialogue hints at divine displeasure for past action, a note of possible judgement hangs over the closure. In addition, to the ancient mind, opposing God even in a dream might constitute an offense with possible real–life consequences[294].

That Peter is portrayed as continuing to puzzle over the vision after coming to from his trance suggests that he is still hoping that some other meaning might be found for the experience. Very quickly, he receives a supplementary word from the Spirit about the arrival of his visitors. Whilst this does not make direct mention of the vision, it does contain the rather telling remark that he must go without arguing (μηδὲν διακρινόμενος) which would then establish a riddling verbal link with his behaviour inside the dream[295]. That such an elaborate and indeed dangerous scene is constructed merely to make this point is, however, not credible.

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[293] I.e. new in relation to the more straightforward biblical tradition of giving a certainly challenging, but essentially plain message to a major protagonist.

[294] A number of dreams will be considered later where disobedience to an intra-oneiric divine command leads to difficult consequences in real life.

[295] The plausibility of such wordplays will be considered in ch.5.

3.8 The Dialogue as Halakhic Discourse

We have so far considered the possible halakhic pointers, implications and overtones of each of the visual and conversational steps of the vision in some degree of isolation. However the presence of an aphorism or כְּלָל in what should have been the closing statement suggests that, although perhaps distorted in a dream–like manner, the discourse might show some relationship to patterns of halakhic discourse.

Unfortunately, the form criticism of halakhic discourse has been somewhat neglected. Although known in both the Synoptics and rabbinical material, diverging interests in halakhic opinions in the former[296], and the surface structure of the latter[297] make comparisons difficult. In any case, concentration on parables, chreia and sayings have somewhat eclipsed study of the overall patterns of legal discourse[298]. Since there are possible links between Jewish and Graeco–Roman approaches, this neglect is unfortunate[299]. A helpful attempt is that of Towner (1983), building on earlier work by Neusner[300]. Besides the simple presentation of opinions, Towner notes various dialectic forms, including debates and disputes involving not only alternative opinions, but also hypothetical errors and deliberate omissions[301].

Discussions often grew up around inconsistencies within classic areas of halakha, such as the purity system, Sabbath law, marriage and divorce, oaths etc., or indeed between what the law said in theory and what God, the patriarchs, priests and others did *in practice*[302]. An initial anomaly, often involving an apparent transgression could sometimes be related to an underlying paradox involving a halakhically subversive contrast between earth and heaven, creation and fall, before and after Sinai etc. Although the exact order of elements might vary, as noted earlier, such disputes could often be concluded with an aphorism or כְּלָל which established some higher principle that both exposed the logical fallacy of the premise, and where appropriate, the intellectual and possibly behavioural inconsistency of the interlocutor[303]. The synoptic discussions about work on the Sabbath[304], swearing by

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[296] As Sigal (1986).

[297] Jackson (1980a, 1995), as noted by Hezser (2009: 104 n.23).

[298] Cf. Hezser (2009: 101-104). Charlesworth and Johns (1997) on Hillel and Jesus give little attention to discourse patterns.

[299] Daube (1949) and Jackson (1980b).

[300] Neusner (1971: 3:39-43).

[301] Towner (1983: 49-51).

[302] Hillel is associated particularly with the problems arising from Passover falling on a Sabbath.

[303] A distinctively Socratic goal, to be explored further in ch.5.

[304] Mk 2:23-28, 3:1-6 and parallels re plucking corn and/or healing.

heaven or the sanctuary[305], defilement on the inside or the outside[306], divorce law and creation[307], and widowhood and heaven[308] all display elements of this pattern.

What is also significant for our passage is the frequent use of analogy, e.g. between persons, objects, scriptures, legal cases and entire branches of halakha. Included in Hillel's "seven rules"[309], analogy can also occur in combination with other elements, as in Mt 12:10 and Lk 13:14's challenges about healing on the Sabbath which combine the קל וחומר or "lesser to greater" rule with a human/animal analogy[310]. Hayes points out that the later (post NT) popular halakha of gentile impurity was built on numerous obscure, partial and often marginal analogies with both animals and special classes of Jew[311]. Making reference to the laws of permitted species inside a halakhic discussion about Jew–Gentile relations and/or election would thus be entirely plausible contra the commentators' worries about a "food/people" mismatch[312].

Putting all these elements together, Peter's vision might start by setting out a hypothetical but anomalous case. Hints at a concealed fallacy are sharpened by a "transgressive" invitation, pointing listeners to some wider issue. This provokes a robust response from the student[313] who cannot see further than the master's "error", but is finally overturned by a clinching kelal.

The visual scene, as often in halakhic discourse operates on two levels. The question about association in real life is challenged by the mixed up animals where no such logic is possible. But more subversive still is their descent from heaven in the first place. A later rabbinical exchange concluded that nothing unclean *could* descend from heaven[314], a passage infrequently discussed in relation to Acts 10[315]. If Peter's animals have by–passed the Torah, should they change status as they approach the ground? – and if so, who will

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[305] Mt 23:16-22.

[306] Mk 7:1-12//Mt 15.1-20.

[307] Mk 10:1-9 and parallels.

[308] Mk 12:18-27 and parallels.

[309] The main rule is called גזירה שוה, but the principle is involved in some of the others, cf. Charlesworth (1997: 17-18). Daube (1949: 250-251) points to the influence of Graeco-Roman rhetoric.

[310] Mt 12:10 re a sheep fallen into a pit, and Lk 13:14 re watering an ox on the Sabbath. Both are used to justify healing on the Sabbath.

[311] Hayes (2002: 107-144).

[312] Tyson (1992: 120). Gaventa (2003: 165) rightly objects to the worry because dreams are intended to be "suggestive".

[313] Peter's refusal may reflect a tradition of synoptic and Johannine characterisation evident in Mk 8:32, Jn 13:8 etc.

[314] B.San.59b. R. Simeon b. Halafta is sent meat from heaven to distract lions. An untouched piece is taken to scholars who judge that "Nothing unclean descends from heaven". Although the species of meat is not mentioned, a student immediately raises the question. For similar complications, cf. B.Taan.25a.

[315] Cf. Strack and Billerbeck (1922: 2:702-703), briefly in Derrett (1988: 219 n.28) and more usefully by Jónsson (1985: 211-212). Although postdating the NT period, there is firm evidence of similar logic earlier and even in synoptic discussions.

"make the call"?[316]. The image here of a rabbinic "pronouncing" contest as suggested by Derrett (1988) has some attraction, and of course the concluding kelal still leaves the application to the original problem up to the student.

Such a teasing, and in the end polyvalent discourse would actually be in character for much of what would become rabbinical halakhic discourse, some of which could be set in a "heavenly academy" with often amusing results[317]. That a very abstruse exploration of a heavenly paradox should arise from something as mundane as association halakha is entirely typical of these exchanges. And if a star student does indeed manage to realise that the target is illegitimate *discrimination*, that he is in turn trumped by an unexpected "heavenly descent" anomaly in real life is again very typical of the genre[318].

Whilst NT commentators would not generally favour such lack of closure, and worry that all these connections were rather fanciful, identifying the gattung of this dream dialogue could make this an entirely legitimate set of observations to make.

One must add, of course, that besides making the entire exchange somewhat surreal, the dreaming context has added its own cruel twist. With no discursive preamble, and a reliance on secret knowledge of the future, Peter's effective participation in the dialogue is sabotaged and is left understandably in a state of some confusion. This leaves only the readers able to make any sense of it, and even they, not conclusively. Given that such dynamics have not generally characterised biblical revelations, it remains to be explored whether some broader literary pattern of dreaming might explain this creative indeterminacy.

3.9 Peter's Vision in Halakhic Perspective – Summary

In this section, we have considered all the parts of the vision in turn, but also briefly explored the overall shape of the dialogue in relation to patterns of halakhic discourse.

Exactly what Peter "saw" raised some questions, but most likely consisted in a mixture of permitted and non–permitted animals in close association. The language used to describe them was reminiscent of that used at creation. The descent of the animals from heaven was not an apocalyptic motif, so much as an instructive presentation, although not, most likely, an allegory[319]. Beyond the trivial purpose of Torah dissolution, the curious details of the scene could be viewed as pointing rather obliquely to halakhic questions

[316] One can almost hear the conversation about what height above the earth the law changes their status.

[317] Cf. Freedman and Scholem (2007). On the Syrian Christian appropriation of this rabbinic motif, cf. Becker (2004).

[318] It has been proposed that the subversive dissimulating pattern of challenge and response here has a Socratic origin, as explored by Howland (2011) and Boyarin (2009). This point will be developed further in ch.5.

[319] The animals are clearly identifiable and not related to the mythical creatures and mischwesen of apocalyptic; nor is the scene easily allegorised.

concerning (1) the nature of permitted and non–permitted status and possibly (2) purity in relation to proximity and contact.

The command "rise, kill and eat", whilst biblical and poetic in style, produced a sense of disjunction by not adding an expected restriction. It was not clear, as a result whether the command was intended to be performable, so long as certain halakhic positions were dropped, or not performable in principle. This latter sense could stand if understood as a test. Whilst the exact logic is not stated, Peter's robust refusal and indignation seem to reflect gross rather than subtle offense, or perhaps extreme scrupulousness. That the words of Ezekiel he uses cover all such eventualities leaves the issue undetermined. The simplest option is to imagine that Peter perceives a "worst case" request to eat categorically forbidden food, even though this is not actually spelled out, but comes only through the implication that he eat *without discriminating*, conceivably pointing forward to the later fall of the Spirit at Cornelius' house.

The divine riposte to the refusal presented further ambiguities, both in the intent of the aorist in Clause 1 (what God cleansed/cleanses), and the present imperative in Clause 2 (do not ..) as well as in relation to the senses of declaring and/or making clean. This reply was in the form of a pseudo–aphorism. Often used to resolve halakhic conundrums, its universal formulation but unclear application adds further to the enigma. The divine insistence also presents Peter with a paradoxical double–bind where both obeying and disobeying the voice leaves him compromised.

Overall, this curious dialogue pattern showed a number of features typical of halakhic discourse and the obliqueness and possible use of analogy would make sense within such a scenario. Unfortunately, the dream framework appeared to be designed to make all of this impenetrable to Peter via withdrawal of vital elements identifying the "real" referents of the discussion, some of which lay in the future.

4 Conclusions and Further Questions

This chapter has brought together a consideration of 1st century Jewish halakhic discourse and practice together with a reading of the vision in terms of possible engagement with this context. This involved leaving on one side for the moment the simpler "abolitionist" interpretation of the vision, which would constitute a complete separation from it.

In respect of food laws, association, and the notion of Gentile uncleanness, it was shown that the way these related to each other in popular discourse was complicated and most likely involved moral precaution and popular perceptions as much as formal halakha. That some spoke of too close an association as ἀθέμιτος probably represented the attitude of

the more conservative, particularly where table–fellowship might be involved[320]. That this was not characteristic of all would also seem certain[321], and indeed that some tension existed between those of different persuasions[322]. That the images of food–law violation could be exchanged in invective between Jews is rather significant for our text[323]. There seemed be no evidence that Jews taking positive approaches to association and even table–fellowship did so on an abolitionist basis, nor that ceased from the usual sorts of precautions, albeit maintained discreetly. If an abolitionist agenda is scarcely visible in the social background, and not actually evident in the narrative in Acts into which Peter's vision is embedded[324], this raises the question of whether the rather striking, and certainly upsetting vision *could* be read in a non–abolitionist manner.

To countenance this requires a temporary suspension of disbelief. Indeed, given that the vision really does place the image of food–law violation before the reader, this project would seem a lost cause in the eyes of many commentators. As noted by Plunkett (1985: 466, 468), not only do we have to explain why Luke has chosen such a "roundabout" means of saying what he wants to say, but also why he has run the immense risk of being misunderstood as commending the exact opposite of what he want to say. Irrespective of whether this tradition was originally extraneous or not, it is not credible that Luke cannot see this difficulty. It is thus better to approach the problem from the other direction and ask whether Luke may have constructed a vision of this type precisely to commend a bold, but not ultimately *abolitionist* mode of Jew–Gentile integration.

The ambiguities of the vision and its halakhic overtones could be viewed as raising questions about both Peter's past attitude and later events where presuppositions about association and Spirit reception are clearly challenged (not, incidentally, food laws). That some modes of halakhic discourse could appeal to transgressive anomalies and paradoxes fuelled by subversive analogies, could add to the case that the vision invites *thought* more than it mandates something[325], opening up what I have dubbed "soft" readings of the vision[326]. These were built around the idea of divine impartiality towards distinctions, but not their obliteration[327]. They produced a halakhic and moral confidence to associate freely

[320] *Pace* Plunkett (1985: 466), Luke is hardly wrong in his representation of the more extreme positions.

[321] As the general drift of Tomson (1990, 2001). For a recent update on NT engagements with halakha, cf. Tomson (2009).

[322] Acts 11:3.

[323] As n.172 above.

[324] Cf. Tomson (2001: 232) "Nowhere is it indicated … that .. Peter ate things prohibited by Jewish law".

[325] Indeed, were a divine fiat ending the covenant to be conceived, it would be difficult to imagine it assuming this form.

[326] As Kinzer (2005: 71) and House (1983: 153).

[327] Cf. Bassler (1985) on impartiality in Paul and Luke.

without transgression, a higher sense of unity in Christ and the Spirit, but left the two, separate but concentric codes of law in place.

For this to work, however, it would require that the imagery and dialogue of the vision were developed in an intentional, detailed but subtle relationship to the surrounding narrative, with wordplays, analogies and connections operative at short, mid and long–range textual distance from the vision proper. This would incidentally challenge the idea that this unit existed *in this form* in some other context. In fact, one can reverse Plunkett's question entirely and ask whether if someone had wanted to construct an abolitionist mandate, would they have ever produced this text?[328]

However more difficult questions press themselves in terms of the specific function of the visionary presentation. Whilst halakhic discourse can be playful and polyvalent and no–doubt on occasions requires lateral thinking, the dream format here deliberately distorts the proceedings to the point of absurdity[329]. Whilst in biblical tradition a prophetic vision would normally be as straightforward a conversational context as an epiphany or angelophany, here, it is anything but. This fact flies in the face of all the commentators who take the mention of an "opened heaven" as a sign of revelation. Indeed one is moved to consider the concept of deliberately enigmatic divine speech, which, while common in Graeco–Roman dreams, is somewhat alien to the biblical tradition.

But the dream's intent appears to go beyond simply adding subtlety, but rather conspires to alarm and obscure, making it more than just enigmatic. The shock of its transgressive imagery and the catena of non–sequiturs go quite beyond ordinary conversation and into the realm of cruelty. By omitting any explanatory preamble, and illegitimately embedding riddling references to the future, solution is not merely impeded, but actually prevented. As Peter is thus reduced to a state of distressed impasse, only the readers are able to see beyond its confines and start to make some sense of it. For Peter, however, this might reasonably be described as a nightmare, and for Luke to imply that the whole thing might simply be the result of hunger and fatigue becomes very suggestive.

On this basis, readers could see the embedded "abolitionist" image precisely as a monstrous distortion, articulating the Jewish Christian community's worst fears. The intensity of feelings expressed in the later discussion in Acts make brokering this fact empathetically to the wider church an understandable apologetic agenda. It also makes

[328] Peter's response to the vision creates as much doubt in the other direction.

[329] Where "nothing is quite as it seems" (*Alice*) as also Freud (1976: 109), who notes that representing things by their *opposite* lies at the heart of many dreams, riddles and jokes. On ancient formulations of a "principle of opposites" cf. ch.4.

Peter's perplexity justified and rhetorically important[330]. If the vision is allowed to speak obliquely, however, and hang tantalisingly over the next day's events, then it most certainly helps Peter understand what happens at Cornelius' house. It is only at that point that he is able to say "I should not call anyone profane or unclean ... I truly understand that God shows no partiality"[331].

One can see that such a reading allows us to keep both of the non–negotiable features of the text: first, an overall agenda that is not abolitionist, yet second, a transgressive command intended quite literally *within the dream–scape*. Peering into the abyss of a community's anxieties, the command is also there to drive an illegitimate conservativism into aporia. In this way, the vision can be protected from two rival tendencies amongst commentators. The first is the Paulinising conviction that abolition must surely be its ultimate intent, aligning all divine utterances with later *theology*[332]; the second is the noble attempt to take the Jewish context seriously, but align all divine utterances with *Torah*[333]. Whilst the vision is certainly halakhically *suggestive*, it may be a mistake to rescue the transgressive command from its shock–value. Indeed having any one of the dream utterances encode some technical halakhic issue within its inflections, conjunctions and tenses might be to create a riddle so complex as to elude even Delphi. Whilst agreeing that these issues *are* most likely the target of the story, that the transgressive divine command be left to do its work may also be important.

In the next sections of this study, I shall first conduct a survey of the Greek dream tradition from Homer to Hellenistic and Roman material to see whether the kind of departures from more woodenly biblical revelation proposed here are plausible and whether concrete influences can be identified. This will lead to a consideration of the purpose of introducing the features and overtones of natural dreaming, anxiety dreams and nightmares into an account that is supposedly a "revelation". Then I shall address the general Greek tradition of enigmatic divine speech, made famous by the oracles but based on more general expectations and how this motif enters dream accounts in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

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[330] And not a Lukan contrivance, as Plunkett (1985: 468). That the inclusion of Gentiles is *truly* unexpected may contribute to Paul's use of μυστήριον as discussed by Bockmuehl (1990).

[331] Acts 10:28, 34.

[332] As Barrett (1994), Bruce (1951, 1952, 1990), Witherington (1998) et al.

[333] As House (1983), Derrett (1988), Parsons (2000) et al.

Chapter 3

Chapter 3 – Dreams and Visions: Form and Interpretation

1 Introduction

As suggested in chapter 1, the modern form–criticism of dreams has been dominated by a model developed from ANE court material, providing the basic options of "message dream" and "symbolic dream"[1]. Whilst adequate for many dreams in Homer and the Hebrew Bible, this distinction works less well for Hellenistic and some NT dreams. Besides a certain blurring of these patterns, this period also sees increasing influence from the more chaotic world of personal and popular dreaming. Understanding these developments may help make better sense of Peter's vision.

After points of introduction and definition, I first describe and critique the form–critical approach of Oppenheim upon which Hanson and later scholars depend. Then, following a brief survey of ANE and biblical texts, I consider dreams in Graeco–Roman literature before re–reading Jewish and NT examples against a specifically Hellenistic and Roman background. This will not constitute a comprehensive survey, but will have specific scope and aims. In regard to scope, I shall focus on a representative selection of texts of likely influence within Luke's literary world. In respect of aims, I shall take general note of form, but also of trends and features of specific relevance to Peter's vision. In order to keep footnotes brief, introductory material on the various authors and listings of dream accounts are held in appendix 2.

2 Phenomena, Definitions and Terminology

2.1 Contexts and Definitions

Ancient dreams and visions belonged to a range of both spontaneous and solicited manifestations that included apparitions, portents, omens, oracles and prophecies, often interpreted by professional diviners. Steering a course between the view that ancients saw all dreams and visions as "fully real" on the one hand, and that they perceived a clear distinction on the other, scholars are increasingly aware of the cultural dimension of dreaming, and that reported experience and interpretation constitute what Dodds calls a "dream culture" that may not reflect modern presuppositions[2].

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[1] Oppenheim (1956).

[2] On dreams as "real", cf. Dodds (1951: 104) contra Pilch (2004: 1-11) who assumes a clear awareness of the difference. On the physiological questions, see Bourguignon (1972: 415), applied to Egyptian dreams by Szpakowska (2003: 10). Freudian approaches to ancient texts, such as Devereux (1976) have been questioned by Dodds (1951: 103) and Price (1986). On the cultural dimension, see Dodds (1951: 103) and Shulman and Stroumsa (1999) and cf. Gollnick's (1999) term "religious dreamworld".

Separating dream from reality is particularly difficult in literary works, where divine visits occur just easily in broad daylight, leaving theophanies, visions and dreams somewhat interchangeable[3]. Indeed although the convention of using "dream" for an event during sleep, and "vision" or "apparition" for notionally waking events remains useful, Hanson argues convincingly that ancient people did not press these distinctions too hard[4]. Although Acts itself uses all these devices, it is not clear that this is done to rank relative veracity and thus, where form and contents dictate, comparisons will be conducted across these divides.

Ancient dream cultures can only be reconstructed from written sources, such as court and votive inscriptions, interpreter's manuals, philosophical or medical texts, wisdom literature, poetry and narrative, each of which presents and uses dreams in distinct ways[5]. Although this leaves us with no *direct* access to experience, such accounts both reflect and feed experience[6]. Scholars sometimes distinguish between "genuine" personal accounts, and less realistic "literary" dreams, created to serve specific purposes such as plot or character development in narrative, or supporting rhetorical, apologetic or philosophical positions in other types of text[7]. Too strict a distinction may be fallacious however. "Personal" accounts can certainly have a "plot" and an apologetic agenda, making all dreams literary dreams, slanted towards specific purposes *at source*, and subject to editorial process.

In conclusion, just as Luke's sermons are best read in the light of ancient oratory, so should his dreams and visions be placed within his dream–culture(s) and modes of visionary "discourse"[8].

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[3] Not only dream/vision transformations, as Sister (1934), but looser ones involving oracles (Horst, 1960, Long, 1972), and cf. Chilton (1980) on the transfiguration. Worrying about whether a dream is "genuine" (Long, 1976: 353) is irrelevant from the literary point of view (Hanson , 1980: 1401). Hellenistic authors routinely exploited dream/reality confusion, of which Lk 24:13-35 is probably an example.

[4] Hanson (1980: 1408-1409), contra Flannery-Dailey (2000: 27), although this a position she moderates considerably in her 2004 pubished work, pp.47, 107-108. Versnel (1987: 48-49) includes form-critically similar hallucinations and apparitions as well as accounts where recipients *deny* that they are dreaming (e.g. P.Oxy 11:1381).

[5] Dreams are mainly written. LiDonnici (1995: 40 et sim.) speculates on oral sources for some of the Epidauros material. On royal inscriptions, cf. Oppenheim (1956: 185, 199, 202 et sim.), Flannery-Dailey (2000: 24, 2004: 18), Noegel (2001: 47), Renberg (2003: 150). On votives, cf. A2§1.n.10 and on dream manuals, A2§1 n.11 for ANE examples, and van Lieshout (1980: 185-190, 190-192, 192-194) for Greek ones. Scientific and philosophical works by Cicero, Galen, Plato etc. al also contain scattered accounts.

[6] That there is no direct access, see Husser (1999: 17), even if experience important (Niditch, 1997: 35). Whilst text and reality do not fully correspond (Flannery-Dailey, 2000: 156, cf. 2004: 96, Hanson, 1980: 1401) dream reports have to be recognisable in some manner, as Oppenheim (1956: 201). The stylisation of reports, however, does affect experience, as Oppenheim (ibid., 185), who notes the impact of iconography on ANE dreams (1956: 204), and cf. Cartledge (1997: 3) on Greek tragedy.

[7] On the distinction, cf. Kessels (1978: 2), and on the creation and imitation of dream accounts, cf. Dodson (2006: 107-114); but to call Asclepius testimonies "more real" that other accounts may mislead (Flannery-Dailey, 2000: 156, cf. 2004: 96). Using dreams in narrative goes back to the Gilgamesh epics (Bulkely, 1993) and philosophers could use literary dreams to present ideas and "visions" in a more figurative sense, as Cicero's *Dream of Scipio* (Luck, 1956), Lucian's *Career* (Gera, 1995) or *The Cock* (Marcovich, 1976). This does not mean that readers were not aware of "literary function" (cf. Lucian's remarks on X *An.*3.1.11-14), nor indeed fail to spot a pastiche, (Lucian, *Career* 17).

[8] Luke has two such cultures, biblical and Greek. Literary dreams realise a "rhetoric of vision" (Humphrey, 2007 and cf. Dodson, 2006: 99-106) requiring an appropriate hermeneutic (Gollnick, 1999: 1-12).

2.2 Terminology

In ancient literature, dreams and visions are not always indicated by special terms, and can be introduced by simple formulae such as "I saw" or "I was commanded". In so far as technical terms do exist, these are often derived from words for sleeping, waking and seeing not uniquely used of dreaming. Usage can vary considerably by genre, period, register and even author. A brief survey will be offered here, with fuller notes in appendix 1.

The most common Hebrew terms derive from the verbs חלם (noun, חֲלוֹם, etymology uncertain), and ראה and חזה, both of which mean "see" (nouns מַרְאֶה, מַרְאָה, חָזוֹן and חִזָּיוֹן). Although essentially interchangeable (a "vision of the night", חֲזוֹן לַיְלָה, is a synonym for חֲלוֹם), from the 8th to the 6th centuries BCE, חֲלוֹם was sometimes linked to "false prophecy", with חָזוֹן reserved for true seers. This relaxes later on when Daniel can be lauded for "understanding in all visions and dreams" (הֵבִין בְּכָל־חָזוֹן וַחֲלֻמוֹת), Dan 1:17).

In Greek, the two most common terms for dream are ἐνύπνιον and ὄναρ (variant, ὄνειρος), both related to words for sleep. Ἐνύπνιον usually translates חֲלוֹם in the LXX, and although ὄναρ is common in Homer, it is rare in the LXX. It is however, used by Matthew. Words for a sight or scene and thus *vision*, include ὅραμα, and ὄψις. The LXX routinely uses ὅραμα for חָזוֹן but ὄψις only for "ordinary" seeing. Ὄψις is, however, used for visions by Herodotus and Josephus. A number of rarer words include φάντασμα, ἀποκάλυψις and ἐπιφάνεια. Hanson (1980: 1408) notes that personal preference may be as important as technical meaning in an author's choice of term.

The common Latin terms appear to be closely related to their Greek counterparts, with "somnium" and "insomnium" translating ὄνειρος and ἐνύπνιον, with "visio" for ὅραμα. Less frequently, "quies" and "requies" can also refer to dreams in some literary settings.

3 The Form–Critical Categories of Oppenheim

Oppenheim (1956) surveys dream forms in the cultures around the Mediterranean, including ANE, biblical and Greek examples. Although displaying some regional variants, two major types are evident with a good stability over time. Used for dreams thought to be of divine origin, such patterns most likely emerged under the editorial control of a scribal class at court. Designated the "message dream" and the "symbolic dream", each is embedded within a common framing device. "Ordinary" dreams, of no interest at court and known only by occasional references, he dubs "psychological status dreams", for which no characteristic patterns can be given[9].

[9] Oppenheim (1956: 185-187). Hanson (1980: 1395-1396) adds that within the Greek tradition, this stability continued into the Hellenistic period.

Although Oppenheim worked mainly from ANE royal inscriptions, his form–critical categories have become nearly all–pervasive. Although this harmonisation has had its benefits, it may also have obscured important nuances and variations in both content and "register" in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

3.1 Outer Form/Frame

Oppenheim places his ideal forms within a common frame[10].

> 1. Frame start – identity of dreamer, where and when the dream was received and other circumstances including statement of falling or being asleep.
>
> 2. Dream Content – report of the message given in a message dream or the imagery of a symbolic dream.
>
> 3. Frame end – describes the end of the dream, the waking of the dreamer, their immediate reaction and any required interpretation. Notice is finally given of the execution of any command, fulfilment of any prediction and associated "life–outcome" for the dreamer.

Whilst he acknowledges that elements of the above are not always present, in certain styles of writing, the onset or exit from a dream or vision might be deliberately obscured, or indeed entire structures nested. Examples of such anomalies will be discussed further below.

3.2 Message Dreams

A typical message dream[11] involves the visit of a dream figure, often divine or angelic, but, within the Greek tradition, possibly a deceased hero or even a living relative. A verbal message, almost always involving a command, promise, or both, is delivered to a sleeping recipient, usually a high status male. The message is straightforward with the dreamer rarely needing help to understand it. Waking immediately, perhaps a little startled, dreamers set about obeying their instructions. The eventual and normally favourable outcome is indicated after the dream account proper. An example from the NT is Mt 2:19-20 where an angel tells Joseph to return to Israel.

3.3 Symbolic Dreams

What Oppenheim classes as a "symbolic dream"[12], typically involves images of natural objects, animals and people but also sometimes nonsensical or mythological elements. The scene is sometimes static, but more often some action is played out that can be presentational or participationary[13]. Rarely making sense as they stand, interpretation can

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[10] Oppenheim (1956: 186, 187).

[11] Ibid., 185ff. Message dreams are most frequently known from royal inscriptions, proclaiming the reception and execution of a divine command, e.g. the temple-building dream of Nabonidus (ibid., 250).

[12] Ibid., 206ff.

[13] Classical scholars previously spoke of "objective" and "psychological" (Messer, 1918), Innenträume and Aussenträume (Hundt, 1935), passive/active or enstatic/ecstatic (van Lieshout, 1980). Kessels (1978: 3-4) noted that such categorisations should not be pressed as *formal* distinctions.

involve symbolic readings of dream objects and/or actions in a similar in the manner to an allegory or riddle. With symbols sometimes explained via erudite wordplays, dreamers often have to consult an expert[14]. Interpretation usually yields a prediction of the future, but where a response is suggested (e.g. to impending judgement) such dreams can also be viewed as conveying messages. Classic examples from the Bible include the dreams of Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar.

3.4 Variations and Developments

Growing out of the above, several later authors attempt to introduce further sub–division based on differing combinations of audio and visual information[15]. However, ancient dream accounts can combine audio and visual information in various ways, without any alteration to the overall form. Making these distinctions into formal categories can lead to confusion[16] and is not adopted here. Refinements can also be made to the frame. Hanson locates specific dream or vision terminology in a new subsection at the end of the frame start[17] but not all accounts contain such terminology[18] and are identified only by inference. Others split the third section of Oppenheim's frame to distinguish the waking and initial reaction from a concluding statement of later response and/or fulfilment[19], but fail to realise that the all–important interpretation needs to go before here as well with symbolic dreams[20].

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[14] Cf. Noegel (2007).

[15] Hanson (1978: 22-27) speaks of "Audio/Visual", "Auditory" and "Visual" dream/visions. Gnuse (1996: 38) confusingly calls all message dreams "Auditory Message Dreams", even when a dream figure is visible, and his "Visual Symbolic" adds further confusion, since symbolic dreams can contain auditory information too.

[16] Peter's disembodied voice and symbolic tableau are instantly "unusual", "intermingled" (Hanson, 1978: 78-79).

[17] Ibid., 1.

[18] Flannery-Dailey (2000: 45, 2004: 44).

[19] Gnuse (1996: 38) and Flannery-Dailey (2000: 19-23, 2004: 20-24) both do this. Gnuse's scheme is:

> I. Setting A. Who - recipient of the dream.
> B. When - time of the dream.
> C. Where - site where dream was received.
> D. Conditions - circumstances of the dream reception.
> II. Dream Content - report of the message given in an auditory message dream or the visual imagery of a visual symbolic dream.
> III. Termination - statement that the dreamer awoke.
> IV. Fulfilment - description of how message came true or how the recipient obeyed the command.

Hanson (1978 Summary p.1-2) used a similar four-fold scheme, which he applied to a sequence of examples from Graeco-Roman literature on pp.2-13.

> (1) Scene-setting (dreamer, place, time, and mental state of the dreamer at or just prior to the dream).
> (2) Technical dream/vision terminology (special terms for dream, sleep, and the like).
> (3) Dream/vision proper (dream figure, description and/or position of the dream figure, message/scene).
> (4) Reaction.
> (5) Response (practical actions of the dreamer as a result of the dream and its meaning). (Hanson, ibid., 1).

[20] Gnuse (1996: 38) and Flannery-Dailey (2000: 19-23, 2004: 20-24) both fail to point out that putting in an interpretation would produce a five-section frame rather than four.

3.5 Critique

Although Oppenheim's scheme has proved durable and matches a good majority of dreams, criticism has been offered even by other ANE specialists[21]. It can certainly be misleading if the "frame" is used too rigidly to identify accounts and provides unsatisfactory conceptualisation of the dream contents, a failing that particularly affects dreams in certain Hellenistic authors.

3.5.1 Framing

The frame can only be based on average patterns[22], but in concrete examples it is frequently breached and can almost dissolve. Reported speech can often reduce, alter or split the frame, and sequences of dreams or tableaux can produce other anomalies. In some cases, information traditionally held in the frame is simply mixed up with the dream content. The presupposition of a self–contained unit including all required information seems false even at source, and when embedded in literary settings, further blurring can occur. Thus, where information such as the dreamer's state (part of the *deixis*) is missing from the frame (and thus the account as such), clues must certainly be gleaned from the wider narrative, as foreseen by the Hellenistic interpreter Artemidorus[23]. Indeed, Hanson has to create a new pre–frame section called "situation" for most of his worked examples[24].

At the other end of the unit, and particularly for symbolic dreams, an interpretation should be included as a formal element of the frame–end, since "action" is not possible without it[25]. Most fail to notice, however, that when *others* are involved in the interpretation, *two* new elements are required, a dream *narration*, and the interpretation itself. These would have to be inserted between "waking and immediate reaction" and "final fulfilment". Not only has the frame become more complex, however, but innumerable extra delays may have to be introduced, e.g. between dream and narration, between narration and interpretation, between interpretation and response and even again before some kind of final fulfilment, where in narrative settings, events themselves may have to have the last word[26]. Once the dreamer talks to friends and relatives, consults a council of elders, or is flung into jail, the frame is in fundamental trouble. All of these may conspire to spread out the

[21] E.g. Noegel (2001: 46), Szpakowska (2003: 4).

[22] Cf. the one used by Theissen (1974 ET 1983: 73-74) for miracle stories. It can be minimised in typically economical inscriptions, but also deliberately "tampered" with in literary settings to produce aspects of dream/reality confusion.

[23] *Oneir.*1:9.1-9.

[24] Hanson (1978: 3-13, 36, 44, 126).

[25] Oppenheim (1956: 206).

[26] As they do for Peter's vision.

'closing' of the dream over an extended section of text, potentially affecting all extended narratives, but more particularly seen in Hellenistic fiction[27].

3.5.2 Classification

It is rarely noted that none of Oppenheim's classes of "dream account proper"[28], is truly form–critical. "Message" speaks of function, "symbolic", of interpretation, and "psychological", of cause.

The conveying or receiving of a "message" *as such* can occur via dreams of all sorts. This can come audibly in the dream, or be inferred by the dreamer, but what characterises Oppenheim's "message" class is actually the approach and verbal address of a dream–figure in a visitation/messenger idiom. This pattern does indeed remain distinct, even if occasionally blurred[29]. But this does not preclude aspects of overlap with the other two designations, with some messages requiring *symbolic* interpretation[30], and certainly capable of *psychological* overtones[31].

Symbolic, too, is not a formal designation, but primarily hermeneutical. Whilst this mode of interpretation may be used, visual elements cannot be *intrinsically* symbolic. Although some bizarre elements might point in this direction, recognisable individuals, objects, places and actions may or may not stand for "themselves". Indeed, which elements indicate "something else", becomes a matter of interpretation[32] and a potential source of disagreement. *Purely* symbolic dreams are thus just one instance of a wider class of visual dream. Symbolism itself, of course, operates in many different ways, conventional, mythological, ominological, linguistic, etc. and may apply equally to aspects dream narrative as much as objects in the dream[33]. It is no surprise the nearly the whole of the oneirocritical "industry" concerns itself with the ambiguities of this broader class of dream. The label "symbolic" is hermeneutical in a more fundamental sense, in that unlike message dreams, the designation is only accorded by attempting an interpretation. Failure relegates the dream to Oppenheim's "third class" of non–significant, nonsensical and psychological status dreams. Again, there are fundamental overlaps with the other "categories". Symbolic

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[27] Acts has been placed very close to this genre by Pervo (1987).

[28] As dubbed by Hanson (1980: 1409).

[29] Even in some ANE cases, as Noegel (2001: 48).

[30] 2001: 46-47.

[31] As e.g. in Vergil's message dreams (McNeely, 1998). Plutarch includes numerous nightmares in "message" form.

[32] As admitted in Artem.*Onier*.4:1.4-8.

[33] Convention: e.g. a laurel wreath signifying victory. Myth: e.g. a three-headed dog signifying the underworld. Ominological: reading what birds, animals or the weather "do" in a dream in the same way as real life omens. Linguistic: via word-play.

dreams may contain speech, or deliver messages by inference[34] and in turn, "psychological" dreams can express their anxieties *symbolically*. It must be asked whether this class is marked by any single formal feature. Although primarily visual, they can feature divine and human figures, sound and speech, so long as not presenting in the visitation/messenger idiom.

Oppenheim's "third class" of psychological status dreams is clearly not form–critical in basis. Although there is a lack of explicit *content* in ANE sources, this is not true in the Greek tradition, where authors from the tragedians onwards increasingly incorporate sketches of nightmares, wish–fulfilment and anxiety dreams. Importantly, these turn out to display the same formal variants as "significant" dreams, with both general visual forms and message/visitation scenes. That Oppenheim deems these dreams "non–significant" may be true for a royal court, but may not be so in other literary contexts, where they may serve important narrative and even "divine" purposes.

3.5.3 Conclusions and Working Terminology

We have seen that Oppenheim's classes are not clearly formal and overlap in various ways, confusing form, function, interpretation and cause, and none determinative of *significance*. Inadequacies have been previously noted by scholars but this has rarely resulted in systematic re–evaluation. In the interim, I suggest that where a visitation/messenger presentation is clearly evident, then the designation "message dream" remains useful[35]. Almost all others belong to an undifferentiated class which can only be designated "other visual dreams". "Symbolic" may be retained for dreams interpreted along allegorical lines, but cannot serve for the broader class. Psychological aspects will be noted as and when appropriate but will again not constitute a formal category. In many cases, however, we have to speak of intermediate or "hybrid" forms. Thus message dreams can display significant visual content such as the clothing and appearance of the figure, or a visible backdrop which might modify the import of a message. In turn, dreams of a broader visual kind involving several human or divine figures can include moments where the dreamer is addressed by someone or overhears speech. This "fluid" tendency may simply betray popular origins, but in literary contexts, it may also be right to see deliberate attempts to combine or subvert classic patterns for some apologetic purpose[36]. The prophetic

[34] Such messages might later be recounted as if they had been delivered verbally (as Peter in Acts 10, "God has shown me that …").

[35] One might wish to add here other visitation idioms that are not built around the presentation of a herald, such as therapeutic "visits" on the one hand, and hauntings and even assaults for certain types of nightmare.

[36] Macrobius notes that Cicero's *Dream of Scipio* mixes all the conventional dream types (*Comm.ad Somn.Scip.*1:3.12).

symbolic visions of the post–exilic period have been approached in these terms, as must in some measure, Peter's vision.

Finally, a few other descriptive terms will be retained. One term is "tableau", identifying a self–contained unit in an internal sequence[37]. Secondly, presentational and participatory remain useful distinctions. As a fundamentally popular motif, participation features frequently in Greek literary dreams from tragedy onwards. That this is uncommon until the later parts of the Bible invites speculation about this feature of Peter's vision[38].

4 Survey of Dreams and Visions

The following survey reviews dreams in bodies of literature potentially known to Luke from both a formal and functional perspective, as well as noting features particularly suggestive for Peter's vision in Acts 10, including (1) hybrid dream forms (2) distressing or taboo–breaking images (3) enigmatic or riddling features (4) unusual modes of interpretation and (5) double dreams. After a brief treatment of ANE and biblical material, the main focus will be on Graeco–Roman material before returning to Jewish and NT examples. I shall omit apocalyptic works, however. Although these present extended dream–vision sequences, they may not provide the best model for embedded discrete dreams within narrative works. Listings of dreams by corpus or author and bibliographic details are provided in appendix 2, to which points of interest here will be cross–referenced.

4.1 ANE and Biblical

4.1.1 ANE

Foundational to biblical and Greek traditions, the ANE material is surprisingly diverse[39]. Besides the usual high status males, dreams can already be received by women and servants[40], and although usually coming to individuals, display double and multi–recipient cases[41].

Messages can be delivered by divine or human figures, and occasionally, just a voice. These can include commands, plans and designs, promises and revelations, and frequently involve the dreamer in dialogue. Some revelations serve simply to alter understanding or

[37] This is a particularly common feature of the popular dreams recorded by Aelius Aristides, but also in Apocalyptic.

[38] Although usually understood in relation to visual dreams, in some message representations, dreamers are able to reach out and touch the dream figure, or accompany them on a journey. Participatory visions are certainly present from post-exilic prophecy and later apocalyptic onwards, but viewing Peter's vision as an "apocalyptic" episode may be to misread its genre.

[39] For simplicity, I shall just use the selection given in Oppenheim's paper.

[40] Although often in relation to the King, as A2§1.n.1. In ANE epic, *gods* can also dream, as in A2§1, No.2.

[41] A2§1 n.2.

confidence of the dreamer and issue no instruction as such[42]. Hybrid features, however, are immediately evident. Messages can be qualified by gestures, accessories or gifts. Sometimes a dream–figure arrives as if to speak, but instead performs an action, or presents a secondary visual scene. Complete reversals of expectation occur when a verbal message requires interpreting *symbolically* and a "message" is *seen* in an inscription, with numerous similar cases[43]. Visual dreams of both presentational and participatory types are found, but many are not so much symbolic as *clairvoyant*, observing a scene occurring elsewhere[44]. Dreams of all types often break Oppenheim's "framing" scheme, usually via the economies of reported speech or linked sequences[45].

Although interpretation is traditionally performed by experts in the court setting presupposed by Oppenheim, dreamers also turn to friends, relatives, or interpret their dreams themselves. This can happen directly, in stages, or with the help of adjunct portents and signs or further dreams. In terms of technique, whilst erudite methods often feature when scribes and advisors are involved, the more fluid dreams of the epic heroes are often self–interpreted in a less formulaic way[46].

Finally, there are traces of personal, psychological, nonsensical and disturbing dreams. The simpler examples concern health or sexual issues, but more important are the dreams of the ANE epics where "psychological" aspects are used to explore the character and destiny of a hero. This foreshadows a similar interest in Greek epic and drama, but not, for the most part, in the Bible[47].

This very brief survey has shown that exceptions are frequent in ANE sources. Whist classic message and symbolic forms do occur, the material is more fluid than the model implies.

4.1.2 Hebrew Bible

Biblical message dreams fit Oppenheim's scheme particularly well[48] if not better than many ANE examples. Bar the typical variations, distinctive tendencies include rather brief deixis, minimal descriptions of divine beings and almost no human figures. Dialogue is however, particularly common[49]. Unlike the ANE, but in common with Homer, numerous dream–like visitations *appear* to take place while the subject is awake. Although the frame

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[42] On the message dreams, cf. A2§1.2.1.

[43] On hybrid features, cf. A2§1.2.3.

[44] On the symbolic and other visual dreams, cf. A2§1.2.2.

[45] On framing errors in ANE dreams, cf. A2§1 n8.

[46] On the various practices of interpretation, cf. A2§1.2.5.

[47] On the ANE "psychological status" dream, cf. A2§1.n.13.

[48] See Husser (1999: 123-138), Lowery (1999: 38-44) et al.

[49] On the patterns of biblical message dream, cf. A2§2.2.1.

sometimes indicates that a dream or a vision is intended, in many accounts, no onset notice is given and God or an angel simply appears. These have been traditionally called theophanies or angelophanies and handled separately, although the case for doing so is weak. They are much closer to message dreams than, for instance, tales of incognito divine visits[50]. When even an appearance notice is absent, we are left with a bare statement that "God said to X ….". The ecstatic background to such communications is still visible in the prophetic formula "the word of the Lord came to X saying ….", but such oracles are again rarely discussed with dreams and visions. Nevertheless, that both of these formulae can introduce messages *within* dreams, or act as continuity markers within dream dialogues suggests some relationship. Editorially, it only requires the disappearance of the frame to produce such a unit[51]. So frequent are the above forms that revelations by a clearly labelled dream or vision are the exception rather than the rule, perhaps only when demanded by tradition.

The Hebrew Bible includes classic symbolic dreams that conform well to Oppenheim's pattern[52], particularly those of the Joseph cycle and the Daniel stories. They are mainly presentational, without sound and function like visual allegories. As in the ANE, however, not all display such simple correspondences. This can include the more popular examples such as the dreams of Joseph's fellow prisoners, or of the Midianite soldier which involve mixes of symbolic and real elements[53], or even some more obviously "divine" dreams which develop meanings in a more general way, such as Jacob's ladder. Yet others like the visions of Micaiah or Elisha's servant, disclose heavenly realities in a manner similar to Oppenheim's "clairvoyant" dreams, and clearly prefiguring later apocalyptic. More difficult to classify is the writing hand at Belshazzar's feast, although messages via dream inscriptions are known amongst the ANE examples.

As with ANE texts, professional interpreters are visible but as often, individuals try to make sense of their own dreams. Experts are active only at foreign courts, but can include expatriate Israelite or Jewish figures. Visual elements are interpreted by a mixture of informal and conventional symbolism, and wordplay, although the latter usually operates in a supportive rather than fundamental way[54].

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[50] E.g. Gen 18:1-15, 32:22-32, Josh 5:13-15 et sim. Such stories are particularly common in the Greek tradition. Re theophanies and appearances, cf. A2§2 n.2.

[51] On divine theoloquy, cf. A2§2 n.3.

[52] For more detailed surveys than that possible here, see Husser (1999: 106-122), Lowery (1999: 44-59) et al. For notes on the variety of symbolic dreams, cf. A2§2.2.2.

[53] Gen 40:5-20, Jdg 7:13-15.

[54] For further notes on patterns of interpretation in biblical dreams, cf. A2§2.2.4.

In exilic and post–exilic prophecy, however, new composite forms emerge. The "prophetic symbolic visions"[55], seen in Jeremiah, Amos and Zechariah present a symbolic visual scene, interpreted to the seer by a dream figure, and often followed by dialogue and a concluding oracle. Possibly prefigured by one or two earlier biblical dreams, this is essentially a new development. Although sometimes properly framed with clear onset and exit terminology the vast majority are introduced by simpler means such as "The Lord showed me", "and I saw …", "N, what do you see?" and some with no formula at all. Although the building–in of divinely provided interpretation is usually seen as an attempt to control the resulting message and limit the oneirocritical activity of "false prophets", it is ironic that the interpretive methods used involve the very types of symbolism and wordplay beloved by scribes and diviners.

In Zechariah, this simpler form gives way to heavenly and other "dramas" in which a figure *within the scene* takes the role of interpreter, who in turn may command the participation of the visionary in a symbolic action or by undertaking a journey. Although thought to be an independent variant by some, Niditch sees a three stage evolutionary path from Jeremiah and Amos via the variants here in Zechariah, through to the "baroque", proto–apocalyptic elaboration in Ezekiel and Daniel[56]. The participatory acts in some of these dreams are similar to those in so–called prophetic signs[57]. However Peter's vision is classified, it is clear that he too is commanded to perform an action *within* the oneiric scene, and that some kind of comparison with the above visions is suggested. Nevertheless, there are differences too, and the taboo–breaking tendency of some of the signs is not reproduced in the visions[58].

4.2 Ancient and Classical Greek Tradition

4.2.1 Homer

Amongst the earliest such material in Greek, and a staple of Hellenistic education, Homer is likely to have been known by NT authors[59]. Form–critically, the dreams and

[55] Husser (1999: 139-154) devotes a separate chapter to these visions. For recent monographs dedicated to these texts, see Niditch (1983) and Lowery (1999). Examples include Jer 1:11-12, 13-16 et sim., Amos 7:1-3, 4-6 et sim., Zech 1:1-6:8 and numerous others. For further notes, cf. A2§2.2.3.

[56] Niditch (1983) Stage I: Am 7:7-9, 8:l-3, Jer 1:11-12, 1:13-19, 24, Stage II: Zechariah, and Stage III: Daniel and post-Biblical apocalyptic. The Ezekiel and Zechariah visions have been dubbed proto-apocalyptic by Hanson (1979).

[57] Sometimes called "symbolic actions", or "prophetic dramas", as explored by Stacey (1990) and others. The vision in Acts 10 alludes to words from such an account in Ezek 4:1-17.

[58] This is of particular relevance to the Acts 10 vision where the command to break Jewish food laws occurs in relation to the oneiric food of the dream and not (directly at least) in relation to real-life food.

[59] For bibliographic and other notes, cf. A2§3.1. On Homer in Greek education, cf. Cribiore (2001: 194-197), Too (2001), Morgan (1998), Hock (2001). On the likely familiarity with Homer on the part of NT authors cf. Hock (2001, 2003) and MacDonald (2003a).

visions fulfil Oppenheim's patterns well for content and framing[60]. Of the accounts clearly presented as dreams, four are of the message type with two further night time "appearances" most likely intended as dreams. There is only one symbolic example, although this has some hybrid features, and one sketch of a "psychological status" dream. There are additional brief reports with no content and scattered poetic and proverbial references[61].

More than in the ANE, living and deceased people appear as dream figures. As in the Bible, however, clearly labelled dreams are quite outnumbered by theophanies where a deity appears without a dream–vision frame, sometimes recognisable, but often in disguise. Form–critically related to message dreams, these accounts display similar variants such as multiple recipient, double, and voice–only forms[62]. Indeed, with divine councils, portents and omens, and miraculous interventions, the epics are awash with divine–human interaction, with dream accounts *proper* in the minority[63].

Although professional diviners are known to have had a prominent role, Homeric dreamers generally attempt their own interpretations, sometimes helped by friends, elders etc. The reasons for this are much debated, but literary theories are the most convincing. Message dreams, being transparent, do not need "interpreting", but since potentially deceptive, do still need assessing. The amateur analysis of symbolic dreams is necessarily instinctive but sometimes reflects scribal practice[64]. Besides the usual high status males, dreamers can certainly include wives and other significant women[65]. Although the featured dreams are all "divine", protagonists frequently suffer sleeplessness, anxiety, and even nightmares before finally receiving their significant dreams[66].

It is striking that the Iliad/Odyssey epic is bracketed by two important dreams, both shot–through with confusion and doubt: the message dream of Agamemnon[67] and the symbolic dream of Penelope[68]. The first promises victory, but proves deceptive. The second foretells rescue, but is distrusted[69]. This latter irony is compounded when the disguised

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[60] This is possibly because comparatively few accounts are given in reported speech. For details, see notes in A2§3.n.1.

[61] For a breakdown and listing of all these types, cf. A2§3.2.

[62] For listings, cf. A2§3.2.1.

[63] For divine councils, cf. A2§3.n.10. On portents and omens, A2§3.n.11 (interpreted similarly to dreams). On other divine interventions, cf. A2§3 n.12.

[64] On practices and patterns of interpretation, cf. A2§3.3.

[65] This is frequently noted as a special emphasis within the Greek literary tradition, and developed further in Greek tragedy.

[66] Cf. A2§3 n.14.

[67] *Il.*2:4-94, in which Zeus deceptively commends an ill-timed attack on the Trojans in order to harm Agamemnon.

[68] *Od.*19:509-604.

[69] Penelope's note of distrust includes the famous analogy of the "two gates of dreams" of horn and ivory, respectively, through which true and false dreams reach the dreamer. For further notes cf. A2§3 n.15.

Odysseus, with whom Penelope is discussing the dream, must first hear of her nightly torture throughout the lonely years of the war[70].

Although dubbed symbolic, the dream shows hybrid features. Penelope, who is being harassed by suitors, sees her geese ravaged by an eagle, apparently portending the pillaging of her goods. At this point, however, the eagle drops its symbolic guise and speaks:

> Be of good courage,' he said, 'daughter of Ikarios; this is no dream, but a vision of good omen that shall surely come to pass (οὐκ ὄναρ, ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἐσθλόν, ὅ τοι τετελεσμένον ἔσται). The geese are the suitors, and I am no longer an eagle, but your own husband come back to you, and who will bring these suitors to a disgraceful end. (*Od.*19.545-553)

When Penelope awakes, the geese are unharmed and the still disguised Odysseus commends the eagle's interpretation. Penelope's identification of the geese with her goods is understandable, but "reversed" by Odysseus. At first, however, the image is distressing, as also with Peter[71].

4.2.2 Tragedy

The famous tragedies of the 5th century BCE were still performed ubiquitously in the Hellenistic period[72]. With possible exposure to these works in primary education and later attendance, scholars have argued for an awareness and use of tragic plot lines and images by NT authors[73]. Although typically dependent on Homeric episodes, the dreams are often new. The presentational context, however, alters the way they are handled. With gods able to appear on stage, the need for message *dreams* is reduced. Symbolic dreams, which can only be *reported*, nevertheless develop greater complexity. The overall results are powerful and dreams assume an important role for both plot and character development[74]. A single message dream (voice only) is thus outnumbered by some eight symbolic or other visual dreams or visions with developed content, together with simpler dream *notices* and mentions of natural dreams and nightmares[75].

Whilst messages are understandable, they pose problems of trust[76]. For the symbolic dreams, characters tackle these without professional help, but do share them with relatives and friends with whom vigorous discussion can ensue. In these dreams, the admixture of real and symbolic elements which confused Penelope, is experienced by the tragic dreamers in increased measure. The scenes are also more participatory, meaning that dreamers also

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[70] *Od.*19:510- 529 and cf. *Od.*4:808- 823 and *Od.*20:85-87.

[71] As with Penelope, the animals in Peter's dream are recognisable and the idea of eating them, distressing. As explored later, interpreters were capable of reversing interpretations that brought good out of bad.

[72] For an introduction and basic bibliography, cf. A2§4.1.

[73] Euripides was important in primary education, as Cribiore (2001: 179, 198-199). On probable exposure on the part of NT authors, cf. Brant (2004), Cousland (2005), Stone (1984), Ruprecht (1992).

[74] For further notes on staging etc., cf. A2§4.1.

[75] For listings of the various types, cf. A2§4.2.

[76] I.e. in the light of *Il.*2.4-94.

have to make sense of *themselves* as visual elements[77]. And, as with Homer, anxiety motifs are frequent.

Thus, the dream of Atossa[78], coming at a time of personal anxiety and previous bad dreams, portrays the Greek/Persian conflict via fighting sisters whom Xerxes fails to yoke to his chariot. The women represent nations, but the king and his watching father appear as themselves. After several nightmares following her killing of her husband, Clytemnestra sees herself giving birth to a snake which draws blood when suckling, a distressing image that bodes ill for a murderess. The gulf between her misreading and her son's understanding hangs over the whole play[79]. Iphigenia dreams she is in her father's palace as it is demolished by an earthquake, leaving a sole pillar standing. Correctly discerning the "shaking" of a dynasty and the survival of an heir, as with Penelope's curious eagle, the pillar reveals its identity by the development of golden hair and her brother's voice. Iphigenia then sees herself sprinkling the "pillar" with holy water, a ritual used in human sacrifices. This terrible gesture casts its shadow over the remainder of the plot[80]. The dream of Hecuba contains two tableaux. One involves a mix of animal symbolism and a known human figures but the second unusually involves Hecuba "seeing" a public apparition happening elsewhere, through which she mistakenly comes to believe her daughter is dead[81]. Of these visual dreams, five are hugely important narratively, anticipating the entire plots of their respective tragedies, allowing scripts to be peppered with cross–references and reflections[82].

A number of trends of special relevance emerge. First are the frequent notes of "natural" dreaming. Anxiety, sleeplessness and nightmares can form the prelude to a "significant" dream, but which can share these natural features, leading to disturbing scenes, nightmarish voices and ominous repetition, none of which make for straightforward interpretation[83]. Secondly, with Penelope, heroes *distrust* dreams, but can make mistakes by both believing *and* disbelieving them, sometimes with darkly ironic and literally tragic results, as in the famous remark of Oedipus's mother:

> "What should a mortal man fear … Many men before now have slept with their mothers in dreams. But he to whom these things are as though nothing bears his life most easily." (Soph.*Oed.Rex.*977-984)[84]

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[77] As also Peter's vision, where he is invited to start killing animals.

[78] Aesch.*Pers.*176-230.

[79] Aesch.*Ch.*523-554.

[80] Eurip.*Iph.Taur.*42-64.

[81] Eurip.*Hec.*1-97.

[82] Aesch.*Pers.*175-230, *Ch.*523-554, Soph.*El.*405-504, Eurip.*Iph.Taur.*42-64, *Hec.*1-97.

[83] Notes in A2§4.n.2.

[84] Notes in A2§4.n.3.

Thirdly, the *misunderstanding* of dreams becomes a significant narrative device, and false or partial understandings frequently hang over much of the narrative. These errors are exploited not only for their ironic potential, but sometimes bring about the very events ordained by fate[85]. Finally, these false understandings largely arise through the uncertain mix of real and symbolic elements, compounded by ambiguous actions, unnoticed details and unknown time–frames. Confusions is further sealed by amateur interpretation informed by instinct and popular lore more than professional technique.

In form–critical terms, of Oppenheim' two basic abstractions, message dreams remain recognisable, but the other visual dreams almost all display a mixture of imagery and scenes that although including symbolic elements, are far from simple and appear to owe much to the word of "natural" dreaming.

4.2.3 Comedy

Performed from the 5th century through to the Hellenistic period, Greek comedy passed through "old", "middle" and "new" phases and possible exposure to such works in school or public performance make influence on biblical authors possible[86]. In the extant comedies there are no clear message dreams but a number of symbolic dreams, nightmares and other "psychological status dreams" totalling some eight passages, as well as a selection of metaphorical and passing references. The informal context and quick–fire dialogue means that frame and contents are often blurred and terminology missing[87].

Whilst respecting tragedy, several comedies make fun of its more overbearing features, including the portents, oracles and prophecies, dreams and nightmares. Comedy's own symbolic dreams are highly exaggerated and crammed with bizarre imagery[88]. In terms of interpretation, audiences invariably see lower class figures discussing their dreams, whose amateur attempts at professionalism are played to comic effect. Omens, dreams and oracles are all tackled in the same manner[89]. Besides the general value of its incidental information and mocking perspectives on the dream "industry", Greek comedy opens up for later fiction a more light–hearted approach to the grey area between revelation and nonsense and encourages a more oblique view of the strange turns of divine providence.

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[85] E.g. Aesch.*Ch.*523-554, Eurip.*Iph.Taur.*42-64, *Hec.*1-97.

[86] For introductory notes, cf. A2§5.1. Comedy featured in education by the Roman period, cf. Cribiore (2001: 199-200). On the possible influence of New Comedy on episodes within Acts, cf. Pervo (1987: 58-59, 63, 82), Harrill (2000), Chambers (2004).

[87] Cf. lists in A2§5.2.

[88] As nightmare pastiche, cf. Ar.*Ra.*1331-1344, and on exaggerated symbolic dreams, *Vesp.*15-28, 31-53.

[89] A2§5.3.

4.2.4 Herodotus

Herodotus (c.484–425 BCE) draws historiography away from its mythological background, but unlike Thucydides, remains open to the supernatural[90]. Thus, although avoiding overtly Homeric interventions[91], Herodotus makes frequent mention of omens, portents, prodigies, apparitions, "voices", oracles, prophecies and dreams. The interest is not merely technical, but adds considerable drama to the narrative[92]. Herodotus' dreamers are almost all high status males, but invariably foreign. Form–critically, he has seven clear message dreams, nine other visual dreams and a few passing dream "notices"[93].

Of the message dreams, most have unknown human dream figures of uncertain status[94]. Whilst messages are understandable, deception is a worry, as for Xerxes and Artabanus whose dreams eventually persuade them to attack the Greeks against their better judgement[95]. When Sabacos, the Ethiopian usurper is commanded to slaughter all the Egyptian priests, he too senses something suspicious and withdraws quietly[96]. Such transgressive commands invite comparison with Peter's vision and will be discussed more fully later. Hipparchus is warned of his impending death by something like an oracular riddle. With no interpretation forthcoming, he walks straight into a trap[97]. That divine displeasure can extend to issuing deliberately opaque warnings is again of interest for Peter's vision. Finally, Cambyses' coded warning about the power of his brother is a little different. Here, the emphasis is on Cambyses' intense jealousy and thus resonant with the psychological interests of later Hellenistic authors[98]. The presence of riddles, symbolic and other potentially non–literal elements within these message dreams, implies that for Herodotus, beyond worries about deception, the gods' utterances may have to be interpreted as well as received.

Herodotus' other visual dreams, are a little like those in Greek tragedy in displaying a mix of realistic and symbolic elements and are often participatory. Frequently, some

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[90] For bibliographical notes, cf. A2§6.1. On the Herodotus/Thucydides contrast see Carey (1998: 46). On Herodotus' openness to the supernatural, cf. editorial comments such as Hdt.8.20, 77 et sim. (A2§6 n.4) and McDonald (1965), Harrison (2000), Mikalson (2002, 2003).

[91] Although he is well aware of such tales, he shows a general scepticism towards them. For a listing and further discussion, cf. A2§6 n.1.

[92] On Herodotus' prodigy, omen or portent reports, cf. A2§6 n.2; on his oracles and prophecies, cf. A2§6.n.3. For ghosts, apparitions and other oddities, cf. A2§6 n.1. On the possible influence of tragedy, Carey (1998: 47 n.302) and cf. Plu.*Demetr*.28:1.

[93] For classification lists, cf. A2§6.2.

[94] Although Sethos in Hdt.2:141 sees "one of the gods". The "tall and beautiful man" of Hdt.5:55-56 is typical of similar ANE cases.

[95] Hdt.7:8-18.

[96] Hdt.2:139.

[97] Hdt.5:55-56. Unable to understand, he performs a sacrifice and ignores the dream.

[98] Hdt.3.30. The dream is like a symbolic dream in verbal form as Cambyses is told that "Smerdis sat upon the royal throne and with his head touched the heavens". Re Cambyses' jealousy, cf. 3:27-31.

recognised individual is seen, but symbolic elements can only really be detected by improbable conjunctions, or unlikely actions. Several assume a popular or naturalistic form. Thus Astyages sees his daughter flooding Asia with urine and a vine growing from her loins[99]; Cyrus sees a winged Darius overshadowing Asia and Europe[100]; Polycrates' daughter sees her father "hanging in the air .. and anointed by the sun"[101]; Hippias dreams of sleeping with his mother[102]; Agarista dreams that she has given birth to a lion[103] and Epizelus sees a "gigantic warrior, with a huge beard"[104].

Herodotean dreams can be interpreted by professionals (particularly in royal courts) but also by the dreamers and their relatives. Court advisors are aware not only of standard oneirocritical lore, but also scientific theories about dreams. Although often "correct", their views do not dominate proceedings. Unfortunately, the dreamers, who like to remain in control, often get things wrong[105]. As in Greek tragedy, misunderstanding plays an important role and Herodotus's leading characters can be hard to persuade and try to avoid divine guidance, as they also do with even clear oracles. Again from tragedy, several of the more enigmatic dreams, oracles and prophecies are made to "hang over" extended parts of the narrative.

4.3 Popular, Therapeutic and Personal Dream Accounts

We include here a somewhat disparate set of sources covering a broad time–span, but united by their occurrence outside of epic, historical or other narrative settings. Preserved in dedications, diaries, dream manuals or personal anecdotes, there is clearer evidence here of a world of unfiltered accounts that move beyond the rather stilted form–critical options more typical of court and/or elite historical sources.

4.3.1 Epidauros and Other Asclepion Dreams

The Epidauros inscriptions, dating from the 2nd century BCE, form the largest single collection of Asclepion dreams[106]. Visitation forms are certainly evident, although only seven can be said to be message dreams proper as many visualise a direct therapeutic

[99] Hdt.1:107-108, signalling the ascendancy of his son in law.

[100] Hdt.1.209-210, with obvious political import.

[101] Hdt.3:124. He is later killed and his body hung up.

[102] Hdt.6:107. The exiled Athenian ruler has this dream the night before guiding Persian forces to invade his own city. On similar incest dreams, cf. Grottanelli (1999).

[103] Hdt.6:131. i.e. Pericles.

[104] Hdt.6:117. In this battlefield vision, the warrior approaches but passes Epizelus. He wakes to find himself blinded.

[105] On interpretive methods and practices, cf. A2§6.3.

[106] For introduction, see A2§7.1. As inscriptions, their wording is necessarily economical, and thus framing is often very sparse. Although there are clear introductory formulae in some accounts, e.g. ὄψιν εἶδε, (A2 et sim) or ἐνύπνιον εἶδε (A14 et sim), in many other cases, a dream must be inferred through ἐδόκει and other more allusive indicators. For further details, cf. A2§7.n.1.

action, although sometimes with accompanying instructions. Whilst treatments are often peculiar, the instructions themselves are given in plain speech[107].

Many other visual dreams involving action, dialogue and movement are neither message dreams nor classical symbolic dreams but form–critically hybrid. Dreamers are carried out of the abaton for treatment, find themselves outside playing a game, ordered to climb on the roof, led to drink from a pond, taken to find lost children or observe the therapeutic visitations of others[108]. Although such scenes are paralleled elsewhere in the therapeutic world, they would seem particularly strongly represented at Epidauros[109] and remain suggestive in relation to Peter's invited dream participation.

4.3.2 Aelius Aristides

Aelius Aristides (c.117–181 CE) is rare amongst Asclepius devotees in keeping a dream diary containing not only therapeutic dreams similar to the above, but also more general dreams arising from his frustrated calling as a rhetorician[110].

Of some 150 "messages" only four have full descriptions with visible dream figures. 31 contain one or more dream indicators, but are far from full accounts. 15–20 are cast as "oracle reception" accounts, and over 100 merely as divine commands[111]. A further 18 show hybrid features, such as visits with no words, or significant messages, but not delivered in visitation scenes. Of this latter type, a high proportion display enigmatic or riddling speech[112].

Of Aristides' 68 or so other visual cases, most are very far removed from the classical symbolic dream[113]. Mainly non–therapeutic, these dreams are participatory, set in known places, involve sights and sensations, tastes and smells, visual and cognitive perceptions, emotional responses, and a host of characters and conversations, and can be very extensive[114]. They have to be interpreted in a rather general way, a process that sometimes begins within the dream, but can involve both literal and figurative readings of the various

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[107] For the variety of visitation and message-style dreams, cf. A2§7.2.

[108] B18, A3, B15, B17, B4, B1 respectively.

[109] Cf. the smaller proportion of such dreams in other Asclepion testimonies, such A2§8 Nos. 1(2), 7(5), 15, 17, 18, amongst the examples collected by Edelstein and Edelstein, where otherwise 75% are simple message dreams.

[110] For introductory notes, cf. A2§9.1. re dream diaries, cf. also the testimony of Marcus Julius Apellas in Edelstein and Edelstein (1945: 247-248, n.432 = IG IV, 1 n.126). 13% of Aristides' message dreams and nearly a third of the others concern his frustrated calling as a rhetor, cf. note A2§9 n.4. Several of these show evidence of divine help with speeches and writing, cf. A2§9 n.18.

[111] For listing, see A2§9.2.1.

[112] For listing, see A2§9.2.3.

[113] For listing, see A2§9.3.2.

[114] Re perception, *Or.* 47.7 et sim., listed in A2§9 n.8. Re thought, *Or.* 47.17 et sim., listed in A2§9 n.7. re emotional reactions, A2§9 n.6. Several are elaborated at great length with sequential tableaux, as listed in A2§9 n.5.

aspects and elements[115]. These surreal dreams would seem typical of more general popular dreaming and bear comparison with aspects of Peter's vision, which combines realistic imagery, surreal action and enigmatic dialogue in similar ways.

Finally, Aristides has up to nine double dreams concerning not only his healing, but also his rhetorical compositions and speaking engagements with supporting dreams from relatives or colleagues[116].

4.3.3 Artemidorus

Artemidorus (c.120–180 CE), a rough contemporary of Aristides, was a professional dream interpreter and author of a five–volume *Oneirocritica.* Convinced that dreams can and do "come true" he is unusual in using ὄνειρος for these, reserving ἐνύπνιον for "ordinary" dreams. Besides extensive theoretical discussions, his work contains some 230 examples, mostly highly abbreviated and unattributed[117].

Although aware of the message dream tradition, Artemidorus includes only 18 dreams with any kind of speech. Only five involve gods and not all of these have typical message forms. Whilst Artemidorus admits that divine utterances are usually trustworthy, those he discusses all need a professional opinion. A further seven featuring unidentified human speakers are also not easy to understand. It is striking that in total, 17 out of the 18 involve enigmatic speech[118].

The majority of Artemidorus' examples are purely visual, since it is these that more routinely require interpretation. Artemidorus is aware that not all of these dreams are symbolic in the traditional sense, since many include known people and objects and plausible events. Those foreshadowing the future directly he calls θεωρημᾰτικός, but those doing so symbolically, ἀλληγορικός[119]. Symbolism is suggested not only by "impossible" objects and mythological beings, but also impossible conjunctions, as with the man with stalks of wheat growing out of his ears[120]. Visual elements are interpreted separately (by "convention" or wordplay) before recombination to provide an overall meaning, although always guided by dreamer's personal contexts. In general, uncertainty as to whether

[115] Re interpretation during dreams, *Or.* 47.8 et sim, listed in A2§9 n.9, as implicitly, Peter in Acts 10:9-16.

[116] Listed in A2§9 n.17.

[117] For introduction, and notes on this basic sketch, cf. A2§10.1.

[118] For notes on the dreams with speech, cf. A2§10 n.7.

[119] Re θεωρημᾰτικός dreams, *Oneir.*1:2.1-3 with examples in 1:2.3-11. Re ἀλληγορικός dreams, *Oneir.*1:2.1-3, 1:2.14-16. These he further subdivides. For further notes on Artemidorus' classification, cf. A2§10 n.4. On the natural rationale for symbolic representation, cf. A2§10 n.11.

[120] On gods as symbolic objects, cf. *Oneir.*2:34-39 and A2§10 n.6. On the stalks of wheat example, *Oneir.*1:24.20-22.

elements stand for themselves, or for other things means that θεωρημᾰτικός and ἀλληγορικός are not watertight designations[121].

Two issues of special note in relation to Peter's vision emerge, namely riddling or enigmatic speech on the one hand, and the occurrence of taboo–breaking images, including incest, cannibalism, sexual perversion and violations of sacred law. It is precisely the combination of these two things that make Peter's vision so un–biblical and yet which Artemidorus encounters frequently in the world of popular dreaming[122].

4.3.4 Other Personal Dreams in Non–Narrative Works

Writers of various sorts, whilst often championing naturalistic perspectives, nevertheless preserved occasional dream reports on an anecdotal basis[123]. Although sometimes attached to the names of famous people (such as Socrates), many derived from friends and relatives, and some from the authors themselves. Although potentially informed by elite education, these are generally less stylised than those in literary settings. Thus whilst traditional visitation forms are still seen for "calls" to new vocations or artistic or technical revelations, some messages are not at all transparent, and many of the visual dreams display more idiosyncratic or popular features than their literary counterparts.

Thus Socrates has dream encouraging him to "make music"[124], and in another, hears a quote from Homer[125]. Aware that such messages might be riddling, he takes the former as referring to his philosophy, until recurrence forces to reconsider. In turn, in the latter's reference to the homecoming of Achilles, Socrates hears a prediction of his own "homecoming" or death. In his only recorded symbolic dream, he sees "a swan fly into his bosom", in anticipation of his new pupil, Plato[126]

Xenophon, a former student of Socrates provides classical message dreams for Kings, but his own experiences display more popular and ambiguous forms. Coming in situations of danger, they involve recognisable people, objects or images but develop somewhat unobvious meanings. In one, "fetters falling off" and a sense of "taking long strides" sound hopeful in the face of the enemy's advance, but the exact sense is not understood until a means of escape is later discovered, hitherto obscured by a wordplay[127]. This latter case is

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[121] Cf. notes on his interpretive principles in A2§10 n.10.

[122] On enigmatic speech, cf. *Oneir*.4:71.5-10, discussed in A2§10 n.8, A2§10 n.11 and ch.5. On taboo breaking dreams, cf. *Oneir*.4:2.58-74, discussed further in ch.4.

[123] E.g. Plato, Pausanias, Xenophon, Josephus, Aristides, Casius Dio, Cicero, Pliny the Elder, Plutarch, Galen and others.

[124] Pl.*Phd.*60e-61c.

[125] Pl.*Crit.*44a-b.

[126] Paus.1:30.3.

[127] Cyrus receives a classical message dream in X.*Cyr*.8:7.2, but for the more informal style of Xenophon's personal dreams, cf. *An*.3:1.11–14 and 4:3.8-20, the fetters imagery from the latter.

typical of riddling dreams which compel the dreamer to wait until they recognise the solution in the light of later events, as also Peter must do. In another, the rather negative imagery of seeing his father's house struck by a thunderbolt is turned into a good omen by a typically Hellenistic "reversing" interpretation, and again of possible relevance for our text[128].

4.3.5 Rabbinical Dream Books

Although the rabbinic writings postdate Luke, two texts provide evidence of a world of popular dreaming suppressed in the biblical tradition, but within which rabbis appear to have assumed the role of interpreters. "Dream books", discussing cases and interpretive principles appear to be embedded within tractates Berakoth in the Babylonian Talmud, and Ma'as.Sheni in the Yerushalmi[129]. The forms and interpretation of these dreams are so similar to those seen in Artemidorus that many see a connection[130]. When entire dreams are given, they involve recognisable objects and often surreal distressing bodily afflictions. Examples of the former from B.Ber include "a cask hanging on a palm tree", "a young ass standing by our pillow and braying", "two turnip–tops" et sim., and of the latter, "that a needle pierced my finger", "that my … teeth fell out", "that my head was split open and my brains fell out" et sim. All are analysed using conventional symbolism or wordplay to yield prognostications of good and/or bad fortune and potentially upsetting dreams about defecation, sex and death can receive good as well as bad interpretations. As in Artemidorus, speech is rare, although some dreamers in B.Ber report being asked to read scripture, or hearing themselves pray. In Y.Ma'as.Sheni, a number of anonymous utterances introduced by "I was told" are reminiscent of similar cases reported in Aristides and Artemidorus[131].

4.3.6 Conclusions

The above suggests that beyond grand dreams of divine guidance for the state, dreams could provide guidance of a personal and creative kind for all sorts of people and feature both message and other visual forms. Although gods might speak to devotees, messages often came through anonymous figures or just voices. Unlike the epic form, content can include literary quotes and other riddling elements, and in therapeutic contexts, treatments, movements and other activities necessarily producing hybrid dream forms. General popular

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[128] *An.*3:1.11–14. Xenophon considers two interpretations, neither literal. After briefly worrying about military defeat, he eventually reads a "great light from Zeus" more positively. Peter's vision would also constitute a bad omen unless rescued in a similar way. This so-called principle of opposites will be discussed further in ch.4.

[129] On rabbinic dream interpretation in general, cf. Noegel (2007: 235-251). On B.Ber.55a-57b, cf. Alexander (1995a) and Y.Ma'as.Sheni 55a-c, cf. Ulmer (2001).

[130] As Alexander (1995a: 231).

[131] Ulmer (2001: 317) takes "I was told" as an anonymous voice in a dream.

dreaming, particularly of the participatory kind shows the greatest differences from classical patterns. Recognisable elements in improbable conjunctions compete with bizarre scenes in which dreamers and other figures interact and converse. From these scenes, interpreters attempt to wring all sorts of meanings via symbolism, wordplay and dreamers' personal contexts.

4.4 Hellenistic and Roman Historiography

4.4.1 Dionysius of Halicarnassus

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (c.60–7 BCE) follows Herodotus both stylistically, and in relation the supernatural. With a particular interest in Roman divinatory practices, his narrative is peppered with oracle, omen, prodigy and portent reports, and divine "voices"[132]. He has fewer dreams than Herodotus, with just three message forms, two other visual cases and two brief but indeterminate references[133]. However, those with content do attest the further incorporation of popular motifs.

The message dreams of Aeneas and Latinus during the conquest of Latium constitute a hitherto unusual double dream[134] where the leaders are brought together by dreams in which they each see their own gods. The ready obedience of the foreigner compares ironically with Aeneas' reluctance[135]. Divine–human struggle is also seen in the case of Titus Latinius. Intended as a rebuke for the senate, the provincial recipient dismisses the riddling dream as nonsense, until divine affliction and further threats persuade him otherwise. Once aware of it, the senate still need to make sense of its enigmatic message[136].

Dionysius' other visual dreams are even more popular and individual in tone than Herodotus', featuring a nightmare in one, and a medical affliction in the other. They are not, however, without significance. Repeated nightmares cause the conspirators, Publius and Marcus Tarquinius to confess as they are "pursued and beaten by … demons, threatening them with dire punishments", "forced by the compulsion of Heaven" (ὑπὸ θείας ἀνάγκης βιαζόμενοι) to amend their ways[137]. Pyrrhus dreams that his teeth had fallen out after a sleepless night of military strategizing. Noting that he had this dream before in "bad" times, he calls off the next day's attack. Unfortunately, after colleagues draw him back to the plan,

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[132] For introduction and notes, see A2§11.1 and for comparison with Luke-Acts, Plümacher (1993).

[133] Cf. lists in A2§11.2.

[134] I.e. within formal history or biography.

[135] *RA* 1:56.5 and 1:57.4. There are no such paired revelations in Herodotus, but this example will be discussed more fully in ch.6.

[136] *RA* 7:68.3-7:69.2. On escalating threats cf. Hdt.7:8-18. After Titus has delivered his message, he is healed from an affliction given to him for his initial reluctance.

[137] *RA* 5:54.1-5. The very physical nightmare ("eyes gouged out … [and] many other cruel torments") is the culmination of a sequence of hitherto ignored dreams. The confession is described in 5:54.7.

he is defeated[138]. Both accounts show "natural" dreams trying to "save" their dreamers and become suggestive in relation to aspects of Peter's vision.

4.4.2 Diodorus Siculus

Diodorus Siculus (1st century BCE), a rough contemporary of Dionysius, takes a similarly Herodotean approach to the supernatural, enhanced via his account of Alexander, for whom divination was particularly important[139]. Besides a number of passing or marginal reports, there are nine message dreams and eight other visual dreams[140].

Of the message dreams, only three are not known from other authors, those of the father of Sesoöis, Seleucus and Eunus. All are uncontroversial, although Seleucus' dream provides growing evidence for Alexander appearing as a dream figure[141]. Of the other visual cases, every one is cast in a popular vein. Alexander seeing a healing plant and Phintias, the manner of his death contain theorematic visualisations[142]. The nightmares of Philip, the anxiety dreams of Darius and Gelon's sleep–talking all have a naturalistic feel[143]. Onomarchus remodelling a statue, Eumenes seeing Alexander holding court and Thrasybulus acting in a theatrical competition all invite interpretation, but are more like the dreams of Artemidorus' clients than they are classical symbolic dreams[144]; although certainly providential, they are not overtly divine. All are interpreted instinctively by dreamers without recourse to wordplay or other obscurities, although some do make mistakes[145]. The dominance of naturalistic and popular forms is thus very striking.

4.5 Hellenistic and Roman Biography

Luke–Acts has frequently been considered in relation in to the biographies, where Plutarch and Suetonius serve as useful examples. Although both later than the NT, they exemplify relevant trends in Luke's literary environment, particularly in regard to the form and content of dreams.

4.5.1 Plutarch

Plutarch (c. 46–120 CE) includes numerous dream accounts in his *Parallel Lives* which have been suggested as particularly relevant for Luke by Gaventa (1986: 110-111). With an interest in psychology and character development typical of the Second

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[138] *RA* 20:12.1-2.

[139] For introduction and notes, cf. A2§12.1.

[140] For breakdown and references, cf. A2§12.2.

[141] *BH* 19:90.34, cf. the earlier *BH* 1:53.9.

[142] Alexander: *BH* 17:103.7-9, enabling him to find the plant and heal Ptolemy (the snake carrying the plant is symbolic). Phintias: *BH* 22:7.1, gored by a wild boar.

[143] Philip: *BH* 29:25.1, no content given, but noted as severe. Darius: *BH* 17:30.7, haunted by images of enemy troops. Gelon: *BH* 10:29.1, dreaming that he had been struck by lightning.

[144] Onomarchus: *BH* 16:33.1, Eumenes: *BH* 18:60.4, Thrasybulus: *BH* 13:97.6.

[145] As Onomarchus, remodelling his statue.

Sophistic[146], he shows how great men were both inspired and misled by their dreams[147]. Besides apparitions and other brief reports, there are some 21 message dreams, perhaps 26 other visual dreams and a further 10 with hybrid characteristics[148].

The message dreams are not always conventional. Besides a growing importance of the appearance of the dream figure, popular forms include two nightmares and a healing prescription. Particularly striking is the frequency of enigmatic speech, involving oracular–style riddles, literary quotes, general ambiguities and significantly for Peter's vision, commands to perform morally dubious actions[149].

The other visual and hybrid cases[150] display a bewildering mix of imagery such as the snake which comes to Themistocles in an apparently therapeutic idiom, only to turn into an eagle and carry him off[151]. The perplexity of dreamers is often mentioned. Whilst birth–portents are relatively straightforward, the many death–dreams are particularly bizarre, including the women's clothes and make–up put on Alcibiades, Cinna's sinister supper–party invite, Cimon's barking dog and Calpurnia's fallen ornament, all of which have a riddling quality[152]. The traditional Greek response is to see an intimation of the future, as do Mithridates and Dion, who takes a rival's dream as evidence of *intent* to commit murder . Others, however, attempt to build or make something seen in or implied by the dream or interpret what they have seen in terms of military strategy[153]. As often in popular cases, many dreamers believe themselves to be participating in these scenes. Whether these count as wish fulfilment, anxiety dreams or nightmares, depends upon the dreamer, but as in Artemidorus, taboo–breaking or other uncharacteristic behaviour such as incest is transformed via convenient symbolism or wordplay[154].

Accounting for nearly a third of all Plutarch's dreams, hybrid forms typically involve strong visual elements in message dreams or conversational elements in visual dreams. Some of these involve an oneiric figure commenting upon a presented scene in a manner

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[146] Whitmarsh (2005: 74-79).

[147] For introduction and notes, see A2§13.1.

[148] For breakdown and lists, see A2§13.2, and on the challenge to conventional form-critical models, Brenk (1975: 337).

[149] For references here, cf. A2§13.2.1. The nightmares will be discussed further in ch.4, and dreams with enigmatic speech in ch.5.

[150] Cf. lists in A2§13.2.2 and A2§13.2.3.

[151] *Them.*26:2-3. Snakes normally feature "as themselves" in therapeutic dreams, cf. *BH* 17:103.7-9.

[152] Perplexity: cf. *Demetr.*4:1-4, re birth portents, cf. the "lion" symbolism in *Per.*3:2, cf. Hdt.6:131. Re Alcibiades, Cinna, Cimon, Calpurnia, cf. *Alc.*39:1-2, *Caes.*68:3-5, *Cim.*18:2-4, *Caes.*63:9.

[153] Mithridates: *Pomp.*32:4. Dion: *Dio.*9:7. Building or making things: *Eum.*13:3-4, *Tim.*8:1-3. In *Cleom.*7:2-3 Cleomenes sees the layout of chairs in a temple as providing clues about military strategy.

[154] Participation in supernatural scenes includes *Sul.*9:4 and *Pyrrh.*29:1-2, where Sulla and Pyrrhus are helping the gods to cast thunderbolts. Realistic scenes include *Pyrrh.*11:2-3, being called in to Alexander's tent, *Pomp.*68:2 entering a theatre, and *Dem.*29:2-7, acting on stage. Caesar's incest dream, *Caes.*32:7-9, is interpreted in terms of his saving "invasion" of his mother*land*. cf. Grottanelli (1999).

similar to Peter's vision. The death dream of Mardonius, involving extensive visual, participatory and conversational elements is particularly unusual when Mardonius' fate is revealed by the oneiric "death" of his incubating proxy[155].

Plutarch often notes feelings and emotions before, during or after dreams, including joy, distress, terror, perplexity and uncertainty[156]. Rather than consulting experts, characters interpret their own dreams in an instinctive rather than technical manner. Sometimes sharing with friends and colleagues, the resulting interpretations often conflict. Dreams perceived as prescriptive are mainly acted upon, and when followed, usually lead to good outcomes. A few however, are disregarded to the dreamer's cost, although some are granted further warnings[157]. Plutarch comments from time to time on the variety of attitudes to dreams, from the positive Sulla and Mithridates to the sceptical Cassius. Plutarch's own view, with Herodotus, lies somewhere in the middle, feeling that the testimony of such significant people cannot be dismissed lightly[158].

4.5.2 Suetonius

Suetonius (c. 69–130 CE) includes amongst the usual portents, apparitions and omens, a number of dreams[159]. Whilst some are paralleled in Plutarch or Livy, many are new. Besides passing references, there are eight full message dreams and 18 other visual dreams[160].

Form–critically, several message dreams show hybrid elements, sometimes occurring against more general visual backdrops such as homes or temples. The messages, however, are mostly straightforward, with only occasional mild riddling[161]. Of the other visual dreams, a large proportion portend birth, destiny or death. Whilst birth dreams use conventional symbolism, in another class of story, youthful emperors–to–be not only receive divine approval but are recognised by the dreamer the next day[162]. In one particularly enigmatic scene, Quintus Catulus is so surprised to see Octavian in the place of *Roma*, he reprimands the deity[163]. Others affirm the destinies of the emperors at later

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[155] On visual elements in message dreams, cf. A2§13 n.3 and speech in visual dreams, A2§13 n.6. For a dream figure commenting on a presented scene, cf. *Demetr.*4:1-4. Re Mardonius, *Arist.*19:1-2.

[156] Cf. A2§13 n.7.

[157] For details of interpretation and response, see A2§13.3.

[158] For references, see A2§13 n.10.

[159] For further biographical and bibliographical details, see A2§14.1.

[160] For listing and breakdown, see A2§14.2.

[161] Cf. *Galb.*4:3, where Fortuna speaks outside the door. On temple contexts, see list in A2§14.n.1. For enigmatic speech, *Galb.*4:3, 18:.2 and cf. A2§14 n.2.

[162] For birth dreams, see A2§14 n.3. For recognition dreams, A2§14.n.4.

[163] *Aug.*94:8. The human rebuke for a god is an interesting feature, reminiscent of Peter's vision.

turning points and include the famous incest dream of Caesar[164]. Of the numerous death dreams, the simple nightmares experienced by some give way to melodramatic elaboration for Nero[165]. Suetonius thus displays a narrower Roman interest in foretelling the future and particularly personal destiny. His interest in the role of dreams in legal proceedings is also quite Roman[166]. Although he makes occasional observations of changes in dreaming frequency and content, he does not muse at any length on natural dream theory as such. With Plutarch, Suetonius makes an occasional aside about differing attitudes to dreams but this is not strongly developed[167].

4.6 Hellenistic and Roman Epic and Fiction

Other texts that have been discussed in relation to Luke–Acts include later Hellenistic and Roman homages to the epic, such as Apollonius's *Argonautica* and Vergil's *Aeneid*, as well as the prose novels. Although the epics celebrate ancient heroes in classic metre, and the novels, latter–day "unknowns" in colourful prose, their use of dreams show similarities and some influence on Luke has been conjectured.

4.6.1 Apollonius Rhodius

Apollonius Rhodius (3rd century BCE) tells the story of Jason in the Homeric-style short epic *Argonautica*. Although written in classical hexameters, the tale has an unmistakably Hellenistic hue, and the addition of a romantic sub-plot is viewed as an important influence on both the later novels and Vergil[168].

There are four visitation/message forms, although several present as apparitions to the Argonauts as a group and none is clearly labelled as a dream or a vision. In addition, however, two on-board seers offer prophecies or interpret bird cries, and an oak beam built into the ship also gives spoken messages[169]. Whilst all of these are necessarily verse utterances, the speech of a group of nymphs in Book 4 includes a riddle, solved only after a later portent. To these, Apollonius adds three other visual examples, for the heroine Medea, the sorceress Circe and the crew-member Euphemus. Explicitly labelled as dreams, all three display popular or naturalistic overtones[170]. Whilst Medea anxiously imagines Jason's

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[164] *Caes.*7:2 and *Vesp.*25:1. For further notes, see A2§14 n.6.

[165] Unlike Plutarch, the majority of death dreams in Suetonius are of the symbolic/visual type, cf. A2§14.n.5. re the implicit nightmare reports, see A2§14.2.3. *Ner.*46 constitutes a highly baroque sequence of visual tableaux.

[166] Suetonius reports three fraudulent dreams in *Claud.*37:1-2.

[167] On dream frequency, see *Aug.*91:1, *Ner.*46:1. On differing attitudes, *Aug.*91:1.

[168] For introduction and notes, cf. A2§15.1

[169] It is made from a tree from the sacred grove at Dodona (*Argo.*1:524-527). For a listing of the various message forms, cf. A2§15.2.1.

[170] Listed in A2§15.2.2.

ploughing challenge[171], the other two cases show figurative or symbolic aspects although neither represent symbolic dreams in the classical sense. Circe's nightmarish dripping blood foreshadows the arrival of guilty visitors in a fairly straightforward manner[172] but in Euphemus' fantastical participatory dream, he is united with and then "suckles" a woman formed from a clod of earth who in turn makes a riddling promise[173]. This is hybrid in every sense of the word, containing significant visual and verbal information.

4.6.2 Vergil

Starting from the Trojan war, Vergil (c.70–19 BCE) creates a Roman foundation myth aimed specifically at his first century audience as an apology for the new Augustan empire. Although its divine councils, visitations and interventions, prodigies, portents and prophecies represent standard Homeric fare, the Aeneid's dreams are particularly used to develop plot and character, avoiding the more typical Roman obsession with divination[174]. Although Luke is more often compared to prose historians, there is a growing interest in his relationship to Vergil, as well as the Vergilian dreams in general[175].

In contrast to Apollonius, the dominance of some 22 message dreams or theophanies over just three other visual cases is striking[176]. Many of the message dreams, however, strain classical conventions. With some delivering messages only when questioned, dream–figure *appearance* is often significant. Some messengers present secondary visual scenes to the dreamer as in some post–exilic biblical cases[177]. In a rather different key, the nightmare visit of the Fury, Allecto, involves a full scale physical assault, part of a general propensity to blur the dream/reality divide, which is taken to further extremes in the underworld journey in Book 6[178].

The messages and resulting conversations are striking by their length and themes. Not only furthering the plot, they explore characters' feelings to the point where McNeeley can

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[171] *Argo.*3:616-635. The imagined scene does not entirely correspond to the actual events, and she is eventually woken up by a shout in the dream. Flannery–Dailey (2000: 93, 2004: 78) calls it a "psychological status dream", even though it is partially predictive.

[172] *Argo.*4:663-672, foreseeing the arrival of the blood-guilty Argonauts, a "frightening" symbolic dream according to Flannery-Dailey (2000: 92, a note inexplicably dropped in ibid., 2004: 77). Both of the dreams of Medea and Circe illustrate the impossibility of tying psychological elements uniquely either to lack of significance, or to dream form, as noted in §3.5.2 above.

[173] *Argo.*4:1731-1745. Jason helps with an interpretation in ll.1749-1754, based on local mythology. The episode eventually leads to the "creation" of the Island of Calliste.

[174] For introduction and notes, see A2§16.1.

[175] On Luke and Vergil, cf. Bonz (2000) and Shea (2005) who both see Luke's imitation of Homer via *Vergil* as more likely than the direct picture of MacDonald (2003a et sim.). On the Vergilian dreams, see Block (1981), Berlin (1994) et al. listed in A2§16.1.

[176] Ten have some dream/vision indicator, the others are direct divine visits. For breakdown and listings, see A2§16.2.

[177] Re questions: cf. *Aen.*2:270-297. Re appearance: A2§16 n.3. Re presented scenes: *Aen.*2:588-623.

[178] Re Allecto: *Aen.*7:415-466. Re dream/reality blurring: A2§16.n.4. In the underworld visit, Aeneas sees Homer's gates of dreams in *Aen.*6:886-901 and his exit through the ivory gate may signal that the episode will be forgotten.

speak of "anxiety dreams in message–dream form"[179]. Certainly Aeneas's struggle with grief and *loss of nerve* is underlined by frequent notes of his state of mind and the numerous divine rebukes and encouragements[180]. Going beyond Dionysius and Plutarch, with their necessarily shorter narrative units, Vergil is able to use dreams to realise a progressive revelation, interwoven with the painful step–by–step development of character required by the ultimate goal of founding Rome. In this regard, it is significant that the double dream of Aeneas and Latinus known from Dionysius is considerably elaborated, and their resulting relationship given added depth. Latinus' father now appears to him in an incubation dream, not only commending peace, but union through marriage, thus creating a new people as well as a new city[181]. Such images are illuminating in regard to the apologetic agendas of Acts and the Peter–Cornelius double dream in particular[182].

4.6.3 Greek and Latin Novels

The novels typically tell of love, adventure and magic through the eyes of otherwise unknown heroes and heroines. Although complete works survive from only the first to the 3rd centuries CE, stylistic similarities in Xenophon, Apollonius Rhodius, Jewish and other earlier writers suggest a currency throughout the Hellenistic period, and probable awareness on the part of NT authors. The novels' many dreams, which have been compared to those of Luke–Acts, display a dramatic and entertaining hue suitable to their subject matter[183]. Besides a few passing references to Homeric–style visitations, there are some 29 message dreams and 32 other visual dreams almost all of which occur in sleep[184]. The majority are not interpreted by professionals, but by the dreamers themselves, helped by friends and relatives[185].

The message dreams show relative stability in form, with variations typical in other Hellenistic works, such as increased descriptive detail, occasional multiple dream figures, and some oracular–style riddling utterances[186]. The other visual forms, however, display considerable variations with a larger role for natural–style dreams. The romantic plot lines ensure regular wish–fulfilment dreams, and sad dreams of separation. Anxiously imagined

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[179] McNeeley (1998: 17), with further notes in A2§16 n.5.

[180] Re states of mind, cf. *Aen.*5:700-703, 720, 733-737 et sim., listed in A2§16 n.7. Re rebukes/encouragements, e.g. Mercury in 4:219-278 et sim.

[181] On progressive revelation, cf. A2§16 n.6. Latinus' augmented dream is in 7:97-101. The marriage *occurs* in Dionysius' version, but is not explicitly commended in the dream.

[182] On the general similarity of apologetic agenda, cf. Bonz (2000). This episode will be discussed in relation to the Peter-Cornelius episode in ch.6.

[183] For introduction and bibliography, cf. A2§17.1. Re comparison with Lukan dreams, cf. Gaventa (1986: 110-111) and many others.

[184] For listing and breakdown, see A2§17.2.

[185] Re the few cases where professional interpreters are visible, see A2§17 n.7.

[186] Re descriptive detail: A2§17 n.3. Re multiple dream figures: Long.2:23.1- 27, 3:27.8-3:28.1. Re enigmatic speech: A2§17 n.4.

futures are significant for what they get "wrong" as much as what they get "right". The number of traditional symbolic dreams is very small and most uncertainty arises through an ambiguous mix of the real and figurative imagery, although some also contain enigmatic speech as well. The occurrence of unexpected "animals" in otherwise realistic narrative is usually unproblematic, but sometimes allegorising is needed to understand the "plot" of a dream, as well as its figures. Even if conceivably foreseeing real events, allegorising may still be possible, allowing those with more technical knowledge to devise alternative interpretations when circumstances demand[187]. Although this knowledge is implicitly derived from experts, final judgements are always made by the dreamers[188].

More than any other genre, the novels employ double dreams, with up to ten in the texts surveyed here[189] and again often linked to Luke's usage. These will be addressed in more detail in a subsequent chapter.

Although gods can and do guide and reveal, natural dreams and dreams of uncertain origin are particularly important for the novels, with some proving "truer" than initially suspected as providence itself displays its surprising twists[190]. Although both "good" and "bad" characters can be perplexed by their dreams, in common with tragedy, epic and other extended formats, dreams can weave in and out of the narrative and characters struggle with uncertainty for many chapters. Indeed the *misunderstanding* of key dreams fuels both plot development and resolution[191]. Together with frequent instances of dream/reality confusion and other touches of "magic realism", the works delight to underline the absurdity and paradox inherent in all life[192].

4.7 Apocrypha, Josephus, Gospels and Acts

In these closing sections, a brief inquiry will be made into evidence for the influence of Graeco–Roman dreams on the Jewish literature potentially known to Luke before turning to the Gospels, Acts and Peter's vision. As before, there will be a basic attention to form, but also to features of particular relevance to our principle text.

4.7.1 Apocrypha and Non–Apocalyptic Pseudepigrapha

With varying provenances, genres, and attitudes to the supernatural, these Jewish texts cannot be lumped together too simplistically[193]. The survey here is not systematic, but does

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[187] On interpretation, cf. A2§17.2.6.

[188] Re experts: A2§17 n.13. Re own judgement, see the comments of Lichas in Petron.*Sat.*104.

[189] Listed in A2§17.n.14 and discussed in ch.6.

[190] On the entire *Ethiopica* as riddling in this sense, cf. Morgan (1994).

[191] Cf. Bartsch (1989: 80-108), particularly in relation to Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus.

[192] Cf. Gollnick (1999: 57) and the passing comment in Hld.2.16 "we really do seem to be in a dreamworld!". For further notes, see A2§17 n.1.

[193] For introduction, cf. A2§18.1.

show that Graeco–Roman influence is present in different ways in a surprising selection of texts. Within the "rewritten Bible" genre, new dreams are sometimes added to biblical narrative, as necessarily for the LXX Greek additions, the Jewish novellas and additional histories. The number is not great, however, possibly due to the continuing caution of some wisdom texts[194]. Those venturing to include dreams can as frequently use other devices such as shared apparitions or incognito divine visits, as does Luke[195].

Of the non–Biblical dreams surveyed here, two are more or less conventional message dreams. Of the other visual dreams, one is a traditional symbolic dream, one a somewhat hybrid affair with manifestly Greek features, and a third text unusually sketches the content of nightmares.

A number of unusual features can be seen amongst the message dreams, like the bright light and voice in T.Job, the participative tableau added to Jacob's message dream in Jubilees or the elaborate angelophany of Aseneth which mixes features from rather different subgenres[196]. Here, the dream figure that eventually stands by her head emerges initially from the dawn sky. After the traditional double appellation "Aseneth, Aseneth", there follows a complex sequence of dialogues and enacted signs including the enigmatic honeycomb "test" that Aseneth must *fail* in order to reveal the divine provision. Although the complex vision extends for some four chapters, its pairing with the brief report for Joseph constitutes a double dream, a common Hellenistic device but seen infrequently in the Bible[197].

The other visual dreams also show a certain eclecticism. With its fighting dragons, the dream of Mordecai in Greek Esther 11:1-12 has an apocalyptic feel but in fact contains an awkward mix of coded and uncoded visual elements, which while biblical, remind one of the inconsistencies of the "symbolic" dreams of Greek tragedy[198]. The rewrite of Jacob's dream in the 1st century CE *Ladder,* breaks the simplicity of the original with an added message[199]. But the dream of Judas in 2 Macc 15 is more fundamentally hybrid. Judas sees Onias, a former high priest, praying for Israel when Jeremiah enters, and after an

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[194] Cf. Sir 34:1-8, 40:5-7, 4 Macc 6:5 etc. for further notes on Sirach, see A2§18.n.2.

[195] Re Apparitions: see notes on 2 Macc in A2§18 n.1 and cf. 3 Macc 6:16-29, 4 Macc 4:9-11. Re incognito divine visits: cf. Raphael in Tobit and the Emmaus road story in Luke.

[196] T.Job 3:1-4, Jub 32: 16-26, JosAsen ch.14-17.

[197] E.g. re-clothed (14: 11-15), renamed (15:7-8), sent to find honey (16:1-7) - which she fails to do. When the Angel provides honeycomb, bees swarm out of it (16:17-23), from which a didactic point is made (17:1-2) (cf. strategy in Lk 9:13). After the figure departs on a chariot of fire (17:7-10), Aseneth's realisation that this was not, after all, "merely a man" is delightfully naïve. The paired vision with Joseph is in 19:9, discussed further in ch.6.

[198] Gk Esth 11:1-12 (the dream) and 10:4-9 [addition F] (the interpretation). The presence of the "strong", the "weak", the "righteous nation" and "the lowly" (as themselves) means the symbolism is not thoroughgoing. That the river is *Esther* is also rather unexpected.

[199] Lad.Jac.1:3-2:l.

introduction from Onias, offers Judas a golden sword and words of encouragement. Besides the more typically *Greek* appearance of a human dream figures, the scene's dynamics are much more reminiscent of popular Hellenistic forms than biblical ones[200].

Somewhat Greek, too, is the occurrence of *theorematic* dreams, where Levi sees himself being made High Priest, Rebekah sees the day of her death and Pharaoh's daughter sees herself bathing[201]. More troubling is Moses' vision in Ezekiel the Tragedian, where he sees himself placed on (Gods?) throne, *displacing the figure already seated there*. With some similarities to imperial "destiny" dreams, Moses is horrified at a religious affront that even Artemidorus would count a *bad* omen, until helped by his father in law. By reading the scene figuratively in relation to Moses' future influence, in a manner reminiscent of the Greek novels, Jethro is able to re–assure him that, on the contrary, God meant the sign "for *good*"[202].

Unusual too in relation to biblical tradition are the nightmares of the Egyptians in WSol 17 and 18 who are "appalled by spectres" and haunted by "dismal phantoms" before the death of the first–born, so that "they might not perish without knowing why they suffered". Although the Bible is aware of natural and otherwise meaningless anxiety dreams, these nightmares bring a divine revelation in a similar way to many examples in Hellenistic biography[203].

Finally, there seems to be an example of another feature routinely absent from the Bible but common in Greek tradition, namely enigmatic divine *speech*. In a message dream in Ps–Philo, foretelling the birth of Moses, Miriam is told that the baby "will be cast forth into the water; [yet] through him the water will be dried up". Whilst we know the episodes to which this refers, his parents do not, and faced with an insoluble riddle they dismiss their daughter's story until later able to recognise its import[204].

A reasonable claim could be made that the ways many of these accounts diverge from the biblical heritage seem to lie within the general sphere of Hellenistic literary appropriation of popular dream motifs, and several of which are particularly suggestive of the more unusual features of Peter's vision.

4.7.2 Josephus

Josephus (c.37–100 CE) has dream accounts in both his biblical and post–biblical histories. Within the former, he modifies, omits and adds accounts sometimes switching

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[200] 2 Macc 15:11-19.

[201] Jub 32:1-2, Jub 35:6, *LAB* 9:15.

[202] Ez.Trag.68-82.

[203] WSol 17:3-4 is implicitly a dream report. The hauntings of 18:17-19 are clearly labelled as dreams.

[204] Ps-Philo, *LAB* 9:10.

between theoloquies and dreams, but generally operates conservatively. In the latter, dreams are offered for Jews and Gentiles in roughly equal measure and show specifically Hellenistic features including human dream figures, hybrid forms, destiny and death dreams and several "natural" dreams[205]. Amongst 15 post–biblical cases, there are six message dreams, two straightforward visual dreams, three hybrid cases, and four brief or unclassifiable reports[206]. Bar rulers occasionally consulting "experts", most dreams are interpreted by the recipients, sometimes helped by friends and family[207].

Of the message dreams, four have human dream figures (for both Gentiles *and* Jews) and feature a number of other Greek devices, such as ghosts, physical contact and recognition. Almost all occur in contexts of anxiety or crisis with overtones of natural dreaming[208]. Enigmatic speech also occurs, although only for Gentiles[209]. Ironically, the only subject to ignore their dream is Jewish[210]. Famously, Josephus links the high priest Jaddus and Alexander the Great in a double dream arguably comparable to Aeneas and Latinus in Dionysius, although linked by others to the novels[211]. This will receive further comment and comparison with Peter and Cornelius in a later chapter.

Of the two straightforward visual dreams, Archelaus' is a classic symbolic dream with an image of growing corn, although the interpretation hinges on a wordplay in *Greek*[212]. In contrast, the high priest Matthias dreams about having sex. Although both wish–fulfilment and figurative readings might be possible, it is fascinating that Matthias's initial concern is with the *halakhic consequences* of the imagined experience for his priestly service, raising interesting questions for Peter's imagined food–law violation[213].

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[205] For introduction, see A2§19.1.

[206] For listing and breakdown, see A2§19.2.

[207] Re experts: cf. Archelaus in *BJ* 2:112-113, *AJ* 17:345-348 and notes in A2§19 n.2. Josephus probably views *himself* as an expert in *BJ* 3:351-354. As usual, experts do not always agree, as *AJ* 17:346. Josephus interprets his own dreams in *BJ* and *Vit.*208-210. Re friends and family, cf. Glaphyra in *AJ* 17:353.

[208] *Ap.*2:54-55, a ghost, *AJ* 17:349-353, with attempted physical contact, *AJ* 11:333-335, involving later recognition, *Vit.*208-210, an unknown human figure. All of these show aspects of pre-dream anxiety, as other accounts listed in A2§19 n.7. *AJ* 17:349-353 initially looks like a wish-fulfilment dream of separated lovers, but ends up as a death prediction.

[209] The death prediction of Glaphyra in *AJ* 17:349-353 is explicitly riddling, and the complaint of Isis in *Ap.*1:289 and the message to Alexander in *AJ* 11:333-335 are implicitly so.

[210] Apparently, Josephus himself in *Vit.*208-210. Neither Pharaoh nor Glaphyra can "obey", in so far as their dreams do not contain commands. But of the others, Ptolemy and Alexander do obey theirs, even though there might be grounds for caution.

[211] *AJ* 11:326-328 and 11:333-335 and, as a double dream, A4§2.4, No.34. On the comparison with the novels, cf. Hanson (1978: 47, 49).

[212] *AJ* 17:345-348.

[213] *AJ* 17:166, discussed in Gnuse (1996: 192). Such a dream would also be participative, and is typical of many such cases in Artemidorus. The impact on priestly service is via Lev 15:18. If an emission occurred (this is not said), then the case would be straightforward, but there may be a question here of responding appropriately even to the dream image.

Of the dreams with hybrid characteristics, two are child destiny dreams – a Hellenistic topos also seen in some of Josephus' added biblical dreams[214]. Thus God appears without speaking to Hyrcanus, but when questioned about the succession, "*showed* him the features of Alexander", thus combining a visitation and a visual presentation with *recognition*[215]. In a birth portent with a participatory and naturalistic cast, the sleeping Monobazus has placed his hand on his pregnant wife's belly when a voice tells him not to cramp the child who will have "a happy start and .. a fortunate end"[216]. In the third, Josephus' own dream at Jotapata, the initial report that "God had foretold .. the fate of the Jews" sounds like a summary of a *message*. However, when he speaks of needing to interpret the "dreadful images" it is possible that the dream included both visual scenes and a form of commentary. That Josephus found the divine word "ambiguous" would constitute a rare but significant entry of a Greek oracular "quality" into a Jewish dream, as explored more fully in chapter 5[217].

In conclusion, although Josephus can competently work with traditional patterns, his post–biblical dreams show evidence of the more fluid forms, motifs and atmosphere of popular Hellenistic accounts. With Luke, one might see here a dual oneiric "literacy"[218].

4.7.3 Gospels and Acts

Although the Gospels and Acts might be expected to prefer biblical–style dreams and visions, there is enough variation to conclude that personal preference and a desire to at least experiment with non–biblical features play some part. It is not often recognised however, that the considerable fluidity in the supernatural interventions in the synoptic tradition is already more reminiscent of the Hellenistic world than the biblical. The divers voices, apparitions, metamorphoses and resurrection narratives all have dream–like aspects, making formal enumeration of dreams or visions *per se* difficult[219]. Many are shot–through with private/public and dream/reality ambiguities with some *dubbed* visions only in later comments[220]. That Luke is forced to address Greek concerns about evidence for events that may in reality have been *visions* is highly significant[221]. But for all these efforts, the

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[214] Cf. the "added" dream of Amram, the father of Abraham at *AJ* 2:212-217, Gnuse (ibid., 162, 206-225).

[215] *AJ* 13:322.

[216] *AJ* 20:18-19.

[217] *BJ* 3:351-354 cf. Gnuse (1996: 135). The contents are only summarised, so difficult to reconstruct.

[218] Thus avoiding the conclusion that a non-biblical dream always betrays a source. The notion of dual literacy here is realistic, and might prove important for interpretation.

[219] E.g. the synoptic baptism, temptation, walking on water and transfiguration accounts etc. as well as Luke's vision of the shepherds, comparable to *Aen.*2:588-623. The problem also affects the Johannine tradition, as Jn 6:15-21, 12:28-32, 20:11-18 et sim.

[220] Cf. "ὅραμα" in Mt 17:9 re the transfiguration and "ὀπτασία" in Lk 24:23 re the angels at the empty tomb.

[221] As Prince (2005, 2007), esp. re Jesus' offer to eat in Lk 24:36-49 (cf. Tob 12:19) and cf. the worry in Mk 6:49/Mt 14:26 about seeing a φάντασμα.

Emmaus road encounter, with its anonymous divine visit and finally *disappearing* deity, creates an ambiguity that is calculated to delight in a Greek novelistic idiom.

The more clearly labelled dreams and visions include a batch of message/Visitation Forms in the infancy narratives where Matthew prefers sleeping dreams signalled by ὄναρ, and Luke, waking visions using ὀπτασία[222]. In the Gospel, Luke has only Jewish recipients, but Matthew has dreams for the Magi and Pilate's wife[223]. The specific use of χρηματίζω in the former and the motif of "significant" natural dreaming in the latter, may point to deliberate contextualisation[224]. When Pilate's wife speaks of "suffering much" through a dream "on account of Jesus", the implication is of a nightmare or anxiety dream naturally anticipating a dangerous moral compromise. Matthew may also thus also evidence a dual literacy, although reserving such forms for Gentiles[225].

In Acts, as with Luke's Gospel, numerous accounts mixing supernatural elements with ordinary narrative have a fabulous but only dream–*like* aspect, but at least 11 accounts are cast in a more discernible dream–vision form, as might be expected after the prominent citation of Joel 2:28 in Acts 2[226]. Of these, eight display a message/visitation pattern, with three other visual forms[227].

Although most of the message dreams are straightforward, two display unusual features and contact with Graeco–Roman traditions. Paul'svision of the man "from Macedonia" in Acts 16:5-10with its human dream figure and recognised ethnicity has occasioned much discussion[228] ,9-Acts 9:1 as has the more complex conversion vision in ,with its blinding light, anonymous voice and private/public uncertainty[229]. One feature often missed in these two accounts is the occurrence of enigmatic speech. The somewhat disjoint "come over and help us" in the former does have to be *interpreted*, and the question "why are you persecuting me" also functions as a riddle[230].

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[222] Mt 1:18-25, 2:13-15, 2:19-23 for Joseph and Mt 2:11-12 for the Magi. Mt 2:12 and 2:13-15 (re avoiding Herod) are identified as a double dream by Dodson (2006: 265-269). Flannery-Dailey (2000: 402) notes that only 7 NT accounts clearly indicate a dream while asleep. The visions of Zechariah and Mary are in Lk 1:5-25, 26-38, but Zechariah's vision is only called an ὀπτασία by the crowds.

[223] Mt 2:11-12 and 27:19 respectively.

[224] Artemidorus' χρηματισμός (*Onier.*1:2.38-45) is usually taken as form of significant message dream, and is used by Josephus of Jaddus in *AJ* 11:327.

[225] That Gentiles can read the stars and heed dreams is an important apologetic but Dodson (2002, 2006) has argued that the dreams of the infancy narratives, whist biblical in form, owe much to the Greek novels.

[226] For list of texts, A2§20.2. On episodes with a dream-like aspect, cf. Acts 1:9-11, 5:17-21, 12:6-11, 24:13-35, linked to the Greek novels by Pervo (1987: 22) et sim.

[227] For breakdown, cf. A2§20.2.

[228] Cf. Miller (2004, 2007).

[229] Cf. Wikenhauser (1952), Meyer (1986).

[230] We shall see in ch.5 that ridding speech in message dreams is a characteristic Hellenistic development, probably based on oracular practice.

Of the three other visual cases, none is a traditional symbolic dream. Stephen's vision of the Son of Man speaks through the location and appearance of the figure but contains no verbal message as such. In spite of the "opened heaven", it arguably owes as much to 2 Maccabees as it does to apocalyptic[231]. In a manifestly non–biblical example, the blinded Paul "sees" Ananias coming to heal him in what Artemidorus would call a theorematic dream[232]. Finally, Peter's vision starts purely visually, and with naturalistic overtones, but then adds its enigmatic dialogue. While one might see some similarity with prophetic symbolic visions, a more detailed comparison shows up numerous differences both in imagery, and not least the unresolved misunderstanding and lack of clear "commission". Although Jewish in its imagery, its dynamic and atmosphere differ considerably from biblical examples.

It is also significant that in the Paul/Ananias and Peter/Cornelius pairs, Acts boasts two double dreams, with claims for others too[233]. The structural, thematic, psychological and narrative similarities of the two "conversions", and the use of this popular Hellenistic form suggests both an apologetic of internal parallelisation but also and literary and possibly political glances elsewhere[234]. That the individual visions of the two apostles both show fluid, non–Biblical forms and riddling challenges typical of the Greek tradition has been less frequently noted but may add further irony to Luke's handling of the outward turn in Christian mission[235].

5 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have noted some general trends in dream–reporting, from ANE and biblical material, via the Graeco–Roman tradition and back again to Jewish and New Testament writers. Of the two standard forms of "message dream" and "symbolic dream", based primarily on ANE court and epic traditions, the former remained the more stable of the two, although with some tendency to hybrid forms in later periods. Other visual dreams varied widely from the classical symbolic pattern. Although there had always been variations from these ideal patterns, creative development was more marked in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, with more varied settings for dream reception, a widening social status for recipients, and more complex uses of dreams in literary settings.

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[231] Acts 7:54-8:1. Oppenheim's (1956: 196) use of the term "clairvoyant" for this type of dream is, however, misleading.

[232] Acts 9:12. Theorematic dreams are direct visualisations of future events defined in *Oneir*.1:2.1-3. Oepke's (1964: 235) claim that all the NT dreams are theroorematic is rather misleading. He means message dream, as his following text makes clear.

[233] Detailed in ch.6.

[234] To be discussed further in ch.6. On the idea of two "conversions" here, cf. Sharkey (1992), Tassin (1995), Dunn (1996: 131ff), Witherington (1998: 360-361), van Engen (2004), Flemming (2005: 36), Parsons (2008: 141ff) et sim.

[235] Both dreams combine an unusual visual feature with an unidentified voice speaking enigmatically to perplexed recipients, both of whom must ponder the meaning of their experiences for some time.

Message dreams showed a modest evolution of features, including more elaborate dream figure descriptions, changing styles of speech (including enigmatic utterances) and occasional addition of secondary visual presentations. With suitably extended dialogue, such dreams could also be used to explore ideas and issues as well as convey information.

Of the other visual dreams, more fundamental developments were observed. From tragedy onwards, "significant" Greek dreams included both realistic and symbolic elements, dreamer participation, incidental dialogue, and other motifs and overtones of personal and popular dreaming, including anxiety dreams and nightmares.

These developments affected interpretation. Message dreams with riddling content now needed interpretation, but the interpretation of visual dreams became less certain still. Scribal lore and wordplays might help, but only after deciding which elements *were* symbolic. Dreamers had to make sense of their own participation and sometimes surreal conversations within increasingly complex oneiric dramas. Whilst apparently natural dreams could be approached as coded messages about other things, they could also prove important "as is", helping protagonists "grow" through painful and uncertain experiences.

In this particularly Hellenistic development, we thus see the exchange of an older "false vs. true" categorisation for a wider sense of personal significance, achieved in the face of divine speech apparently designed to obscure the truth and personal experience set to overwhelm it.

The study will proceed on the basis that the unusual features of Peter's vision might be better understood in relation to these developments. In the next two chapters, I shall investigate two clusters of issues in more detail (1) the motifs of natural dreaming, anxiety dreams and nightmares and (2) enigmatic speech in dreams, bringing a selection of the above dreams into dialogue with Peter's vision to see if an alternative might emerge to the simpler abolitionist readings surveyed in chapter 1.

Chapter 4

Chapter 4 – Natural and Anxiety Dreams

1 Introduction

Amongst various trends, the previous chapter noted the increasing incorporation of naturalistic elements. Contexts of uncertainty, anxiety and doubt were of especial interest to Hellenistic authors as ways of exploring calling and character, as were the distressing dreams they were capable of generating. Indeed, the nightmares previously inflicted only on enemies could now assail pensive and uncertain heroes, struggling with bizarre, perplexing and even immoral images instead of the more traditionally transparent dreams of divine guidance. Although properly divine dreams might make difficult demands or distressing predictions, natural dreams were capable of causing worry in different ways. Firstly, they could be quite bizarre[1] or embarrassingly transgressive. Examples of the latter might include seeing oneself participating in disgusting acts or scenes of violation[2]. An innocent interpretation from the likes of Artemidorus would certainly help here, or a sacrifice, if all else failed. Secondly, however, one could not rule out the *possibility* that a god was warning about something in a coded manner. On either account, one would be nervous of merely dismissing such dreams.

In all cases, the "signals" would have to be read carefully. In Peter's case, unfortunately, these were all too ambiguous. The very human circumstances of noon–time hunger and "drifting off" while trying to pray were innocent enough. But when his dream food turned out to be *forbidden*, then this might point to some inner frustration or hidden desire[3]. All his attempts to suppress the "voice" were in vain, with the repeated cycle of enigmatic replies leading to a perplexing standoff with a nightmarish feel. That any major biblical character should be deliberately left to struggle with a "revelation" that seemed anything but, is truly unusual and demands further investigation. In the following, I shall first outline perspectives on natural dreaming from Luke's period and evaluate Peter's vision in this light. Then I shall consider portrayals of anxiety dreams and nightmares and the ways Luke might be looking also to this stronger category of experience.

2 Natural Dreaming

From the classical period onwards, there was increasing scientific interest in the nature of dreaming[4]. Whilst divine and prophetic dreams could not, for traditional reasons, be

[1] On bizarreness in modern dream research, see States (1993, 2000), Knudson (2001), Revonsuo and Tarkko (2002).

[2] Especially knowing the story of Oedipus and his mother's dismissal of his oracle in Soph.*Oed.Rex.*977-984.

[3] For Artemidorus, a dream that subverts nature or custom is a bad sign, as discussed further below.

[4] For a simple overview, see Barbera (2007). On earlier texts, see van Lieshout (1980: 64-164) and Holowchak (1997); on Plato, Gallop (1971); Aristotle, Wijsenbeek-Wijler (1978), Holowchak (1996) and Gallop (1996). On Graeco-Roman medicine, see Oberhelman (1983, 1993), Pearcy (2004), and van Lieshout (1980: 98-103). On Cicero,

ruled out, psychological, somatic, and moral mechanisms were increasingly considered. While the dream–inducing effects of illness, indigestion and intoxication fascinated doctors and provided stock elements for comic dreams, psychological, and moral dream theories usefully supported a growing literary interests in character[5].

2.1 Seeing and Memory

Within the usual dualistic framework[6], the mind or soul took an active part in the management of sense and perception, and therefore of dreaming. All were aware that dreams often reflected what had recently been seen. Exemplified by Penelope's pet geese in Homer[7], the theory was articulated explicitly by Herodotus[8] and viewed as normal by Hippocrates[9]. While Plato struggled to link dreaming to perception[10], Aristotle suggested how remembered images could re–enter the visual system[11], a view taken up amongst later sceptics and atomists[12]. To things seen recently, Artemidorus adds stock images from a person's surroundings, occupation and interests and cultural context[13], which by prior conversation or thought could be brought to the sleeping mind's "eye"[14]. Jumbled and bizarre images were explained by the naturally dissociative nature of sleep or the unpredictable effects of the emotions[15].

2.2 Body and Health

The connection between health and dreams is known in the ANE, and throughout the Greek medical tradition[16], where early theorists imagined bodily organs as well as the soul involved in dream production[17]. Bar certain natural variations, healthy dreams were recognisably "normal"[18]. Dreams when ill provided a diagnostic tool for Hippocrates, Galen

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see Schofield (1986) and Rasmussen (2000). On Roman works in general, cf. Cancik (1999), Harris (2003), and sections of Holowchak (1997). Luke has only rarely been approached from the point of view of dream theory. Koet (1999: 746) points to its importance, but does not explore the issues in his article.

[5] Of few authors to address this, McNeely (1998: 1-15, 23) is very helpful on Vergil's appropriation and use of natural dreaming, and for similar thoughts on Plutarch, see Brenk (1975).

[6] Cf. Dodds (1951: 135-206), Holowchak (1997: 27-30).

[7] *Od.*16:240-256, natural imagery within a significant dream.

[8] Hdt.7:16 , now called the "day residue" (Kramer, 2000: 161).

[9] *Reg.*4:88.1-10.

[10] As perhaps *Tim.*45e-46c, discussed by Gallop (1971: 188) and Holowchak (1997: 40-43).

[11] Arist.*Insomn.*458b.l-9.

[12] Holowchak (1997: 190-213), and cf. Clay (1980), Verstraete (1980).

[13] Artem.*Oneir.*1:13.1-11, 4:2.12-24 (prob. following Pl.*Tht.*173d), *Oneir.*4:4.1-5.

[14] As Scipio in Cicero's *Rep.*6:10, discussed further below, and cf. the dreams caused deliberately in B.Ber.56a.

[15] Aristotle imagines weak residual images floating around inside the body (*Insomn.*459a.25-27). In sleep, intellectual and moral judgement can be severely impaired, as Pl.*Rep.*9:571c-d, affecting dreams.

[16] Cf. Oberhelman (1993).

[17] Pl.*Tim.*45e-46a, particularly the liver, as *Tim.*70d-72c, cf. Oberhelman (ibid., 126) and van Lieshout (1980: 121-126). Scholars debate how far this reflects Plato's mature view (ibid., 124-126).

[18] Ps-Hipp.*Reg.*4:88.1-10, Oberhelman (1993: 133). On natural variations, cf. Plu.*Def.Or.*50/437e-f.

and others, where imagery became unbalanced in proportion to seriousness, from mild oddity to complete nightmare[19]. Some conditions could give more specific clues, however. Besides images of substances lacking or in excess, some anomalies could represent themselves *symbolically*[20]. One early theory linked the "circuits" of the humours to the courses of planets in dreams[21], but soon the weather and other images were considered diagnostically[22]. This led to a tension with popular interpreters who usually failed to spot such clues[23]. Hippocrates and Galen did allow prophetic dreams, however[24], and readily conceded that a mix of daily images and somatic symbols could resemble prophetic dreams, making distinguishing them difficult[25].

2.3 Food and Drink

That food affected dreams was a commonplace amongst ANE, biblical and Graeco–Roman writers particularly through the Hippocratic emphasis on diet. Besides simple wish–fulfilment dreams[26], there was an awareness that extreme hunger, *over*indulging or eating particular foods could have more bizarre effects[27], with Ps–Hippocrates noting monster nightmares[28], Cicero, dreams that were "troubled and confused"[29] and Plato, the excesses of future tyrants[30]. The effects of specific foods, such as beans, figs, kyphi etc. were also noted[31] and alcohol long provided comic material for Greek and Latin fiction[32].

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[19] The main theme of Ps-Hipp. *Regimen* Book 4, as discussed by Holowchak (1997: 161 n.12) and Oberhelman (1993: 128-130) and further developed by Galen, in his *On Diagnosis by Dreams*. In Hippocrates, the body "agitates" the soul (*Reg.*4:88.17-18), whereas Galen sees the mind "inspecting" the body (*Somn.*834.12-16). Cf. also Cic.*Div.*2:69/142. On the nightmarish extremes of manifestation, cf. *Reg.*4:88.10-17.

[20] *Reg.*4:90.22-23, 4:93.3-4, 26 et sim.

[21] *Reg.*4:89, and thus also *gods*, *Reg.*4:89.112-116, 129-133.

[22] *Reg.*4:89.118-124, 4:90.1-56, 4:91-93.

[23] Gal.*Somn.*833.18-834.12.

[24] θεῖά ἐνύπνοα in Ps-Hipp.*Reg.*4:87.1-4, μαντικά ἐνύπνια in Gal.*Somn.*833.17-18. Both may imply nothing more than natural prescience.

[25] Ibid., 833.7-11, 16-17.

[26] Isa 29:8 ,Artem.*Oneir.*1:1.11-12, Macr.*Comm.ad.Somn.Scip.*1:3.4 et sim.

[27] Oppenheim (1956: 226-227), Lane Fox (1988: 150) and Henrich (1994: 193).

[28] Cf. the ἀλλόμορφα σώματα (monsters?) in Ps-Hipp.*Reg.*4:93.1-4 and cf. the τέρατα ἀλλόμορφα seen by delirious soldiers in *Reg.*4:93.31-33 and van Lieshout (1980: 101). Excess is also a moral issue, as Wilkins (2000: xviii-xxi, 257-311).

[29] Cic.*Div.*1:29/60.

[30] Pl.*Rep.*571c.

[31] Oepke (1964: 222 n. 5), Cic.*Div.*1:30/62, Plu.*Is.Osir.*80/383e-384a, Aristid.*Or.*47:26, and fr. Hermippus in Wilkins (2000: 157).

[32] Cf. Philostr.*Vit.Ap.*2:37, Apul.*Met.*1:11.14-1.14.9, 1:18.8-10, 2.31.15-2.32.22. On wine and nightmares cf. Panayotakis (1998) who reminds us (ibid., 116-117) of Apuleius' other medical interests (*Met.*9:1-4, 10:25, *Apol.*45-51, *Flor.*19; fr.14).

2.4 Circumstances and Desires

Ancients knew that less material impulses, such as love and particularly anxiety could produce dreams[33]. Although Aristotle discounted more elaborate constructions, complex wish–fulfilment scenes or anxiously imagined futures were widely known[34]. More controversial were symbolic or fantastical responses[35] which although observed by medics[36] inconvenienced Artemidorus because of their ability to be confused with significant dreams[37]. Although the natural generation of both message and symbolic forms might be viewed as undermining prophecy, the ambiguity could nevertheless be creatively exploited by writers[38].

2.5 Morality and Character

Plato famously linked character to dreams[39], although knew that occasional visions of excess also came to upright people[40]. The evil desires that are "found in us all"[41] are normally restrained by education and good company[42] and run amok only in wayward sons[43]. Nevertheless, even for the good, "a terrible, fierce and lawless brood of desires"[44] always threatens to "awake when … the soul … slumbers" and draw us toward immorality and impiety[45], whether latent or *gratuitous*[46]. The results depended on whether the rational part of the soul (τὸ λογιστικόν) could keep the "appetitive" (τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν) and "passionate" (τὸ θυμοειδές) parts in check[47], which, particularly if intoxicated, could overcome all restraint[48]. Philosophers were best protected[49], but even after moderate eating and an edifying read, sleep remained a vulnerable state[50].

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[33] Ps-Hipp.*Reg.*4:89.74-76, 93.21-22, Cic.*Div.*2:67-68/140. Re ANE awareness, cf. Oppenheim (1956: 227) and for Jewish lore, B.Ber.56a. In Greek literature, cf. Aesch *Ag.*178-179, Eurip *Alc.*354-357, Ach.Tat.1:6.2-3 et sim.

[34] Artem.*Oneir.*1:1.10-29, and cf. Ach.Tat.1:6.4. On Aristotle's more cautious position, cf. Gallop (1996: 9), Holowchak (1997: 62, 65 and 65 n.9, 71).

[35] Cassius implies that Brutus' entire apparition is constructed by his soul, *Brut.*37:6.

[36] *E.g.* disordered planet dreams, *Reg.*4:89.74-76.

[37] *Oneir.*4:Pref.65-70 and 4:24.7-9.

[38] As Ach.Tat.4:1.6-8 et sim., to be discussed further below.

[39] Pl.*Rep.*9:571e, discussed by Hughes (2000: 15). Self-control went hand in hand with education and social status.

[40] Cf. *Rep.*9:571a-576b. On Christian taboo-breaking dreams, cf. Kelsey (1973: 181), and in modern study, Driver (2007).

[41] *Rep.*9:571b.

[42] *Rep.*572a-b and *Tim.*71e-72b.

[43] *Rep.*572d-574e.

[44] *Rep.*572b, contra Artemidorus who claims that good men never have such dreams, *Oneir.*4:Pref.78-84.

[45] *Rep.*571c, cf. 574d-575b, 576b. A catalogue of vices follows, including gluttony (571d), incest (571c), mistreatment of parents (574a-b), robbery, even from temples (574d, 575b).

[46] van Lieshout (1980: 109ff) reads *Rep.*571c in terms of specific latent desires, but the extensive list may indicate a more general transgressive impulse.

[47] *Rep.*572a-b.

[48] *Rep.*571c. Christians later add demonic forces, as Ps-Clem.*Hom.*11:15 (Stewart, 2002: 288-290).

[49] *Tht.*173d, Gallop (1971: 196).

[50] Since the rational part is resting, *Rep.*571c.

The conscience could, however, also independently address dreamers to warn against foolhardiness, convince of guilt, or otherwise counsel amendment of life. This well–known idea[51] was used in Dionysius where the nightmares of the Tarquinius brothers lead them to confess their part in a plot[52]. The conscience did not always have to terrify, but could appeal in more enigmatic ways, as in Achilles Tatius where Clitophon has a thinly veiled symbolic dream rebuking him for being impatient in regard to his desired union with Leucippe[53]. To this Artemidorus intriguingly adds the possibility of a representative dreamer grappling with *collective* guilt[54], seen in some Graeco–Roman as well as biblical dreams[55]. The question is begged by Luke's pregnant silence over Peter's personal engagement with his vision's rebuke[56].

2.6 Natural Prescience and Dream Cognition

Philosophers did not entirely discount prophetic dreams. Whilst Socrates had reported "divine" dreams[57], Plato focussed later debate on the soul's innate capacity to see into the future[58]. Although denied by Aristotle[59], Plato's view found broad support in a culture with strong prophetic traditions[60]. Unusually Plato also allowed insights into the *present and past,* explaining other types of "true" dream[61], including those bringing intellectual or artistic breakthroughs[62]. With thought alone able to stimulate dreams[63], as well as occur

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[51] Cf. Philostr.*Vit.Ap.*7:14 on Eurip.*Or.*396 "[conscience] .. terrifies them in their sleep etc.".

[52] *RA* 5:54.1-5.

[53] Ach.Tat.4:1.6-8, the doors of the temple of Aphrodite slam shut as he tries to enter.

[54] Dreams for the whole community can come to public figures, as *Oneir.*1:2.114-125.

[55] E.g. *RA* 7:68.3-7:69.2 where Titus Latinius receives a dream for the senate and people. He is however, not an obvious choice.

[56] On the deliberate withholding of information to create additional enigma in Heliodorus, cf. Morgan (1994: 104).

[57] Pl.*Ap.*33c and *Sym.*203a, with examples in *Phd.*60e-61c, *Crit.*44a-b (both with clear content), and the passing reference in *Phil.*20b where a philosophical insight may be attributed to a dream. On revelation and reason in Socrates, see McPherran (1991).

[58] *Tim.*70d-72d via the soul's divine origin, *Tim.*69b-c, a natural faculty, as Holowchak (1997: 44-45) and Gallop (1971: 188, 1996: 11) contra Oberhelman (1993: 126). Scholars debate whether Plato ever held the older "roving soul" view (cf. X.*Cyr.*7:7.21, Gallop, 1996: 9), however, the "reaching out" in *Rep.*9:572a seems primarily *intellectual*. Plato's position passed to the Stoics (Cic.*Div.*1:64) and Artemidorus (*Oneir.*1:2.14-45 cf. 4:27.6-9).

[59] As coincidence, *Insomn.*462b.23-27, 463b.15-22, 464a.22-464b.5. He notes self-fulfilling prophecy (ibid., 462b-463a) but this is not true prescience (cf. Holowchak, 1997: 75, 77-83). Aristotle was followed by the atomists, Lucretius et al., as variously, Holowchak (2004), Clay (1980), Michels (1944), Verstraete (1980), Kragelund (1989).

[60] On the Greek emphasis on the future, cf. Miller (1994: 7, 81), Carey (1998: 1), Price (1986: 3), Cederstrom (1971: 2), Oberhelman (2008: 1, 22), MacAlister (1996: 5), Gnuse (1996: 134).

[61] *Tim.*72a, *Rep.*9:572a, as Gallop (1971: 195) and Holowchak (1997: 31) who notes how unusual Plato is here. Re popular dreams helping to find treasure etc. cf. Epidauros B4, C3 and C22, Cic.*Div.*1:25/54 et sim. On theurgy, cf. Dodds (1951: 291, 298). Revelations about the past occur in tragedy, e.g. Aesch.*Ag.*1069-1223 and in the novels, e.g. Apul.*Met.*8:8.15-30, 9.31.4-9 et sim.

[62] Re maths: *Men.*85c, philosophy: *Phil.*20b, medicine: Price (1986: 23), and cf. Aristid.*Or.*42.11, 48.1-3, Cassius Dio, *RH* 73:23.1-2, 79.10.1-2, 80:5.3 (Barnes, 1984: 245), Plin.E.*Epp.*3:5.4 (Kelsey, 1973: 75). Aristides received declamations, hymns and poems (e.g. *Or.*38.1-3, 24 , 40.22, 41.1-2), either "ready-made" (50.25, 26, 31), or requiring further editing (28.116, 50.25-26, cf. A2§9 n.18).

[63] As Verg *Aen.*5:700-702, Cic.*Rep.*6:10/*Somn.Scip.*1:1.3-4, Artem.*Oneir.*1:2.114-125.

lucidly during them[64], the work of dream construction suggested subconscious processes capable of granting new *understandings* rather than simply new information[65]. As noted above, this could include moral cognition if the λογιστικόν deemed the machinations of the dreamer's own ἐπιθυμητικόν and θυμοειδές dangerous enough to warrant a warning.

For those aspiring to prescient dreams[66], the possible encroachment of somatic and psychological effects[67] suggested enhancing clarity artificially via a balanced diet, moderation in alcohol, a calm mind etc.[68] That much of this had been discovered accidentally within religious lore fascinated those now exploring natural explanations[69].

2.7 Natural Dreaming in Literary Settings

Post–classical authors generally distanced themselves from *naively* Homeric religion, but did not dispense with dreams altogether. While continuing to mine Homer for plots, tragedy and later epic handled dreams in a more naturalistic way. Historians tied to traditional sources opted for critical openness[70], aware of contemporary theory yet continuing to use dreams to dramatic advantage.

2.7.1 Natural Dream Theory

Amongst historians and biographers, besides editorial asides[71], natural dream theory often colours advice offered to protagonists by advisors or friends such as the Magi and Artabanus in Herodotus or Cassius in Plutarch[72]. Increasingly dreamers display instinctive caution, as Titus Latinius in Dionysius[73], until brought round by events.

Curiously, snippets of scientific theory also appear in drama and epic, as with Clytemnestra's remark about the "clear vision of the sleeping mind" in Aeschylus[74]. Older Homeric worries about divine deception[75] are now compounded by the ambiguities of

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[64] Aristid.*Or*.47.17, 51.22, 50.49 et sim. listed in A2§9 n.7, including thinking about interpretation, as *Or*.47.8 et sim. in A2§9 n.9. Aristides also questions other figures in his dreams, as *Or*.47.11, 47.56 et sim., as do Peter and Paul.

[65] *Rep*.9:572a.2-3 and cf. hints in Aesch *Ag*.179.

[66] I.e. the educated, as Pl.*Rep*.9:571a-572b and Artem.*Oneir*.4:Pref.78-84, and those in public life, ibid., 1:2.114-125. On Roman attitudes to dreamers' social status, see Kragelund (2001: 79-80), and on "suitable" barbarians, Cic.*Div*.1:23/47.

[67] Cf. the way that Plato's "most likely" vs. "least likely" in *Rep*.9:571d-572b seems to imagine a mixture of effects and cf. B.Ber.55a "there cannot be a dream without some nonsense", contra Artemidorus who keeps significant and ordinary dreams completely separate (*Oneir*.1:11).

[68] Re diet: Pl.*Rep*.9: 571d-e, Artem.*Oneir*.1:7, Wilkins (2000: 413); alcohol: Philostr.*Vit.Ap*.2:37; disposition: Cic.*Div*.1:53/121, Plu.*Def.Or*.50-51/437c-438d.

[69] Re priests of Amphiaros: Philostr.*Vit.Ap*.2:37, 42; special foods: cf. Cic.*Div*.1:62, Plu.*Is.Osir*.80, Aristid.*Or*.47:26; sexual purity: Plu.*Def.Or*.5, 50-51; death: ibid., 40; on the "original" religious context, Dodds (1951: 110).

[70] Cf. the "distancing" techniques in Herodotus discussed by Harrison (2000: 24ff).

[71] Cf. X.*Cyr*.7:7.18 on nightmares.

[72] Hdt.1:120, 7:16, Plu.*Brut*.36:1-37:6, couched in thoroughly Epicurean terms.

[73] *RA* 7:68.3-7:69.2.

[74] Aesch.*Eu*.104, somewhat ironically.

[75] As famously in *Il*.2:4-94 but cf. also Aesch *Ag*.272-278.

science[76], as Aeschylus' chorus warns of "the fancies of a slumbering brain"[77] and the effects of "trouble … dripping over the mind in sleep"[78] with appearances even in Jewish works[79] and where such awareness can be inferred in others[80]. All paradoxically highlight the uncertainty of dreams whilst still depending upon them narratively[81].

In the novels, too, there are technical comments from Clitophon in Achilles Tatius, the old woman and Socrates in Apuleius, various courtiers and the queen in Heliodorus and Eumolpus in Petronius as well as in "creative" sections of other works, such as Cicero's dream of Scipio[82]. In Iamblichus, an accusation of adultery actually hinges on natural dream theory[83], and from time to time, authors make their own asides[84]. Whatever their convictions, however, theory primarily serves as a foil, and characters still heed their dreams just in case[85].

2.7.2 Natural and Natural–*Style* Dreams: Features and Uses

Although based on Homeric precedent[86], the increased use of natural dreams and associated motifs in post–classical and Hellenistic literary dreams is striking, particularly in view of their poor returns for professional interpreters[87].

The suggestion of natural dreaming can be created by obviously linking content and context[88], noting prior physical and mental states, sleep–talking[89], shouts[90], sudden waking[91] or confusion[92]. Natural and natural–*style*[93] dreams added considerable colour to tragedies[94],

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[76] Cf. Clytemnestra in Aesch.*Ch.*523-554, Iphigenia in Eurip.*Iph.*Taur.42-64 and Hecuba in *Hec.*1-97.

[77] Aesch *Ag.*275, cf. 490 "beguiling our senses" et sim.

[78] Ibid., 174-184.

[79] As Sir 34:3.

[80] On Apollonius Rhodius' scientific literacy, Easterling (1985: 33). On Lucretius' influence on Vergil, Michels (1944), Verstraete (1980), Floyd (1995), and Kraggerud (2002).

[81] Verstraete (1980: 10) speaks of Vergil's "alternative voice".

[82] Ach.Tat.1:6.4-5, Apul *Met.*4:27.16-26, 1:18.8-13, Hld.9:25, 10:3, Petron.*Sat.*104 (citing Epicurus, cf. Kragelund, 1989) and Cic.*Rep.*6:10/*Somn.Scip.*1:1.3-4 respectively.

[83] Iamb.*Bab.*Fr.2a, a sexual dream can "only" have arisen from *participation*.

[84] E.g. Hld.2:16, 36, Ach.Tat.4:17.2-4 (cf. Clytemnestra in Aesch.*Eu.*104).

[85] As with Petronius' Lichas (*Sat.*104) "that we may not appear to scorn the revelation the gods vouchsafe?"

[86] E.g. *Il.*22:199-202.

[87] Artemidorus suspects any dream where a connection *may* be evident (*Oneir.*1:6). Attempts to salvage meaning were often unconvincing, Hdt.1:120, *RA* 20:12.1-2 et sim.

[88] As visually, the Geese in *Od.*19:509-604, or Peter's hunger in Acts 10.

[89] Cf. Ar.*Nu.*1-37, *BH* 10:29.1, Aesch.*Eu.*94-104, *Ch.*32-43, Plu.*Caes.*63:8-9, *Aug.*99:2, *Oth.*7:2, *Calig.*50:3, sometimes revealing significant content, as Suet *Aug.*99:2, Char.3:7.4.

[90] Cf. Hdt.7:17-18, Aesch.*Ch.*32-43, 534-535, Plu.*Caes.*63:9, Suet.*Oth.*7:2, Hld.2:16.1ff, Iamb.*Bab.*7.1ff et sim.

[91] A sign of vividness (ἐνάργεια), sometimes via noises in dreams, as Medea in Ap.Rh.*Argo.*3:616-635, or emotions alone, as Plu.*Pyrrh.*29:1-2, Hdt.7:18, Hld. 1:18-19, 2:16.1ff. Some can dream that they are awake (*Oneir.*1:81.4-6, 2:1.2-4), making actual waking rather a shock (Aristid.*Or.*48.7, 48.32, Ps.Hipp.*Morb.Sacr.*15).

[92] Vividness can underline devotion (Char.2:1.2), but more often confusion and alarm, as Eurip.*Rhes.*780-789 , Hdt.6:117, *Aen.*7:415-466, Apul *Met.*1:11.14-1:19.28, and 2:31.15- 2:32.22.

[93] Aesch.*Eu.*94-104, which although sent to convey a "message", comes as if a natural dream about hunting where no words are spoken, but the Furies' own guilt informs them of their neglect.

particularly with the nightmares of murderers[95] a lead followed by Hellenistic historians and biographers[96] and even Jewish writers[97]. In comedy and the novels, the focus was more on amusement, where such dreams were often given to minor characters like Aristophanes' charioteers, or Apuleius's drunken friends[98]. Natural dreams were also useful for the development of romance. Foreshadowed in Apollonius and Vergil, these were extensively used in Achilles Tatius, Longus et al.[99]

Besides pure illustration or amusement, overtones of natural dreaming could be incorporated in accounts that did in the end prove prophetic or otherwise significant, as with the serpent–bearing nightmare of Clytemnestra in Aeschylus, foreshadowing the bloody revenge of her own offspring[100], as similarly Cassandra[101], and Euripides' Hecuba and Iphigenia[102]. Apollonius and Vergil both offer significant dreams cast in naturalistic hue, including Medea's dream about Jason's challenge and Circe's blood–drenched walls in the *Argonautica*[103], and the numerous appearances of lost loved ones and the Allecto nightmare in the *Aeneid*[104].

Although naturalistic touches might be viewed as lessening significance, the opposite can be true and such elements introduced deliberately. That the dreamers' own souls add their warnings to the displeasure of the gods intensifies the overall effect; in romantic fiction, the ambiguity between "wish–fulfilment" and "revelation" becomes a major plot device and in biography, protagonists struggle with personal destiny. The latter is particularly evident in Plutarch, with Pompey's "theatre" dream before facing Caesar, Caesar's incest dream before his crossing of the Rubicon and Brutus' appointment with his own "evil genius" before the battle of Philippi[105]. These writers, with Luke, assume that readers will negotiate and indeed interpret dreams that are natural, ambiguous, even "dark", yet also significant.

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[94] e.g. Eurip.*Alc.*354-357, *Rh.*780-789, Aesch.*Eu.*94-104, *Ag.*420-430, *Ch.*32-43, *Suppl.*882-889, *Ag.*891-895, 975-984, 1215-1223 et sim.

[95] Aesch.*Ch.*32-43 and note the reverse process in Eurip.*Iph.Taur.*348-351 "dreams have made me savage".

[96] Hdt.6:117, *RA* 20:12.1-2, *BH* 17:30.7, 10.28.1, Plu.*Ant.*16:3, *Alex.*24:8, *Demetr.*19:1-2.

[97] WSol. 17-18, Mt 27:19 et sim.

[98] Ar *Nu.*1-37, *Vesp.*1-53, 91-94 and *Ra.*1331-1344, Apul.*Met.*1:11.14-1:14.9 and cf. 2:31.15-2:32.22.

[99] Ach.Tat.1:6.5, Long.2:10.1-4 et sim.

[100] Aesch.*Ch.*523-554. She finally realises in 925-929 "Oh no! I myself bore and nourished this serpent!".

[101] Aesch *Ag.*1215-1223.

[102] Eurip.*Hec.*62-98, *Iph.Taur.*42-64.

[103] Medea: *Argo.*3:616-635 features a fantasy-visualisation of the anxiously awaited ploughing contest. Circe: *Argo.*4:663-672, nightmarishly foreseeing the arrival of the blood-guilty Argonauts.

[104] *Aen.*1:355-356, 2:270-297, 2:559-587, 2:771-795, 4:1-53, 7:415-466.

[105] Plu.*Pomp.*68:2, *Caes.*32:9, *Brut.*36:1-37:6, 48:1-5. For the general tendency, see Brenk (1975: 343).

3 Overtones of Natural Dreaming in Peter's Vision

We turn now to some of the curious naturalistic touches in Peter's vision that readers attuned to the mix of religious and human dynamics evident in Hellenistic literature might notice. Although natural prescience is not typically biblical, Luke's theorematic pre–visualisation of Ananias by Paul in Acts 9:12 suggests some familiarity and Peter's less direct vision may also contain pointers to imminent events. With those receiving premonitions popularly waking to find events already in progress[106], the arrival of Cornelius' messengers in Acts 10:17-20 plays to this type. So also the dream image of argumentation prepares Peter to go with the messengers "without contending"[107]. Although the three–fold repeat is usually understood emphatically, such motifs could be predictive, as with the circling ravens in Artemidorus, or repeatedly attempting to grasp the sun in Cicero[108], and here may suggest the arrival of "three" visitors (10:19b)[109]. Later on, a connection between "cleansing" in the vision and the fall of the Spirit is certainly *perceived*[110]. That naturally predictive hints of imminent events are visible here adds a certain irony, given that the primary conceptual challenge of the vision remains impenetrable until events unfold.

Further irony comes from circumstantial factors affecting dream significance, such as location and prayer. Besides the ambivalence of Joppa itself[111], the unclean Tanner's house[112] might strike both Jewish and Greek readers as inauspicious and possibly responsible for the rather ambiguous results[113], ironically so, given the very clear angelophany in Cornelius' home[114]. Commentators also remark on Peter's prayer. Not one of the usual Jewish times[115], some take noon as indicative of additional piety[116]. Most

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[106] E.g. Eurip.*Rhes.*780-789, or just about to happen, as Aesch *Ag.*1069-1223, X.*An.*4:3.8-20, Plu.*Pomp.*32:4, *Dem.*22:1, Suet.*Claud.*37:2 et sim.

[107] Via the missing word "διακρίνομαι".

[108] In *Oneir.*4:32.2-6, three ravens circle the dreamer three times indicating a nine year life-span. In Cic.*Div.*1:23/46, Cyrus' three attempts to grasp the Sun indicate a 30 year rule.

[109] That some MSS have "two" or lack a number is interesting, cf. Rius-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger (2004: 63). "Three" can be inferred from 10:7-8 and is explicit in 11:11. It is possible, however, that scribes themselves took a cue for the number from the vision via this oneirocritical commonplace.

[110] Acts 11:17 and 15:8-9, not distinguishing (διακρίνω) between Jews and Gentiles.

[111] It was not in Judaea proper (Béchard, 1999: 687-689). There were questions as to whether the Spirit could fall beyond the boundaries of Israel (Schweizer, 1964: 383), Davies (1982: 40), although dreams and visions could certainly happen in such locations.

[112] Via M.Ketub.7:10/B.Ketub.77a-b, B.Pesah.65a et sim., noted by Barrett (1994: 486). Contra Conzelmann (1987: 76), I suspect this detail *is* intended.

[113] Re purity and incubation, cf. Neyrey (1999: 38-39), re theurgy, Dodson (2006: 34-35). In Judaism, Ex 3:5, 19:10-15 were influential, as also Jacob's dream discussed by Gnuse (1993: 365). On purity in later mystical traditions, cf. Swartz (1994, 1996).

[114] Cf. Williams (1995: 182).

[115] Haenchen (1971: 347), Fitzmyer (1998: 454) et sim.

assume that Peter did pray[117], linking the rooftop location to sketches of Jewish piety[118] or prompted by the emphatic claim in Acts 11:5. However, Luke may be suggesting that Peter slips into his trance before he gets underway[119] via an infinitive only of *intent*[120], with Dunn noting that this would add a rather "human touch"[121]. If so, the contrast with Cornelius would be further strengthened[122].

Many commentators struggle with the naturalistic implications of hunger as a visionary context. Crampsey, Pervo and Peterson's suggestion of "fasting" here seems particularly misguided[123] as those who imagine a pious struggle with Roman meal times[124], a "wilderness test"[125] or the symbol of a "spiritual condition"[126]. None of these attempts to rescue respectability convince. That Peter is hungry and dreams of *eating*, is a very simple consequence of natural dream theory, but is either ignored[127] or viewed as a contrived irony[128]. But this is a prominent co–location of detail[129] and suspiciously absent in the later report[130]. Having the hunger influence only the dream *imagery* does not go far enough[131]. Although Neil admits causality as a theoretical possibility[132] and Dunn, that Luke "*recognises* the … mechanism involved"[133], only Williams speaks of hunger as a "means"[134], possibly taking his lead from Streeter[135]. In addition, two factors pull even

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[116] I.e. re a three-fold rather than two-fold pattern, as Bruce (1990: 254), Barrett (1994: 505), Dunn (1996: 136-137), Witherington (1998: 349 n.88) and Parsons (2008: 144). Barrett concedes that no matter how supererogatory, the timing was probably "unwise" (op.cit., 505).

[117] As Bruce (1990: 254), Barrett (1994: 504), Dunn (1996: 136), Gaventa (2003: 165), Marshall (1980: 185), Parsons (2008: 144), Peterson (2009: 329), Pilch (2004: 9) et sim.

[118] Barrett (1994: 504), although the case is weak. Used also in pagan cults (cf. 2 Kings 23:12), the location is probably neutral.

[119] Marshall (1980: 185), Dunn (1996: 137) and Barrett (1994: 504-505) all allow this. On the bad social form of sudden hunger, cf. Wilkins (2000: 80). That the prayer might have failed (cf. Mk 14:32-42 also displaying a three-fold pattern) serves to heighten again the contrast with Cornelius.

[120] Acts 10:9 "προσεύξασθαι". On the adverbial infinitive of intent, see Wallace (1999: 590), Moulton et al. (2006: 3:134ff).

[121] Dunn (1996: 137).

[122] Cf. Acts 10:2-4, 30, emphasising prayer and a three o'clock timing.

[123] As Crampsey (1982: 117-118) and Pervo (2009: 270) as a kind of parallel to Paul. Peterson (2009: 329) allows an "accidental fast" that helps to increase susceptibility to a vision.

[124] Cf. Williams (1995: 187), contra Barrett (1994: 504).

[125] Miller (1994: 84).

[126] Fitzmyer (1998: 454).

[127] As Munck (1967), Hanson (1967), Conzelmann (1987: 81), Lüdemann (1989), Johnson (1992), Spencer (1997), Parsons (2008), Peterson (2009). Haenchen's (1971: 347) "paving the way for the ensuing vision" and Tannehill's (1986: 2:129) "striking link" are not unpacked.

[128] Fitzmyer (1998: 455), Pervo (2009: 271), Peterson (2009: 329) and even Gaventa's (2003: 165) "Peter could select something … for lunch" although she quickly adds "What is at issue is not Peter's luncheon menu" (ibid., 166).

[129] Barrett (1994: 505) concedes there would simply be no point to the detail otherwise.

[130] Handy (1998: 94). Cf. the way that prayer is made more prominent, as noted above.

[131] Barrett (1994: 504), Rackham (1951: 151), Marshall (1980: 185), Dunn (1996: 137).

[132] Neil (1973: 138).

[133] Dunn (1996: 137).

[134] C.S.C. Williams (1964: 135).

[135] Streeter (1925).

further in a naturalistic direction, namely the indicators of *extreme* hunger, and the intervening onset of ἔκστᾰσις.

Beyond images of wish–fulfilment, it was noted that extremes of hunger (as illness) could cause *bizarre* dreams. Besides using a rare medical term[136], Luke's idiomatic ἐγένετο δὲ πρόσπεινος may indicate an intensive[137], humorously matching the wild "spread" in the vision[138]. In view of the use of the use of ἔκστασις in Paul's temple vision in Acts 22:17, most commentators read its occurrence here as a religious experience[139]. However it can be used for the sense of dissociation brought on by hunger, fatigue, fever or confusion, appearing as a virtual synonym of μανία and παραφροσύνη (delirium) in some medical texts[140], and linked to dreams in epic and fiction[141]. The combination of demanding exploits, hunger and noon–day heat might be intended as such a pointer[142]. Parsons rightly sees that speculation about the trance is invited by a very pregnant "gap"[143] with Johnson noting that the non–religious phrasing caused later MSS emendations[144]. The deixis throws the particularly dream–like ambiguities of Peter's vision into further relief, and especially in comparison to the evident clarity experienced by Cornelius'[145].

The inclusion of apparently inconsequential details may also serve as natural dreaming indicators. These include the "sheet" (σκεῦός τι ὡς ὀθόνην μεγάλην, Acts 10:11)[146] and its four corners or ropes (τέσσαρσιν ἀρχαῖς καθιέμενον, ibid.)[147]. Perceptual uncertainty

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[136] An NT hapax, LSJ (p.1522) noted by Hobart (1882) and Dillistone (1934).

[137] Acts 10:10. KJV and Williams (1995: 187) add "very".

[138] Re Genesis lists used of Gentile food, PesRK 6:2. On Greek views of excess and other barbarian failings, cf. Zeitlin (2001: 265), Whitmarsh (2001: 281, 304), esp. re food, Wilkins (2000: 257-311), and in sacrificial contexts, Vernant (1989: 60), Detienne (1989: 146). Peter's eating is of course, frustrated.

[139] ἔκστασις and ἐξίστημι are common in Luke-Acts and used with religious overtones at Acts 22:17 leading to Acts 10:10 and 11:5 being read in the same way, as Barrett (1994: 505), Dennis (1994: 32-34) et al.

[140] Besides literal dislocation (as Hipp *Artic.*56), ἔκστασις can mean mental dissociation in cases of dysentery, fever etc., as well as μελαγχολία, appearing as a virtual synonym of μανία and παραφροσύνη. NT commentators allowing this include Bruce (1951: 217), Witherington (1998: 349 n.89), Oepke (1964: 236, 237), and Schweizer (1964: 1043), all however, relying on Hobart (1882: 41-42).

[141] Kenaan (2004: 264) notes the roles of exhaustion and hunger in the deixis for the dream-like marketplace sequence in Apuleius and helpfully notes Vergil's comment at *Aen.*6:292-293.

[142] Re noontime heat cf. Haenchen (1971: 347), Polhill (1992: 254), Williams (1995: 187), Witherington (1998: 394). Paul's conversion vision is also at noon (Acts 22:6), and also displays non-biblical features.

[143] Parsons (2008: 144), cf. Polhill (1992: 254), contra the caution of Peterson (2009: 329), Rackham (1951: 151 n), Pervo (2009: 270 n.61).

[144] Johnson (1992: 183-184) on "ἐγένετο ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔκστασις" and cf. Rius-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger (2004: 63).

[145] Acts 10:3, φανερῶς. On the contrast with Peter, cf. Williams (1995: 187) and Neil (1973: 138). Re the status-lowering effects for Peter, cf. Handy (1998: 94) who notes that hunger is dropped from the later accounts.

[146] σκεῦος, a very general word (LSJ, 1607), "a certain object" (Bruce, 1990: 255). In Homer, ὀθόνη is used of fine linen cloths (cf. Witherington, 1998: 349, Pyper, 2003: 443) or even a square bandage (as Bruce, Barrett below). Evidence for "sail" is late (LSJ, 1200).

[147] ἀρχαῖς, which Bruce (1951: 217-218) notes can be used for the corners of a bandage (as Gal.*Chir.*2), although "ropes" are also possible (Barrett, 1994: 506). The later church was quick to see a symbol of world mission here (Pesch, 1986: 1:338), Polhill, 1992: 254, Pervo, 2009: 271 n.65).

indicated by the indefinites τι and ὡς[148] is common in Artemidorus and Aristides[149]. If daily surroundings account for most such adiaphora[150], theory certainly allows religious law to provide the image of the animals[151].

Beyond these details, however, the specific note of transgression and conflict requires more pointed explanation. Although Peter argues against the voice, Plato begs the question of a sublimated *inner* struggle with gluttony and/or sacred law. Any interpretation helping to avoid such hints would obviously be welcome, and making Peter a philosopher previously *brooding theoretically* on the Jew/Gentile problem[152] removes the suggestion altogether. His strongly protested innocence but eventual confession *to something*[153], however, allow the transgressive and conflictual elements to retain their purchase. Given the explicit conflict and tension before Paul's conversion[154], Luke's respectful silence here invites readers to fill in the gaps[155].

Through these overtones of natural dreaming, Luke curiously *adds* ambiguity to Peter's experience. Contrasting strongly with Cornelius' angelophany, this vision invites speculation about the community's failure and Peter's role in it. By underlining the human dimension, the dream draws back from Torah abolition whilst allowing its terrifying spectre to insinuate personal inconsistency. The net result counts as a very untraditional experience of "revelation".

4 Anxiety Dreams and Nightmares

4.1 Introduction and Problems of Definition

Beyond the simpler indications of natural dreaming, the distressing transgressive image in Peter's vision suggests comparison more specifically with ancient anxiety dreams and nightmares. The few studies of these have been hampered by paucity of material and

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[148] Also used in Acts 2:2-3 and rarely drawing comment, but cf. Witherington (1998: 349).

[149] On speech formulae in the Artemidoran dreams, cf. A2§10.n.7. On Aristides, cf. *Or.*47.24.2, 47.26, 47.42.3-4, 47.45.1, 3 et sim.

[150] Allowed by Bruce (1990: 255), Barrett (1994: 506), Williams (1995: 187), Marshall (1980: 185), Neil (1973: 138). Although Marshall suggests that this makes the account more realistic, none speculates on any other function of such an inclusion. On redundancy in dreams, cf. Artem.*Oneir.*1:11, 4:42.

[151] I.e. since Peter is neither a hunter nor a chef. On religious customs as a source of imagery, Artem.*Oneir.*1:8.1-1:9.9, 4:4.5-10. In B.Ber.55a-57b and Y.Maassh.55b-55c, religious images are not common, but do include seeing biblical figures, scrolls etc. (57b) and prayer (57a). Taboo-breaking dreams are usually sexual rather than religious.

[152] Rackham (1951: 150), cf. Neil (1973: 138), D. Williams (1995). The "brooding" of C.S.C. Williams (1964: 135) echoes Streeter (1925: 340). Some of the above see the thought prompted by the specific locality (cf. cases discussed by Nightingale, 2001: 145), although the "problem" as such besets the church on all fronts.

[153] Acts 10:15, 10:28.

[154] Via Acts 7:58, 8:1, 3, 9:1-3, and cf. Acts 26:14 re "kick[ing] against the goad".

[155] That the dream contains an apparently personal rebuke, σὺ μὴ κοίνου (Acts 10:15), invites speculation. The anxieties of the wider community are visible in 11:1-3, as cf. Plunkett (1985: 465).

problems of definition[156]. Used rather vaguely in the humanities[157], "anxiety dream" and "nightmare" are not formal medical designations and will be used here only to indicate relative levels of distress[158]. Indeed, modern research links a whole spectrum of unpleasant dreams to a single mechanism[159], although identifies three separate phenomena (asphyxiation "terrors"[160], hypnagogic nightmares[161], and PTSD flash–backs[162]). Ancient people had no consistent technical terms for the above (except interestingly the asphyxiation terror[163]), calling most simply "bad" or "frightening" dreams[164]. Apparently containing both literal and *symbolic* aspects[165], and famously problematic for Freud[166], such dreams continue to fascinate[167]. Although content is necessarily cultural, a particular class of sub–acute "frustration" dream is widely recognisable[168]. Marked by feelings of helplessness[169], dreamers find themselves constrained or pursued[170], or sometimes trapped in patterns of uncharacteristic behaviour[171] and where repeated attempts at escape are thwarted[172].

Formally, both message and other visual forms are possible and of themselves, do not indicate severity. Visits from monsters, ghosts or lost loved ones are all variants of the

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[156] The classic study of Roscher (1900 ET J. Hillman, 1979) on Pan nightmares has numerous eccentricities. The otherwise useful Weidhorn (1967) and Stewart (2002) are rather broad, and Szpakowska (2003) is focussed on Ancient Egypt only. Panayotakis (1998: 118) on the drunken romps of the novels is useful, as also comments in Brenk (1975) on Plutarch and McNeely (1998) on Vergil.

[157] Weidhorn (1967) prefers the first term for everything. Panayotakis (1998: 118) the second. Dodds (1951: 106) calls the Achilles-Hector chase dream an anxiety dream, but claims that Homer stops short of *nightmares*.

[158] Freud preferred *Angsttraum*. Some now reserve nightmare for any dream able to wake a subject up, as Davies (1987: 218) and Hartmann (1984: 10, 12-13). Shapiro (1987: 169) prefers "profoundly disturbing anxiety dreams". On the fluidity of modern terminology, see Buirski (1987: 3-5) and Davies (1987: 281-219).

[159] Hartmann (1984: 12, 13, 18-20).

[160] A distinct event with a sense of pressure and asphyxiation (ibid., 12, 18). Some reserve "nightmare" for this phenomenon alone, as Stewart (2002: 282).

[161] Hartmann (1984: 12).

[162] Shapiro (1987: 168), Hartmann (1984: 13, 185-219).

[163] ἐφῐαλτης, popularly imagined as Pan sitting on the chest of a dreamer, discussed in Artem.*Oneir.*2:37.22-29, Hillman's 1979 preface to Roscher (1900), and Stewart (2002). It was possibly known also in Egypt (Szpakowska, 2003: 167).

[164] A bad (κᾰκός) dream that frightens (φοβέω) or terrifies (ἀτύζομαι). Frequently, it is the terrifying appearance of what is seen that is stressed, as Ps-Hipp.*Reg.*4:93.1-4. "Nightmare" is often supplied in English translations.

[165] Hartmann (1984: 179), concurring with French and Fromm (1964).

[166] Because of his emphasis on wish-fulfilment (Hanlon, 1987: 19-20). In later editions, Freud devised a theory of inner conflict, to be developed by Jones (1911), (Shapiro, 1987: 163). Modern researchers prefer to leave such dreams more loosely connected to anxiety states, as Hartmann (1984: 47).

[167] Cf. Hartmann (1984: 42-43).

[168] "Anxiety dream" is reserved for such experiences by some authors.

[169] Kellerman (1987: 305-306), speaks of "loss of control" (ibid., 305-306) and Hartmann (1984: 176-177) of "helplessness".

[170] Shapiro (1987: 162), Hartmann (1984: 179, 180, 181, 224), cf. also falling (Davies, 1987: 221), drowning or being buried alive (Kellerman, 1987: 308).

[171] Hartmann (1984: 176), Kellerman (1987: 313-320).

[172] Hartmann (1984: 179, 211). Escape is a rare clinical sign of improvement (ibid., 180, 181, 228-229), an example of adaptive repeated dreaming, cf. Shapiro (1987: 170-171). Note that Peter's frustration is unresolved and non-progressing.

message form and other visual scenes can also range from the nightmarish to the more subtle, including the frustration dreams mentioned above.

4.2 Anxiety Dreams and Nightmares in Dream Theory and Literature

Disturbing dreams were always awkward in ancient life, implying danger whatever their origin. Severer cases might represent divine displeasure, demonic or sorcerous attack on the one hand, or madness or extreme illness on the other. Disturbing dreams of lesser kinds would be more often attributed to anxiety or milder illness although still needed handling with care. In the Greek tradition, older images of victims or vengeful deities sending bad dreams endured at the popular level long after natural theories emerged[173]. Terrifying dreams were always of uncertain origin, and if not clearly revealing the future, could hardly be prescient[174]. Their unpleasant nature and likely links to character, and the present or past pointed to simpler explanations. Of course, Plato was happy to call all significant dreams "true" in so far as the same faculty was involved in trying to reveal things[175]. Thus, in the moral domain, just as corruption produced its own imagery, so the soul could try to warn the dreamer of danger[176]. Besides sending the εἴδωλον of a parent, mentor or god[177], it could also transform or exaggerate imagery to literally terrify dreamers into reformation[178].

In addition to such "purposeful nightmares", subtler dreams of frustration or entrapment might represent grappling with an intractable problem. Resisting solution during the dream, it might yield later, weakened by this unseen effort. Besides circumstantial constraints or intellectual puzzles, such images could represent moral struggle, as in Clitophon's sexual frustration in Achilles Tatius[179].

Such dreams could all thus come as much from within as without, whilst yet proving significant. Although the soul's efforts were not guaranteed success, as nightmares could be ignored and struggles left uninterpreted, in Dionysius, nightmares lead the Tarquinius

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[173] Cf. X.*Cyr*.7:7.18.

[174] The prediction of the future remained a paramount issue for "true" dreams, as noted by P.C. Miller (1994: 7, 81), MacAlister (1996: 5), Gnuse (1996: 134), Oberhelman (2008: 22). However, Greeks saw no difficulty in a deity sending a bad dream as a punishment, adapted in some measure in WSol 17-18 for foreigners. Later patristic authors, are reluctant to extend this to Christians, cf. Miller (1994: 65-66).

[175] As §2.6 and n.61 above.

[176] Cf. Suetonius' note that Nero's bad dreams only started in earnest after he had killed his mother, in *Ner*.46.

[177] Cf. the visit to Marcius by the two Scipios in Liv.*Hist*.25:38.6.

[178] Cf. Philostr.*Vit.Ap*.7:14 on Eurip.*Or*.396.

[179] Ach.Tat.4:1.6-8, discussed further below.

brothers to confess a plot[180], in Suetonius, Drusus is convicted of "un–Roman" cruelty[181], and even Nero's conscience makes some efforts[182].

Hellenistic and Roman authors quickly saw such theory as adding potential to a device inherited from Homer and tragedy, allowing not only "truth" but even "divine truth" to manifest itself through anxiety dreams or nightmares. Since biblical authors had not moved in this direction[183], the images of transgression, conflict and frustration in Peter's raise questions about Graeco–Roman influence.

4.3 Forms and Motifs

Simple notices that a person had been having bad dreams both indicate anxiety and often lead to a disturbing but significant dream with more developed content. From Homer's Penelope, through Aeschylus' Clytemnestra and Atossa, Apollonius' Medea and Vergil's Dido, to examples in the later fiction of Heliodorus and Iamblichus[184], the motif is freely used by Diodorus, Plutarch, Tacitus and Suetonius, particularly when dealing with their more villainous subjects[185]. Although rarely described[186], sketches in Greek and Roman literature show that bad dreams display visitation and other visual forms as others. The following idioms are typical:

4.3.1 Demonic Assaults

Demons, witches or monsters could simply attack dreamers[187]. Although not traditionally enacted on stage, descriptions were certainly popular. The corpse–shrouded assailant in Aristophanes and the witches in Apuleius certainly entertained[188] but the device could be "played straight" in the histories of Herodotus and Dionysius[189], as well as more colourfully in historical fiction, with the red–robed woman in Xenophon of Ephesus or the fury Allecto in Vergil[190].

4.3.2 Victims and Voices

Villains were often haunted and rebuked by their victims, e.g. Otho by Galba in Suetonius, Germanicus by Quintilius Varus in Tacitus, Pausanius by Cleonicé and Brutus,

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[180] *RA* 5:54.1-5 esp. 5:54.2

[181] Suet.*Claud.*1:2.

[182] Suet *Ner.*46.

[183] Although some ANE epics had done, as Bulkley (1993: 161) notes re Gilgamesh.

[184] *Od.*20:83-102, Aesch.*Ch.*523-524 (cf. 32-43), *Pers.*175-230, Ap.Rh.*Argo.*3:616-635, Verg *Aen.*4:1-53, Hld.1:18, 3:18, Iamb.*Bab.*(Phot.) 7, respectively.

[185] *BH* 29:25.1, Plu *Mar.*45:3, Tac *Ann.*4:60, Suet.*Calig.*50:3.

[186] Oppenheim (1956: 230).

[187] Noted even in "scientific" texts, such as Ps-Hipp.*Reg.*4:93.1-4, Artem.*Oneir.*2:37.22-29.

[188] Ar.*Ra.*1331-1344, Apul.*Met.*1:11.14-1:19.28.

[189] Hdt.7:18, *RA* 5:54.1-5.

[190] X.Eph.1:12.3-4, Verg *Aen.*7:415-466.

somewhat obliquely, by his own "evil genius" in Plutarch[191]. Sometimes coming as unknown figures or disembodied voices, we hear of phantoms predicting ruin in Aeschylus and "dire punishments" in Dionysius[192]. Messages are often endlessly repeated, and sometimes presented in riddling "oracular" hexameters, as with Hipparchus in Herodotus and Marius and Pausanius in Plutarch, all meeting with varying responses[193]. The rebuke of Drusus in Suetonius, who is arraigned by "a huge barbarian woman" whilst campaigning on the perimeters of the empire adds particular irony as her appeal to conscience and accusation of un–*Roman* behaviour is made in perfect Latin[194].

4.3.3 Lost Loved Ones

Other dreams feature lost loved ones who distress through evident wounds, chains, or other signs of suffering. Although conversation is possible, reunion is not. In Homer, Achilles' dream of Patroclus and Penelope's of Odysseus[195] are later emulated by Vergil with the dreams of Dido and Aeneas[196], continuing naturally in later fiction with Chariton and Apuleius[197].

4.3.4 Images of Murder and Blood

Images of blood and destruction are necessarily upsetting but can undergo further nightmarish transformations in dreams as when Aeschylus' Cassandra sees "children … slaughtered by their own kindred, their hands full of … their own flesh … which their father tasted", an image unpleasant enough to convince the elders of a terrible truth[198]. So also Circe's walls drip with blood as the murdering Argonauts approach in a nightmare of ritual violation threatening the annulment of her magic[199]. Even at the popular level, Artemidorus notes a dream of being "carried aloft in a trough of blood", warning a man off becoming a gladiator[200]. In all such cases, the imagery shocks the recipients into grappling with, instead of dismissing an important dream. Since neither Circe nor Peter yet know what their dreams refer to, it is vital that their perplexity continues until a later moment of "recognition" with their visitors.

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[191] Suet.*Oth.*7:2, Tac *Ann.*1:65, Plu.*Cim.*6:5-6, and re Brutus: *Caes.*69:6-12 and 13-14 cf. *Brut.*36:1-37:6 and 48:1-5 (both accounts contain two visitations, the second, silent).

[192] Figures: Hdt.5:55-56; voices: Plu *Mar.*45:3 (re voice-only message dreams, cf. Hanson, 1978: 25-26); phantoms: Aesch.*Sept.*709-710; punishments: *RA* 5:54.1-5. Some dire messages are embedded within hybrid and other visual forms, as in Nero's death dream in Suet.*Ner.*46.

[193] Hdt.5:55-56, Plu *Mar.*45:3, *Cim.*7:5-6.

[194] Suet.*Claud.*1:2.

[195] *Il.*23:62-108, *Od.*20:85-87.

[196] Dido: *Aen.*1:353-359, 4:465-473; Aeneas: *Aen.*2:270-297, 2:559-587, 2:771-795, 4:351-355, 5:733-737.

[197] Char.2:9.6, 3:7.4, Apul *Met.*8:8.15-30, 9.31.4-9.

[198] Aesch *Ag.*1069-1223, esp. ll.1214-1222.

[199] Ap.Rh.*Argo.*4:664-669, a dream that Flannery-Dailey (2000: 92) classifies as a "frightening" symbolic dream, although in her sudy of 2004, p.77, emphasises only its mantic function.

[200] *Oneir.*5:58.

4.3.5 Anxiously Imagined Futures

These dreams represent realistic possibilities, with Clytemnestra dreaming of "disasters", Darius, of Alexander's army, Mithridates of being shipwrecked and Otho of being deposed[201]. In later works, Medea imagines Jason's ploughing contest, Charite sees herself kidnapped, Anthia, her beloved abducted and Pantheia, her daughter attacked[202]. Although not certain to occur, and sometimes betraying inconsistencies[203], the possibility of prescience is worrying[204]. Figurative transformation to some other disaster may not improve things at all[205], and non–fulfilment extremely welcome[206]. Partial fulfilment, where *some* details are correct (as with Medea and Charite[207]), although expected by dream theorists[208], can prove hazardous[209].

4.3.6 Death Portents

These dreams, which can occur in both message and other visual forms, constitute a negative counterpart to birth omens in the Hellenistic biographers. Although death invariably follows, such dreams augment anxiety through ambiguity. Telling good men they have run their course can be accepted without great distress[210], but riddling about the exact day seems cruel. Accepted graciously by Scipio in Cicero's *Dream*[211], the ailing Aristides is not pleased when offered a riddling prediction of his remaining years in the Sacred Tales[212].

Other visual and symbolic forms can deliver even more menace, however. Although Artemidorus knows of dreams of dying and being buried[213], and Aristides sees his own tomb[214], such direct ploys occur only rarely in literary settings with only Plutarch's Alcibiades and Lydian envoy suffering this fate[215]. Authors often preferred more colourful and figurative content such as a call from a mausoleum, the helm being wrenched from Nero's hands, Caligula being kicked out of heaven, a fury sweeping out Dion's house, or

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[201] Aesch *Ag*.891-895, *BH* 17:30.7, Plu.*Pomp*.32:4, Suet.*Oth*.7:2.

[202] Ap.Rh.*Argo*.3:616-635, Apul *Met*.4:27.1-15, X.Eph.5:8.5-7, Ach.Tat.2:23.4-6.

[203] Mithridates is facing a *land* battle, and Galba is already *dead*. Both dreams are still ominous.

[204] I.e. if theorematic, as Artem.*Oneir*.1:2.1-3, and worrying Anthia in X.Eph.5:8.5-7.

[205] E.g. from physical to sexual violence in Ach.Tat.2:23.4-6.

[206] E.g. praying that a dream will not come true (Ap.Rh *Argo*.3:688-692), taking evasive action (Ach.Tat.2:23.4-6).

[207] Ap.Rh.*Argo*.3: 616-635, Apul *Met*.4:27.1-15 (cf. Gollnick, 1999: 62).

[208] Implied by Plato and expressed by Artem.*Oneir*.1:4, 11, 4:42.

[209] As Charite in Apul *Met*.4:27.1-15 who does not see the villain clearly and thus cannot prevent his plot from succeeding.

[210] E.g. Deut 34:4, 5.

[211] Cic.*Somn.Scip*.2:2 (*Rep*.6:12) cf. Macr.*Comm.ad.Somn.Scip*.1:10.

[212] *Or*.48.18, cf. the later threat in *Or*.48.26-27.

[213] Artem.*Oneir*.2:49-54 by a variety of gruesome means.

[214] *Or*.50.49.

[215] Plu *Alc*.39:2, *Arist*.19:1-2.

Calpurnia ornament falling[216]. Other more enigmatic dreams could only be linked to death in hindsight, as with Augustus being carried off by "forty men", and even more bizarrely, Alcibiades' cross–dressing and make–up[217]. That some otherwise *incomprehensible* dreams might actually portend death presents a worry to any dreamer.

4.3.7 Personal Injury

Leaving aside the outrageous experiences of Asclepius incubants[218], dreams of sudden personal injury could be distressing and ominous[219]. Since experienced by all people from time to time, these were not always read as death portents[220]. Although sometimes reflecting possible dangers, unexpected dream injuries invited speculation about figurative meanings[221]. This is the approach taken by Artemidorus and the rabbis and increasingly by dreamers themselves. Thus whilst Gelon's "lightning strike" is just a nightmare, Anthony's before meeting Caesar is more pointed[222]. Pyrrhus's links his "teeth falling out" with military reversal, and in the novels, Charikleia reads her eye injury in relation to the "apple of her eye"[223].

4.3.8 Frustration Motifs

We have already noted an important class of anxiety dream featuring scenes of entrapment or pursuit[224]. With Achilles chasing Hector in Homer and the Egyptians dragging off the Danaids in Aeschylus[225], such images are much imitated. Whilst they can articulate typical experience, as with Knemon in Heliodorus and Charite in Apuleius[226], authors also develop such scenes symbolically[227]. While Alexander's Satyr hunt and Medius' athletic race in Plutarch are thinly disguised versions of military situations[228], Dido's endless journeying in Vergil is more purely poetic[229]. Similar notes are sounded by the unwelcome sexual advances made to Io by Zeus in Aeschylus, and the insistent dinner

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[216] Suet *Ner.*46:1-2, *Calig.*57:3, Plu.*Dion.*55:2, *Caes.*63:9.

[217] Suet *Aug.*99:2 (re the number of pall-bearers at his funeral), Plu *Alc.*39:1-2a, all "false" or improper riddles.

[218] As Epidauros A4, 13, B1, 3, 7 etc.

[219] Later viewed as demonic assault in Ps-Clem.*Hom.*11:15.

[220] Cf. Aristid.*Or.*47.9, 13, 22, 54, 48.17, 49.2.

[221] Note the poetic analogy between conscience and physical prodding in Aesch.*Eu.*155-157, and of course, Acts 26:14.

[222] *BH* 10:28.1, Plu *Ant.*16:3.

[223] *RA* 20:12.1-2, Hld.2:16.1 (cf. Artem.*Oneir.*1:26.7-13). On vicarious harm, Eurip.*Bacc.*778-795 and Acts 26:14.

[224] On pursuit and hunting metaphors, cf. Barringer (2001: 2 et sim.).

[225] *Il.*22:199-202, Aesch.*Suppl.*885-890.

[226] Hld.2:20, Apul *Met.*4:27.1-15.

[227] As with Aeschylus' spider nightmare analogy in *Suppl.*885-890.

[228] Plu *Alex.*24:8, *Demetr.*19:1-2.

[229] *Aen.*4:465-473.

invitations made to Cinna in Plutarch[230] – both, like Peter's vision, featuring the stronger pressing upon the weaker.

Other anxiety dreams start like wish–fulfilments, but are repeatedly cut short or subverted, as with Penelope in the *Odyssey*, Menelaus in Aeschylus, Charite in Apuleius, Anthia in Xenophon of Ephesus and cruelly so for Callirhoe in Chariton, who wakes just before kissing the groom[231]. Others try to hold on to their loved ones, as Achilles, Aeneas and Chaereas with inevitable separation poignantly conceded after three attempts[232]. A similar strategy is the introduction of an ambiguous element in an otherwise pleasant scene, as in Pompey's triumph dream which contains an uncomfortable glance towards Caesar[233].

More creative representations of frustration include a fountain that dries up as it is approached, doors that bar entry to a temple or a nuptial torch constantly going out[234]. Here the dreamer has to decide whether to accept the block or overcome it[235]. In all cases, the reader knows that the dreamer's soul is "trying to tell him something[236]. Besides Plato's connection between dreams and inner conflict, images of effort vs. obstacle were already common metaphors for moral and intellectual struggle in the agonistic Greek culture[237]. That difficult challenges and intractable paradoxes led to such images in dreams was well known, with the hope that the strenuous hidden efforts to which they referred, may eventually cause the problem to yield.

One must add that although dreamers might guess what such dreams were about, failure to do so in the face of persistent repetition constituted a part of the frustration, both during the dream and after waking. This is known from Artemidorus, and seen also in Peter's vision where he remains frustratingly blocked until a later moment of understanding.

4.3.9 Uncharacteristic Behaviour

A rather different class of dream involves not something done *to* the dreamer, but something done *by* them. Frustrated dreamers are aware of what they should do, but behave uncharacteristically or even immorally inside their dream. Artemidorus discusses everything from the social embarrassments of exposing oneself, urinating in public or

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[230] Aesch.*Prom.*645-673, Plu.*Caes.*68:3-5.

[231] *Od.*20:83-90, Aesch.*Ag.*420-426, Apul *Met.*4:27.1-15, X.Eph.5:8.5-7, Char.5:5.5-6.

[232] *Il.*23:62-108, *Aen.*2:771-795, 6:700-702, Char.2:9.6. Re three attempts, cf. *Aen.*2:792-794, 6:700-702. The three refusals of Peter are best understood as indicating closure of opportunity, although may indicate prescience, as discussed above.

[233] Plu.*Pomp.*68:2, leaving him stranded between "encouragement and depression".

[234] Artem.*Oneir.*5:78, Ach.Tat.4:1.6-8 (Clitophon), 2:11.1 (Hippias).

[235] Clitophon accepts his dream, Hippias becomes all the more determined to have his own way.

[236] As Clitophon re his own father.

[237] On learning as climbing cf. Cribiore (2001: 1-2), struggling (ibid., 127-128, 221), flying (ibid., 221). For similar metaphors for *moral* development, cf. Malherbe (1986: 26-27, 54, 62-63, 126, 142 et sim.) and Sandywell, (2000: 110, 114, 115).

failing to entertain colleagues[238], through to stealing, beating mothers, killing children and sacrificing wives[239], or engaging in illegal, unnatural or bizarre sex[240].

In the light of Plato's theories, these latter dreams would constitute an embarrassment if not a nightmare for respectable people. Although the tragedy of Oedipus loomed large[241] and some certainly remained "bad signs"[242], it is no surprise that Artemidorus laboured to reassure his clients that most such dreams were not what they seemed, offering figurative interpretations instead[243], a strategy sometimes humorously parodied[244] and to be discussed further below. It is thus surprising that important public figures could be given such dreams, including Hippias in Herodotus[245] and Julius Caesar in Plutarch and Suetonius[246], with figurative reinterpretations similar to those in Artemidorus[247]. That Caesar's anxiety about crossing the Rubicon, illegal under Roman law, but critical for Rome's greater good[248], should be articulated and paradoxically assuaged by an "ὄναρ ἔκθεσμον" about violating his own mother[249], is important for our argument about Peter's vision[250].

Also of interest are Artemidorus' distressing dreams of eating human flesh, excrement and blood[251]. Although the Greeks had no kashrut system, Artemidorus viewed all breaches of sacred law as particularly bad signs[252], including eating[253] or defecating in temples[254], entering sanctuaries illegitimately[255], stealing from shrines[256] or vandalising statues[257].

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[238] *Oneir.*4:44.4-5, 4:44.10-11, 4:44.7-8, 5:82. Cf. also Aristides' dream of lying down while the emperor is sacrificing (*Or.*51:44-45).

[239] *Oneir.*3:2.1-6 (not bad for thieves, of course!), 4:2.65, 5:22, 5:2.

[240] Illegal: *Oneir.*1:78.81-79:131, unnatural: 1:80.23-28, 1:80.54-59, 1:80.45-54, bizarre: 1:80.39-45, 4:65.20, 4:65.23-24, including with gods (1:80.28-39).

[241] Soph.*Oed.Rex.*977-984. Oedipus is portrayed as knowing that interpreters do often dismiss such dreams.

[242] E.g. sex with a child under five (*Oneir.*1:78.82-85, 1:78.108-116), as also some other violent or sacrilegious dreams.

[243] Cf. the many cases of deviant sex in *Oneir.*1:78-80, usually interpreted via wordplay to mean something different, as with incest in *Oneir.*1:79.24-26. Note that "real" dreams about incest would, in Artemidorus' experience, more often manifest themselves *symbolically*, as at *Oneir.*5:63.

[244] Cf. Megacles' bestiality dream in Long.4:35.22-24.

[245] Hdt.6:107.1-2. Hippias shows no apparent alarm at the dream and quickly offers a figurative interpretation.

[246] Plu.*Caes.*32:7-9. Suet.*Caes.*7:2 displays some differences.

[247] Artem.*Oneir.*1:79.19-24 has the same "mother = mother*land*" interpretation of the incest dream. On other Roman incest dreams, see Grottanelli (1999).

[248] cf. Brenk (1975: 343). A serving governor was not permitted to bring provincially based legions across this boundary.

[249] Although the dream does not function as simple revelation, it does help Caesar negotiate the decision to "violate" his country in order to save it.

[250] Who is arguably also faced with a cultural and missionary "Rubicon".

[251] *Oneir.*1:70, 3:23.1-22, 5:42, 5:38, 5:58.

[252] Apparently worse than cannibalism and incest, as above.

[253] *Oneir.*4:4.5-6 implies that eating added to the offense.

[254] *Oneir.*2:26.30-35, among the most "dangerous and frightening" of cases.

[255] *Oneir.*4:4.5-6, cf. the Egyptian case described by Szpakowska (2003: 96).

[256] *Oneir.*3:3.1-5, cf. also Rom 2:22 discussed by Dunn (1991: 114), a possible example of a universalising religious ethic, although omitted by Bockmuehl (2000a: 175-240).

Peter's horror would have been readily appreciated by Greek readers[258], but who might also realise that the religious rules could sometimes produce counter–intuitive results[259].

4.3.10 Bizarre Commands

Unlike the above, these dreams produce a sense of anxiety through *commands* to do something uncharacteristic, unpleasant, impossible, incomprehensible or inadvisable, trapping the dreamer between divine obligation and inner reluctance. That Greek gods could simply be immoral, or worse, speak deceptively or in riddles[260] added to the sense of perplexity and danger felt by dreamers. There are two variants, depending on whether the command refers to something a dreamer must do *after waking*, or something they must do *within the dream*. The distinction will prove important, although it may be unclear which is intended, a confusion affecting Aristides, and possibly Peter[261]. For the moment, however, I shall consider these separately.

4.3.10.1 Extra–Oneiric

Whilst Asclepius incubants were used to bizarre requests, as apparently some biblical prophets[262], commands to perform untypical, nonsensical or immoral actions could cause consternation. Thus we hear of everything from the mildly curious instruction to "make music", through to waging war, slaughtering priests and offering human sacrifices[263]. Whilst Artemidorus criticises incubants for not resorting to symbolic interpretation sooner[264], and Socrates wonders if he resorted to it too early[265], it is no surprise that those receiving the most distressing commands, such as Aristides being required to cut off his own finger[266], or Pelopidas to sacrifice a local girl[267], were more firmly drawn to figurative interpretations, symbolic substitutes or negotiated downgrades[268]. Although possible to

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[257] *Oneir*.2:33.17-22, cf. the worries in Suet *Aug*.94:8. According to *BH* 31:Fr.18a, Antiochus Epiphanes was "driven mad by ... apparitions and terrors" as a result of even attempting to violate a temple of Artemis.

[258] They were not without any food customs, as Parker (1983: 357-365) and Vernant and Wissing (1989) but were well aware of those of others.

[259] E.g. re the married woman and the prostitute in *Oneir*.4:4.5-6 (White, 1975: 222 n.14) and cf. Ach.Tat.7:13.

[260] To be considered in ch.5.

[261] E.g. *Or*.50.15, where the command to "go to the Temple Stoa and offer an oration" could be either intra or extra-oneiric in intent.

[262] Cf. ch.3.

[263] Pl.*Phd*.60e-61c, Hdt.7:8-18 (against Xerxes' instincts), Hdt.2:139, *BH* 1:65.5-6, Plu.*Pel*.21:1, *Ages*.6:4-5. Such commands were also given by some oracles, as in *BH* 8:8.2.

[264] Cf. his criticisms re the "broth of sea-nymphs" prescription in *Oneir*.4:22.9-11.

[265] After the dream recurs, Socrates wonders if the god might have meant it literally.

[266] *Or*.48.27.10-11, cf. Dodds (1951: 116, 130) and White (1975: 74 n.46).

[267] Plu.*Pel*.21:1. The injunction seemed fearful and lawless "δεινός καὶ παρανομος".

[268] As with the finger sacrifice in Aristides in *Or*.48.27.10-11.

dismiss as mere psychological artefacts[269], if there was any doubt, literal obedience was still seen as the safest course of action[270], particularly when made a test of loyalty[271].

Although we might worry more about commands to perpetrate acts of violence, being asked to violate some aspect of sacred law could cause ancient dreamers considerable perplexity and distress[272]. When, against his religion, Domninus is prescribed a pork–rich diet by Asclepius, one might forgive the god's ignorance[273]. But in many cases, gods seemed to violate their own norms of behaviour. Thus Pelopidas's human sacrifice is opposed primarily on grounds of appropriate "divine behaviour" rather than of compassion for the victim[274]. Similar and specifically religious overtones are present in the command of Sabacos to slaughter priests, which might violate natural *and* sacred law[275]. As we shall see elsewhere, such transgressions are not unknown in commands given by oracles[276]. The overall anxiety caused by such dreams could be severely augmented in the face of the possibility in Greek tradition not only of self–deception[277], but also of deliberate divine deception. On this basis, dreams might have to be disobeyed even if "divine", as Io in Aeschylus and Sabacos in Herodotus[278].

4.3.10.2 Intra–Oneiric

A somewhat different dynamic is established by a smaller class of participatory visual experience where a bizarre or uncharacteristic action is requested within the dream, such as the god asking Aristides to refuse to kiss the emperor[279]. Such commands can certainly produce or articulate anxiety, but present more subtle questions of interpretation. Disobedience could lead to unwelcome consequences *in the dream*, from uncomfortable pressure, to strong rebukes or physical violence[280]. The fact that obedience may not fully be under the control of the dreamer somewhat adds to the anxiety here[281], as does a degree of uncertainty about the *waking* consequences of such actions[282]. But not all failure leads to

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[269] Cf. *Pel*.21.4 "only weakness and depravity of soul could produce or harbour such unnatural and cruel desires".

[270] Cf. *Or*.48.55-56, although drawing the line at a number of points, as *Or*.48.27.10-11, 49:15.

[271] As implicitly in *Or*.48.27.10-11, and explicitly in *Or*.49.39.

[272] Cf. the dreadful fate of Antiochus Epiphanes after such a violation, as n.257 above.

[273] Text and translation in Edelstein and Edelstein (1945: 240 number 427) and discussed by Schäfer (1997: 71-72).

[274] Plu.*Pel*.21:4

[275] Hdt.2:139 (and *BH* 1:65.5-6).

[276] In Hdt.1:158.1-159 re the sacred law of suppliants, of which oracles were normally staunch defenders (as *BH* 11:44-45). Cf. also Parke (1967: 71) on a comparable Dodonan oracle.

[277] As Pelopidas' advisors suggest in Plu.*Pel*.21:1-4.

[278] Io: Aesch.*Prom*.645-657 (although she eventually succumbs); Sabacos: the dream may have been trying to trap him into a religious violation permitting further divine wrath (Hdt.2:139, cf. *BH* 1:65.5-6).

[279] *Or*.47.23, on grounds of higher religious allegiance to Asclepius.

[280] Pressure: cf. Cinna in Plu.*Caes*.68:3-5, rebukes: Epidauros B15, Acts 9, 10, violence: Plu.*Arist*.19:1-2.

[281] As apparently Cinna, above.

[282] Cf. Matthias in *AJ* 17:166.

such reprisals, particularly if some didactic purpose is intended[283]. Indeed, the few intra–oneiric actions recorded for biblical prophets, such as the commands to eat a scroll, prophecy to dry bones or re–clothe the high priest, seem to offer moral or conceptual preparation for future ministry, but without symbolising a particular task directly[284].

Dreams of this kind are also found in the Asclepia where, besides enduring terrible dream operations[285], some incubants could be requested to perform strange actions, such as stripping naked, learning a wrestling move, having ones legs run over by a cart, or being sent up onto a roof[286]. All of these would seem to have a therapeutic intent, with at least the latter linked to overcoming fear[287].

4.4 Bad Dreams and the Principle of Opposites

Although some doubted that "bad" dreams could ever be meaningful, the general potential for significance outstripped that of more matter of fact natural dreams. Anyone having an out-and-out nightmare related in some manner to past or intended action should consider that some god or their own soul may be enjoining repentance. The same could be true for those seeing themselves in scenes of gross indulgence and bad behaviour that disgusts even them, particularly in the light of Plato's warning about the dangers of fantasy becoming reality in tyrants. Foreseen disasters, if not just anxiously imagined might also be covert warnings about an avoidable judgement. Even dreams of anxiety and frustration might be revealing an unforeseen obstacle, an inner block or failing, and thus challenge intransigence, encourage patience or indicate "work in progress".

It is in the realm of dreams with *unexpected* images of "bad things", either as observed scenes or performed actions, that ancient interpreters were able to be at their most ingenious, and particularly in what has come to be called the "principle of opposites"[288]. Whilst this almost certainly goes back to ANE dream lore, where Husser notes that one of the earliest Mesopotamian nightmare accounts has a "good" interpretation[289], Brelich sees its wider popularity as particularly Greek[290], although explicit discussion does not seem to occur until the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and even in Artemidorus, the treatment is

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[283] The oneiric emperor is surprisingly accepting of Aristides' refusal in *Or*.47.23. Cf. Marcellus' refusal in Acts Pet. 22, discussed by Stoops (1983: 133-134).

[284] Ezek 3:1, 37:7, Zech 3:1-10.

[285] E.g. Epidauros A4, 13, B1, 3, 7 et sim., Aristid.*Or*.47.9, 47.13, 47.40, 49.47.4-7.

[286] Stripping: B8 (prior to oneiric de-lousing), wrestling: B9 (as part of a headache cure), cart: B18 (a "cure" via "damaging" the affected limbs), roof: B15 (re a lame man).

[287] Note that commanding the very thing his disability and fear prevent constitutes an intra-oneiric example of what Meir has dubbed "healing by paradoxes" (Meir, 1966: 317).

[288] cf. Brelich (ibid.: 296-7), Gollnick (1999: 63-64), Hughes (2000: 18), Hansen (2000: 58) and on appropriation by Freud, White (1999: 14). Although Brelich is mentioned by Miller (2004: 53-54), the latter fails to consider Acts 10.

[289] Husser (1999: 31) and cf. Noegel (2001: 51) and Szpakowska (2001: 34 and n.31, 2003: 72).

[290] Brelich (1966: 296-7). Unfortunately, his "cultural" explanation (ibid., 297-301) is not fully convincing.

not systematic. Artemidorus starts from the interests of his clients. Although he accepts natural anxiety dreams and Plato's moral theory, when neither of these really fit the character or circumstances of the person, then some other meaning might be indicated. As a result, he manages to rescue all sorts of bad dreams from being either meaningless, morally diagnostic or ill–boding. Thus whilst violent or depressing scenes, and indeed any alarming images "contrary to nature, law or custom" should indeed normally signal something bad[291], nearly all such features were capable of being reversed, although considerable suspicion continued to attend reprehensible sexual dreams and those involving breeches of sacred law. But the range of dreams that could be turned around proved surprisingly broad. Thus a man who saw himself beating his mother was relieved to learn this meant nothing of the sort[292], and seeing Nemesis was bad only for villains[293].

By dint of the substitutions required, however, such dreams had to be placed in the category of allegorical as opposed to theorematic. Allowing a disjunction between "bad" or "good"[294] internal imagery (τὸ ἐντός) and external referents (τὸ ἐκτός), leads to four different combinations[295]. Two of these are the traditional parings i.e., good/good and bad/bad[296], but the other two encapsulate reversals or opposites. It became the art of the interpreter to discern when these might be indicated and the semantic and other devices to be employed[297], but Artemidorus is certainly able to produce examples in both directions[298]. He is clear, however, that these must remain an exception rather than a rule[299]. His claim at one point that fulfilments are "*always* contrary [to images]" (τὰ ἐναντία ἀεὶ ἀποβαίνουσι) is most likely an exaggeration designed to reassure his anxious and very respectable clients[300]. The curious lack of reported distress, however, suggests that this was a familiar if not expected ploy[301].

Although reversals can sometimes be suggested by peculiar content[302], obvious ambiguity[303] or inviting wordplay[304], the process is primarily driven by Artemidorus'

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[291] Artem.*Oneir*.4:2.58-74.

[292] *Oneir*.4:2.58-74. As a potter, clay was the "mother" of his trade.

[293] For philosophers and moderate people, a good sign, as *Oneir*.2:37.97-101.

[294] By ἀγᾰθός and κᾰκός, here, he means neutral vs. distressing or ominous images.

[295] *Oneir*.1:5.1-6.

[296] Good/good in *Oneir*.1:5.6-14 and bad/bad in 1:5.14-19.

[297] Although wordplay is important, it is too restrictive to speak merely of "linguistic antinomy", as Holowchak (1997: 130).

[298] bad=>good in *Oneir*.4:2.58-74, good=>bad in *Oneir*.2:30.1-8, as also 1:13.1-11, 2:59.12-16 discussed in 2:59.16-21, 2:59.3-6, 2:30.1-8.

[299] He knows he must retain the general principle that good signifies good, as *Oneir*.4:2.58-74.

[300] *Oneir*.2:59.19.

[301] It is possible that some clients were distressed, but that this is not reported.

[302] E.g. when an object is "out of place", *Oneir*.4:46.1-6, used later to cast suspicion on some divine speech.

[303] As in the case of gestures made by moving statues in *Oneir*.5:71-72.

knowledge of his clients and their cultural and personal contexts, which demands he find a "better" meaning for them[305]. Whether an image is "bad" or not, however, requires a knowledge of proper behaviour in general and that of the dreamer in particular, with all relevant factors taken into account[306]. Speaking of "unwritten laws"[307], he distinguishes universal norms[308] from national or ethnic customs which can affect marriage, religion, food laws etc.[309], as well as purely local customs associated with a town or a particular temple[310]. In addition to these general insights, one must also know as much as possible about the individual concerned, his identity, occupation, circumstances, preferences etc.[311]. Class or profession alone can lead to different meanings for vomiting, going blind, losing fingers, being defecated on, burned alive or dead and buried[312]. Finally, the dreamer's state of mind just before dreaming is also important, where for Artemidorus, a mismatch is suspicious. Thus for anyone going to sleep in a good or peaceful state of mind but who nevertheless sees "bad" imagery, a reversal may be indicated[313]. That this information is actually omitted by Luke constitutes a very pregnant gap and begs the question of the "brooding" presupposed by some commentators[314].

There is some evidence that this general interpretive strategy was well known at the popular level. It is mentioned by Pliny the younger as he comforts Suetonius after a particularly bad dream[315], and makes a cameo appearance in Apuleius in the advice of an old woman comforting Charite after her terrible dream about Tlepolemus, who notes that dreams "sometimes predict opposite outcomes"[316]. Although the reversing device used by Artemidorus to point dreamers to more pleasant meanings for their dreams often relies on a wordplay, this is not always the case, and the exact modes of transformation in cases where divine speech is present will be addressed in a subsequent chapter. The main issue here is the general point that Peter's vision, although featuring images of the violation of sacred law, could at least admit more positive interpretations[317]. From the point of view of the

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[304] *Oneir.*1:78-79, 4:2.58-74, 5:57 et sim.

[305] The determining importance of context is the main theme of Books 1 and 2.

[306] *Oneir.*1: 9.1-9, 12.9-end.

[307] With Philo and others, Artemidorus calls an ἔθος a "νόμος ἄγραφος".

[308] *Oneir.*1:8.1-9 – including a general veneration of the gods.

[309] *Oneir.*1:8.9-end re the practices of the Thracians, Mossynes, Syrians et al., cf. Strabo's knowledge of the Jews.

[310] *Oneir.*4:4.8-10.

[311] *Oneir.*1:9.1-9 cf. 4:2.12-24.

[312] Vomiting: *Oneir.*4:26.1-7, blinded 1:26.14-16, 1:26.23-24, 1:26.32-38, losing fingers: 1:42.30-32, defecated on: 2:26.12-14, burned: 2:52, dead and buried: 2:49.

[313] *Oneir.*1:12.9-end.

[314] C.S.C. Williams (1964: 135) and others.

[315] Plin.Y.*Ep.*1:18.2-3.

[316] *Met.*4:27.16-26, discussed by Gollnick (1999: 63).

[317] Miller (2004: 53-54) fails to see any relevance of the principle to Peter's vision in Acts 10.

"client", it was far better to do this than leave it as a natural but disturbing dream, with all of its worrying implications.

5 Anxiety and Nightmare Motifs in Peter's Vision

Having sketched some of the special features of anxiety dreams and nightmares, I shall now look at aspects of Peter's experience reminiscent of these more disturbing dreams. From the above taxonomy, the vision can be classed amongst the relatively infrequent dreams featuring bizarre commands with intra–oneiric referent, which are known in popular and therapeutic contexts but less frequently so in literary ones. As conceivably divine communications, they may ultimately prove to be significant, but often remained ambiguous and distressing. In view of Peter's reaction and the overtones of deviance, deception, and doubt, whatever it might signify in the end, his vision plays to a number of wider features of anxiety dreams and nightmares.

5.1 Transgression and Paradox

We previously noted that Artemidorus believes that dreams "contrary to nature, law or custom" generally signal something bad[318], and might well have regarded the religiously transgressive image in Peter's vision in this way. Certainly the account contains notes of extreme perplexity, signalled by a sequence of δια compounds[319], which are lifted to the level of distress by Peter's horrified "μηδαμῶς, κύριε" and his emphatic "οὐδέποτε"[320]. Terms borrowed from Ezekiel's protests about cooking over human excrement[321] are here used for something far worse in Jewish eyes. If the image of breaking food laws was a proverbial sign of apostasy[322] and was used in invective between Jews[323], being forced to eat non–permitted meat was literally "the stuff of nightmares", featuring strongly in the melodramatic martyrdom literature of the Hellenistic period[324].

Unlike the Maccabean images of torture and duress, however, Peter's vision, with its Eden–like panoply of living animals, delivers a much more surreal experience where an anonymous invitation to excess is complemented by a singular lack of any Gentile oppressor. Nevertheless, we have seen that surreal exaggeration is a classic nightmare feature that brings its own ambiguities, adding concern to both naturalistic and prescient readings. For some Greeks, such an experience could certainly merit a precautionary

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[318] *Oneir.*4:2.58-74.
[319] Gaventa (2003: 167).
[320] Acts 10:14, cf. LSJ, 1125, 1269.
[321] Ezek 4:14.
[322] Isa 65:3-4, Tob 1:5, 1:10, 4:12.
[323] M.Ned 2:1[B].
[324] Cf. 2 Macc 6:18, 7:1-2, 4 Macc 4:26, 5:1-18:24.

sacrifice[325] or with Artemidorus' clients, a judicious application of the "principle of opposites". Although Miller (2004: 53-54) discusses the concept in his study of dreams and visions in Luke–Acts, he curiously fails to see any relevance to Peter's vision in Acts 10.

5.2 Prescience and Anxiety

Besides various simple word–based connections between the vision, the arrival of the messengers, and later events[326], the dream's sense of abomination could itself constitute a warning about an imminent religious danger, amply suited to the arrival of Gentile visitors[327]. In Greek dream theory, of course, something very similar could be produced by an explicit worry that something might happen. Thus although Circe could hardly have foreseen the arrival of the Argonauts[328], some imagine that Peter *had* been concerned about contact with foreigners during his mission in mixed Jewish–Gentile territory. Like Circe, however, his vision is not theorematic, as anything so specific might have been dismissed out of hand[329]. That worries about religious accidents or misunderstandings[330] might produce something like the animal vision is certainly attractive. In the vision, of course, Peter is on the orthodox side. Unfortunately, this leaves him firmly with the group Luke wishes to undermine. To show us Peter's response here is thus rather revealing and allows Luke to imply what is left unsaid in Acts as a whole, namely Peter's personal disposition before the Cornelius episode. What might be the purpose of handling this in such a way? The answer may lie in the implication that the cultural sensitivities here are so long–held they have practically passed into the "dream culture", equipping even good men with the stuff of their nightmares. So long as they reserve judgement in real life and are open to "seeing what God will do", their instinctive fears, albeit shared with those of more culpably bigoted persons, can be made forgivable.

5.3 Demons and Desires

Unfortunately, the dream is not made safe so easily, particular in relation to Plato's theories connecting nascent corruption and transgressive dreams[331]. Hellenistic readers knew that the "voice" could in reality be Peter's own, and that we may thus be hearing a sublimated version of an *inner* struggle[332]. This is precisely how Hellenistic Jews had already been reconceptualising Jewish moral fortitude. In view of the increasingly awkward

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[325] *RA* 5:54.3.

[326] E.g. re the "cleansing" to come.

[327] As noted in ch.2, this warranted the popular opprobrium of ἀθέμιτον.

[328] Her blood-filled dream in Ap.Rh *Argo*.3:616-635 tries to forewarn her of their arrival.

[329] Esp. in view of Acts 10:28a, cf. Titus Latinius' dismissal of his dream in *RA* 7:68.4.

[330] As Acts 11:1-3 and cf. 1 Cor 8:9-10.

[331] Pl.*Rep*.9:571a-576b and cf. *Tht*.173d.

[332] Cf. the suggestion of Pelopidas' advisors in Plu.*Pel*.21:1-4.

sound of the traditional arguments for Torah, Philo recasts obedience to the food laws in very Greek terms as a battle against the temptations of "luxury", citing the superlative taste of pork as the very reason for its selection as a test[333]. 4 Maccabees uses explicitly Platonic terminology about this inner struggle where ὁ λογισμός and σωφροσύνη must overcome ἐπιθυμία and ὄρεξις[334]. Since the theory ultimately envisages violation for violation's sake[335], we do not need to imagine a specific or conscious desire or curiosity on Peter's part. Indeed, such transgressive dreams only really constitute nightmares for those who in waking life are more or less in control, as modern studies also suggest[336]. Thus, just as Peter cannot simply make the voice "God", he also cannot easily dismiss the dream as natural for its awkward personal implications. With many of the clients of Artemidorus, one can see Peter under pressure to read this dream as being *about something else*, hopefully not a violation of sacred law at all.

5.4 Deception and Dissimulation

Although one might imagine that Peter had no need to worry about the Homeric gods' ability to disguise themselves and deceive dreamers, malevolent beings such as Satan could provide such a concern for Jews and Christians[337]. Another threat affecting everyone in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, however, was that of *self*–deception, where an anxious or perverse mind was capable of producing apparently divine messages. Thus, dreams delivered even by divine–looking figures are dismissed as natural by Xerxes in Herodotus[338], Titus Latinius in Dionysius[339] and Pelopidas's advisors in Plutarch[340]. This thought could not be far away from a Jew or Christian experiencing an uncharacteristic dream.

If the transgressive imagery of Peter's vision constituted a generically bad sign, more surreal still was the paradoxically inverted dialogue in which Peter found himself correcting "God"[341]. For Artemidorus, for a god to be opposing his own sacred law falls firmly into the category of things "contrary to nature, law or custom" (κατὰ φύσιν ἢ νόμον ἢ ἔθος)[342]. His

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[333] Phil.*Spec.Leg*.4:101-102, cf. Feldman (1993: 167-170).

[334] 4 Macc 1:7-35, esp. vv. 34-35. Platonic terminology is evident throughout (deSilva, 2002: 359-364). On 4 Macc, cf. Anderson (1992) and DeSilva (1998, 2002: 352-397, 2006).

[335] Contra Socrates' conclusion that "no one does wrong voluntarily" (cf. Nozick, 1995: 143 n.2). For the modern use of this vision to explore transgression, cf. Eisen (2003).

[336] Cf. Kelsey (1973: 181) on taboo-breaking dreams of violence and sexual excess in Christians.

[337] Jewish: B.Ber.55b; Christian: Gal 1:8, 2 Cor 11:14 et sim., and in patristic texts, cf. Ps-Clem.*Hom*.9:14, 17:14-18, (P.C. Miller, 1994: 64-65).

[338] Hdt.7:8-18.

[339] *RA* 7:68.3-7:69.2.

[340] Plu.*Pel*.21:1-4.

[341] Although cf. Quintus Catulus in Suet.*Aug*.94:8.

[342] Artem.*Oneir*.4:2.58.

suspicion is even aroused by minor inconsistencies such as gods who do not appear "in their proper place" or in their "customary dress", let alone behaving improperly. In such cases, besides a general sense of ill–boding, Artemidorus alerts the dreamer to the possibility of active deception[343]. Although he normally avoids discussing religious epiphanies, with Plato, he agrees that were gods to speak, they should do so truthfully[344]. Whether this is essentially a naturalistic observation or constitutes a temporary admission of more traditional worries, this alert constitutes an unusual departure, and one that cannot be lost on early Christians seeking to "test everything" in matters of revelation[345].

Although Artemidorus hangs on to the idea that some dreams might be opaque even to experts before they eventually "came true"[346], the older ANE worry that un–interpreted dreams were a bad and polluting omen still had some currency[347]. The understandable urgency to make some effort at solution meant that impenetrability constituted a frustrating if not nightmarish experience[348], capable of causing sleepless nights[349]. In the more difficult cases, the state of quandary could assume the proportions of "mental torture"[350]. Anyone wishing to keep the dream *divine* but not intentionally *deceptive*, is thus propelled in the direction of assuming some mode of enigmatic speech. Although a well–known possibility in the Hellenistic world, it would be less usual in a Jewish or Christian setting, with Haenchen one of few commentators to root Peter's perplexity in such a dilemma[351]. That Luke has experimented with this to some degree in Paul's vision[352] suggests the possibility in Peter's also.

5.5 Conclusions

Just as Homer likens the anxious and sleepless Penelope to a "lioness hemmed in on every side by huntsmen"[353], Peter is similarly trapped between terrible alternatives, between a bad omen or good, between righteousness and transgression, between the natural and the divine, between deception and riddle. This sense of constraint constitutes a clear anxiety/frustration motif, heightened by the non–progressing repeat motif in the dialogue. I

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[343] *Oneir.*4:72.3.

[344] *Oneir.*2:69.1-10, probably following Pl.*Rep.*2:382e-383c. Later, however, he concedes that such speech is sometimes deceptive 4:72 or riddling 4:71.

[345] As 1 Thess 5:21, 1 Cor 14:29 et sim.

[346] *Oneir.*4:24.7-11.

[347] In the ANE context, cf. Oppenheim (1956: 219, 1966: 350), discussed by Lowery (1999: 49), Flannery-Dailey (2000: 188 n.203, 2004: 23) et sim.

[348] As Aesch.*Ag.*975-984.

[349] E.g. Hld.1:18 and cf. *Od.*4:787ff.

[350] E.g. Hector in *Il.*16:715-725, Xerxes in Hdt.7:12, Aeneas in *RA* 1:56 and *Aen.*5:733-737, Kalasiris in Hld.3:11-12, Caesar in Plu.*Caes.*32:9, Brutus in ibid., 69:67.

[351] Haenchen (1971: 348).

[352] Paul's "voice" asks "why do you persecute me?" *without identifying itself* (Acts 9:4b).

[353] *Od.*4:787ff.

shall explore this feature further below, but for the moment note that unlike commands repeated merely to batter down reluctance, those of Peter's dialogue seal *non–understanding* and leave the two firmly at loggerheads. It could be tempting for Peter to try and make out that he was a great philosopher who had taken his theological problems to "bed" with him, but this is somewhat undermined by the later astonishment in Cornelius' house, suggesting little prior brooding. Indeed, the dream's articulation of instinctive opposition to such an unexpected turn of events makes Gamaliel's warning about not opposing God all the more ironic[354].

6 Two Traditional Objections

Two closely related objections to any alternative readings of Peter's vision include the routine presumption of the voice' divine identity, and reading the repeated refusals in terms of human resistance to a simple command. Some of the above observations, however, suggest that this may be too simplistic. This section will reassess the voice and its repeated command from the point of view of anxiety dreams and nightmares to see whether this new reading may be held consistently.

6.1 The "Divine" Voice

It is often assumed that Peter's "voice" is a traditional device for preserving divine aniconism similar to those in the baptism and transfiguration accounts[355], and that Peter's use of "κύριε" proves this[356]. As a result, the command is taken at face value, although this is not itself an absolute corollary of the identity[357]. Given Cornelius' angel and other alternatives, that both Paul and Peter are addressed by an unidentified voice speaking *enigmatically* would seem a deliberate choice. Divine voices, however, are under–researched, and the relationship between Jewish and Graeco-Roman perceptions remains unclear[358]. Both traditions contain stories about audible voice portents as well as dreams, and the voices of the Gospels and Acts seem awkwardly stranded between the two[359]. For this reason, not all dream voices should simply be approached as message dreams with invisible figures.

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[354] Acts 5:39. On the irony here, cf. Darr (1998).

[355] Previous scholarship usually appeals to apocalyptic or the rabbinic Bat Qol.

[356] Barrett (1994: 507). It is however, also just a respectful mode of address as Lk 5:12, 7:6, 13:8, 14:22 et sim., and used by Paul in Acts 9:5 before his "voice" is identified. For traditional views of the divine voice, cf. Gowler (1989: 54) and Meierding (1992: 40-41).

[357] Cf. Barrett (1994: 507), re a command that "requires obedience". Not all divine speech need be straightforward however, even if in the form of a command.

[358] Kühn (1989) has a primarily Jewish focus, although the earlier Betz (1964) incorporates some Graeco-Roman perspectives, on which see also Versnel (1987: 50). There are useful comments in Chilton (1992: 640), Boring (1992: 497), and Aune (1998: 560-562).

[359] Cf. the public/private tensions in Mk 1:11, Mt 3:17, Acts 9:7 et sim. (on Paul, cf. Meyer, 1986).

Voice portents show a common Mediterranean development. Often linked to civic calamities[360], voices betray relationships to three distinct divinatory contexts, brontological, hierophantic and kledonomantic. The first originates in the "voice" of thunder, commonly linked to divine wrath[361], the second, in the utterances of unseen priests or prophets in temples[362] and the third in randomly overheard utterances[363]. Once interpreted, however, all three could be reported as "heavenly voices" irrespective of origin[364]. The reason for mentioning these is that voices within dreams can sometimes reflect these idioms as well as the more traditional visitation form[365]. It is perhaps significant that visitation dreams in the Graeco-Roman tradition that feature voices rather than visible figures, most often occur in nightmare and anxiety contexts. For the moment, however, the distinctive developments of Jewish and Graeco-Roman voices will be explored separately before returning to Peter's vision.

6.1.1 Jewish Voices

It is often assumed that Peter's "voice" is a specifically *Jewish* feature. In fact, in comparison to the "stripped down" pentateuchal "theoloquies"[366], voices, such as that heard by Samuel constitute rare exceptions[367]. In most other cases, including the prophetic symbolic visions, specifically audible phenomena are not emphasised[368]. Only in later

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[360] *RA* 7:68.1, 10:2.2-3, Plu *Num.*8:3, *Cim.*1:6-7 and Cic.*Div.*1:44/99, usually as part of portent *lists*.

[361] Voice: Both קוֹל and φωνή mean "sound" and "voice", cf. Char.1:9.3. Voices are also linked to clouds and whirlwinds (as Ezek 1, esp. v.4, 25-26). Wrath: Cf. Betz (1964) and Aune (1998: 560-562), cf. also the thunderbolts of Zeus in the Greek tradition, as *Il.*2:353; 9:236; *Od.*20:101-4 et sim. Words: cf. Jn 12:28-29. Brontomancy: known in Greek, Etruscan/Roman and Jewish traditions, e.g. 4Q318 (cf. Wise, 1994). The brontomantalogical step is often omitted in literary presentations. Voices from forests (as Livy *Hist.*2:7.2-3 cf. Val.Max.8:5) may constitute a related tradition.

[362] In Egypt, cf. Miosi (1992: 29). Graeco-Roman evidence includes Hdt.1:65, 158-160, Eurip *Andr.*1147-48, Liv.*Hist.*5:32.5-7, 6:33.5, 29:18.16, Plu.*Is.Osir.*12/355e, Tac.*Hist.*5:13, Arr *An.*7:26, Cic.*Div.*1:101, Aristid.*Or.*40.22, Verg.*Aen.*3:90-101, Hld.2:35 (cf. Czachesz, 2002: 52) with further evidence in Parke and Wormell (1956: 1:228-229), Edelstein and Edelstein (1945: 77-78). Jewish stories of divine voices emanating from the temple (as Num 7:89, Isa 66:6, *AJ* 13:282-283) and Graeco–Roman voices in sacred groves (Liv.*Hist.*1:31.3) may be variants of this tradition.

[363] These could be isolated shouts from some way away or utterances in group situations that are caught by the listener and prove strangely apt to their situation (as famously, Augustine). For examples, see Plu.*Cam.*14:1-2, *Lyc.*23:2, Liv.*Hist.*41:2.7, Paus.4:9.3, Jos.*AJ* 19:60-61. At least some of the rabbinic Bat Qol texts would appear to suggest kledonomancy. Plu.*Is.Osir.*14/356e notes an interest in children's voices in Egypt. On kedonomantic shrines, cf. Paus.7:22.3, 9:11:7.

[364] E.g. Gen 21:17, 22:11, 15, Ex 20:22, Deut 4:36, Neh 9:13 et sim. Oracles of judgement often retain a thunder link as Ps 76:8, Sib.Or.5:63-65ff, 5:344-345 et sim. The initial Sinai report retains a thunder connection, as Ex 19:19, but in Deut 4:122b, this has become a more general "voice".

[365] Gk/Rom: Suet.*Ner.*46:2, Plu.*Demetr.*4:1-4 et sim. Jewish: "apocalyptic" voices can still be linked to thunder as *Apoc.Abr.*17:15, et sim., or angelic speech as in 3 *Apoc.Bar.*11:3; 14:1 et sim. Temple connections are evident in 1 Sam 3 et sim. Within heavenly scenes, "voices" can be overheard in a quasi-kledonomantic manner, as 1 En 108:5, Rev 10:4 et sim. Voices in therapeutic contexts (e.g. Artem.*Oneir.*5:51, Aristid.*Or.*49.5.6-7, 20, 50.6.5-6, 52.2-3 et sim.) may show connections with both hierophantic and kledonomantic idioms, as well as traditional message dreams.

[366] Several retain residual appearance notices, however, e.g. Gen 17:1, Gen 18:1, et sim. and cf. Ex 34:5.

[367] Identified by Gnuse (1984) as a voice–only incubation message dream.

[368] Formulae such as "the Lord showed me" lead directly into dialogue, e.g. Am 7:1, 4, 7, 8:1 et sim., although note the residual appearance notice in Am 9:1-4.

apocalyptic, with its heavenly court or temple backdrops, do "voices" start to feature more explicitly where not only God, but angels and other functionaries can speak[369]. Completely unidentified and perhaps disembodied voices have led some scholars to speak of hypostatisation, which, if not ontological, is a striking device[370]. In "split–level" scenarios, such voices can literally ring out from heaven. Following an early example in Daniel[371], these become almost ubiquitous[372], although can lead to acoustic complications when indoors, as with Hyrcanus in the Temple, or Elijah in his cave[373].

In re–written biblical narrative from this period, there is a tendency to replace instances where originally God just *spoke*, with phrases like "a *heavenly voice* said …"[374], as also in the Targums, where such voices are sometimes called a "Bat Qol"[375]. Literally the "daughter of a voice", or "echo", this device is often viewed as a rabbinical development where a voice of unseen origin makes a pronouncement to groups of sages involved in halakhic debate. The connection with apocalyptic presupposed by Kühn is not at all certain, and although viewed as a divine voice or a substitute for the Spirit by some, it was eventually relativized within rabbinic debate[376]. Given its primary role in helping to solve controversies[377], a connection with divination is suggested. Bat Qol reports may in reality arise from diverse practices, such as brontomancy, kledonomancy and ornithomancy, as well as prophetic and other phenomena[378], although Lieberman sees kledonomancy as the most frequent implication[379]. Once shorn of this context, however, one can understand the a degree of assimilation and confusion between these and the para–biblical idiom[380].

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[369] E.g. Dan 8:16, 4 Ezra 6:13-28, 1 En 61:6, Rev 1:9-20 et sim. These become ubiquitous in later works, often leaving the seer to infer the identity of the speaker.

[370] For unidentified voices, a direction is often specified, as Ezek 1:25, 43:6. On the unidentified voices in Revelation, cf. Boring (1992: 337-339). On hypostatisation, see Lunt (1983: 406), Charlesworth (1986), Yadin (2003) and the rather different judgement of Boring (1992: 338, 354).

[371] Dan 4:31 discussed in Goldingay (1989: 77-97) and Collins (1993: 208-234).

[372] E.g. Rev 10:4, 8, and Josephus, who has the Sinai voice coming "from above" (ὑψόθεν) in *AJ* 3: 90.

[373] Hyrcanus (*AJ* 13:282-283) simply hears a voice (ἀκούσειε φωνῆς) and Elijah (*AJ* 8:350-352) hears a *divine* voice (φωνὴ θεία), but in both cases "from heaven" would be awkward in the indoor context.

[374] E.g. *LAB* 32:4 (cf. Fisk, 2001: 251-252 and esp. n.187), 53:3-5, Sib.Or.1:127-147, 1:267-275, Jos *AJ* 1:185, 3: 89-90, et sim.

[375] Tg.Ps-Jon to Num 21:6, Song 2:14, 4:1 et sim.

[376] Although some Rabbis defend the Bat Qol (T.Sot.13:3-6, B.Yom.9b), it is famously rejected in B.BMetz.59b via Deut 30:12 "it is not in heaven" (cf. Alexander, 1995b, Newman and Ludlam, 2006: 274-276). This is possibly prompted by the destruction of the Temple (Gutoff, 1994/1995: 742-743).

[377] I.e. as opposed to providing completely new revelation.

[378] Brontomancy: Y.Pea.1.1 (cf. Aune, 1998: 560-562). Kledonomancy: M.Git.3:1, M.Yeb.16:6[D], B.Meg.32a, Y.Shabb.8c (cf. Urbach, 1975: 579, Lieberman, 1950: 195), B.BMetz.84b et sim. Ornithomancy: B.Ber.3b (Lachs, 1987: 46-47, cf. Gero, 1976, and in Gk contexts, Johnston, 2008: 128–132). Prophecy: as Aune (1983: 103-104) and Boring (1992: 497). Urbach (1975: 579) notes that T.Sot.13:3 connects the Bat Qol and the Spirit. Other possibilities include "words" that simply come into the mind as frequently in Aristides.

[379] Lieberman (1950: 194-199).

[380] This is arguably the insight of B.BMetz.59b, where R. Joshua protests that in spite of the heavenly *epithet*, the judgements of such voices do not really originate from God.

Unfortunately, a somewhat uncritical picture of the Bat Qol has been brought into discussions about the heavenly voices in the NT[381], and assumed by some in relation to Peter's vision[382]. This must be questioned on several accounts. Besides postdating the NT, there are formal problems too. Almost never occurring in dreams[383], and possibly intended to contrast with riddling Graeco–Roman oracles[384], a Bat Qol usually offers simple first person declarations, scripture quotations, beatitudes, woes or rhetorical questions and only rarely engages in dialogue[385].

Thus although the synoptic voices at the baptism and transfiguration read a little like this, even they are still nearer to the conventional heavenly voices of rewritten Bible. Peter's voice, however, resembles neither. Although later tagged as "ἐξ οὐρανοῦ"[386], and addressed as "κύριε"[387], Peter never says "*God* said"[388] and the voice itself refers to "God" in the third person. Adding to this the problem of its transgressive and riddling manner, it is further distanced from either pattern. Thus when Gowler accords all the heavenly voices in Luke an "absolute authority", he may be missing a subtle difference of register[389]. Indeed the focus here is not the identity of the voice so much as the dissimulating mode of speech permitted to it in the context of this type of dream. It is interesting, therefore, that only with the few cases of a Bat Qol occurring in a *dream*, we do start to encounter some points of contact with Peter's vision[390].

On any account, Peter's voice as ridding "agent provocateur" differs considerably in tone from the angel visiting Cornelius, and at the very least adds to the sense of contrast between their experiences.

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[381] Re the baptism, Achtemeier (1992: 551), re transfiguration, Chilton (1992: 640) et sim.

[382] As Tyson (2000: 179). Barrett (1994: 507) has "divine voice", and Gaventa (2003: 166), Witherington (1998: 363), Tannehill (1986: 2:135) et al. call the φωνή a *heavenly voice* with similar import but cf. Fitzmyer (1998: 455) where the voice comes "from heaven" (as Luke adds in 11:9). Willimon (1988: 96) and Hanson (1967: 122) are happy to leave it merely as a "voice", but only two authors are prepared to underline the uncertainty, Marshall (1980: 185) and Haenchen (1971: 384).

[383] Of the 72+ Bat Qol in the Babylonian Talmud, only two occur in dreams, B.Git.52a and B.Hag.14b.

[384] Lieberman (1950: 198-199) and cf. Midr.Esth.Rab.3:14 "The prophecy of the nations of the world is ambiguous … But the prophecy of Israel is clear". On the language of Jewish voices, cf. B.Sot.33, T.Sot.13:5a-b, 13:6 and Acts 26:14.

[385] Declarations: mostly all "I" forms. Scripture: 11 cases, B.RoshHash.21b et sim., generally establishing or supporting a halakhic position. Beatitudes: B.Ber.61b, B.BMetz.86a (set in the Heavenly Academy). Woes: B.Ber.3a, B.BBat.74a, and the more marginal B.Git.52a where Satan is speaking. Questions: B.Shabb.88a, B.Meg.12a, 29a, B.Git.52a, B.BBat.74a-b and cf. B.Meg.3a. Dialogue: Exceptions include B.BBat.58a where R. Bana'ah ends up in an argument with a Bat Qol while trying to measure Adam's tomb.

[386] Acts 11:9, during Peter's report of the vision in Jerusalem.

[387] Cf. n.356 above.

[388] Peter never says "God said", although later speaks of what God has *shown* him (Acts 10:28).

[389] Gowler (1991: 181), as discussed by Matson (1996: 50).

[390] B.Git.52a and B.Hag.14b. The latter unusually combines visual elements with a Bat Qol in an imagined invitation to eat at the heavenly banquet and also features an unexpected reversal.

6.1.2 Graeco–Roman Voices

If even unknown *visible* figures are relatively uncommon in the Graeco-Roman tradition[391], then unidentified *voices* are even rarer[392]. Apparently starting in Greek tragedy[393], they become more common in Hellenistic and Roman literature[394]. Besides voice portents in general visual scenes[395], message dreams featuring anonymous voices occur in predominantly naturalistic, anxiety or nightmare contexts[396]. As in tragedy, these come to conspirators or murderers such as the Tarquinius brothers in Dionysius[397] or Marius in Plutarch[398]. But generals on the eve of ill–advised campaigns are favourite subjects too, such as Cicero's Hamilcar, or Plutarch's Agesilaüs and Cimon[399]. It is striking that many of these rebukes feature enigmatic or riddling messages[400]. Whilst the rationale for this will be explored later, some connection with Peter's vision is hard to resist.

Unidentified voices also feature in the world of popular and therapeutic dreaming, although in many cases these do not represent the haunting voices of the literary anxiety dreams and nightmares above. However, a brief survey will prove instructive. Since Artemidorus' overwhelming interest is in the meaning of visual imagery, dreams with any kind of speech in the *Oneirocritica* are rare, only 18 out of his total of 230 and of these, about half feature unnamed speakers[401]. Identifications such as "a handmaid" or "an informant"[402] may be implicitly visual, but the vague formula used elsewhere, ἔδοξέ τις λέγειν αὐτῷ[403], make it difficult to tell what is intended, although the explicit mention of hearing in one case ἔδοξέ τις ἀκούειν τινός[404] may imply that some or even all are indeed audible voices. Although not nightmares, it is striking that in many, the voices utter obscure

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[391] Excluding *generic* figures like nymphs. Examples include Plu.*Cic.*2:1, Tac.*Ann.*11:21, several nightmares (Val.Max.1:7.7, Ach.Tat.2:23.4-6, Hld.2:16.1, X.Eph.1:12.3-4 etc.), death premonitions (Hdt.5:55-56, Plu.*Caes.*69:6-14, Cic.*Div.*1:25/52) and riddling rebukes (e.g. Suet.*Claud.*1:2, discussed by Hurley, 1993: 55-59). That Josephus has no cases for Jews (except, perhaps *Vit.*: 208-210 , cf. Gnuse, 1996: 197) makes the Troas dream in Acts 16 doubly striking (cf. Miller, 2004, Gnuse, 1996: 243).

[392] There are no clear example in the ANE, Homer or Herodotus.

[393] E.g. Aesch.*Ch.*32-43, Aesch.*Prom.*645-657 et sim.

[394] Although mainly in Plutarch, a fact curiously escaping Brenk (1975).

[395] As Plu.*Cleom.*7:2-3, *Demetr.*4:1-4, discussed above.

[396] *AJ* 20:18-19 discussed in Gnuse (1996: 196) has a very naturalistic feel although the voice nevertheless speaks for the Jewish God.

[397] *RA* 5:54.1-5.

[398] Plu *Mar.*45:3.

[399] Hamilcar: Cic.*Div.*1:24/50, also in Val.Max.1:7. ext. 8 (Walker, 2004), Agesilaüs: Plu.*Ages.*6:4-5, Cimon: *Cim.*18:2-3, unusually featuring a barking dog.

[400] Plu *Mar.*45:3, Plu.*Cim.*18:2-3, Cic.*Div.*1:24/50 et sim.

[401] As noted in ch.3.

[402] *Oneir.*4:59.39, 4:59.34-36.

[403] This or a similar formula is used in in *Oneir.*4:59.47-50, 4:63.8-10, 4:63.12-13, 5:66.

[404] *Oneir.*5:51.

literary quotes that operate like riddles. Very similar cases occur in Aristides[405]. Although gods are sometimes seen[406], many incubation oracles come as words alone, although whether actually *heard* is not clear[407]. In some cases, however, anonymous audible utterances are noted, and, as apparently *human*, are not routinely attributed to the god[408].

In some of the more general visual scenes, random voices are also heard, but like the calamity portents, are not always distinct[409]. Far more numerous, however, are the many utterances of dialogue partners and other characters, both known and unknown occurring within Aristides' many complex visual and participatory dreams[410]. Although much of this dialogue is relatively inconsequential, occasionally one or more quite surreal statements that do not fit their context end up providing unexpected revelations[411]. In view of the long–suspected relationship between popular Graeco–Roman dreams and the rabbinic dream books, it is interesting that anonymous sayings of the kind known in Artemidorus and Aristides do occur in Y. Ma'aser Sheni[412].

Finally, Socrates' celebrated δαίμων warrants mention. Although sometimes described as a *voice*[413], there is considerable doubt as to whether its promptings should be understood in terms of audible message dreams. Never apparently involving trance–like states, nor fully formed messages, its function is always to warn against an action that Socrates had been intending to take[414]. Closer in some sense the curious remarks in Acts about the Holy Spirit "preventing" a course of action[415], it will not be considered further here.

6.1.3 Conclusions

Although it would seem that Peter's voice resembles the LXX re–workings of the audible theophany motif, or more marginally, Bat Qol traditions, it should be firmly read in context here as a *dream* "divine voice", and permitted to speak more enigmatically than in traditional revelations. From the Graeco–Roman point of view, its transgressive and obdurate tone displays overtones of those anxiety dreams and nightmares whose ominous insistence is nevertheless cloaked in opacity.

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[405] Enumeration is hampered by his very abbreviated style.

[406] As probably in *Or*.50.97 with Serapis and Isis.

[407] *Or*.48.71.4-5, 49.12 etc. with further notes in A2§9 n.19.

[408] Or.49.5.6-7, 50.6.5-6.

[409] Or.49.20, 52:2-3.

[410] *Or*.47.10 et sim.

[411] E.g. Or.47:17, 26, 41, 50:54, 57, 60, 62 et sim.

[412] cf. Ulmer (2001: 317, Nos. 1, 11, 15). This is not seen in B.Ber.55a-57b, although it does have cases where dreamers are "asked" to read Bible verses.

[413] *Ap*.31d.1; *Phdr*.242c.2

[414] The δαίμων of Pl.*Ap*.31d1-4, 40a3-c3, discussed by McPherran (1991), Long (2006). Although Socrates speaks of a "voice", McPherran takes it as more a form of inner prompting (op.cit, 361).

[415] As Acts 16:6, although the exact implication of this comment is debated (Witherington, 1998: 478).

6.2 The Repeating Command and Rebuke

Not to be confused with repeated *reports*[416], recurrent dreams and repeat features within dreams (as Peter's vision)[417] signal *intensity* and *non–resolution* within both divine and naturalistic pictures[418], although internal repeats can play a special role in articulating frustration and entrapment. It was noted earlier that dream recurrence is expected in the worst sorts of illness[419], as well as with anxiety or guilt[420]. When such conditions are relieved, dreams should stop. But when they do not, one might look elsewhere. Within the theory of natural prescience, repeated dreams may warn of imminent danger[421] and if gods are admitted, then their insistence may suggest previous misunderstanding[422] or some new urgent command. If dreamers dismiss or resist such dreams, recurrence presses for resolution[423]. Although this is perplexing enough for symbolic and other visual dreams, it becomes more pointed for those message dreams containing obscure, bizarre or difficult commands. For simply difficult or inadvisable actions, recurrence might convince the dreamer to obey[424]. But, even here, the motif is still ambiguous, with both self–[425] and divine deception still possible[426], indeed the battle to resist such persistence may constitute a nightmare in its own right[427]. When Xerxes and Artabanus' resistance eventually collapses, they still discover that they have been deceived[428]. Sometimes, corroborating dreams have to be given to others as here in Herodotus and with the Serapeum scribe and his mother[429] or Ptolemy and Scydrothemis[430].

However, for messages that are simply so absurd that no clear real–life command is discernible, nor any interpretation evident, then the dreamer cannot simply "obey". Here the repeats articulate a more abstract sense of entrapment or frustration that Aeschylus' chorus

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[416] The focus of Witherup (1993) and Humphrey (2007: 57-102).

[417] One should distinguish between external and internal repetition, and between true recurrence, clusters and sequences. Unfortunately, scholarly usage is not consistent, with Oppenheim (1956: 208) using "repeated" to mean sequences of distinct dreams, where Meierding (1992: 169), Lowery (1999: 23) and others prefer "multiple".

[418] Contra Flannery-Dailey (2000: 29-30, cf. 2004: 24, 44, 70-71, 86-87), not *only* an emphasising mechanism underlining veracity. For modern studies on recurrence, cf. Rycroft (1979: 127), Robbins and Houshi (1983), Zadra (1996), Spoormaker et al. (2003), and Kelsey (1973: 181) on recurrence in Christian taboo-breaking dreams.

[419] Cf. Plin.E.*Nat.Hist.*20:52, 26:61.

[420] *Od.*20:83-90, Aesch.*Ch.*523-554 ,*Pers.*176-178, Hdt.7:15.2, *BH* 17:30.7, 29:25.1, Suet *Ner.*46:1 et sim.

[421] For Artemidorus (*Oneir.*4:27.1-15), usually a sign of urgency, but repeats can also encode specific numerical information, to be discussed further in ch.5.

[422] As Socrates in Pl.*Phd.*60e-61c.

[423] As initially Xerxes in Hdt.7:8-18, Sabacos in *BH* 1:65.5-6, Titus Latinius in *RA* 7:68.3-7:69.2, Ptolemy in Tac.*Hist.*4:83-85 and Zoïlos in P. Zen., I, 59034 (A2§8, No.22).

[424] As very reluctantly, Xerxes and Artabanus in Hdt.7:8-18.

[425] As Pelopidas' advisors suggest in Plu.*Pel.*21:1-4.

[426] As Xerxes and Artabanus sadly conclude in Hdt.7:47 after caving in to apparently divine persistence.

[427] As implicitly Aesch.*Prom.*645-657, discussed in Cederstrom(1971: 54-55) and cf. de Armas (1993: 270-273).

[428] Hdt.7:8-18 discussed by MacDonald (2003a: 37) and cf. the ANE case from Mari discussed by Noegel (2001: 48).

[429] *In praise of Imouthes-Asclepius*, P.Oxy XI.1381 (A2§8 No. 1).

[430] Tac.*Hist.*4:83-85.

deems nightmarish in its own right[431]. In such cases, a riddle may have to be solved before even deciding what to do, as with the god's complaint against Titus Latinius, who in spite of escalating threats and punishments receives the same incomprehensible message over and over again[432].

In relation to Peter's vision, all this rather concentrates the mind. Unsure whether his command corresponds to anything in the real world, he is left with possible worries about a crime he can't identify, sanctions if he doesn't confess, and a general escalation of divine displeasure. Unlike Titus Latinius, who is at least able to consult others as his repeats unfold, Peter's all occur *internally* and end without issue. Unvarying and un–interpreted, they are not accompanied by escalating threats. This does not mean they are not threatening, though. It was noted how repeat motifs function in nightmares and in anxiety dreams grappling with separation, frustrated desire, etc. A popular example given by Artemidorus features a spring drying up every time a man approaches for water, a block that occurs three times before the man smashes his jar in frustration[433]. The most important thing about these repeats is that unlike the dreams of Titus Latinius, they are non–progressive and serve primarily to articulate a feeling of irresolvable constraint.

In Peter's case, this does a number of things to the interpretation. Although the first iteration of the command and refusal indeed suggests a simple collision with the divine will, the subsequent and unmodified repeats speak of a stasis of *misunderstanding* that ends in complete loggerheads with the almost paralysed dreamer unable to ask for clarification or the identity of the speaker. In the end, both "contention" and "confusion" become pointers. The image of contention is picked up nicely but trivially in the Spirit's warning to go with the visitors "without arguing" (Acts 10:20). The confusion must remain until the intent of the conversation transpires in the "recognition" scene at Cornelius' house.

7 Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has explored theories of natural dreaming and the use of natural motifs in literary settings. Peter's vision has been considered from this point of view with the conclusion that aspects of the dream deixis and corresponding features in the dream seem to look to human and particularly somatic factors. However natural dream theory also imagined moral and cognitive concerns and processes, that along with illness and adverse circumstances, could produce their own dreams through to more developed anxiety dreams and nightmares. Here too, there was evidence that the dream experience of Peter is intended to seem distressing in this particular sense and propel readers towards a number of

[431] Aesch *Ag.*975-984.
[432] *RA* 7:68.3-7:69.2.
[433] Artem.*Oneir.*5:78.

questions about Peter's own practice and attitudes in relation to foreigners. Finally, the ambiguity of the anonymous voice and the non–progressing repeats pulled the dream away from the more simplistic interpretation of a simply resisted commission towards a more pregnant mystery. In so far as the entire dialogue may thus constitute a mode of enigmatic divine speech, I will next turn to a very well–known phenomenon within Greek prophecy that may here be finding a rather tentative introduction into a Jewish and Christian tradition where revelation had traditionally been more straightforward.

Chapter 5

Chapter 5 – Enigmatic Divine Speech in Dreams

1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, we saw how Graeco–Roman authors increasingly incorporated naturalistic features into even significant dream accounts, including those of anxiety dreams and nightmares, and how these had arguably affected Peter's vision[1]. This chapter turns to the phenomenon of enigmatic speech in dreams. This was a very standard expectation within the Greek religious tradition, but less so in biblical culture. Given the well-known role of symbolism and wordplay in dream interpretation, it was seen in chapter 2 that some commentators had sought coded halakhic referents within the dialogue, although without firm consensus. Questions were also raised about the enigmatic nature of the dialogue as a whole, which seemed to resemble a distorted form of halakhic discourse.

The distressing dreams of illness and anxiety in chapter 4 raised different questions, but it was striking that several types of these dreams involved not only strange sights, but also enigmatic utterances. These both expressed and helped create anxiety in a number of ways, but bizarre transgressive commands created particular uncertainties. With the possibility of being cruel tests of loyalty, or acts of deception by gods, the troubled soul itself was also capable of creating such scenes to articulate other frustrations. Intra-oneiric versions, known in both therapeutic and more general contexts left interpretive options even more open. It was no surprise that popular interpreters evolved means of turning such experiences into very cryptic, but essentially positive messages. For all the ways in which the enigmatic speech of Peter's vision might be understood, however, what is lacking is a broader appreciation of the nature and function of enigmatic utterances and dialogue in dreams so as to better place what we see in Acts 10. The purpose of this chapter is to attempt to create such a map with the aim of stimulating a fresh reading of Peter's vision. Whilst this will primarily involve drawing on Graeco–Roman material, there will be necessarily some discussion of Jewish and other early Christian examples.

2 Definitions, Forms and Contexts

Although I shall consider a variety of enigmatic modes of speech, it is useful to start with the more circumscribed concept of the riddle. An apparently universal and primarily oral phenomenon associated with certain social contexts, a riddle challenges hearers to identify a referent hidden by ambiguity and misdirection[2]. A "true" riddle is introduced by a

[1] These more ambiguous experiences required self–insight of dreamers and opened up new approaches to plot and character development of potential interest to Luke.

[2] For a useful definition, cf. Thatcher (2000: 109) and for general introduction, Taylor (1952), Maranda (1976) and Hasan-Rokem and Shulman (1996). On performative contexts, see Burns (1976). A riddle, properly speaking, should

recognisable formula, is soluble via embedded clues and has a unique answer[3]. In practice, cultures display broader patterns of such speech that include trick questions, puns, paradoxes, aphorisms, allusions, oracles and other enigmatic sayings[4] poorly differentiated in popular parlance[5]. Speakers can, of course, "break the rules" deliberately, sometimes with amusing consequences. Non–typical occasions can be chosen, formulae dropped, clues withheld and solutions changed[6]. Such enigmatic exchanges do not contain riddles in the strict sense, but listeners are expected to catch on, as in Jesus' conversations with Nicodemus and the Samaritan woman in the 4th Gospel[7].

Because of their essentially linguistic nature, it is no surprise that it was literate and scribal groups who collected, classified and studied wordplays and riddles. This had a number of further effects including links with pedagogy on the one hand and magic and religion on the other. In relation to the former, riddles helped develop literacy and problem solving skills. Besides formal puzzles, Socrates also famously used a subversive "non–announced" riddling style in his dialogues and accorded an important methodological significance to paradoxes. In relation to the latter, Noegel (2007: 36-45) notes that in ANE religion, words, and particularly those with a double meanings, held both magical and religious significance. In the Greek tradition (although not the biblical), it was believed that divine communication within our world was necessarily enigmatic and ambiguous, as reflected in its oracles and prophecies.

Dreams provided both intellectual fascination and religious revelation, and bar occasionally clear experiences, were also viewed as coded presentations requiring professional interpreters. Although symbolic dreams constituted natural visual riddles, speech in dreams could also be enigmatic, reflecting riddling modes known from other contexts. For this reason, I survey briefly below aspects of enigmatic speech within the closely related oracular and pedagogic contexts before attempting to observe patterns of such speech in dreams. For primarily religious reasons, enigmatic *divine* speech will turn

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be explicitly delivered as such, with a clearly designated riddler and "riddlee", as Pagis (1996: 94). Riddles typically employ ambiguity and other strategies of misdirection to achieve their effect, as Kaivola-Bregenhøj (1996).

[3] A term coined by Taylor (1943). Implicitly a question (Handelman, 1996: 42), a "true riddle" is introduced by a standard formula (e.g. "What is an X that can Y but cannot Z …"), is openly soluble via embedded clues (Pagis, 1996: 81) without the need for "unfair" or secret knowledge (Kaivola-Bregenhøj, 1996: 29) and has a unique solution (Pagis, 1996: 94-97).

[4] So-called "false" or improper riddles include the conundrum (Barrick, 1974: 254), the "riddling question" (Taylor, 1943: 145-147), and "riddling answer" (Zug, 1967), "catch" riddles (Abrahams and Dundes, 1972), "wisdom questions" (ibid., 137) etc. Pagis (1996: 99) notes that riddles can be transformed into proverbs, parables, etc. and vice-versa. On riddling and the synoptic aphorisms, cf. Crossan (1983: 6 et sim.). Dreams foreshadowing the future in a coded manner function as improper riddles, e.g. Augustus' "40 men" in Suet. *Aug.*99:2.

[5] Ancient technical terms cover a wide range of such phenomena, e.g. חִידָה, מָשָׁל, αἴνιγμα, πρόβλημα, παραβολή, παροιμία and the more obscure γρῖφος (lit. fishing-net), described in BDB, LSJ, Kittel (1964), Forster (1945) et sim.

[6] On the polyvalent nature of the parables, cf. Crossan (1980).

[7] John 3:3, 4:7-10, which retain the function of challenges, even if not properly announced.

out to be more common in Greek dreams than Jewish ones, but the few exceptions, of which Acts 10 is one, beg explanation.

We should note, however, that in creative literary settings[8], the narrative context and content of both riddling and dreaming can be developed in non–realistic ways, from the novelistic pantomime of "neck riddles"[9], through to the fateful misunderstandings of Greek tragedy[10]. In narrative, puzzles can become fundamental to plots and allow readers to get ahead of characters[11]. These factors will be taken into account when approaching the nature and function of Peter's vision.

3 Ancient Contexts of Enigmatic Speech

3.1 Oracular and Prophetic Contexts

3.1.1 Graeco–Roman Tradition

3.1.1.1 Introduction

Oracle shrines, such as those at Delphi, Dodona and Olympia were highly important within Greek religion and politics[12]. Operating mainly as "response oracles", replies to questions were divined by a variety of means, including lots, but famously at Delphi, through an inspired prophetess[13]. Although questions often invited yes/no answers, replies could commend detailed courses of action, add conditions or warnings. Given the possible personal or political sensitivity, these were not usually written down[14], although famous responses given to public figures have been preserved in literary works[15]. A striking feature of these was their verse form, mainly the dactylic hexameter known from Homer, or the iambic trimeter of Greek tragedy[16]. When inquirers managed to speak directly to the prophet, dialogue was theoretically possible, although this was more often realised through

[8] Scholars speak of "literary riddles", as Taylor (1943: 143-145), Pagis (1996). On riddle tales in literary settings, see Bauman (1996), Eber (1996) etc. On the famous riddle of the Sphinx, Rokem (1996). In Hebrew literature, cf. Pagis (1996), and Midrash in particular, Hasan-Rokem (1996) and Stein (1996). On the Gospels, cf. Caneday (1998) and Thatcher (2000).

[9] Riddling contests for the hand of a princess or evading a death sentence, as Taylor (1943: 145), Bauman (1996: 63-64), Pagis (1996: 94-95), Burns (1976: 144). This picaresque tradition often involves improper riddles. Peter's vision has something of the feel of a neck riddle, with "religious suicide" at stake.

[10] Famously, Oedipus.

[11] Cf. Morgan (1994) on Heliodorus. Providing the answer "destroys" the riddle for the *readers* (Pagis, 1996: 97-98), but not the characters in the story.

[12] For introduction, see Flacelière (1965).

[13] On the various supporting functionaries cf. Aune (1983: 28-29).

[14] As Maurizio (1993), Parke and Wormell (1956: 2 xii-xiii). Oracular *questions* at Dodona were written, as Parke (1967: 100-104).

[15] Cf. some 615 such texts in Vol. 2 of Parke and Wormell (1956).

[16] Aune (1983: 50-51). On Greek metre, see Raven (1962). Some give responses in verse, but others only as prose summaries (e.g. 51/86 cases in Herodotus, as listed in appendix 3), cf. the discussion of Hdt.4:163.2 in How and Wells (1912).

sequences of consultations[17]. Outside of the response idiom, prophets could deliver unsolicited oracles similar to biblical prophecies[18]. Although sometimes aimed at individuals, many were addressed to the wider community and in some cases written down in formal collections. One such corpus, associated with the legendary Sibyl, contained extended doom–laden prophecies that have been compared to apocalyptic[19]. These were particularly valued in Rome, which consulted its collection before making major decisions[20].

An important feature of all such speech was an opaque quality, arising not only through its obscure archaic verse, but also deliberate ambiguity and riddling[21] (as 66% of the direct speech responses in Herodotus[22]). Although potentially hazardous and widely ridiculed[23], this was not seen as an obstacle, so much as an assurance of divine origin[24], and particularly so for questions about the future[25]. Although short responses could resemble riddles, the prophecies of figures like the Sybil or Aeschylus' Cassandra were more incoherent ramblings than formal puzzle[26].

Dreams, traditionally linked to prophecy and with similar expectations of obscurity, were used in some shrines to obtain responses[27]. Although these may have been based on visual scenes, voice–only message dreams could provide fully formed oracles, as traditionally they did in unsolicited prophecy[28]. Whilst message dreams in Homer had been

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[17] Aune (1983: 64-66).

[18] The most common term was μάντῐς (Flower, 2008: 2), but others included θεομαντις and χρησμοδοτης (Aune, 1983: 38-39), χρησμολογος (Oliver, 1950: 2-17). προφήτης could also be used, particularly for unsolicited prophecy, as in Hdt.1:62. The commonest themes for unsolicited oracles were legitimation (Aune, 1983: 68-72) and judgement (ibid., 73-77).

[19] The Sibyl was a legendary female ecstatic prophet. Traditional links to different localities led to some 10 "Sibyls" by the 1st century BCE, e.g. at Marpessus, Erythraea and Cumae etc. (Collins, 1992: 2). Like apocalyptic (Parke, 1988: 7), their prophecies were largely "vaticinium ex eventu".

[20] On their importance for Rome, cf. Parke (1988: 136-151). Its earliest collection, which Rome traced to Cumae (Parke, ibid., 76-77) was destroyed by fire in 83 BCE and replacements were sought (Collins, 1992: 2). Although some of these are in our present text, the 15 books in Collins (1983) are drawn from two Byzantine collections (Collins, 1992: 2).

[21] Cf. Aune (1983: 51-52). Descriptive terms included ambiguous (ἀμφιβολος), riddling (αἰνιγματικός), cf. ἀμφίλοξος, ἀμφιρρεπής, δῐληπτος, δίφᾰτος, δῐχόγνωμος, Λοξίας/λοξός/λοξότης (slanting, oblique - Λοξίας became an epithet for Apollo). On these and other terms, see LSJ.

[22] The figure drops to 10% for prose summaries. Both groups are listed appendix 3. The proportions for other authors are similar.

[23] Re hazards: Hdt.1:53. Re ridicule: Ar.*Px.*1070-1110, *Av.*955-995, *Eq.*110-235, 960-1089, Luc *Alex.*10, 22, cf. Ferguson (1980: 137-138), de Villiers (1999: 69).

[24] Maurizio (1993: 14, 64-65, 90-91, 105, 157 et sim.).

[25] Responses to other types of question could be straightforward e.g. on sacred law (Aune, 1983: 50-51) or moral issues (Parke and Wormell, 1956: 1:378-392).

[26] Cf. Aesch *Ag.*1112-1113, and on the Sybil, cf. Verg.*Aen.*6:98-100.

[27] On obscurity, cf. Macr.*Comm.ad.Somn.Scip.*1:7.2. Incubation oracles operated either through the dreams of cult officials or those of the inquirers, as Johnston (1948), Parke (1967: 20-33) and cf. Verg.*Aen.*7:85-101, Ov.*Fast.*4:649-64, *Paus.*1:34.5, Plu.*Def.Or.*45/434e et sim.

[28] Symbolic dreams were αἰνιγματικός by definition. On dream oracles, cf. Aristid.*Or.*48.71.4-5, 49.37, 50.5 et sim., detailed in A2§9 n.19.

relatively plain (albeit densely poetic), later on, divine speech in dreams developed an "oracular" style, where from Herodotus onwards, there is increasing evidence of deliberate riddling and obscurity. For this reason, I now survey some of the modes involved.

3.1.1.2 Modes of Enigmatic Speech

For all of the extensive studies and collections of oracle texts[29], their enigmatic *modes* have been relatively neglected, although Maurizio makes a useful start[30]. Besides general poetic opacity[31], the oracles rely on misdirecting ambiguous elements. These can be used throughout in a similar way to an allegory although more often in just one section and sometimes a single word[32]. These work in different ways. Some hide the referent behind a vaguer term[33]. Thus the Lacedaemonians are sent to a "level and smooth plain", the Siphnians told to look to a time "When the Prytanies' seat shines white .." and Croesus will "destroy *a* great empire"[34]. Phrases such as "a wooden host", "a herald in scarlet", a "wooden wall", "the "many–voiced" and "those nearest to you" operate similarly[35]. Others misdirect to a different specific term through wordplay, including homophony, polysemy or homonymy[36]. Less fair still are counting an upturned helmet as a "cup of bronze", marching in chains as "dancing" or relying on unstated aphorisms or etymologies[37]. With mythological references, events from local history or Homeric allusions[38], all of these constitute "false" riddles which are solvable only in hindsight. They also include paradoxical formulations, such as selecting the "older twin", going "where deer and fish pasture together" or to a land which is "not land", both identifying colonisation sites[39].

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[29] E.g. Vol. 2 of Parke and Wormell (1956).

[30] Maurizio (1993: 138-172). Parke and Wormell (1956) have nothing and Aune (1983: 62) only a brief survey.

[31] Hdt.8:77, 96, 9:43 et sim.

[32] Of Herodotus' 35 enigmatic oracles, seven are riddling throughout, five show riddling elements in one half only, two display a riddling section in the middle and ten work through a single ambiguous element. For breakdown and listing, cf. appendix 3.

[33] In Aristotelian terms, substituting species by genus (Maurizio, 1993: 152). For a list of 15 such examples, cf. op.cit., p.189.

[34] Hdt.1:67, 3:57-58, 1:53.

[35] Hdt.3:57-58, 7.141, 5:79.

[36] Homophony: Παιάν/Παιών and οἱ Παίονες (Hdt.5:1). Polysemy: ἀγών = athletic contest/battle (Hdt.9:33). Homonymy: Ἀγβάτανα = two distinct towns (Hdt.3:64) cf. Paus.4:20.1, 8:11:10-11 (Aune, 1983: 62). Maurizio (1993: 187-188, 191) lists 65 "species to species" substitutions, of which 27 rely on homonymy.

[37] Hdt.2:147, Hdt.1:66 (cf. "dancing" in *RA* 7:68.3-7:69.2). Re etymologies, Maurizio (1993: 190) lists 33 cases.

[38] Re mythology: (Hdt.7:189) where the Athenians' "son-in-law" turns out to be Βορέας, the northern wind. Re local history: (Hdt.4:163-164), where "heating the oven" refers to the burning of a well-known tower. Re Homeric allusions: cf. Parke and Wormell (1956: 2:xxviii), et sim.

[39] Hdt.6:52 and Parke and Wormell (1956), Nos. 497, 202 (Maurizio, 1993: 149). On such oracles at Delphi, cf. Parke and Wormell (1956: 1:49-81) on the oracular legitimation of colonisation, Malkin (1987: 17-91), Maurizio (1993: 149-150). Such "improper" riddling identifications often relied on local topography, a place name, or an aetiology, and could only be "solved" after the expedition stumbled upon the correct place. Similar "recognition" scenes are important for dreams featuring hitherto unknown people (as Alexander seeing Jaddus), or, arguably, conceptual riddles like Peter's vision.

Even crueller are apparently assuring oracles which conceal traps, such as Croesus not having to worry until "a mule is monarch of Media", caught out by Cyrus's mixed parentage[40], or the Spartans looking forward to "dancing upon" Tegea, yet doing so only in chains[41]. These make other inquirers rightly anxious[42]. But totally opaque warnings add spite to impending death, as the Siphnians, caught in a "wooden ambush"[43], Epaminondas' death in a grove called "sea"[44], Daphidas thrown from a cliff called "horse"[45] or Lysander killed near a stream called "hoplite"[46].

Riddling commands are infrequent[47] and usually obscure only the *moment* to act[48]. However, when the Athenians are told to "seek the help of their son in law", the instruction itself is figurative[49]. Quite different are commands made impossible only by the inquirers' past actions, and thus given to elicit confessions, such as Delphi's request to release a hostage whom the Lacedaemonians have already killed[50]. A final class involves commands that are enigmatic not because they employ riddling forms, but because they request unethical deeds such as the destruction of religious sites[51], human sacrifice[52], or mistreating suppliants[53]. Although figurative interpretations might suggest themselves, these were sometimes literally just stark tests of loyalty[54], which is rather surprising in view of the oracle's routine rejection of immoral requests[55].

3.1.1.3 Dialogue in Greek Oracles

Dialogue is relatively uncommon[56], and rarely occurs over *ambiguities*, although sometimes starts through requests to clarify *vague* responses, to which the oracle usually

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[40] Hdt.1:55, explained by the Pythia at Hdt.1:91.

[41] Hdt.1:66.

[42] Cf. Hdt.1:85, 5:92e et sim.

[43] Hdt.3:57-58, warned about a "wooden ambush" and a "red herald" but unable to see the reference to the approach of the Samians.

[44] Paus.8:11.10, discussed in Maurizio (1993: 142). He had hitherto been avoiding all naval activity on the basis of an oracle that appeared to locate the danger in the "sea".

[45] Val.Max.1:8.8.

[46] Plu.*Lys.*29.

[47] Some 25% of the cases in Herodotus, cf. appendix 3.

[48] As Croesus in Hdt.1:55 (2), and the Paeonians in Hdt.5:1.

[49] Hdt.7:189. Both "seeking" and "son in law" misdirect. The south wind will come by itself.

[50] *BH* 11:45.8. The dynamics here are not unlike Gen 4:9 and Acts 9:3-9. Unable to fulfil the request, they build two statues instead (*BH* 11:45.9).

[51] Part of the story of Cleomenes in Hdt.6:76.

[52] *BH* 8:8.2.

[53] Hdt.1:158.1-159.

[54] Maurizio (1993: 144-146).

[55] As in the cautionary tale of Glaucus in Hdt.6:86c.

[56] 8 cases in Herodotus, Hdt.1:159, 4:150-151 and 4:155 (probably via real conversation), Hdt.5:82, 6:86 (probably via repeat consultations during a single visit) and Hdt.1:67, 1:158-159, 2:133 (via repeat visits), all however written up as if simple conversations.

accedes[57]. Sometimes objections are raised when oracles unexpectedly request a great task of an unconfident inquirer[58] – a pattern not dissimilar to the biblical "commissioning narratives"[59]. Less surprising are dialogues arising via ethical or religious objections[60]. Thus when the Cymeans are asked to give up a suppliant to the Persians, Aristodicus complains on grounds of sacred law[61]. When the oracle remains implacable, he starts to remove birds' nests from around the sanctuary[62]. As popular symbols of the suppliant, this quickly provokes a complaint which Aristodicus immediately condemns as hypocritical. He is in turn rebuked for trying to outwit the oracle[63] in a struggle not dissimilar to that between God and Jonah[64] and underlining the futility of trying to resist the divine will[65].

3.1.2 Biblical, Jewish and Early Christian Tradition

In spite of common practical and stylistic elements[66], Jewish and Christian authors distanced themselves from aspects of Greek prophecy, including response oracles[67] and riddling[68]. Their own "false prophets" were condemned for various things, but not in general, ambiguity[69]. There were some exceptions in the Bible however, such as curious cases of feigned ignorance in Genesis[70], the teasing "you are robbing me" in Malachi[71], as well as a number of enigmatic or ethically difficult commands, such as that to sacrifice Isaac in Gen 22, and the enacted signs of the prophets[72]. Rationalising these as

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[57] E.g. Hdt.1:67, 5:82 et sim. Unfortunately, inquirers are often none the wiser as a result.

[58] Esp. re colonisation, as Malkin (1987: 6-7), who notes the motif of the "reluctant oikist", such as Grinus in Hdt.4:150.

[59] Typical protestations include being too old, weak, etc. as e.g. Ex 3:13, 4:1, 10, Jer 1:6 et sim. (cf. Mullins, 1976, Hubbard, 1977).

[60] E.g. Hdt.2:133, where Mycerinus objects to a death prediction on grounds of unfairness.

[61] Hdt.1:158.1-159, re the rights of suppliants, of which oracles were normally staunch defenders (*BH* 11:44-45).

[62] Hdt.1:159.3, an enacted prophetic sign similar to some biblical examples.

[63] Hdt.1:159.4. The god now reiterates the command, *and* reinstates the usual punishment.

[64] Note the appeal to inconsistency and the use of analogy. On Jonah, cf. Levine (1996, 2000). Note, too, the "enacted sign" of the gourd exposing Jonah's hypocrisy over Nineveh. On Jonah and Peter cf. Wall (1987), Royer (1995), Oxley (2004).

[65] Cf. Acts 5:39, 7:51, 26:9, 26:19 and Rapske (1998: 239-242).

[66] Lange (2007), Huffmon (2007) et sim. Surprising OT commonalities included response oracles, lots, incubation and other modes of divination, as Cryer (1994: 229-305), Aune (1983: 82, 85, 88, 226, n.220), Begg (1992: 417). On verse forms, cf. Aune (1983: 89), Robertson (1983), Collins (1992) and *AJ* 2:345, 4:303. On possible influence on NT authors, cf. Aune (1983), de Villiers (1997, 1999, 2000).

[67] Aune (1983: 226-227).

[68] Clem.Al.*Strom.*5:4.21 discussed by Maurizio (1993: 181).

[69] Cf. de Villiers (2000: 52-53), rather, for speaking falsely (Deut 18:20 et sim.) or improper behaviour (Jer 2:8 et sim.), concerns that echo down the NT (e.g. Mt 7:15, 24:11 et sim), although not always easily applied (Aune, 1983: 217-229).

[70] Gen 4:9, 18:17, 18:21 et sim.

[71] Mal 3:8, cf. 1:1,6, 2:17.

[72] Re Isaac, the command to Agamemnon re Iphigenia (Eurip.*Iph.Aul*.89-91) is also resolved by the provision of an animal (ibid., 1580-1597). More modest challenges face some prophets such as Isaiah's enforced nakedness, Ezekiel's cooking over human dung and Hosea's marriage to a prostitute (Stacey, 1990). Peter's vision contains an allusion to Ezek 4:1-17.

anthropomorphic accommodation or tests mirrored justifications also available to Greeks, but Jews resolutely denied that these amounted to any concession to riddling pagan oracles.

In spite of this different conception of divine speech, knowledge of the wordplays typical of the oracles was still needed for dreams[73]. Although sometimes distrusted[74], their pentateuchal and prophetic heritage was undeniable[75], although the divine commentary appended to post–exilic visions was probably intended to guard against *open–ended* ambiguity[76]. By the time we get to apocalyptic[77], however, the commentary itself was verging on the riddling, and with Daniel's "times", starts to stray into oracular territory[78].

It is such material that is most likely implicated when Josephus famously blames the Jewish revolt on a χρησμὸς ἀμφίβολος[79], predicting one who would "become ruler of the … world"[80]. This is hardly surprising, given his situation[81], and in mitigation, that some biblical prophecies were a little vague hardly implied riddling speech in any more technical sense[82]. What Daniel does provide, however, is a clear example of an impenetrable riddling oracle of judgement given to a foreigner, in the hapless Belshazzar[83]. If God is thus permitted to speak enigmatically to foreigners, it is intriguing that with his own people, tactics always stop just short of this. He can withdraw his word[84], prevent understanding[85], but is "incomprehensible" only ever in figurative senses[86].

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[73] Cf. Noegel (2007: 113-189, 235-251), as seen in Joseph and Daniel, cf. Dan 1:17.

[74] E.g. at Deut 13:1-5, Jer 23:16-40 et sim. On rabbinical misgivings, cf. Rajak (2000a: 157). The two rabbinical "dream books" contain non-prophetic examples only (Alexander, 1995, Ulmer, 2001).

[75] Barton (1992: 493) notes an initially positive association between post-exilic prophecy and dreams and visions even within orthodox circles. See also Long (1976), Nidditch (1983), Miller (1990), Lowery (1999).

[76] E.g. Amos 7:7-9, a visionary form discussed by Lowery (1999), Husser (1999: 139-154) and others. Although interpretations involved Artemidoran-style wordplays, the overall meaning was controlled by the provided commentary.

[77] On the probable trajectory, cf. Niditch (1983: 9-12).

[78] Although apocalyptic symbolism is often "suspiciously see-through" (ibid., 247) the mysterious "times" in Dan 4:16, 7:25, 12:7 have a riddling, oracular feel. Although Collins (1993: 322, 399) takes this as transparently coded, Goldingay (1989: 181) sees it as more fundamentally polyvalent.

[79] *BJ* 6:312-315, discussed by Aune (1983: 140-141). Re Josephus' typically Greek accusation that they interpreted it "according to their own pleasure", cf. Hld.1:18-19. The apologetic is hardly surprising in the face of Josephus' impending defection.

[80] Neither his nor the Roman reports (Tac.*Hist*.5:13, Suet.*Vesp*.4-5) permit easy identification. Gen 49:10, Num 24:17, Dan 7:13-14, 9:24-27, and various Sibylline Oracles have all been suggested (Aune, ibid., 141). On Num 24:17, cf. Evans (2001: xii), Dan 9, Bruce (1965) and Mason (2000: 550-551), contra Collins (1993: 85-86).

[81] Cf. VanderKam and Adler (1996: 216) on Josephus's "Delphic" treatment of Dan 9.

[82] Josephus concludes that the only real mistake was to failing to identify the figure correctly (*BJ* 6:313), cf. Acts 8:30-34.

[83] Via the writing on the wall in Dan 5:1-30. Although not a dream in the usual sense, revelatory inscriptions are known in ANE dreams (A2§1, No.11), cf. observed "real" inscriptions in the Greek novels (Sironen, 2003). The message (cf. Clermont-Ganneau and Rogers, 1887, Goldingay, 1989: 110-113, Collins, 1993: 250-252), is a riddling oracle of judgement, a familiar Greek form.

[84] As 1 Sam 3:1, Amos 8:11-12.

[85] As Isa 6:10.

[86] E.g. as the babble of invading foreigners in Isa 28:11.

Questions have been raised about the evolution of prophetic praxis in the first century, with Hengel suggesting that Essenes and others did occasionally offer riddling prophecies. On closer inspection, however, the evidence points more at diplomatic awareness than systematic use[87]. In turn, evidence for Christian prophets speaking in riddling or ambiguous forms is scant[88]. Indeed, one gets the impression that their prophecies are "weighed" to assess value and relevance, not meaning as such[89]. Glossolalia has raised interesting questions, however. For Paul, this incomprehensible ecstatic utterance enacts the babbling of Isa 28:11 as a "sign"[90], but as Thiselton (1979) has emphasised, this is not real speech, enigmatic or otherwise, and thus cannot be understood by τέχνη, but requires another revelation. What is clear, however, is that Jewish and Christian religious teachers, when not speaking *prophetically*[91], could speak in highly enigmatic ways.

3.2 Pedagogic Contexts

3.2.1 The Socratic Tradition

Surrounded by a strong popular tradition of riddling[92], Greek philosophy not only appreciated its didactic and social value[93], but from as early as Heraclitus, accorded riddles and paradoxes philosophical significance[94]. Beyond valuing paradoxical maxims, this interest affected Socrates' entire teaching method with its robust question and counter question[95], influencing both Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity[96]. Socrates frequently propelled his students towards an impasse or ἀπορία[97] via deliberately fallacious assumptions about which he would remain silent until later[98], a temporary feigning of

[87] Hengel (1996: 2:164, n.845, 846) re *BJ* 1:78-80/*AJ* 13:311-13 and *AJ* 15:372-9.

[88] Acts 11:28, 21:10 are hardly riddling.

[89] 1 Cor 14:19, discussed by Aune (1983: 220-222).

[90] Isa 28:11 is picked up on in 1 Cor 14:21 where the incomprehensible babble of foreigners (only divine speech in an ironic sense) is applied to tongues, which as a "sign for unbelievers", is implicitly one of judgement.

[91] i.e. offering divine speech *directly*.

[92] Cf. Forster (1945), and on a legend about Homer, cf. Maurizio (1993: 143-144).

[93] Cf. Cleobulus (D.L.*Cleob.*3), Clearchus of Soli (Περὶ γρίφων, not extant) and the collection of 55 riddles in *Anth.Pal.*14. Symposia might include discussion of famous conundrums and paradoxes (Smith, 2003, cf. Barbarians overdoing it in *BH* 5:31.1).

[94] The pre-Socratic Heraclitus (535–c.475 BCE) was particularly known for paradoxical aphorisms and nicknamed the "riddler" (ὁ αἰνικτής) and the "obscure" (ὁ Σκοτεινός) as a result, cf. Jordan (1990: 19-28).

[95] On Socrates (known through Xenophon and Plato), see Jordan (ibid., 60-69). On Socratic method, see Nakhnikian (1973), Nozick (1995), Kahn (1996), Towne (1998), Keulen (2003), Shipley and Mason (2004), Metcalf (2004), Gorman (2005), Brune and Krohn (2006), McPherran (1991, 2007).

[96] Daube (1956: 151-157), Droge and Tabor (1992), Gooch (1996). On Socratic images in Acts, cf. Witherington (1998: 232, 514, 525-526).

[97] cf. Rowe (2006: 161, 167), Weiss (2006: 246), Howland (2011: 209) et sim. and note use re Solomon in *AJ* 8:143. Scholars debate why Xenophon's Socrates uses this device less frequently (Dorion, 2006: 96).

[98] In the process, he would identify important points of ignorance, the so-called "disavowal of knowledge" (Jordan, 1990: 61).

ignorance or "dissimulation", not without humorous potential[99]. Far from idle speculation, many "Socratic paradoxes" focussed on ethical issues[100], not only posing mischievous questions such as "would obeying the gods still be 'good', if what they commanded was 'bad'?"[101], but in the end challenging students to live a consistent and examined life[102]. Two important philosophical schools flourishing in New Testament times stood in a direct relationship to this heritage, the Stoics and the Cynics.

Starting c. 300 BCE, by the first century, numerous contemporaries of Luke and Paul broadly identified themselves with Stoicism[103], which not only valued Socrates' emphasis on frugal and consistent living[104], but also his didactic method and his moral paradoxes[105]. Whilst aware of its dangers[106], the Stoics fruitfully used this method to propose a form of universalism based not on ethnicity, but on virtue, a development conceivably known to both Luke and Paul[107]. Surpassing even Stoic asceticism[108], the itinerant ascetic Cynics, were even more radically Socratic[109]. Similarly enamoured of paradox[110], they bamboozled inquirers with riddling replies[111] and surreal gestures, such as offering a fish[112] and other behaviour almost calculated to "drive people away"[113]. At the centre of their teaching lay a riddling didactic provocation (παρρησία), that might, for example, "advocate" incest or

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[99] Dissimulation or pretence is a Socratic appropriation of the rhetorical trope of εἰρωνεία (LSJ, 491). On its comic potential, cf. Miller (2008), and on its humorous use in Judaism, Jónsson (1985: 20-23), Boyarin (2009).

[100] E.g. re the definition of courage, proofs that no-one errs willingly, that the virtues form a unity, that virtue is knowledge and other counter–intuitive results, cf. Jordan (1990: 64), Ferejohn (1984), Hathaway (1970).

[101] Nozick (1995: 146).

[102] a "βίος ἔλεγχος". It is ironic that the later charges against Socrates were essentially moral, and that misunderstandings of his use of paradox may have fuelled public alarm (cf. Pl.*Apol*.19b-c).

[103] For an introduction, cf. Inwood (2003). They stood in tension with Aristotelianism (Sedley, 2003: 12) as did the Epicureans (Brunschwig and Sedley, 2003: 163-165). Present in Acts 17, in the imperial period, numerous public figures are broadly linked to this general perspective (Schmeller, 1992: 213-214), including possibly Ben Sirach (Mattila, 2000), Paul (Engberg-Pedersen, 2000), James (Boyle, 1985) and Clement (van Unnik, 1950).

[104] Cf. Sedley (2003: 10-11), Schmeller (1992: 211-212). On other distinctives, cf. Bobzien (2003), Brennan (2003), Brunschwig (2003), Frede (2003), Hankinson (2003) et al. in Inwood (2003).

[105] E.g. Cicero's *Paradoxa Stoicorum* (Brown, 2006: 275-276, Mehl, 2002, Gorman, 2005), with a prior interest in Heraclitus (Long, 1996: 35-57). Brown (op.cit., 277-282) notes the special importance of Socrates' life for Stoics, who also became interested in Aristotle's work on linguistic ambiguity (Edlow 1977: 56-69, Atherton, 1993, Kennedy, 2003: 1, 18-19, 31-32).

[106] E.g. of being misunderstood by the young (Brown, 2006: 283).

[107] Set out in Plato's Republic, but developed by Zeno. Re Paul and Luke, cf. Bassler (1985: and esp. 550), Conzelmann, 1987: 146-148). Acts 10:34-35 echoes this view.

[108] Cf. Hock (1992: 1224).

[109] Started in the 4th century BCE by Antisthenes, Diogenes of Sinopé et al. (Hock, ibid.). On their Socratic heritage, cf. Prince (2006). On their revival in the imperial period, Hock (1992: 1222); on Cynic lifestyle, ibid., 1223-1224, Vaage (1990); on itinerancy, Robbins (1984: 88); on Lucian's critique, Branham (1993). Diogenes was happy to be known as "Σωκράτης μαινόμενος", D.L.6.*Diog*.54.2.

[110] Cf. "I would rather go mad than feel pleasure" (D.L.6 *Anisth*.3.3), "the better you play the worse it gets", (D.L.6.*Diog*.46.10) et sim.

[111] Often involving wordplays similar to those in Artemidorus, reported variously throughout Diogenes Laertius.

[112] A σᾶπέρδης. The man was later dismissed when found without his "gift" (D.L.6.*Diog*.36.6-10).

[113] As Anisthenes in D.L.6 *Anisth*.4.6-8, often understood in relation to charging fees (Guthrie, 1962: 306-307 n.3), but this is not certain.

cannibalism, leaving the dead unburied or stealing from temples[114]. Stopping a little short of such extremes, Cynics nevertheless performed striking transgressive signs to illustrate their "shamelessness" (ἀναίδεια) and "indifference" (ἀδιαφορία)[115], including defacing coins, urinating in public and worse[116]. Some influence on Jewish and Christian teaching has been widely imagined[117], with several synoptic sayings and actions reminiscent of such approaches[118] as also the invitation in Peter's vision. Similar approaches are seen in other itinerant teachers such as the Neopythagorean, Apollonius of Tyana (1st century CE)[119]. Although commended for clear speech[120], and occasional prophetic utterances[121], he could also reduce a student's position to an "absurdity" (ἀτόπος)[122]. Strangers too could receive enigmatic rebukes[123] or become entangled in riddling or dissimulating exchanges[124], even Kings[125] – an approach attributed to Pythagoras[126] and curiously reminiscent of the fourth Gospel[127].

3.2.2 Jewish and Early Christian Teaching

Besides a shared popular[128] and scribal interest in riddles[129], some have suspected Greek influence in wider patterns of Jewish teaching as early as the post–exilic wisdom texts[130]. However it is the "sages" of the Hellenistic period that have been more explicitly seen in this light[131]. Their use of parables and paradoxes[132] and challenging dialogue has

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[114] Παρρησία (*boldness, outspokenness*, LSJ, 1344), e.g. in D.L.6.*Diog.*52.11-12, 72.8-73.4 (cf. Prince, 2006: 90).

[115] Vaage (1992).

[116] Hock (1992: 1223), Vaage (1992: 30-35), Prince (2006: 90). Note the rationalisation in Jul.*Or.*6.202b-c discussed by Krueger (1996: 233-234).

[117] Cf. Downing (1992) and Seeley (1997).

[118] Re challenges, poss. Mt 8:22, 19:12 et sim. and re "signs", Mt 9:10-13, Mk 11:15-17, 20-24 et sim.

[119] Known via the *Life* written by Philostratus in the early 3rd century CE.

[120] Philostr.*Vit.Ap.*1:17.1-13.

[121] For the putative link with Apollo and that some of his utterances were made as if "ἐκ τρίποδος", cf. Philostr.*Vit.Ap.*1:1.16-18.

[122] Many examples during a trip to India (1:19–3:58), including discussions about elephant driving (2:11) and painting (2:22).

[123] *Vit.Ap.*1:15.54-56, 1:16.24-26 and the implicitly rebuking prayer in 1:16.18-20.

[124] E.g. the customs official in *Vit.Ap.*1:20.5-7 mistaking "temperance, justice, virtue etc." for prostitutes with Apollonius protesting that they were "ladies of quality." (ll.10-11).

[125] E.g. King Phraotes in *Vit.Ap.*3:16-25, 3:34-37, 3:41-49 cf. also the Gymnosophists, ibid., 6:10-14, 6:18-21.

[126] *Vit.Ap.*6:11:132-135, linked to the doctrine of Pythagorean "silence", discussed in Huffman (2008).

[127] *Vit.Ap.*1:19.18-19, 1:21.14-18, 6:11.130-132 et sim.

[128] Cf. Judges 14:12 et sim. the Hebrew חִידָה is translated by αἴνιγμα or πρόβλημα (as Judges 14:12) in the LXX. Cf. also מָשָׁל, proverb, parable or riddle, translated by παραβολή, παροιμία and αἴνιγμα et sim.

[129] Cf. Prov 1:1-6, Sir 39:3.

[130] Crenshaw (1998: 103-104), esp. Ecclesiastes, as Whybray (1989: 11-12), Krüger (2004: 11-12). Dating from c. 250 BCE (Murphy, 1992: xxii), on Greek influence cf. Whybray (1989), Murphy (1992: xix-xxiii) and Krüger (2004: 21-22), and on Socratic patterns, Whybray (op.cit. 18-19) and Krüger (op.cit., 145 n.7, 147, 209).

[131] Cf. Daube (1949), Hengel (1996: 81), Daube (1956), Flusser (1997: 74), Fischel (1977: 449, n. 31), Silberman (1983: 109-110) et sim. Hengel (1989: 36-38, 42, 52) sees Hillel as an explicit conduit for Hellenistic teaching methods in Jewish Palestine.

been linked to Socratic[133] and Cynic models[134], as has the entire dynamic of their master–disciple relationship[135]. Besides the enigmatic "I am" statements[136], considerable interest has been shown in the deliberately ambiguous remarks of the Johannine Jesus designed to misdirect and confuse hearers before drawing them into some "higher truth"[137]. These constitute a form of didactic dissimulation characteristic of the Socratic tradition.

4 Ancient Debate about Enigmatic Divine Speech

Although enigmatic divine speech was in differing ways, present in both Greek and Jewish traditions, a key difference was that Greeks were happy to admit this, and Jewish discussion centres on negotiating apparent exceptions. Nevertheless, when the rhetoric is unpacked, there are some fruitful points of comparison.

4.1 Graeco–Roman Debate

Exactly why the gods might choose to communicate enigmatically, whether by oracles or dreams, exercised several Graeco–Roman writers of Luke's general period, including Cicero and Plutarch. Besides the ethical problems caused by telling us things only *occasionally*[138], why give any warning *obscurely*?[139] A traditional response was that divine revelation, translated from the gods' own language, was *necessarily* indistinct and that the gods gave gifts to seers precisely to make these messages more comprehensible[140]. Unfortunately, it was acknowledged that in some cases, the gods did communicate clearly, making the issue evidently one of choice, not necessity. This made obscure speech, in the opinion of Cicero, unnecessary, dangerous, and unworthy of the gods[141].

At this point, literary analogies were sometimes invoked, i.e. although poetry might be reducible to prose, the more demanding and obscure medium was what finally *moved*

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[132] On M.Abot, cf. Gottlieb (1990); on parables, Hauck (1964b: 756), Crossan (1980), Witherington (2001: 167), Hooker (1997: 128), Collins (2007: 247-250). On Hillel, cf. Schwartz (1997: 335), Safrai, C. (1997), Safrai, S. (1997), Flusser (1997).

[133] Flusser (1997: 75-76, 91), Schwartz (1997: 335). That later followers saw a Socratic analogy, cf. Safrai, C. (1997: 308) and Kannaday (2004: 38-39, 42). On the influence on later Rabbinic Judaism, cf. Howland (2011) and Boyarin (2009).

[134] Mack (1988), Downing (1988, 1992), critiqued by Aune (1997a).

[135] Hengel (1996: 1:81). Robbins (1984) detects a common Socratic progression in the master-disciple relationship in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, Marks's Gospel and Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius*, the third stage of which explores the "paradoxical dimensions of the system" (ibid., 128). Wildberg (2006: 32-33) notes that the aim is to help disciples discover truth for themselves.

[136] For similar statements by Hillel, cf. Flusser (1997) and by Apollonius, Philostr.*Vit.Ap.*1:21.14-18.

[137] Although present in Mark (2:19 etc., as Caneday, 1998) and Q (Lk 7:28, 9:60 etc.), the "Johannine misunderstandings" (Haenchen, 1984: 184, Beasley-Murray, 1999: 92) have received sustained attention (e.g. by Thatcher, 2000, Hoo, 2009). Although occasionally labelled "παροιμία" (Jn 10:6), they usually have no explicit indicators of riddling, but confuse the listeners for didactic purposes. Thatcher identifies 38 sayings, (op.cit., 184-187), divided into several families. The dangers of misunderstanding echo those voiced by the Stoics (Brown, 2006: 283).

[138] Cic.*Div.*2:49/101-102.

[139] Cic.*Div.*2:61/126-127, 64/131-132 cf. 1 Cor. 14:7-8.

[140] Cic.*Div.*1:51/116-52/118.

[141] Cic.*Div.*2:64/132-65/135.

men[142], just like Plato's own creative dialogues and utopian dreams[143], and leading Macrobius to observe that language *needs* its "similes and analogies"[144]. The literary analogy also fascinated Plutarch, though for different reasons. As a former priest at Delphi, he observed not only the decline of prophecy[145], but also the abandonment of the archaic hexameter in favour of prose[146]. If Delphic language changed with the times, then how could it be divine at all?[147] He responds with a traditional argument that the divine *impulses* remain the same, only the Pythia's verbalisation alters[148]. As changes in language do not make philosophy untrue, neither do they invalidate revelation[149]. Indeed, given the public complaints, the gods might favour such changes[150], even if older and better educated inquirers still found the old "riddles, allegories, and metaphors" more powerful and easier to remember[151].

While theoretically supporting a verse/prose equivalence, Plutarch notes that the gods' preference for "signifying" rather than simply revealing[152] was nevertheless not without intellectual and moral purposes. Besides rewarding the diligent and sending away the lazy, the gods could hide the truth from tyrants and enemies[153]. Thus, as noted by Macrobius, the ambiguity of prophecy is meant for good, and the deserving are always provided with the clues they need[154] and Artemidorus observes that the very education needed to understand oracles actually produces more learned dreams[155]. Although primarily working with a picture of natural prescience, Artemidorus does allow the gods speech in dreams. Whilst usually truthful[156], he agrees that they sometimes talk in riddles[157] and also understands this in pedagogic terms. Wanting us to understand[158], they provide all necessary clues for us to

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[142] Cicero is aware of this line of attack in *Div.*2:64/132-133.

[143] For Plato, fantasy and hard-edged analysis both, in the end, belong to the *dream*-world of human thought (Gallop, 1971: 190-197).

[144] Macr.*Comm.ad.Somn.Scip*.1:2.1-8, 14.

[145] Plu.*Def.Or*.5/411e-f, 412d.4.

[146] Plu.*Pyth.*5/396c-f, *Pyth.*25/406f-407c et sim. and cf. Aristid.*Or*.45.4-8.

[147] He notes a preference for prose in more "prosaic" times, Plu.*Pyth.*18/402e-403a, 24/406b-f, 28/408b-d.

[148] Plu.*Pyth.*7/397b-c. In *Pyth.*21/404b-f he gives musical and optical analogies, both derived from Plato. The results can be confusing, however, as developed in Plu.*Def.*50/437c-51/438d.

[149] Plu.*Pyth.*18/403a.

[150] Plu.*Pyth.*24-26/406b-407f.

[151] Plu.*Pyth.*24/406b-f, 26/407c-f, 30/409c-d.

[152] An old observation of Heraclitus noted by Plu.*Pyth.*21/404e.

[153] Plu.*Pyth.*26/407e, cf. Mk 4:11-12.

[154] Macr.*Comm.ad.Somn.Scip*.1:7.4-6.

[155] *Oneir*.4:59.27-57, "ὀνειροι φιλολογωτέροι".

[156] *Oneir*.2:69.1-10 (cf. 4:71.1-3), probably going back to Pl.*Rep.*2:382e-383c. However, he knows of counter examples, (*Oneir*.4:72) especially indicated when gods behave uncharacteristically (*Onier.* 4:72.3), with Pan the worst offender (*Onier.* 4:72.5-12).

[157] *Oneir*.4:71 "sometimes … they speak in riddles (αἰνίσσονται) [which] .. you must attempt to solve. (ἑρμηνευτέον σοι τὰ αἰνίγματα)" (4:71.5-10).

[158] But often misunderstood in the Asclepion, for which he has little respect (*Oneir* 4:22.1ff).

interpret their words[159], preferring that we "do not accept anything without a thorough examination"[160]. This parallels Artemidorus' discussion of naturally prescient symbolic dreams[161] which again pose the problem as to why the soul might want to warn people *allegorically* when it could do so directly[162] (as it must do in emergencies[163]). Here too, when time allows, there is a preference that the conscious mind is made to do the work of reasoning[164]. Both the soul and the gods are thus instinctively Socratic.

4.2 Jewish and Early Christian Debate

The concept of enigmatic divine speech makes a limited appearance in Jewish and early Christian discussion in two rather distinct senses, first in relation to some of the peculiarities of scripture itself, and secondly in relation to post–biblical prophecy.

In the Hellenistic and Roman periods, both Torah and prophecy became more difficult to understand[165]. Certainly the existence of halakhic discourse and midrash implied *effective* ambiguity in the law[166] just as raz/pesher provided insight into otherwise opaque prophecies[167], with Philo allowing higher meanings even where no obscurity demanded them[168]. In spite of the claim that all of this was accessible to ordinary παιδεία and σοφία[169], an ominous similarity to the arcane and arbitrary associations of Artemidoran dream interpretation has long been noted[170]. At no point, however, was appeal made to divine riddling *in the Greek sense*[171]. Indeed, when Philo aligns Jewish thought with the "best" in Greek philosophy[172] he explicitly denigrates pre–classical "indistinctness and riddles". True philosophy, like the Jewish God, "eradicates" ambiguity[173].

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[159] "even when the gods do speak in riddles, the key .. is very clear", *Oneir.*4:22.36-45.

[160] *Oneir.*4:71.11-13.

[161] *Oneir.*1:2.19, 1:2.14-16, 1:2.22-23.

[162] Note the use of αἴνιγμα in *Oneir.*4:1.3-4.

[163] *Oneir.*1:2.25-38.

[164] *Oneir.*1:2.24-25.

[165] Cf. Acts 8:30-31, 34, and re metaphorical language in the prophets, cf. Schöpflin (2005), de Villiers (1999: 68-80), Barton (1992: 494).

[166] Re halakha: implicitly, Porton (ibid.: 26). Re Midrash: Boyarin (1990: 19, 39, 57). Later, biblical *indeterminacy* is seen as a model to emulate (Stern, 1988).

[167] Prototypically in Dan 9:2, 20-24 (Goldingay, 1991: 256-257) and at Qumran, cf. Dimant (1992), Lim (2002), Charlesworth and Novakovic (2002).

[168] Bockmuehl (1990: 76-81) notes that Philo nevertheless speaks of his technique as a "revelation of mysteries", applicable to any part of Scripture.

[169] Deutsch (2008: 91-94), but cf. Aune (1983: 139) on Josephus, who probably saw his ability as a "gift".

[170] Re Pesharim, cf. Silberman (1961), Finkel (1963), Fishbane (1977) and Stern (1988: 141-142), re halakhic discourse, Lieberman (1950), re Midrash, Boyarin (1990: 94) and for a general rationalisation, Fishbane (1985: 447-458).

[171] Although Philo uses χρησμός throughout, he insists on clarity.

[172] Deutsch (2008: 87-88).

[173] Phil.*Leg.All.*3:226, *Plant.*111, *QG* 1:34, *Mig.*80, *Agr.*16, 136, *Ebr.*139.

For all this rhetoric however, both Philo and Josephus are aware of a more nuanced debate when they deal with Scripture. Thus, when Num 12:6-8 compares God speaking to ordinary prophets in dreams and Moses, to whom he speaks "clearly and not in riddles" (LXX, ἐν εἴδει καὶ οὐ δι᾽ αἰνιγμάτων), it appears to imply riddling divine speech in the former. Philo, however, is very careful to rework this in terms of relative directness of manifestation, rather than of the speech as such[174]. In spite of the clarity of Mosaic reception, both Philo and Josephus have to recognise different *modes* of Mosaic speech. Philo distinguishes words passed on directly from God in an ecstatic state from those involving Moses' own reflection and contribution[175]. This latter mode can see Moses apparently embedding some of the allegories that Philo and other interpreters will later decipher[176]. Josephus too speaks of deliberate "enigmatisation" by Moses:

> Some things our legislator shrewdly expresses in enigmas, and others by dignified allegories, but he still explains things that require a direct explanation plainly and expressly
>
> τὰ μὲν αἰνιττομένου τοῦ νομοθέτου δεξιῶς, τὰ δ᾽ ἀλληγοροῦντος μετὰ σεμνότητος, ὅσα δ᾽ ἐξ εὐθείας λέγεσθαι συνέφερε, ταῦτα ῥητῶς ἐμφανίζοντος (*AJ* Pref:24)

δεξιῶς and σεμνότητος here[177] ensure that αἰνίσσομαι is understood as legitimate and measured, most likely implying the use of pedagogic accommodation when dealing with divine mysteries[178]. Indeed it is in the semi–mythological sections of Genesis where transitions from one mode to the another are noted, e.g. at *AJ* 1:34 where now Moses "*begins* to talk scientifically" (φυσιολογεῖν)[179], just as Philo observes God himself making plain (ἀποκαλύπτει) at one point what he had previously said more obscurely (ᾐνίξατο)[180]. Although progressive revelation might be lauded, it strains Philo's usual convictions to imagine even temporary obscurity on God's part. He gets closer to seeing why when dealing with God's apparent worry in Gen 3:22 about Adam's designs on the tree of life[181]. Denying that God really feels uncertainty or envy, Philo notes that he does sometimes employ "ambiguous terms" (ὀνόμασιν ἐνδοιαστικοῖς), but by adding "ὡς ἄνθρωπος

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[174] Philo paraphrases Num 12:6-8 in *Quis.Her.*262 and *Leg.All.*3:103 and in both removes the LXX's λαλήσω αὐτῷ to make the contrast refer to the way God makes himself known (γνωσθήσομαι), suggesting indirectness of manifestation more than specifically riddling speech.

[175] Winston (1989).

[176] *QG* 3:3.

[177] δεξιῶς, skilful or clever (LSJ, 379). "Shrewdly" (Thakeray) and "wisely" (Yonge) both emphasise Moses' indirect speech here as didactically commendable. Re the allegorizing being σεμνότητος, Thakeray's "solemn" and Yonge's "decent" are both possible (LSJ, 1591) but "dignified" or "measured" are better.

[178] That a plain explanation can be given when required is interesting, cf. Artemidorus on "emergency" theorematic dreams.

[179] *AJ* 1:34. Yonge's "philosophically" is less helpful.

[180] *QG* 2:8 re Gen 6:13b, 17.

[181] Gen 3:22 as discussed in *QG* 1:54-55 re the oddity that God apparently admits to worries of this kind.

παιδεύσει τὸν υἱὸν", he suggests not so much oracular ambiguity as pedagogic dissimulation.

Moving from Scripture itself, Aune (1983) has suggested a degree of Jewish assimilation to Greek understandings of the prophetic process in post–Biblical times, particularly the "divine impulse/human articulation" model known to Cicero, Plutarch et al.. While Philo distances biblical and Jewish prophecy from such a picture[182], there is evidence that latter day prophecies, even if adequately conveyed, were admitted to be based on enigmatic promptings. Thus, when Josephus tells the Romans about his own expertise in dreams[183] his skill is required precisely because such dreams, even when *true*, are "ambiguously delivered by God" (ἀμφιβόλως … ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου λεγόμενα)[184]. Whether "λεγόμενα" here implies speech is left unclear, and may envisage primarily visual imagery[185]. It is also possible that he is merely according himself non–Mosaic status[186]. It nevertheless suggests that the manifestation as a whole is enigmatic, and requires judgment to bring into a rational and useful form. A similar remark by Paul in 1 Cor 13 describes Christian prophecy as "seeing in a mirror, dimly". "ἐν αἰνίγματι", however, implies more than this[187], and although mirrors can indicate clarity[188], reflections are speculative, uncertain things in Plato, and provide metaphors for the way that *confusion* enters dreams and prophecy[189].

Finally, we note Jesus' much discussed justification of parable–telling in Mk 4:12, that "they may be ever seeing but never perceiving etc." (Isa 6:9-10). Whilst Isaiah imagined an act of judgement impeding the *understanding* of clear prophecy, it is rarely observed that in this new context, this is engineered by the *intrinsically enigmatic* speech of the parables, and that this is now understood as *divine* speech. It is unsurprising that the disciples in fourth Gospel are happy to note that Jesus was capable of speaking ἐν παρρησίᾳ as well as ἐν παροιμίαις[190]. It is only after the NT period that Clement of Alexandria is able

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[182] *Spec.Leg.*4:47-50.

[183] *BJ* 3:350-354, discussed by Aune (1983: 139). He mentions a particular dream, discussed in Gnuse (1996: 135), but where content and form can only be inferred.

[184] *BJ* 3:352.

[185] As apparently at *BJ* 3:353. Note that the symbolising of visual imagery is described using the same terms as verbal riddling, e.g. where scarlet "enigmatically signifies" (αἰνίττεσθαι) fire (BJ 5:212-214). Cf. also the Maccabees' worries about ambiguous apparitions in 2 Macc 5:4, discussed by Schwartz (2008: 253) and Josephus' dream of Stratonice (ibid., 500).

[186] Via Num 12:6-8.

[187] The Greek idiom "dark saying" (σκοτεινός λόγος, as LXX) is a synonym for αἴνιγμα.

[188] As Pl.*Tim.*72c; Plu.*Is.Osir.*80/384a; Apul *Apol.*14 (Conzelmann, 1975: 227 n.91), and cf. law as "mirror of the soul" in Phil *Mos.*2:11 and Od.Sol.13:1f (Laws, 1980: 86). The image is discussed frequently in relation to Jas 1:23 (ibid. 86-87, and Martin, 1988: 49-51) although Dibelius (1976: 115-116) is more cautious.

[189] Cf. Kittel (1964: 178), Holowchak (1997: 227, quoting Plato) "the images of things that will be, are the most .. indistinct."

[190] Jn 16:29.

to suggest that God might agree with the Greeks that some truths are best "veiled"[191], that concealment can be divine, and that God speaks "[from] the innermost sanctuary … in riddles". Whist accessible to the pure[192], his "oracles are … not manifest unrestrainedly to all". His apologetic here is intended to be bidirectional.

5 Enigmatic Speech in Graeco–Roman Dreams

Enigmatic speech occurs in many Graeco–Roman dreams and its modes mirror those known from elsewhere including prophetic, but also non–religious contexts. There are some differences between the enigmatic speech in dreams in literary and narrative contexts compared to popular and therapeutic accounts, although some overlap.

5.1 Popular, Therapeutic and Personal Dreams

As in previous chapters, because of the relative provision of sources, Aristides receives a separate section below.

5.1.1 Epidauros and other Asclepion Testimonies

In spite of their ostensibly therapeutic focus, not all Epidauros dreams concern illness[193]. In the non–therapeutic examples, dialogue is usually plain[194], but a riddling verse oracle is appropriately offered to an incubant seeking buried treasure, where Asclepius answers "In the month Thargelion in the noontime, within the lion lies the gold"[195]. Failing to find anything in a nearby lion statue, a local seer, suggests looking in the lion's noontime shadow in the correct month, with good result[196].

Although strange prescriptions had perhaps ceased to strike incubants as bizarre[197], Edelstein records a routine prescription of a pork-rich diet[198] which creates particular and *different* problems for two incubants[199]. Plutarch, who simply does not *like* pork, is granted an alternative, but Domninus, for whom pork is not permitted for religious reasons[200] bravely complies. Encapsulating a traditional Socratic conundrum[201], this shows the possibly acute role of personal context in determining how difficult divine commands might be. Both are cured, but Domninus is the more commended. Although raising some

[191] Clem.Alex.*Strom.*5:4.19.1-20.1, pursuing an analogy based on the temple (Deutsch, 2008: 85, 94-102).

[192] "Priestly access" stands for the integrity and purity required for true inquiry, as Philo and Plato.

[193] Some still concern the body (A1, 2, 6, 7, 19, B11, 14, 19, 22), but others range more widely still, e.g. re lost or hidden items (C3, 12 [poss.], 20, 22), or children (B4), mending broken valuables (A10) etc.

[194] E.g. A2, B14, A8 et sim.

[195] C3, text in LiDonnici (1995: 119).

[196] The lesson here is that every word matters.

[197] These are not particularly outrageous at Epidauros, e.g. C5 and C21.

[198] Changes of diet were quite normal outside of incubation contexts, particularly in Hippocratic medicine, and this could involve various meat-only prescriptions, as in Aristid.*Or.*49.34 (chicken-only, not entirely to his liking).

[199] A2§8 No. 6, text and translation in Edelstein and Edelstein (1945: 240 No. 427), with discussion in Schäfer (1997: 71-72).

[200] There is some debate as to whether he might be a Jew, as Krauss (1895).

[201] I.e. whether obedience to the gods is always good, even if what they commanded was not (Nozick, 1995: 146).

questions for Peter's vision (which is not primarily therapeutic), a key difference is that his features an *intra–oneiric* command with uncertain external meaning or consequences.

Instructions detailing bizarre intra–oneiric cures are particularly prominent at Epidauros[202], some of a less than obviously medical nature, such as stripping naked, learning a wrestling move, being run over by a cart, or sent up a ladder[203]. In this latter case, a lame incubant is commanded to climb onto the roof of the abaton[204]. His fearful stalling so displeases the god[205] that he makes a real-life attempt the next day, discovering in the process that he has been cured[206]. An example of "healing by opposites"[207] and suggestively linking physical cure to overcoming *fear*[208], B15 is important for the way that the dreamer seeks to continue his bizarre intra–oneiric task in the waking domain[209]. It raises interesting questions about Peter's expectations, anxieties, and refusal to obey[210], but also whether, in the end, some therapeutic analogy might be intended[211].

5.1.2 Aelius Aristides

Aristides' even broader mix of therapeutic and more general dreams[212] includes many enigmatic utterances. Although sometimes providing oracles[213], riddling hexameter forms are not frequent[214]. More often, present circumstance and past experience[215] are met with somewhat disjoint quasi–gnomic utterances, such as "The Mother of the gods will care about Theodorus" (an unknown name[216]), the claim that Zosimus would live "as long as the cow in the field" (he is already dead)[217], and a lifetime prediction made ambiguous by

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[202] Including cutting open eyes (A4), the chest (A13), belly (B3, B7), and cutting off the head and reattaching it (B1, B3). In several, the incubant is left with a dream token (A13, A19, B7, B21).

[203] B8, B9, B18 and B15 respectively. Other dreams involve moving around the temple precinct, including in B7, attempting to escape.

[204] B15, ll.88-90.

[205] ll.92-93.

[206] ll.94-95. Note the two stages, with the initial failure of nerve and rebuke followed by a second attempt.

[207] Meir (1966: 317).

[208] B15 thus carries a psychological overtone not present in B18. Note how Dibelius (2004: 142) sees Peter's vision as "intended to give [him] courage".

[209] For a different kind of connection between dreaming and waking, cf. Matthias in *AJ* 17:166.

[210] The task of B15 is doable in principle, but Peter's is unlawful and thus cannot be obeyed, either in the dream or in real life. However, both dreamers meet with divine disapproval during their dreams, focussing the reader's attention on what they are going to do.

[211] Cf. Alexander (1995a: 245 and n. 32), who suggests that all rabbinic dream interpretation was in the end, therapeutic. That the method behind this particular challenge might be therapeutic, cf. Jónsson (1965: 23) "the purpose was not to wound but to cure". That Paul's conversion involved literal injury and healing as an adjunct sign is interesting.

[212] For listing and notes, cf. A2§9.1.

[213] cf. A2§9 n.19.

[214] Usually in literary quotes.

[215] Including though, previous dreams.

[216] *Or.*50.54. Aristides takes this as a revelation of a new name for himself.

[217] *Or.*49.37.

gestures[218]. Sometimes, words and phrases that do not entirely fit their contexts just come to Aristides during dreams[219], such as "demiroyal"[220], "*they* are in pursuit"[221], as also numerous phrases uttered incidentally in visual dreams[222], such as "nothing is more gentle"[223], "Kyphi with wine"[224], "during days of not bathing"[225], and the decidedly peculiar "for the good of *both* Emperors"[226]. Some of the more random utterances effectively function as κληδόνες[227].

When given bizarre, mostly extra–oneiric therapeutic instructions, Aristides usually attempts what is asked[228], but when requests are difficult, dangerous or impossible, instead of assuming some figurative sense[229], he negotiates for something easier[230]. In one notable exchange, however, he is faced with an enigmatic and disappointing *silence* when pleading for the life of his ailing step–father[231]. He entreats the god three times before Asclepius finally gives the curious response "keep him" [232], apparently signalling recovery[233]. Besides the wording of the reply, the main enigma here is Asclepius' uncharacteristic unwillingness to help[234]. Although not rationalised by Aristides, it suggests some sort of dissimulating test.

5.1.3 Artemidorus

With an interest in primarily visual symbolism, of the 18 Artemidoran dreams containing speech[235] (only five involving gods[236]), a high proportion contain enigmatic utterances. Besides an occasional deception[237], most operate via wordplay. Thus Pan's warning that a dreamer's wife is going to "poison" him indicates adultery via a common

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[218] *Or*.48.18, discussed by Behr (1968: 70-72, 96-97, 166-167).

[219] For more modern perspectives on this phenomenon, cf. Pound (1934), Read (1969) and Meier (1993).

[220] *Or*.49.32, a measure for wine. Aristides takes this as an instruction to alter his water-only regimen.

[221] *Or*.51.8, a dream encouraging progress on a journey, but no one is following. Cf. the curious use of "help" in Acts 16:9.

[222] E.g. at *Or*.47.17, 47.18, 47.26, 47.71, and 51.44-45.

[223] *Or*.47.17, uttered by his co-incubant and given an ingenious interpretation.

[224] *Or*.47.26, again taken prescriptively.

[225] *Or*.47.18. This is utterance is made by the oneiric "Aristides" himself, which he interprets after waking.

[226] *Or*.51.44-45 based on *Il*.9:223ff. The pluralisation is inexplicable.

[227] As noted in ch.4.

[228] As *Or*.48.55-56. One curious exception is *Or*.51.49-52, where he modifies the task, although the result is no less difficult.

[229] He rarely questions what the god means.

[230] As at *Or*.48.27.10-11, 49.15 and 49:39, cf. also the dream of Domninus and Plutarch (A2§8 No.6) and Plu.*Pel*.21:1 and *Ages*.6:4-5.

[231] *Or*.47.71, unusually, "grasping his head with each hand in turn".

[232] To indicate divine assent in this way seems strange.

[233] Only for four weeks, unfortunately, *Or*.47.76-77. Aristides blames this on only partial obedience.

[234] Although cf. Mk 7:26, Jn. 11.

[235] *Oneir*.4:32.2-6 et sim, all from the more professionally oriented Books 4 and 5. For a full listing, cf. A2§10 n.7.

[236] *Oneir*.4:71.13-15 (Pan), 4:72.5-9 (Pan), 4:80.8-9 (Serapis), 5:71 (statue of Zeus), 5:72 (statue of Aphrodite). Of the others, one features a bird , eight, an unnamed human speaker, and one, a group of association members, as listed in A2§10.n.7.

[237] *Oneir*.4:72.5-12 (Pan). The gods do not normally deceive, as *Oneir*.2:69.1-10.

idiom[238] and Serapis tells another he will remain childless via a financial pun playing on τόκος (=offspring/interest)[239]. Other deities confuse by ambiguous gestures[240]. Of seven human dream figures[241], six use riddling or enigmatic speech[242], five of these via mythological references or literary quotes in the dreams of educated people[243]. Although the mythological references function as simple identity riddles[244], such as the one who "dwells amongst those exempt from service" (Thebes – via Homer)[245], sacrificing to "him who has but one sandal " (Hermes, via the Perseus myth)[246], the literary quotes can prove trickier.

These references, which include words from Hesiod on greed (warning against robbery)[247], Euripides on jealousy (warning about a mistress)[248], Homer on Patroclus (indicating a death abroad)[249] all raise interesting interpretive questions. Should they be taken "as is" or should further clues be sought from their contexts? Artemidorus' rule is that if the utterance makes sense in and of itself (e.g. Hesiod's) and its relevance to circumstances is obvious[250], then it can be used directly. But others that "do not contain a complete thought"[251] need looking up before applying[252]. Thus Euripides' "Roast my flesh .. eat your fill" is incomprehensible until the jealousy of Hermione for Andromache is in view. An ill omen remains, however, although fortunately only a metaphorical "roasting"[253]. Given Peter's background, it becomes entirely proper to wonder whether

[238] *Oneir*.4:71.13-22, where a wife is having an affair and figuratively "poisoning" the marriage.

[239] *Oneir*.4:80.8-9.

[240] *Oneir*.5:71.

[241] Most are unknown, introduced by formulae such as 'Εδοξέ τις λέγειν αὐτῷ τινα. Dreams of this type include 4:59.34-36, 4:59.39, 4:59.47-50, 4:63.8-10, 4:63.12-13, 5:51, 5:66. Of these, two add minor qualifications e.g. 4:59.34-36 (someone trustworthy, τινα τῶν ἀξιοπίστων), 4:59.39 (a handmaid, θεράπαιναν).

[242] *Oneir*.4:59.34-36, 4:59.39, 4:59.47-50 ,4:63.8-10, 4:63.12-13 and 5:51. Perhaps, given Artemidorus is primarily interested in dreams that need *interpreting*, this is to be expected. Ironically, the only one in plain speech is disobeyed, at *Oneir*.5:66 (cf. the sentiments at Acts 26:19).

[243] For the general principle, *Oneir*.4:59.27-31. One is not a real quote, but sounds literary, with some rare iambs reported by an uneducated man in *Oneir*.4:59.44-46.

[244] Via "information reduction" or species-to-genus substitution, as in many oracles.

[245] *Oneir*.4:63.8-10.

[246] *Oneir*.4:63.12-13.

[247] *Oneir*.4:59.34-36, quoting Hes.*Op*.352 (White, 1975: 225 n.40).

[248] *Oneir*.4:59.39. The allusion concerns Hermione's jealousy of Andromache and warns the dreamer (a maid) about the jealousy of her mistress.

[249] *Oneir*.4:59.47-50, quoting *Il*.18:20-21 re the killing and stripping of Patroclus, applied to a husband who dies abroad and has his assets "stripped".

[250] The dreamer was later arrested for robbery.

[251] *Oneir*.4:59.37-39 τὰ δὲ .... μὴ αὐτοτελῆ διάνοιαν περιέχει.

[252] Of course, discovering the real preferences and habits of the dreamer becomes important, and in the case of impending crimes, there may be some questions about their being honest with the interpreter. On the importance of ascertaining all this background information, cf. *Oneir*.4:59.1-4.

[253] *Oneir*.4:59.39, as noted above.

"rise, kill, eat", or "what God has cleansed …"[254] might be quotations or allusions (as apparently occurs in Paul's case[255]) or at least are intended to sound like they should be[256].

More generally enigmatic utterances occurring in other visual dreams include two death portents. Both seem to promise blessing, but dash hopes by cruel and riddling reversals, e.g. "expired" instead of "immortal" (via the polysemy of ἔκβιον[257]) and death as the "beautiful child" (of *illness*[258]). In a third, a mother rebukes her son for *having* disgraced her, when in fact warning of future events[259]. This misdirects not by wordplay but by time–shift, producing a form of insoluble (false) riddle known in some prophecy and reminiscent of Peter's puzzling aorist[260].

Although the above give some idea about speech as such, it should be borne in mind that many if not all of Artemidorus' purely visual dreams nevertheless operate by linguistic means[261] and thus that polysemy, homophony etc. are important even in dreams with no speech. One mechanism possibly operative within Peter's vision is that of visual elements or actions hinting at missing key *words* that are important for the meaning, but not uttered as such in the dream. That feeling oneself unable to leave a brothel should signify death works through the missing word κοινός (via colloquial terms for brothels and *cemeteries*[262]), seeing a law-court signals a bad day for a sick person (via κρίσις[263]) and seeing a whetstone encourages exhortation (via ὀξύτης, sharpness)[264]. That Peter's *actions* of discriminating and arguing should both point to issues outside the dream via missing forms of διακρίνω would not be out of place here, although as noted elsewhere, this hardly exhausts the meaning of his vision.

5.1.4 Other Personal Dreams

Amongst anecdotal accounts scattered in non–narrative literary sources, a number feature enigmatic speech. In spite of the apparent clarity and reliability of Socrates'

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[254] Acts 10:13, 15b etc.

[255] E.g. the possible quote from Euripides in the third re-telling of the Acts 9 story in 26:12-18.

[256] Cf. *Oneir.*4:59.44-46 (discussed above).

[257] *Oneir.*4 (4:32.2-6), ἔκβιον (immortal/bereft of life, explained in 4:32.6-9).

[258] In *Oneir.*5:30.

[259] *Oneir.*5:58, rebuked in the past tense for a future life as a gladiator. The dream is marked by garish blood-imagery.

[260] Cf. *Oneir.*1:11.1-5 on narrative re-ordering, and the related "oracular present" and "prophetic perfect" discussed by Aune (1982: 449). Peter's vision has an enigmatic aorist in Acts 10:15, "what God *has cleansed*" which may not point to anything specifically in the past.

[261] As surveyed by Noegel (2007: 226-231) and discussed in A2§10 n.9. For modern perspectives on the linguistic aspects of dreaming, cf. Kilroe (2000, 2001).

[262] *Oneir.*1:78.22-33.

[263] *Oneir.*2:29.3-4, 4:45.4-5.

[264] *Oneir.*3:37.1-6.

δαίμων[265], both of the Socratic dreams for which Plato provides any content contain enigmatic utterances. In one, a beautiful young woman quotes Homer: "on the third day thou wouldst come to fertile Phthia"[266]. Speaking of Achilles plans to return "home", Socrates takes this in terms of his own death[267]. The second is a recurrent dream telling Socrates to "make music and work at it"[268]. Although the command appears straightforward, the fact that Socrates had never seriously considered this vocation rendered it somewhat curious. Initially assuming it referred figuratively to his philosophy[269], only when the dream started again during his imprisonment did he wonder if he should take it literally[270].

Of some nine message dreams in Pausanias[271], three display enigmatic aspects. The first occurs in a colonisation story where Epiteles, the liberator of Messene, finds a book of Cybelian mysteries buried in a brass jar after instructions about an "old woman .. shut in her brazen chamber"[272]. This is paired with the enigmatic visual dream of the local priest understood via Messenian mythology[273]. A further two stories feature writers. In one, a Spartan general is commanded to "honour … the new Siren", eventually understood as the recently deceased Sophocles[274]. More ominous is Persephone's rebuke to Pindar for his failure to honour her with an ode, when she assures him that he will indeed compose one "*when he had come to her*"[275].

5.2 Dreams in Literary Sources

5.2.1 Homer, Tragedy and Herodotus

In Homer, while dreams remain proverbially enigmatic, the key issue is truth. Of the two great dreams bracketing the Iliad/Odyssey, the first is believed by Agamemnon yet proves deceptive[276], whereas the second is distrusted by Penelope[277] but proves true. Although the latter displays ambiguous symbolism, neither involve riddling speech. In the

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[265] The δαίμων mentioned in Pl *Apol.*31d.1-4, 40a.3-c.3, discussed McPherran (1991) and Long (2006).

[266] Pl.*Crit.*44a-b, quoting *Il.*9:363.

[267] Thus, with Artemidorus, seeking meaning in the context.

[268] Pl.*Phd.*60e-61c.

[269] Since μουσῐκή can refer to any art over which the Muses presided (as LSJ, 1148). Berlin (1994: 2) sees a formal ambiguity here via a word-play.

[270] *Phd.*61a. He spent some of his time in prison producing metrical versions of Aesop.

[271] Given that they are not found in formal biographies or narrative history in the usual sense, they are addressed briefly here. The message dreams are *Paus.*1:21.1, 1:21.2, 3:18.3, 4:26.6, 4:26.7-8, 7:5.1-3, 8:47.6, 9:23.3, 9:23.4. There are perhaps a further 14 implied message dreams.

[272] Paus.4:26.7-8.

[273] Paus.4:26.3, discussed by Grottanelli (1999: 149).

[274] Paus.1:21.1. The dream figure is Dionysus, the god of drama.

[275] Paus.9:23.3. This forms part of a double dream with a separate revelation to an old woman of Thebes.

[276] *Il.*2:4-94 (cf. Kessels, 1978: 35-44).

[277] *Od.*19:509-604.

tragedies and comedies, which generally lack message dreams[278], there are frequent mentions of riddling oracles[279] and terrifying or unreliable dreams[280], but no clear examples riddling speech *in* a dream. For the first examples, we must wait for two of Herodotus' seven message dreams[281]. One warns Hipparchus of his impending death in oracular hexameter "O lion, endure the unendurable …etc.", explicitly called a riddle by Herodotus[282]. Although practically transparent, without a credible interpretation, Hipparchus walks straight into a trap[283]. As in other oracles, cloaking a warning in riddles symbolises the "blindness" of the recipient and the finality of their judgement.

The second very different example features the command received by Sabacos to slaughter the Egyptian priests[284]. Certainly enigmatic as a divine request, he suspects that this may be a kind of trap intended "to lead him to commit an act of sacrilege" calculated to bring down great wrath. His suspicions here are born of a sense of anxiety about his reign exceeding the years permitted by a previous oracle[285]. Reflecting on this underlying offense, he flees the country without obeying the dream as such, taking it as more diagnostic than prescriptive. Although Peter's transgressive command is intra–oneiric, the story nevertheless illustrates the thoughts that might run through dreamers' minds. Besides begging the question of Peter's own previous behaviour, his dream is also ultimately diagnostic, with literal obedience fading into the background[286].

5.2.2 Hellenistic and Roman Historians and Biographers

5.2.2.1 Dionysius of Halicarnassus

Although Dionysius has no dream messages in verse, enigmatic prose occurs in the dreams of Titus Latinius[287] where Jupiter Capitolinus complains that the people and senate did not given him "an acceptable leader of the dance" in a procession[288]. Titus, an elderly and infirm person living outside the city[289] knows nothing of such a problem and dismisses the dreams as false[290] until escalating threats and calamities force him to tell the senate.

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[278] One exception is the voice–only repetitive nightmare of Io in Aesch.*Prom.*645-673.

[279] Cf. Cassandra in Aesch *Ag.*1112-1113, and the comic Ar.*Px.*1070-1110, *Av.*955-995 and *Eq.*110-235, 960-1089.

[280] E.g. Aesch *Ag.*274-275.

[281] As listed in A2§6.2.1.

[282] Hdt.5:56.1-2.

[283] Hdt.5:56.2 "putting the vision from his mind, he led the procession in which he met his death".

[284] Hdt.2:139.

[285] The oracle had offered him a fifty year period of rule, now expired.

[286] Although, with Dibelius (2004: 142), most commentators assume it did occur. Luke remains silent.

[287] *RA* 7:68.3-7:69.2.

[288] *RA* 7:68.3.

[289] *RA* 7:68.4 "[he] felt ashamed … to report to the senate ..for fear of being laughed at", cf. Artemidorus re ordinary citizens not receiving dreams pertaining to matters of state (*Oneir.*1:2.114-125).

[290] Thus *RA* 7:68.4 "looking upon it as one of the deceitful dreams that are so common". What Titus means here is not so much lying as *non-significant*, because *self-generated.*

They too are baffled until one senator recollects a recent crucifixion in which the victim, processing through the forum, writhed grotesquely under the lash[291]. Using the language of "sacred law", Jupiter had ironically requested that "they may perform the rites again; for I have not accepted them"[292], thus, as arguably in Peter's vision, cloaking an essentially moral offense in the garb of a ritual violation. Certainly, neither "performance" nor the "dancer" were what they seemed[293].

Besides the didactic function of getting the offenders to think about what they might have done[294], the riddle also forms part of the judgement. It increases alarm, makes the recipients feel "toyed with"[295], and, given the threat to destroy the city, exposes them to the risk of not solving it in time[296]. It is also entrusted initially to one who cannot understand his own connection to the community's offense[297]. Peter's dream, by contrast, rebukes him directly. Whilst Titus' confusion is thus understandable, Peter's is less so. The question of whether only the sin of the wider church is in view, or whether Peter is culpable himself immediately presents itself, aided by Luke's studied silence[298]. Peter's later statements would, however, seem to constitute a personal confession[299].

5.2.2.2 Plutarch

Of the 18 message dreams and three apparitions in Plutarch[300], seven contain arguably enigmatic or riddling utterances. Besides a quote from Homer[301], a further four present in oracular hexameter[302]. Thus Cybele's warning to Themistocles to "shun a head of lions, that thou mayest not encounter a lion" alerts him to an ambush at a village called "Lion's Head"[303], Persephone's promise to Aristagoras that she will "bring the Libyan piper against the Pontic trumpeter" pits the South Wind against the King of Pontus' fleet[304], Aphrodite's question to Lucullus "Why dost thou sleep, great lion? etc." encourages him to pursue the

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[291] *RA* 7:69.1.

[292] *RA* 7:68.3. The exact referent is not clear, but the tone is darkly ironic.

[293] Another "identification riddle" where the given information misdirects.

[294] Cf. the typical parental question "Is there anything you've forgotten?"

[295] Perhaps a little like the hapless slave under his lashes.

[296] Cf. several oracle stories (Maurizio, 1993: 143-144).

[297] Titus is not the original offender, only a messenger, but is later chastised for delaying.

[298] Plunkett (1985: 465) hints at a corporate situation throughout.

[299] Acts 10:28 "God has shown me etc.". Note that both the major Apostles of Acts have to discover that they did not *realise* that they were opposing God, and have to experience "conversions" (as Wall, 1987, van Engen, 2004 et al.).

[300] *Rom.*2:5 et sim., listed in A2§13.2.1.

[301] *Alex.*26:5, quoting *Od.* 4:354f re the naming of Pharos.

[302] Perhaps unsurprising in view of Plutarch's role at Delphi.

[303] Plu.*Them.*30:1-2.

[304] *Luc.*10:1-3.

escaping Thessalians[305], and a voice taunts Marius about his abandoned capital, "Dreadful, indeed, is the lions' lair, even though it be empty"[306].

Whilst all of the above are more or less understandable with a good education and some local knowledge, the instruction received by Lucullus after lifting of the siege of Sinopé is rather different: "Go forward a little, … for Autolycus is come, and wishes to meet you"[307]. This remains quite opaque until Lucullus pursues the fleeing Cilicians to the beach, where they drop a looted sculpture of Autolycus, the founder of the city. The dream provides neither information, nor even a clear command[308]. Only later does Lucullus recognise that he had inadvertently done what was required. The comparison with Peter's vision, which also cannot be understood until future events unfold, is instructive[309].

In a rather different type of visitation, Brutus' dialogue with an apparition is particularly striking. To Brutus' "who are you?", the phantom famously replies "I am your evil genius, … and I will see you in Philippi"[310]. Brutus' appointment with implicitly *self–inflicted* doom nicely captures Plutarch's fascination with character and destiny.

Enigmatic commands include human sacrifice instructions to Agesilaüs and Pelopidas[311], which, with historical precedent, could be intended literally[312]. Changed times however, saw ethical and religious problems with such fearful and lawless (δεινός καὶ παράνομος) practices[313]. Agesilaüs promptly substitutes a hind for his daughter, but incurs divine displeasure. Pelopidas is more hesitant, with some advisors commending literal obedience; but while they are still disputing, a "god sent" animal presents itself and the crisis is averted[314]. That Pelopidas' outcome is more favourable commends erring on the side of caution.

Finally, a more unusual case with some popular overtones is the participatory visual dream of Mardonius' envoy, sent to visit an incubation oracle[315]. Already asleep in the abaton, he dreams that on arrival, he is unexpectedly refused admission and asked to leave. His protests leads to the surreal experience of being "killed" by an attendant hurling a

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[305] *Luc.*12:1-2.

[306] *Mar.*45:3.

[307] *Luc.*23:3. The dream figure is indistinct.

[308] It is not clear what "Go forward a little" *means*.

[309] In this sense, both visions are preparatory rather than prescriptive.

[310] Plu.*Caes.*69:6-12 and *Brut.*36:1-37:6, the first of two appearances. In the second, no words are exchanged. Philippi is the place of Brutus' eventual demise. On requests for identification, cf. Acts 9:5.

[311] *Ages.*6:4-5 and *Pel.*21:1.

[312] A veritable list of ancient cases is cited in *Pel.*21:2-3.

[313] *Pel.*21:1-4 ".. not acceptable to any one of the superior beings" which "only weakness and depravity of soul could produce".

[314] *Pel.*22:1-2.

[315] *Arist.*19:1-2.

stone[316]. Although the envoy wakes without ill–effects, the scene had signified danger, although not portending his, but his master's death[317]. One presumes that such unexpected albeit intra–oneiric conflict distressed the dutiful envoy, but that the episode eventually signified something related but *different* is rather instructive, as is the enigmatic representation of struggle with the divine will in terms of access to sancta[318]. Equally curious is the combination of a subtle conceptual transformation of the overall scene with the "random" prescient detail of the stone, foreshadowing the manner of the master's death[319].

5.2.2.3 Suetonius

Of the eight message dreams in Suetonius[320], two include enigmatic speech, neither in verse, but riddling in more general ways. In one, Galba dreams that the goddess Fortuna says that she is "tired of standing before his door, and that unless she were quickly admitted, she would fall a prey to the first comer"[321]. Contrary to readers' expectations of some figurative sense, Galba finds a real statue of Fortune on his doorstep. Later Fortuna appears again, complaining of having been "robbed"[322]. This dissimulating rebuke[323] is quickly linked to a necklace wrongly given to Venus and met with an expiatory sacrifice. Peter's riddling rebuke, unfortunately remains undeciphered until later.

Amongst the hybrid and other visual dreams, Quintus Catulus[324] sees a number of local boys playing in the temple of Jupiter, but in a second dream is shocked to find one of them in the fold of the god's toga where Roma had been before. He orders the boy to be removed[325], but Jupiter intervenes, declaring that "the boy was being reared for the sake of his country". The next day, Quintus recognises him as Augustus[326]. Like Peter's vision, an intra–oneiric breech of sacred protocol is used to speak of extraordinary but *approved* developments in real life. In the face of divine dissimulation, both Peter and Quintus seek to "protect" the deity, but receive enigmatic ripostes and again, neither is able to understand his reply until a recognition scene the next day.

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[316] I.e. in the dream.

[317] His master eventually dies in battle with the Spartans. The envoy's death by proxy is unusual.

[318] Both Peter and the envoy's visions feature them in conflicts over "sancta", yet both express more general senses in which protagonists (one vicariously) struggle against the divine will.

[319] He is also struck by a stone.

[320] Suet *Aug.*91:2 et sim. as listed in A2§18.3.1.

[321] Suet.*Galb.*4:3.

[322] Suet.*Galb.*18:2.

[323] Cf. Mal 3:8.

[324] Suet *Aug.*94:8.

[325] Presumably for a disrespectful violation of religious protocol.

[326] Recognition in a *cognitive* sense occurs in riddling colonisation oracles.

5.2.3 Later Epic and Novels

The *Argonautica* includes two cases of enigmatic speech in dreams. In the first, sea–Nymphs offer Jason an incomprehensible hexameter at the close of an otherwise plain message.

> "when Amphitrite has .. loosed Poseidon's swift-wheeled car, then .. pay your mother a recompense for all her travail when she bare you so long in her womb."[327]

The interpretation comes to light only later when the Argonauts see a huge horse leaping out of the sea, discerning, less obviously, that their "mother" is the Argo herself, which they must carry overland to reach the Tritonian lake[328]. The second occurs in the hybrid visual dream of Euphemus. A clod of earth he has been given in an earlier apparition is surreally suckled and turns into a woman, who as nurse to his children, requests that she be restored to the "daughters of Nereus and allowed to dwell near Anaphe". Via a number of poetic and mythological convolutions, this predicts the creation of the island of Calliste[329].

Although Vergil has a preference for message dreams, none is specifically enigmatic. Some, however are *vague* and require further clarification as Aeneas is led on his mission to found Rome[330].

Whilst the novels establish much of their confusion via dreams and particularly semi–theorematic and other visual cases, the number featuring enigmatic speech is again, modest[331]. Besides a trivial case involving a horse in Apuleius[332], the strongest examples are from Heliodorus[333]. Early in the story, Isis speaks to the bandit Thyamis about his captive, the Ethiopian princess, Charikleia[334].

> ".. you shall have her and not have her; you shall … slay her, but she shall not be slain."

This paradoxical promise causes Thyamis considerable perplexity. Hanging mysteriously over much of Book 1, its ambiguity both fuels Thyamis' relentless pursuit but also conceals his undoing. His sexual interpretation of "having" and "slaying" is conventional, but covetous. But after losing her to a rival robber band, he "interpreted his dream quite differently", "cursed the goddess … for her deceit" and resolved to kill

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[327] *Argo*.4:1308-1329.

[328] Portent in *Argo*.4:1363-69 and interpretation by Peleus in ll.1370-79. Amphitrite is the traditional consort of Poseidon, and the horse, apparently is his "ἅρμα εὔτροχον". The horse charges off inland, indicating the direction.

[329] *Argo*.4:1731-1745. The clod is given in ll.1550-53 and the eventual relevance to Calliste explained in ll.1755-1764. The overall effect is not unlike a colonisation oracle.

[330] Cf. the sequence *Aen*.2:270-297, 2:771-795, 3:85-89, 3:96, 3:147-185 etc.

[331] Only 3/29 message dreams (as listed in A2§17 n.4) and 1/32 of the other visual dreams (A2§17 n.8).

[332] Apul *Met.*11:20.1- 11:20.1-5.

[333] On the riddling conception of the entire plot, cf. Morgan (1994) and Bartsch (1989: 99-108).

[334] Hld.1.18-1.19.

Charikleia[335]. Later, a new villain arises in the form of Arsake, the wife of a Persian satrap, this time with jealous designs on Charikleia's beloved, Theagenes. After her failure to get Charikleia burned at the stake, the lovers receive simultaneous dream oracles[336]. Although both have their riddling aspect, they are not ultimately designed to deceive, but to play on a long–running and amusing contrast between the pessimism of Theagenes and the optimism of Charikleia. Theagenes' word,

> "Ethiopia's land with a maiden shalt thou see // Tomorrow from Arsake's bonds shalt thou be free."

should be encouraging, yet Theagenes manages to turn it into a dark allegory of death[337], leaving the more upbeat Charikleia to suggest "Perhaps the maiden is me …". Her own oracle, however, is genuinely more tricky:

> "If you wear a 'pantarbe', fear not the power of flame // Miracles may come to pass: for Fate 'tis easy game."

Featuring a wordplay between παντάρβη (a gemstone, possibly ruby) and the adjective πανταρβής (fearing all), it reveals that it was her *jewellery* that secured her recent deliverance and would do so again[338]. Thus, in the *Ethiopian Story*, although the forms are similar, riddling messages function differently in the dreams of heroes and villains, even if misunderstanding temporarily afflicts all. In so far as Acts has been viewed as displaying novelistic influences, that Peter is on his own, baffled by his riddling "voice", and as yet without a clear outcome in view, places his perplexity closer to that of Thyamis than the lovers. For the moment, he too must become a prisoner of events until a meaning is made clear.

5.2.4 Summary and Synthesis

We have seen that enigmatic speech in Graeco–Roman dreams[339], whether from gods, human figures or simply "voices" can involve (1) literary quotes or mythological references (2) verse or prose of a broadly oracular style (3) other ambiguous, paradoxical, or dissimulating statements (4) bizarre or ethically dubious instructions (5) statements displaying contextual aporia[340]. These are hardly watertight divisions, with those receiving utterances of types (4) and (5) wondering if devices from types (1)–(3) are actually involved. Although all these can occur in either classical dream form, types (1), (2) and (4), which are known in other prophetic contexts are often seen in message dreams. The

[335] Hld.1:30.

[336] Hld.8:11.

[337] He takes Ethiopia and the maiden as Hades and Persephone, and "release from bonds" as death.

[338] Given as "birth tokens", they included a ruby ring with magical powers, which will later prove her identity.

[339] I.e. in addition to cases where missing words are suggested purely by visual imagery, as in Artemidorus.

[340] This refers to the disorientation of the reader or listener, and is thus a little different from the use of the word within Socratic dialogue.

particularly "erudite" types (1) and (2) can, however, be overheard incidentally in the general visual dreams of the well–educated[341]. All utterances occurring in visual dreams may develop some or all of their sense of enigma in relation to the dream imagery, as well as the dreamer's situation. Type (5), occurring in primarily popular and naturalistic accounts, can involve plain statements rendered inexplicable by their lack of clear connection either to visual imagery or other aspects of context[342]. Solving the riddle in these cases comes down to establishing what the connection is. Even a totally disjoint remark can still function as a κληδών[343].

Some of the above modes can also be seen within rhetorical, philosophical and pedagogic discourse. All public speakers were expected to be able to use literary and mythological allusions, refer to the more famous oracles, write hexameters, or devise maxims in a variety of gnomic and paradoxical forms. In addition, the Socratic tradition, and particularly in some of its later Hellenistic manifestations could use utterances of types (3) and (4) in dialogues via unannounced remarks of an ambiguous, hyperbolic or transgressive nature which hearers are left to negotiate unaided.

In terms of the purpose of enigmatic speech, similar justifications are applied to both divine revelation and human teaching. Thus by paradoxical challenges that baffled some, Philosophers did generally intend a useful outcome, and in the process, separated the inquiring from the complacent. Gods could share this didactic rationale too, although their speech was fraught with additional dangers. Besides simply lying, gods might obfuscate to test, delay or dis–inform. Adding a cruel twist to the judgement of enemies, opaque speech could also be used to make as yet imperfect heroes "sweat" for a while. Ironically, whilst solutions to riddles directed at the intransigent wicked can seem to stare them in the face[344], those given to the bewildered righteous might prove unsolvable until some later moment of recognition[345].

As with philosophical discourse, enigmatic utterances in dreams and oracles can lead to dialogue. Although not set in dream academies, such dialogue can nevertheless have a pedagogic feel, and can in some cases involve Socratic–style dissimulation. However, in dreams, exchanges can develop a certain surreal aspect where the relationship between oneiric conversation and real life might create a further puzzle[346]. Whilst answers can satisfy some inquirers, the protests of others can assume the proportions of a contest.

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[341] As Artem.*Oneir.*4:59.27-57 and Aristides.

[342] As Lucullus in Plu.*Luc.*23:3 re the message "Go forward a little etc.", discussed above.

[343] A speech-based oracle based on randomly overheard utterances.

[344] As Croesus' "great empire", Hdt.1:53.

[345] Such cases almost always feature "improper" riddles, as Peter's vision.

[346] As in Plutarch's dream of the Lydian envoy, *Arist.*19:1-2.

Always perilous, such stand–offs can prove distressing for those unaccustomed to opposing gods in real life, but whose "oneiric selves" are inexplicably emboldened. Nevertheless, good reasons for such dream standoffs might transpire later. Such encounters emphasise the gap between human and divine and the need to wait upon the god's direction. In some, the gods themselves can speak or behave uncharacteristically, leaving the human to do the correcting[347]. Here divine posturing can again assume the proportions of didactic dissimulation, although not making the experience any less uncomfortable for the dreamer[348].

In the light of chapter 4, the possibility of natural causes could further complicate matters. Where Hellenistic theory was open to both human and divine dimensions, enigmatic speech itself became ambiguous. The natural capacity for obliqueness and symbolism in dreams could extend to the creation of riddling divine utterances for "gods" if that helped the soul attract the attention of the waking mind.

6 Enigmatic Speech in Acts and in Peter's Vision

6.1 Introduction

Although the biblical tradition generally distances itself from the idea of enigmatic divine speech, and that this is broadly reflected in the generally traditional dreams and visions of the NT, at least two other visions in Acts do seem to show elements of such speech, in addition to Peter's vision.

6.2 Elsewhere in Acts

6.2.1 Paul's Macedonian Vision

One possible case is Paul's vision of the man from Macedonia where the unusual human dream figure alone indicates a certain Greek cast[349]. Although the meaning must start from the identification of the figure, it is infrequently noted that the request "Come over … and help us" is enigmatic, presupposing an unknown context, an unidentified "us" and an unspecified need. It is certainly less transparent than the personified Crete asking Apollonius of Tyana to "visit her before sailing to Italy"[350]. When Pervo suggests that Paul would be *unlikely* to imagine this was a request for money or tents, he fails fully to appreciate Miller's point that the statement does still have to be interpreted[351]. Indeed the

[347] As Quintus in Suet *Aug.*94:8.

[348] Cf. the three-fold refusal of Asclepius to help Aristides in *Or*.47.71.

[349] Acts 16:5-10, cf. Miller (2004, 2007), Pervo (2009: 391).

[350] Philostr.*Vit.Ap*.4:34

[351] Pervo (2009: 192) cf. Miller (2004: 1-2, 134, 137, 142, 148).

reported conclusion "that God had called us to proclaim the good news to them" not only implies interpretation, but specifically *group discussion* of the vision[352].

The enigma of the utterance comes from its contextual aporiae[353], a feature known more from popular than literary traditions and does not rely on wordplay in any specific element. If anything, the curious sense of familiarity gives a time–shifted feel[354]. It is certainly a general departure from Jewish tradition that Paul and his companions manage to interpret an enigmatic statement from an anonymous *foreign* figure in terms of the will of their own god[355]. The final report "we concluded that …" is reminiscent of similar formulae in Aristides[356].

6.2.2 Paul's Conversion Vision

Although much studied in other regards, the modality of the enigmatic speech in Paul's conversion vision is relatively neglected. Although the connection between the initial question, "Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?" (Acts 9:4b) and Paul's campaign against the Christians seems self–evident, the withholding of the voice's identity and the teasing accusation constitutes enigmatic speech. Its purpose is to lift the veil on Paul behaviour, not initially provide instructions.

The obscuring mechanisms display a nested structure where the lack of identification of the speaker constitutes an outer frame, within which lies an unstated maxim that "to hurt what a man values is to hurt the man"[357]. If Paul solves this in "one go", he incriminates himself, and so stalls with a request for identification. The famous reply "I am Jesus, whom you are persecuting" (Acts 9:5) solves half of the riddle but still invites him to make the final connection. Paul's silence leaves the completion to the readers, and the immediate switch to practicalities presupposes the point conceded.

It is possible that one or more literary allusions add further depth. In the third re–telling of this story in Acts 26:12-18[358], the voice adds "It hurts you to kick against the goads"[359]. This reflects a popular Greek aphorism[360] whose use in Euripides' *Bacchae* is

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[352] Both the requested activity and God as originator are mentioned only at this point (Miller, 2007: 10). The "we" voice of Acts is heard here for the very first time (Miller, 2004: 133).

[353] Type 5 in §5.2.4.

[354] Cf. the curious ἐκαθάρισεν in Peter's vision.

[355] Cf. Miller (2004: 135-137).

[356] Cf. "In the end I decided .." (*Or*.38.2, 47.7, 49.10 et sim.)

[357] This is not a Greek aphorism as such, but the essential thought is well known.

[358] I.e. during the trial before Agrippa. On the differences between the three accounts, cf. Marguerat (2002: 179-204), who sees the last specially oriented to explaining the origins of the Gentile mission.

[359] The Western text assimilates Acts 9 to this reading, as noted by Rius-Camps and Read-Heimerdinger (2003: 135) and Pervo (2009: 249-250). Most see the variation of wording as deliberate, although Barrett (1994: 449-450) notes the possibility of haplography. For additional discussion, cf. Johnson (1992: 435), Witherington (1998: 745) and Czachesz (2002: 82 n.72).

particularly suggestive, since other aspects of the plot also fit[361]. In this play about a persecuted religious movement, these words are spoken by the god Dionysus to Pentheus after complaining "I suffer ill at your hands"[362]. Although Paul's dialogue does not depend on the allusion, it would not be beyond Luke's competence to include it[363]. If casting a glance at Artemidorus' observations on the dreams of the educated, he may also be making a statement about Paul[364]. The use of an aphorism within riddling speech that invites solution by *specification* is significant alone, in view of the appearance of such a form in the dialogue of Peter's vision[365].

6.3 Peter's Vision in Acts 10

We shall here bring together some of the passing comments and made during the above survey to form some provisional conclusions about the nature and possible background of the enigmatic speech in Peter's vision. A form–critical hybrid blending both literary and popular motifs, this dream outstrips others in Acts for complexity and degree of enigma. Its eclectic features suggest a mimetic and conceptual engagement with Graeco–Roman tradition whilst yet treating a very Jewish theme. Unusually, Peter's vision operates entirely at the cognitive level, with the practical instructions provided separately (Acts 10:19-20). Unique in admitting no understanding at all, Peter remains perplexed until the events at Cornelius' house[366].

Whilst the divine utterances are not quotations, they do have a dense, allusive and literary feel[367], the first as a poetic command, and the second an aphorism[368]. Both also display contextual aporiae, the first via its lack of qualification[369], and the second in its uncertain referent[370]. Peter's protest itself might be a literary allusion to Ezekiel but may serve only to indicate a *degree* of disgust. The initial enigmatic command, known in general terms in other oracles and dreams, commends a violation of sacred law, placing it in the severest category. Others receiving commands of this type, if unable to negotiate a

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[360] Cf. the references in Euripides, Aeschylus, Terence, Pindar etc. noted by Conzelmann (1987: 210-211b), Witherington (1998: 743), Polhill (1992: 502 n.162), Pervo (2009: 631 n.55).

[361] The general correspondence between Paul's dialogue and that of Pentheus would stand, even without the goads aphorism, although Lentz (1993: 84-86) notes parallels also with Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (esp. l.1624).

[362] Eurip.*Bacc.*778-795.

[363] As Pervo (2009: 631-632 and n.56), who presents evidence for the influence of Euripides elsewhere in Acts.

[364] Artem.*Oneir.*4:59.27-57 et sim., cf. the citizenship claim in Acts 16:37 and Paul's tour de force in Acts 17:16-34.

[365] Genus–for–species is one of Aristotle's four modes of ambiguity and especially used in Greek oracles. "What God cleanses etc." in Peter's vision operates in this way too.

[366] Cf. Plunkett (1985: 468).

[367] Note Brawley's (1993: 427) term "veil of brevity" re the enigmatic speech in John's Gospel.

[368] Ch.2, §3.6.3.

[369] I.e. the expected but missing reminder to distinguish carefully between the animals.

[370] The aphorism sounds like something that might be said by a Jewish popular or wisdom teacher, but is of uncertain meaning in relation to the dream imagery.

substitute[371], erred on the side of caution and complied literally, a dilemma explored by Socrates[372]. However, that this command is intra–oneiric is important and constitutes a rather different idiom, operating primarily in relation to the imaginary scene[373]. Any meaning in real life would remain speculative. Whilst transgressive actions in dreams were normally bad signs, this could be reversed[374] and images could end up pointing in perhaps unobvious directions[375].

Peter's refusal and the divine rebuke compare with similar oracular and dream dialogues which sometimes added threats, and riddling misdirections intended to prevent the correct response[376]. The rebuke here ("that which God has etc.") displays an aphoristic form known from both popular Jewish teaching and moralising oracles, but its exact application is not indicated. The rebuke may, like the initial command, be primarily *intra–oneiric*[377], and therefore only invite wider reflection rather than imply a certain referent[378].

Although neither utterance provides evidence of obvious allegory or wordplay, the "discriminating" and "disputing" *acted out* in the dream, are conceptually linked to the missing polysemic word, διακρίνω which does make explicit appearances later[379] and points both to the central theme of the story, as well as a number of incidental details. Such ridding interplay between imagery, action and words is frequent in Artemidorus[380]. This and other bits of oneirocritical "business", suggesting flashes of natural prescience[381], remain "improper" in the sense that they do not permit a solution of the whole until events unfold.

For all the embedded details, the overall meaning of the dream is not found in any one of the utterances, but in the dialogue as a whole[382]. This contrasts with Paul's conversion vision, where once individual utterances are decoded, a meaningful dialogue emerges. With Peter, where no utterance conceals its meaning through a specific ambiguity, the entire

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[371] As with Ezekiel, Aristides and Pelopidas.

[372] Cf. Nozick (1995: 146).

[373] "Rise, kill and eat" would have no meaning without the visual imagery. The second saying, "those things that God has cleansed … etc." may also be related to what is seen in the vision, albeit enigmatically.

[374] Either via "healing by opposites", or more general semantic devices.

[375] As in Epidauros, B15 and Plutarch's dream of the Lydian envoy in *Arist.*19:1-2.

[376] The dream of Titus Latinius in *RA* 7:68.3-7:69.2 is a particularly important example.

[377] The simplest reading of the complaint "do not keep calling unclean" is precisely in relation to Peter's continued resistance to the oneiric command.

[378] E.g. as with the Lydian envoy of Mardonius in Plu.*Arist.*19:1-2, who could not determine the exact referent of his intra-oneiric death from the symbolism or words alone.

[379] I.e. in the word of the Spirit (re contending) and in the later discussions about God not discriminating.

[380] Cf. the examples in §5.1.3 above and the gladiator caught by his mother literally "wallowing" in blood in *Oneir.*5:58. For modern perspectives on the linguistic nature of dreaming, see Kilroe (2001).

[381] Cf. the curious link between the three-fold repetition and the number of visitors noted in ch.4.

[382] Paul's conversation contains ridding elements, but is otherwise understandable as a conversation. The exchanges in Peter's vision are so opaque that the conversation is scarcely meaningful.

dialogue remains nonsensical. That two parties are at loggerheads over something to do with "discrimination" provides the correct starting point.

We have already noted that the pattern of command, refusal and encouragement has been frequently linked to the so–called commissioning narratives[383]. Whilst some NT stories certainly fit this pattern[384], that Peter's vision is identified in such terms seems misguided[385]. Neither the curious divine–human reversal nor Peter's ultimate refusal fit this pattern. Indeed, the presence of a "command" does not always imply a commission[386]. Several Graeco–Roman stories use problematic instructions not to set out a task so much as to raise an *issue*. Whether human objections are rejected or accepted[387] the dialogue's purpose is didactic rather than prescriptive. Above all, it is the entirely intra–oneiric nature of Peter's command that cannot allow it to be counted as a commission in any *direct* sense[388]. All of this makes a simple intention to abolish the food laws extremely unlikely.

This suggestion of a pedagogic or rhetorical model is worth some further exploration. Whilst direct portrayal of pedagogy in dreams is rather uncommon[389], imagining oneself in a rhetorical or dramatic contest can sometimes symbolise more general anxieties[390]. Philosophical problem solving, divine dissimulation, fraught contention and ethical dilemmas in such dialogues all draw upon agonistic conceptions[391]. When gods make provocative suggestions or reduce dreamers to inconsistency (and they respond in kind[392]), a Socratic idiom is evident, with the more surreal dialogues not far from the "μᾰνία" of Diogenes[393]. Above all, it permits a pedagogic understanding of why the gods and the

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[383] Developed particularly to describe OT prophetic call narratives, the basic idea is discussed by Habel (1965), Kuntz (1967), Baltzer (1968), Richter (1970), Long (1972), Zimmerli (1979) and others. The idiom has been extended to include New Testament texts including Luke-Acts by Mullins (1976), Hubbard (1977, 1978) and Czachesz (2002, 2007).

[384] With Hubbard (op.cit.) finding 25 NT cases and Mullins (op.cit.) 37, one might question this ubiquity. Of all these, only 5 contain the protest element (Zechariah in Luke 1:5–25, Mary in Luke 1:26–38, Ananias in Acts 9:10–17, Peter in Acts 10:9-23 and Paul in Acts 22:17-21). Of these, the visions of Paul and Peter fit least well, in so far as neither really contain commissions in a direct sense although Paul's does include one practical instruction.

[385] E.g. by Mullins (1976: 606), Hubbard (1977: 118-119) and Czachesz (2002: 36). Whilst Sorensen (2005: 11-13) accepts the broad emphasis of Hubbard and Mullins, he is able to show that the fit with Acts is less good than supposed (ibid., 13). Miller (2004), too, questions its appropriateness at various points in his discussion of Luke-Acts and the Troas vision.

[386] Hanson (1978: 83) actually realises this theoretically, but still opts for the traditional application in real life.

[387] Rejection: cf. Aristodicus in Hdt.1:158.1-159 and the Lydian envoy in Plu *Arist.*19:1-2. Re acceptance: cf. Aristid.*Or.*47.71 and *Acts Pet.*22 discussed by Stoops (1983: 133-134).

[388] Miller (1994: 84) gets close to realising this. Whether one should see the vision as encouraging transgression (Brodie, 2004: 437), remains a moot point.

[389] On dream "training" from gods or other philosophers, cf. Aristid.*Or.*27.4, 42.11, 50.19, 25-26.

[390] Aristides declaims in dreams, or hears others doing so in *Or.*47.16, 35, 42. As a frustrated professional, these count as wish-fulfilments for him, but for others, such contests might symbolise other forms of competition, as in Plu.*Dem.*29:2-7.

[391] Cf. the intellectual jousting in Hdt.1:158.1-159.

[392] While dissimulating, Socrates invited the criticism of students, cf. Peter's criticism of the voice's invitation.

[393] As D.L.6.*Diog.*54.2.

human soul might have a preference for enigmatic dreams, in both intellectual and moral senses.

Within Jewish tradition, divine dissimulation and other didactic accommodations were identified by Philo as one of the more acceptable senses in which it might be admitted that God speaks "enigmatically"[394]. It is thus not unreasonable to see Peter's vision as a dream–like distortion of an agonistic didactic scene[395]. Here the animals become less heavenly revelation than halakhic "gedanken" experiment[396], concealing a paradox that allows the master to propel the student towards logical impasse or aporia and finally corner them with a clinching aphorism or כְּלָל[397]. As in the Greek models, personal inconsistency is as much a target as theoretical fallacy alone.

If at the theoretical level, the dialogue exposes reactionary association halakha and an overly narrow eschatology, then the scene is *also* about personal inconsistency[398]. Peter is enabled to articulate what he would feel about a *clear* religious failure to "discriminate", albeit in a conversation where he reproves the deity for failing to spot the problem. With his own comprehensive denial of ever having done anything such thing still ringing in his ears, he is implicitly invited to reflect upon his identical blanket response to matters categorically less problematic, such as Jew–Gentile association where his stance amounts to an illegitimate assumption of intrinsic Gentile uncleanness, which would, in any case, be amply rectified by the moral assurance of the indwelling Spirit. The purpose of the vision is thus not to force Peter to eat unclean animals, but to "eat his words"[399].

In the light of chapter 4, this dialogue is not merely enigmatic, but with its riddling rebuke, approaches the levels of opacity sometimes given to seal the fate of the intransigent. For one otherwise aligning himself with the divine will, the experience thus also becomes nightmarish. A transgressive command of truly Cynic proportions and a total lack of progress in the discussion leave a very distressed Peter at loggerheads with the impossible request of the voice[400]. Whether or not Peter had been thinking about the issue, Luke may be seeking to indicate that for some Jewish Christians, feelings about Jew–Gentile association constituted a "nightmare", which, like the distorted logic of the dream, reflected a halakhic mire created by fear and oversimplification. Such a reading would help make

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[394] As noted in §4.2 above. On anthropomorphic accommodation in rabbinical and later Christian thought, cf. Stern (1992) and Benin (1993).

[395] Cf. Derrett's (1988: 213) observation of the overtones of contest in this dialogue.

[396] The heavenly voice and the descent of the sheet may constitute humorous glances in the direction of apocalyptic, but are no more than this; rather, the tone is didactic.

[397] As ch.2, §3.6.3, 3.8.

[398] Cf. Gal 2, where the apostle is also accused of hypocrisy.

[399] Cf. the ending of Jonah and Gal 2 as above.

[400] Frustration elements, as ch.4.

sense of the otherwise bewildering fact that Luke has Peter terrified by an abolitionist "spectre", the very fear of which threatens the acceptance of the moderate and enlightened position Luke wishes to commend[401].

There is a number of additional apologetic reasons for taking the risk of entangling human fear and theological paradox in a medium otherwise supposed to be providing "revelation"[402]. The first is actually to engender some sympathy and understanding for those involved. The second is conceivably, to help all admit that neither clear thought, nor even divine revelation ever entirely release us from the human epistemological condition[403].

7 Concluding Observations

Enigmatic divine speech is strongly expected in the Greek tradition, although is not uniform in occurrence or modality. Although the oracular idiom clearly passes into message dreams, Greek dreams show other patterns of enigmatic speech. Some of these draw on the world of popular and therapeutic dreaming, and others, although less frequently, intellectual and rhetorical contexts. In the Jewish tradition, whilst prophecy and particularly apocalyptic had been able to develop degrees of obscurity, the more specifically oracular style of riddling was generally avoided. Message dreams were traditionally plain, and the more enigmatic symbolic dreams usually given to foreigners. Although mainly using traditional biblical message dreams, Acts has a number with more specifically Greek features and two with enigmatic utterances, as well as the more elaborate hybrid case of Acts 10 with its impenetrable didactic dialogue. As a dream–like rendering of a pattern known from Jewish halakhic discourse, it also reflects the Socratic modes already adopted by Jewish teachers. Although the result is almost unique in literature of this kind, its logic and influences can credibly be identified, and the combined halakhic and oneirocritical competencies presupposed would seem plausibly within reach of Luke's readership.

We know that in the later institutional pedagogy of Babylonian Judaism, the image of the heavenly academy, populated by deceased or even "visiting" rabbis became a popular device. Here, God as anthropomorphised "divine rabbinical master" engages extensively in Socratic–style dissimulation, including feigned ignorance of the law, and even halakhic defeat in surprisingly open contests with his students. That such institutional trappings are not present in the itinerant world of the Gospels and Acts is not at all surprising[404], however, the Greek tradition provides some evidence for the appropriation of the images and

[401] Precisely a Socratic didactic strategy.

[402] "Risks" well understood by the Stoics, as McPherran (1991: 351) and Brown (2006: 283).

[403] In part, one of the themes of Miller (2004).

[404] The Socratic patterns found by Robbins (1984) were specifically associated with the itinerant/Cynic tradition rather than with institutional patterns from the academies.

rhetorical patterns of philosophical pedagogy in dreams. Of two examples in Lucian[405], one autobiographical dream features a tug of war between "παιδεία" and "τέχνη" (as two women) fighting for Lucian's vocation[406]. In a more humorous elaboration, Micyllus finds himself having a highly surreal conversation with a cock claiming to be Pythagoras, advocating Cynic poverty[407]. Whilst far removed from Peter's vision, these accounts provide evidence for some experimentation at least. Although not quite comedic, that Peter's vision may serve to lighten a dispute that might otherwise be overwrought is possible[408].

In the next chapter, the above findings will be taken into a discussion of the contrast between Peter and Cornelius' revelations within their double dream framework.

[405] The satirist Lucian (c. 125-180+CE) has been routinely brought into scholarly discussions of Acts, as recently reviewed by Adams (2010), with reflections on the earlier work of Bauckham (2006).

[406] Lucian, *Career*, text in Harmon et al., (1961: 3:214-233) and discussed in Gera (1995).

[407] Lucian, *The Dream of the Cock*, text in Harmon et al. (1961: 2:172-239). Noticing that the bird both *talks* and *eats beans*, Micyllus complains, "Either you lied .. or else you sinned against your own laws!" (i.e. re Pythagorean "silence" and bean-free diet, ibid., 4, Harmon, op.cit. p.180-181). The Cock replies that his metamorphosis allows a certain contextualisation. As with Peter, the dream "metamorphosis" produces a paradox and yet provides unexpected didactic possibilities.

[408] This is the implicit stance of Jónsson (1985), although he does not specifically connect this with the difficult apologetic agendas of Acts.

Chapter 6

Chapter 6 – Peter's Vision and Double Dreams

1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to see whether the new reading of Peter's vision developed above makes sense within the double dream of which it is now a part, a location that has been questioned. Hanson saw it as an awkward addition to a simpler story in which Peter and Cornelius received straightforward instructions[1]. This was based on its lack of practical connection to the situation and the disjunction between its imagery and Luke's interpretation. The working hypothesis here is that whilst sources may be involved, Hanson's observations may yet be consistent with design rather than accident.

Peter's vision is certainly "different". Only superficially biblical, its overtones of natural and anxiety dreaming and its enigmatic divine speech possibly attest a fluid and more popular Hellenistic tradition. Although it can still be read as engaging critically with its halakhic and community contexts, its pairing with Cornelius' vision rightly seems strained. A veritable cascade of contrasts – naturalistic vs. supernatural, hybrid vs. message, enigmatic vs. clear, rebuke vs. commendation, didactic vs. prescriptive etc., makes Peter's vision is almost *studied* in its reversal of expectations. The purpose of this chapter is thus to compare the Peter Cornelius pair with other double dreams to test a hypothesis of "intelligent design". If it could be shown that such an extreme pairing was nevertheless recognisable and meaningful, this would do two things. Firstly, it would help to make a socially and halakhically *engaged* reading of Peter's vision with the present context more reasonable[2]. Secondly, it would allow these very contrasts to address the reader further. For example, that it is the Apostle who has the difficulty here and not the outsider constitutes an irony quite appreciated by Luke and seen in other negotiations of identity of the imperial period.

All of this would help establish a consistency in Luke's perspective throughout Acts that would better fit authorial competence and allow Peter's "voice" to make its subversive suggestion without, in the end, undermining Acts 15 or 21. I shall comment on aspects of the Peter–Cornelius story while working through comparative material. These findings will be summarised briefly before a concluding discussion of the apologetic agendas and functions of the double dream within the Lukan programme.

[1] Now visible in Acts 10:19-20, as Hanson (1978: 82-84).

[2] The "ill-fitting and extraneous" judgement makes pursuing these links rather pointless.

2 The Nature and Function of Double Dreams

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 Previous Research

Double dreams remain under-researched. Since Wikenhauser (1948) consolidated and extended previous German scholarship, little focussed work has been done . Hanson (1978: 34-50), in his study of Acts 10:1-11:18, included form–critical observations and a firmer statement of function[3]. Most subsequent works depend on Wikenhauser directly or via Hanson[4]. In practice, terminological confusion persists, observations remain scattered, and the double dream attracts only curiosity status.

2.1.2 Terminology and Definitions

"Double dream" is the usual translation of Wikenhauser's "Doppeltraum"[5], used to indicate dreams or visions[6] received by different parties. Unfortunately, the term is used by some for successive dreams coming to the *same* person[7] or dreams within dreams[8] which, although interesting, will not be considered further here. Wikenhauser's definition of "parallel revelations, … which cooperate within one … purpose"[9] is somewhat broad and has led to various refinements, e.g. by Hanson, who emphasises "correspondence" and "mutuality"[10]. The device can link other types of revelation, including divine visitations, apparitions, oracles, portents, miracles etc.[11], making double *dreams* part of a wider class of story.

2.1.3 Selection of Examples

With the two cases in Acts[12], Wikenhauser lists 12 dreams from Graeco–Roman literature and a further five from the apocryphal Acts and Eusebius[13]. Identification of other

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[3] Hanson's later and broader study (Hanson, 1980: 1414-1419) showed no fundamental change of definition.

[4] Hanson (1978: 34-50, 1980: 1414-1419), Gnuse (1996: 108), Miller (2004: 114), Sorensen (2005: 15), Fitzmyer (1998: 453), Noegel (2007: 136 n.94), Dodson (2006: 118-124) et al.

[5] Wikenhauser (1948). "Korrespondenzvisionen" is known, but less widely used (Barrett, 1994: 495), cf. also "dual vision", Handy (1998: 22) and Prince (2005: 280); "twin vision", Keener (1993 on Acts 9:11-12), "twinned confirming dreams", MacDonald (2003a: 21); "dream coincidence", Gollnick (1999: 44).

[6] Wikenhauser and Hanson (1978: 2) allow a single term to cover both, as Humphrey (1995: 72).

[7] Oppenheim (1956: 208), Fishbane (1985: 454), Jeffers (1996: 46, 131), Wesselius (2005: 250, 269), Pelling (1996: 73), Carey (1998: 50, 89 n.574), Lowery (1999: 89), Noegel (2007: 136 n.94), Paul (1991: 224) and Stone (1990: 101). For further notes, cf. A4 n.12.

[8] Cederstrom (1971: 28 and n.57), Behr (1968: 195 and n.77, 8) and Miller (1988: 330 n.20 [p.337]). For further notes, cf. A4.n.13.

[9] Wikenhauser (1948: 100), "paralleler Offenbarungen, die an zwei verschiedene Personen (kreise) ergehen, aber zu ein und demselben Zweck zusammenwirken".

[10] Hanson (1978: 34, 46-47), "the correspondence .. and the resultant circumstance of mutuality form the crux of the report" (ibid., 47).

[11] E.g. the "companion" oracles discussed by Parke and Wormell (1956: 1:250). For further notes, cf. A4 n.14.

[12] I.e. Paul and Ananias from 9:10-16 (A4, No.52) and Peter and Cornelius from Acts 10:1-11:18 (A4, No.53).

[13] He goes on to discuss a later patristic (Wikenhauser, 109-110, his No.18) and an early medieval case (ibid., 110-111, his No.19).

cases has been sporadic and inconsistent[14]. I attempt to rationalise and expand the tally within coherent bounds by allowing other revelations similar to dreams and viewing pairing somewhat flexibly[15]. The timescale and genre of sources is also set as broadly as possible, subject to relevance to Luke's literary world[16]. On this basis, some 60 cases are listed in appendix 4 with bibliographic and other notes. Duplicates and variants are discussed where this sheds light on tradition history[17]. Whilst hardly definitive, this does provide a wider base for comparative work.

2.1.4 Origins

Not traditionally viewed as native to Jewish[18] or even Roman traditions[19], the double dream is often seen as characteristically Hellenistic[20], and especially common in the novels[21]. This is an oversimplification, however[22]. Forms of double dream were known in the ANE in proxy incubation contexts[23] when instead of just the envoy, the monarch also had a dream of their own[24]. In a similar vein, from an early time in Greek healing cults, a coincidence (σύμπτωμα) between the dream of an incubant and that of an attendant, relative or slave was thought therapeutically auspicious[25]. In turn, in epic literary contexts, although not necessarily presented as *dreams*, double divine visitations or theophanies are known in both Homer and the Pentateuch[26]. The double dreams of the NT and Greek novels may thus in part arise as part of a more general trend towards the use of *dreams* as opposed to other modes of divine revelation[27].

2.1.5 Literary Development

Whatever its origins, the double dream did indeed proliferate in the Hellenistic and Roman periods[28]. Whilst some see the "dream coincidence" as a folk motif in its own

[14] E.g. as parallels of existing accounts or cases of the "wrong" kind, as perhaps in Conzelmann (1987: 72 n.9).

[15] E.g. divine visitations, apparitions etc. Both explicit and implicit pairing may be involved.

[16] The relative stability of dream reporting (Oppenheim, 1956: 187) and the interplay between experience and different literary forms make this generally justified.

[17] Hanson (1978: 48-50) showed how synoptic comparison can be useful in this regard.

[18] Bovon (2002: 48).

[19] Kragelund (2001: 79 n.79).

[20] Haenchen (1971: 108), Bovon (2002: 48), Czachesz (2002: 233-234), Humphrey (2007: 86).

[21] Conzelmann (1987: 72), Humphrey (1995: 72) et sim.

[22] The idiom is quite possibly universal, with several Chinese double dreams noted by Li (1999).

[23] I.e. where a servant is sent to procure a dream of guidance for the monarch (Oppenheim, 1956: 188, 199, 221-3).

[24] E.g. the dreams of Assurbanipal and the priest of Ishtar (No.3), cf. two of Li's (1999) examples.

[25] Meir (1966: 316), based on his monograph of 1949 (ET 2003) and cf. Gollnick (1999: 34, 44).

[26] A4, Nos.4, 5, 7, 8. From here on, double dream numbers will be assumed to refer to the list in appendix 4 (A4).

[27] Cf. Lange (1997: 394) et sim.

[28] Cf. the list in appendix 4.

right[29], others envisage a primarily literary artifice[30]. That some writers did construct such dreams is certain[31]. Nevertheless, literary devices must play to cultural interests[32], allowing the Peter–Cornelius unit a basic recognisability whatever its tradition history. Scholars debate whether the novelists or historiographers provide a better window onto the development of this motif, with the former able to be more creative with their material than the latter. Thus beyond Luke's general Hellenistic borrowings[33], a proper reading of Acts 10:1-11:18 may depend on assumptions about genre as well as competence[34]. The oddities of the Peter–Cornelius story are sometimes read in terms of the awkward hand of a historiographer, with neither an original tradition to hand, nor the full freedom of a novelist. This too may be an over–polarisation, and I shall assume the kind of compositional coherence achieved elsewhere in the work.

2.2 Variety and Function

2.2.1 The Links Between the Revelations

2.2.1.1 Simultaneous

Some scholars make simultaneity an expectation or a preference[35]. Whilst traditionally auspicious in incubation settings[36], simultaneity is not always evident, particularly in narrative settings. Although Kim questions the three year gap for Alexander and Jaddus[37], most accept it as a proper example. Indeed different timing and order may constitute important means of nuancing the plot.

2.2.1.2 Identical

Other scholars assume that such dreams should be identical or very similar[38]. Whilst no doubt striking, of the 60 or so dream pairs surveyed, only 15 are identical or similar in

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[29] Scholars speak of this and other miraculous phenomena as "aretalogical". On the aretalogical nature of double dreams, cf. Löning (1974), Haacker (1980: 234-251) and Roloff (1981: 164-67) but more recently, Pervo (1987: 73-74) and on the literary background, Hadas and Smith (1965).

[30] Hanson (1978: 49) concedes the possibility of tradition, but both he and others (e.g. Kim, 2003) see the Alexander Jaddus pair as a literary construct, as do Dibelius, Conzelmann, Hanson (1978: 49, 58, 82-83), Pervo (1987: 73 n. 86 (p.164)) et al. in relation to the Peter-Cornelius pair.

[31] Cf. the various synoptically provable cases in Hanson (1978: 42-45, 48-50).

[32] We should not therefore overplay a low (folk) vs. high (elite) distinction (cf. Stephens, 1994, Dowden, 1994, Bowie, 1994).

[33] Re the speeches, miracles and dream and vision accounts, where, for example Humphrey (1995: 82) speaks of a "double-vision *tradition*" (emphasis mine).

[34] I.e. whether to place Luke amongst historians and biographers (as Marshall, 1970) or nearer the novelists (as Pervo, 1987). The importance of genre for Acts 10:1–11:18 is specifically noted by Humphrey (1995: 82).

[35] E.g. Bergman et al. (1980: 425), Oppenheim (1956: 209).

[36] As in n.25 above.

[37] Kim (2003: 439).

[38] Bergman et al. (1980: 425), Gollnick (1999: 34), Gnuse (1996: 241) et sim.

this sense[39], leading Hanson to agree that dreams can be "identical, similar, or *quite different*"[40], so long as related in some manner.

2.2.1.3 Shared

Simultaneous identical dreams are essentially "shared"[41], and some authors understand double dreams in these terms[42]. Whilst public apparitions, or divine visits are well known but perhaps distinct story types[43], group *dreams* are not common, with three ANE reports[44] and five Graeco–Roman ones[45]. Whilst certainly bolstering conviction, these function more like single revelations[46]. Wikenhauser allows "groups" in his definition, so long as the pairwise dynamic is preserved[47], as it is in three cases when an individual dream is paired with a group[48].

2.2.1.4 Confirming

Beyond mere coincidence, others insist that the dreams do, nevertheless, "*confirm* each other"[49]. Given the inevitability of doubt, confirmation is always a proper concern[50], and of the dreams surveyed, over a third perform a function of this kind[51]. This does not mean, however, that they can be reduced to a single "script", as many remain strongly oriented to the individual recipients[52]. Dreamers do not always come to a common understanding[53], nor even manage to compare notes[54]. "Confirmation" may come to the

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[39] There are nine identical dream pairs (Nos.1, 2, 11, 13, 14, 21, 39, 41, 47) and a further six showing only differences in perspective or wording (Nos.6, 9, 26, 27, 29, 36, 37), by no means the majority.

[40] Hanson (1980: 1414). No.55, (cf. Czachesz, 2002: 232-233) relies on a *difference* to provide the "revelation".

[41] Caillois (1966: 35) speaks of "multiple simultaneous dreams".

[42] Oppenheim (1956: 209) discusses shared and double dreams as variants of the same phenomenon.

[43] Together with the NT's problematic resurrection appearances. For the special apologetic problems faced by Luke in these, see Prince (2005).

[44] (1) Assurbanipal's army (A4, No.1) (2) the "others" also receiving Nabonidus' temple dream (A4, No.2) and (3) the dream of the Hittite nobles (A2§1, No.47).

[45] Plu.*Luc.*10:3, *Alex.*24:6, *Tim.*8:1, Paus.2:32.6 and 10:32.4.

[46] Also, groups do not allow the characterisation and plot possibilities open to individuals.

[47] "Kreise" in n.9 above.

[48] Nos.2, 12, 23.

[49] Oppenheim (1956: 209).

[50] As for Xerxes and Artabanus in Hdt.7:8-18.

[51] These include the 15 identical or similar dreams in n.39 above. A further 4 confirm something via distinct but coordinate dreams (Nos.16, 42, 57, 60). 3 are more obliquely related, but also confirm a single revelation after appropriate interpretation (Nos.17, 18, 46).

[52] Without much overlap, as Nos.16, 34, 10, 53.

[53] Especially if one revelation is true and the other, deceiving as No 7 or where different understandings are required, as in the Gnostic "polymorphous" dream in No.55. When Gnuse (1996: 241) claims that Peter and Cornelius come to a "common understanding on Gentiles and kosher food", he rather overstates the case.

[54] This is explicit in remarkably few dreams, and the knowledge is usually only given to one side, as Nos.3, 30, 35, 52, 56 and implicitly in 31, 32, 41. Usually, knowledge of the other's dream comes verbally, but in Nos.3 and 56 one of the dreamers "see" the other party receiving their instructions. Most however, have to discover everything after the event. Whilst this is easy for those in the same place, it is less so for those only linked by a 3rd party, as in Nos.43 and 46. Sometimes characters neither meet, nor discover that the double revelation has happened at all, as in No.4.

readers, but that double dreams serve primarily to convince dreamers of veracity is not always true[55].

2.2.1.5 Coordinate

Hanson requires more broadly that a revelation is somehow "*concerned with, or related* to the other"[56], a relationship we might call "coordination"[57]. Simple practical examples include Achilles and Priam being helped to exchange the body of Hector, Peter going with Cornelius' messengers or Asinius Marcellus and Lucius liaising over Osiris initiation[58]. However, not all of these interrelationships are explicit in quite this sense. In relatively few cases are dreamers told about the other, with coordination often discovered later[59], and were some to have compared dreams, their connection might have been far from clear. Peter's animal vision is not obviously related to Cornelius' in this sense and could stand alone[60]. Of course, the coordination could be enigmatically veiled or indeed, understood in a more conceptual sense. That this is at least possible is suggested from the survey, where of the 33 "coordinate" cases[61], eight, like Peter's vision relate to each other in rather unobvious ways[62].

2.2.1.6 Coincidental

Hanson concedes that coordination can arise less from the content than the individual *responses* to the revelations[63]. Indeed in some cases, their initial "unconnectedness" provides the aretalogical surprise. There are eight pairs of this kind[64] which nevertheless retain many of the functions of a double dream, at least in the mind of the reader. The nature of these pairs varies. Several ostensibly separate dreams end up *looking like* a pair in the light of later developments, including the dreams of Theron and Leonas in Chariton, the Byzantine soldiers and Sostratos in Achilles Tatius, the Magi and Joseph in Matthew and others[65]. While the links may be discovered by the dreamers, and the gods duly praised, the

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[55] For this emphasis, cf. Delling (1964: 1124) on Aristides and Prince (2005: 280), Sorensen (2005: 216) and Hedrick (1981: 431 n.37 ctd.) on Luke-Acts.

[56] Hanson(1978: 46).

[57] Since "corresponding" may be a little ambiguous.

[58] No.8, Acts 10:19-20 in No.53, No.32.

[59] In only 14 pairs is either dreamer told explicitly about the other, Nos.3, 8, 30, 31, 32, 35, 41, 44, 52, 54, 56, 57, 58, 60 and only in No 35 (Joseph and Aseneth) are both parties made aware of the other, *and* the fact that a revelation has been sent to them. Of the others, 4 give only one of the parties *explicit* knowledge about the revelation to their partner (Nos.30, 35, 52 and 56), and in a further 5, arguably implicit knowledge (Nos.31, 32, 35, 41, 54 and 60). However, in nine cases, one of the dreamers is not told directly about the other person at all (Nos.3, 8, 41, 44, 54, 56, 57, 58, 60). The *fact* of coordination is thus most frequently only revealed to one of the parties.

[60] Hanson (1978: 82-84).

[61] Out of a total of 45 cases where the dreams are not identical or very similar.

[62] Nos.16, 17, 18, 34, 38, 40, 46, 51.

[63] Hanson (1978: 46).

[64] Nos.20, 23, 25, 43, 45, 48, 49, 50, and arguably 51 and 55.

[65] Nos.20 (Char.), 23 (Ach.Tat.), 48 (Mt) and cf. Nos.43, 45.

coincidences are more often perceived only by a third party, as Aristides when hearing the dreams of friends[66]. Sometimes, it is only the editor who perceives a relationship and hints at it in various ways, as imagined by some for Peter's vision[67]. Although it is thus understandable when Gaventa speaks merely of "two characters …having … separate dreams within one narrative episode"[68], this does start to be rather too open[69].

2.2.1.7 Structural

Beyond even editorial coordination lies a further penumbra of accounts that appear to display only contextual, literary or thematic parallels. Whist not directly coordinate, at least some commentators speak of double dreams in such cases. Although this certainly strays beyond the usual understanding, that authors may wish readers to reflect on these links may be possible. Such pairs include the dreams of Charikleia and Theagenes in Heliodorus, the visions of Zechariah and Mary in Luke, the appearance of angels to the women and the disciples across the Luke–Acts division and the Emmaus road and upper room appearances of Jesus[70]. The Lukan pairs are identified in this way by Prince (2005)[71], claiming alignment with Wikenhauser and Hanson[72]. In so far as the multiple visions do help to confirm the veracity of the resurrection and draw the disciples "together", some of the functions of double dreams are evident, but when Prince has to appeal to "architectural pairing", "patterns of similarity" and "correspondences of elements"[73], the criteria have become rather vague, and the claim for double dreams, weak[74]. In spite of this, it is still legitimate to read these looser relationships, and the parallels between Peter's vision and Pauls' do seem calculated[75].

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[66] E.g. Nos.42, 43, 45, 46, where in the midst of his own dreams, Aristides sometimes notes clusters of confirming or complementary prescriptions given through the dreams of others reported independently to him. For further notes, cf. A4.n.15.

[67] Thus Pervo (1987: 73 n. 86 [p.164]) "Luke does appear responsible … for linking Peter's vision with Cornelius's visitation … and thus *obtaining the effect* of a double dream." (emphasis mine).

[68] Gaventa (1992: 1155).

[69] Begging the question of whether a stronger link than this should be evident.

[70] Nos.25, 49, 50, 51.

[71] Applying Hanson's double dream model to the resurrection accounts, Prince (2005: 230-235) suggests that the appearances of the two angels in Luke 24:1-9 and Acts 1:10-11 (p.230ff) and the visions of the risen Jesus in Luke 24:13-35 and 24:33-53 (p. 234ff) "conform to the pattern of the double dream-vision." (ibid., 231).

[72] Ibid., 29-30, 280-281.

[73] Ibid., 230.

[74] Re Luke 24:1-9/Acts 1:10-11 (No.50), some of this parallelisation may come down to the Lukan tendency to present similar stories involving men and women, as Parvey (1974), D'Angelo (1990). On this basis, Marchal (2006: 87) less convincingly discusses links between Lydia, Cornelius and the Philippian jailer. In Luke 24:13-35/24:33-53 (No.51), the Emmaus pair return to Jerusalem only to see Jesus again with the others.

[75] Cf. Marguerat (2002: 56), Kelley (1991), Witherup (1993: 62-64).

2.2.1.8 Interlocking

Finally, in some cases, sequences of revelations on both sides prevent clear pairing. Beyond recurrent dreams of lovers[76], dream clusters in Aristides[77], and drunken chaos in Apuleius[78], other narratives feature what Bartsch calls "generally paired" or "interlocking" dream sequences in her study of Chariton[79]. Coordinate in a general sense, their individual relationships are somewhat blurred[80]. Again, it does not mean that these looser structures are not useful. Indeed some authors have these more elaborate structures where others retain a simple double dream. Thus in Vergil, the Aeneas–Latinus dreams of Dionysius[81] become nested sequences. Between Aeneas' vision of his father[82] and of Tiberinus[83] are sandwiched several revelations for the Latins, culminating in the King's incubation dream[84]. The sequences build up confirmation and confidence, although as seen below, this is sometimes only needed on one side. Although one pairing (e.g. that mentions the other party explicitly) might be designated the double dream proper, the other revelations may be just as important in the overall development of the protagonists' understanding.

2.2.1.9 Conclusions

From the above consideration of what "parallel" might entail, we have encountered a huge spectrum of possibilities from identical dreams experienced simultaneously through to much looser, more purely literary pairings. In regard to form, content and timing and other aspects of presentation and accidence, dreams that are linked together in a variety of ways can yet be seen by the reader to work together providentially.

2.2.2 The Links Between the Recipients

Whilst Wikenhauser speaks merely of "zwei verschiedene Personen"[85], scholars make rather different assessments of the typical relationship between parties, with some emphasising mutuality, and others subordination.

2.2.2.1 Subordination

Neyrey sees subordination as fundamental to double dreams[86]. Certainly the revelations underlined by some double dreams are primarily relevant to one of the

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[76] No.28, Odatis and Zariadres in Chares of Mytilene.

[77] E.g. No.45, only very loosely associated.

[78] No.29.

[79] Bartsch (1989: 89) on Char.1:3.4-5 and 2:23.5.

[80] Especially when "each dream is taken … to foreshadow an earlier event than it really does" (ibid.).

[81] No.10. Although Aeneas receives prior guidance from oracles (*RA* 1:55.4-1:56.2), the two dreams are left in a recognisably coordinate pair.

[82] *Aen.*5:733-737.

[83] *Aen.*8:26-67.

[84] The bee portent (*Aen.*7:64-67), and the "fiery" clothes apparition (*Aen.*7:71-80).

[85] Wikenhauser (1948: 100) cf. "two characters" in Hanson (1978: 34).

[86] Neyrey (1984: 219).

protagonists, particularly in court[87] or therapeutic cases[88]. In narrative works also, even if dreams are distinct and equally vital, the plot must usually follow the fortunes of one main character[89]. However, this is less relevant for couples or other close associates or where both are subordinates of a third party[90]. When it occurs, however, subordination typically involves the lesser character serving or assisting the greater, as with Lucius, Aristides, Saul and Ptolemy[91], however this can be reversed when Apostles are sent to preach or heal[92]. On the other hand, whilst their beneficiaries may pass in and out of the narrative as supporting characters, they can nevertheless represent groups of considerable importance for the overall plot, as in stories of colonisation or evangelisation[93]. Apparent subordination can thus mask more complex relationships and can be ironically subverted. It does not provide any guide to the type and character of revelations received.

2.2.2.2 Mutuality

Equality is emphasised in Hanson's widely quoted image of "two characters [who]... meet, resolve a conflict, or otherwise achieve a 'circumstance of mutuality'"[94] or in the more general idea of overcoming *separation*[95]. Although true for some dreams, this is not an adequate generalisation. Indeed more than half of all the cases reviewed involve people already known to each other[96]. Indeed, meetings occur surprisingly infrequently[97], often with prosaic purposes such as delivering things or rendering services[98]. In turn, double dreams very rarely establish personal relationships[99]. Although one might imagine people "staying in touch" they most often wend their respective ways.

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[87] E.g. Nos.1, 2, 3, 9, where one dreamer is the King.

[88] E.g. Nos.36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, where the focus is naturally upon the person trying to get healed.

[89] E.g. e.g. Lucius, Gideon, Alexander, Ptolemy, Pindar, Saul and Peter (Nos.5, 12, 15, 17 and 53).

[90] E.g. couples/associates: Nos.6, 11, 13, 14, 16, 18, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 35, 47. Whether Zechariah and Elizabeth and the other pairings claimed by Prince (2005: 231 et sim.) (Nos.49, 50, 51) should be seen in this light is uncertain. Both subordinate to 3rd party: Nos.20, 21, 43, 46, 48 and possibly Nos.49, 50, 51.

[91] Lucius: Nos.30-32, where various cult officials are organised via double dreams to assist Lucius. Aristides: No.44, where a goose-seller is primed to keep two birds suitable for Aristides' sacrifice. Saul: No.52, where Ananias performs a "service" role in healing and baptising. Ptolemy: No.15, where the foreign King Scydrothemis' role is to allow the release of the Pluto statue to Ptolemy.

[92] As with Peter in Acts and John et al. in the Apocryphal Acts (Nos.53, 54, 56, 57, 60). In the last of these examples, Abban is essentially a subordinate helping the Apostle meet the King who is the real object of the missionary efforts.

[93] E.g. members of a particular church (Wilson, W.T., 2001), Gentile Christianity, the Indian Church etc.

[94] As Hanson (1978: 34). Whilst approving of Wikenhauser's starting point (ibid., 34 n.1), Hanson sees his definition as "a little too narrowly construed".

[95] Ibid., 34, cf. Bovon (2002: 48).

[96] 28/60 cases, with 23 involving close associates such as relatives, friends, masters/servants, colleagues etc. (Nos.1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 11, 13, 14, 16, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 29, 36, 37, 39, 42, 50, 51, 55), and a further 7 known to each another in some manner, (Nos.33, 35, 40, 47, 48, 49, 58). Enemies and friends usually remain in those states afterwards.

[97] 14/60 cases, including Nos.8, 10, 15, 30, 31, 32, 35, 44, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 59. Nos.28 and 60 are not clearly in this category.

[98] Deliveries include a body (No.8), statue (No.15), girl (No.20), geese (No.44). Other assistance concerns initiation (Nos.30, 31, 32, 35, 52, 53, 54, 57), marriage (No.35 in Vergil) and miracles (Nos.30, 52, 54, 56, 57).

[99] Probably only Odatis and Zariadres in No.28. Previous strangers usually wend their separate ways afterwards.

The claim that conflict resolution is central[100] must also be qualified. Few cases involve directly personal conflict[101], with tensions primarily between the groups to which dreamers belong. These range from out–and–out war through to mutual suspicion, but almost always involve foreigners. Of the seven dreams linking those at war, only two lead to peace at a national level[102] and the majority secure only individual cooperation in spite of group tension. Although the individuals may come to mutual acceptance, this does not always involve a shared understanding of what may lie ahead for their communities[103], which may remain the reader's alone[104]. Whilst some find their personal feelings initially influenced by group distrust[105], others relate well immediately[106]. What is particularly striking however, is that after each of the seven dreams bridging political, ethnic or religious divides[107], other members of the communities find out and stir up trouble[108], a pattern certainly affecting Peter and Cornelius when the Jerusalem church raises its concerns with Peter. This pattern of conflict suggests that, contra Hanson, a double dream cannot simply come down one neat form–critical entity, but that its relationship to the wider narrative may be important too. Many of these stories are set against intractable political and religious problems and apologetic agendas, and although individuals might blaze the path, resolution of some broader kind may be required in follow–up episodes[109]. The relationship between individual and community is thus rather complex. In conclusion, Hanson has to admit that "the … nature of this mutual circumstance varies widely"[110], but by insisting that "it will always be there", he perhaps underestimates the divine plan as a mutualizing locus that transcends the characters' own awareness.

3 Contrasts Within Double Dreams

Having noted that some double dreams emphasise congruence and confirmation, the Peter–Cornelius dream pair invites us to ponder differences and how contrasts and tensions in double dreams may offer creative possibilities. While this might involve a whole variety

[100] Hanson (1978: 47), cf. Gnuse (1996: 241). The number of relevant dream pairs is actually small.

[101] Arguably Achilles and Hector (No.7), Achilles and Priam (No.8), Andrew and Lesbius (No.57) and Ananias and Saul (No.52).

[102] Nos.8 and 34. Out of Nos.5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 19 and 34, Nos.7, 19, 12, 5 simply help one side, with Czachesz (2002: 230), reminding us that double dreams can be destructive as well as cooperative.

[103] Contra Gnuse (1996: 241) re Peter and Cornelius.

[104] As probably Nos.4, 23.

[105] As perhaps Achilles and Hector (No.7), Achilles and Priam (No.8), Aeneas and Latinus (No.10), Jaddus and Alexander (No.34) Peter and Cornelius (No.53), Joseph and Aseneth (No.35).

[106] E.g. Odatis and Zariadres (No.28) and Thomas and Abban (No.60).

[107] Of these, 2 are love stories, (Nos.28, 35), 2 involve mission (Nos.53, 60), and 3 involve war (Nos.8, 10, 34).

[108] E.g. Priam's wife (No.8), Turnus (No.10), Homartes (No.28), Parmenio (No.34), Pharaoh's son (No.35), Jewish Christians (No.53), wedding guests (No.60).

[109] E.g. the Acts 15 conference.

[110] Hanson (1980: 1414).

of elements, it is important to ascertain exactly how common this is, and whether the Peter Cornelius example is recognisable against this backdrop.

3.1 Form

3.1.1 The Double Message Dreams

Of the 60 cases surveyed, half have message dreams or implied message dreams in both limbs[111]. A smaller group of 4 pairs technically display mixed forms, although feature a visitation to one dreamer observed by the second[112]. The pattern of two message dreams is certainly thus the most common single pattern, although the messages themselves can show considerable variation.

3.1.2 The Double Symbolic/Visual Dreams

Less common are the 10 double dreams where both are symbolic, other visual or hybrid dreams[113]. In view of the difficulty of creating a connection by this means, it is perhaps unsurprising that of these, nine are identical, similar or reciprocal[114], and all 10 rely on dreamers meeting by some other means and accidentally comparing notes. Differing content, however, occurs for the priest of Heracles and Comon in Pausanias during the Messenian restoration. The priest sees a mythological scene implying the restoration of his temple but Comon's dream involves both necrophilia and incest, although, as in Artemidorus and Plutarch, also manages to be interpreted positively[115].

3.1.3 The Mixed–Form Double Dreams

Of special interest for this study are mixed forms, where one dream is a message dream and the other a symbolic, hybrid or other visual dream, of which there seem to be 10 clear cases[116]. These include the dreams of Gideon and the Midianite, Alexander and the Tyrians, Pindar and the old woman, Leucippe and Clitophon, Lucius and Asinius Marcellus, Saul and Ananias, Cornelius and Peter, Thomas and Abban and two somewhat marginal cases in Aristides[117]. Of these pairs, seven involve enigmatic symbolism or speech[118] and

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[111] Listed in A4.3.1, a little over half of the total.

[112] Nos.3, 27, 36, 54. In these, the "observed visitation" limb would technically count as a general visual dream, but the phenomenon does rather strain the classical categories.

[113] Listed in A4.3.2.

[114] Nos.11, 14, 21 are identical/shared. Nos.26, 29, 37 differ mainly in viewpoint. The dreams of No.40 differ at several points but are regarded as "the same" by Aristides. Nos.28 and 53 feature Odatis and Zariadres seeing each other, and James and John seeing Christ, but differently.

[115] No.18, confirming a single general revelation. Priest's dream: Paus.4:23.10; Comon's dream: Paus.4:26.3. This pair is followed immediately by a second double dream (No.16.).

[116] Listed in A4.3.3.

[117] No.5 (message dream for Gideon, symbolic for the Midianite soldier). No.12 (two symbolic dreams for Alexander, message for the Tyrians). No.17 (message dream for Pindar, visual/hybrid for the woman). No.22 (message dream for Leucippe, symbolic for Clitophon). No.32 (visual dream for Lucius, message for Asinius Marcellus). No.52 (message dream for Ananias, "theorematic" for Saul). No.53 (message dream for Cornelius, hybrid for Peter). No.60 (message dream for Thomas, hybrid for Abban). No.42 (message dream for Zosimus, visual Aristides) and No.45 (prob. message dreams for Aristides, and a visual/hybrid for the farmer).

three, at least one theroorematic dream[119]. It is interesting to see how the forms correlate with the subjects. Seven cases show both coordination and some degree of subordination, and in five of these, it is the supporting character who receives the message dream[120]. The rationale for this and the explanation of the exceptions will be explored further below.

3.2 Dream Figures

About a third of the double message dreams feature different or apparently different dream figures[121]. This was quite normal in Homer where gods could dispatch lesser deities to take messages[122], or appear as themselves to one dreamer and in disguise to another[123]. Different gods could also appear in later Hellenistic fiction[124] although this might start to speak of a providence that goes beyond the efforts of just one deity. Although Greek gods appear to everyone in Homer[125], this starts to alter in Herodotus[126], and in later Hellenistic and Roman literature, foreigners more routinely see their own gods[127]. In Dionysius's account of the colonisation of Latium, both Trojan and Latin gods become linked in a double dream[128]. Whilst neither are yet "Roman", that the power of Rome's destiny is able to enlist these local deities, fulfils a strong apologetic function.

Surprisingly, some options were available to Jewish authors, where theophany and angelophany could provide basic variation[129], although from the LXX onwards, possibly via Greek influence, appropriate human figures could also feature[130]. Most remained reluctant, however, to countenance coordination with foreign gods[131] and used Jewish figures for both, even when differentiation was required, as when Josephus pairs "God" for Jaddus and a Jewish human figure for Alexander[132]. For Aseneth to see the same angel as Joseph thus places great value on her imminent conversion[133], an honour Luke also bestows on

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[118] Nos.5, 12, 22, 42, 45, 53, 60. Aristides' dreams in No.45 are somewhat marginal.

[119] Nos.17, 32 and 52.

[120] The exceptions are Nos.7, 17 and 60.

[121] Nos.4, 7, 8, 10, 33, 34, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58.

[122] No.8, dispatching Thetis to Achilles and Iris to Priam. Both messengers say that they have come from Zeus.

[123] No.7, the divine visitations of Athena to Achilles and Hector (*Il.*22:214-225 and 225-227).

[124] E.g. Priapus and Neptune in No.33.

[125] The gods are, however, more often disguised for the Trojans than they are for Greeks (12/19 cases). For further details, cf. A2§3 n.16.

[126] All of Herodotus' message dreams, are experienced by foreigners; the dream figures are usually supernaturally sized human figures and thus generically divine. They are occasionally labelled "one of the gods".

[127] E.g. "the god of Thebes", in Diodorus Siculus, *BH* 1:65.5-6. In the Herodotean version, Sabacos simply sees "a man" (Hdt.2:139).

[128] No.10.

[129] Cf. No.4, where "God" speaks to Abraham (21:12-13), and "the angel of God" to Hagar in Gen 21:17-18.

[130] 2 Macc 15:11-19, although cf. Lk 9.28-36.

[131] Some post-exilic Jewish writers allow foreigners to see a/the "god most high" (Dan 3:26, 4:2 et sim.).

[132] No.34.

[133] JosAsen 14-17.

Cornelius but makes more striking by the lack of such treatment for Peter[134]. In contrast to their partners, both Peter and Paul get the most ambiguous option available, namely an anonymous voice[135] which addresses them in a ridding mode of speech otherwise used in types of Graeco–Roman dream rebuke. Both of these "conversion" dreams, therefore, create a contrast via differentiated dream figures between main and subordinate characters. This device is later used for similar purposes in the Apocryphal Acts[136].

3.3 Complexity

We have previously noted suggestions of editorial awkwardness in the Peter–Cornelius double dream created by the appearance of an additional "word" for Peter after the initial vision. However, several Graeco–Roman examples do pair a single revelation with a sequence. These sequences may involve other types of revelation, but often conclude with a dream. Although one might see one element in a stronger relationship to the single revelation, the whole sequence is still needed to draw in its protagonist and thus pairs generally with the other limb.

Beyond one case involving recurrent dreams[137], there are 10 non–trivial examples and most are used to help overcome reluctance or confusion on the part of one (usually the main) character. Such sequences can become quite extended and include Xerxes in relation to his Greek campaign, Ptolemy securing a religious artefact, Aeneas founding Rome, a Serapeum scribe resisting his commission and Thomas's unenthusiastic mission to India[138]. Cases arising for other reasons include a confused Lucius needing help to understand he must move on from Isis to Osiris initiation, a suffering Aristides tackling a particular bad illness, and even Alexander the Great feeling discouraged about a siege[139]. In Acts, Ananias's message (9:10-16) presumes both Paul's Damascus road experience (9:3-9) and his later theorematic vision of Ananias coming to restore his sight (9:12) and Cornelius' angelophany pairs with both Peter's more conceptual animal vision (10:9-16) and the additional word from the Spirit (10:19-20). Although some of the above sequences comprise developing revelations of a similar kind, both of these cases from Acts consist in a main, and a facilitating revelation[140]. The major revelations deliver an important conceptual reversal and are left relatively free of practicalities for which each must receive

[134] No.53.
[135] LXX WSol 17 and 18. On Paul's light and voice, cf. Meyer (1986).
[136] Nos.54, 57, 58.
[137] No.14.
[138] Nos.9, 15, 10, 36, 60 (discussed by Hanson, 1978: 110-116).
[139] Nos.32. 39, 12.
[140] Tannehill (1986: 2:116) calls Acts 9:12 a "supplementary" vision.

supplementary messages. Both apostles, in their differing ways, are incapacitated, and need leading by the hand until the sequence is complete, a pattern to be explored further below.

3.4 Practicality

For all Hanson's emphasis on mutuality, practical instructions are often not distributed equally between the dreamers, and as seen from the above, are sometimes reserved only for one element of a sequence. Of the 26 or so dreams that do eventually lead to journeys and/or meetings only 14 do this via *explicit* instructions[141]. The distribution of this information, however, is not always uniform. Although in four cases, both parties are told exactly what to do[142], in 10 the information is distributed asymmetrically. In four of these, one participant is kept almost completely in the dark, as Aeneas in Dionysius, Scydrothemis in Tacitus and Andrew and Thomas[143] in the Apocryphal Acts. A further seven include *some* information for both, but certainly more for one than the other, i.e. Achilles and Priam, Lucius and Asinius Marcellus, Aristides and the goose seller, Saul and Ananias, Peter and Cornelius, John and Lycomedes and Thomas and the young man[144].

The character receiving least information, often has to fill out their knowledge in stages via a further revelations or plot developments, sometimes remaining unclear about their role until the closing stages of the narrative. A command to obey blindly and wait for further instructions (Acts 9:6 et sim.), can both perplex and test, as experienced in various measures by Aeneas, Andrew, Lucius, Aristides, Saul, Peter, John and Thomas and arguably also Ptolemy, all main protagonists needing supporting characters to help them. As for the literary function of this asymmetry, it could show the more important character having to take the god on trust or exercise ingenuity, but for those struggling with the divine will, the framework seems more one of discipline, and entrusting the helper with the practicalities, somewhat ironic.

3.5 Transparency

It is difficult to be precise about ease of interpretation since this may involve both intrinsic and perceived differences. Identical dreams can pose differing challenges depending on dreamers' presuppositions, contexts and characters. Of the 60 cases surveyed, 36 show no great difference in the degree of intrinsic transparency, with 28 pairs where both are straightforward[145] and eight that are equally enigmatic intrinsically speaking[146]. In context, however, several still present more of a challenge to one dreamer than the other. In

[141] Nos.8, 10, 15, 30, 31, 32, 35, 44, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 59.
[142] Nos.35, 30, 31, 59.
[143] Nos.10, 15, 57, 60.
[144] Nos.8, 32, 44, 52, 53, 54, 56.
[145] Listed in A4.5.1.
[146] Listed in A4.5.2.

terms of intrinsic difference, the ten mixed–form pairs are included by default since symbolic dreams require at least some interpretation relative to message dreams[147]. However, a further six can be added, which although pairing dreams of the same form, show differing degrees of transparency[148].

3.5.1 Personal Context

With identical or similar dreams, where the supporter merely provides confirmation, sometimes the enigmatic coding of a dream relates to the main protagonist alone, and may not be understandable by the supporter, as possibly with the Serapeum scribe's mother[149]. With the King and Queen in Heliodorus, circumstances also dictate quite different understandings as separately, and in different places, they each dream of a baby daughter who grows up instantly. Only the King can actually see the girl from the dream and realise that it must be his long–lost daughter[150]. With Theagenes and Charikleia, the critical difference is temperament when they compare notes on each other's message dreams, with Charikleia's simpler, optimistic interpretations contrasting somewhat amusingly with Theagenes far–fetched, but pessimistic readings[151]. In other cases, personal taste and religious tradition are at stake when the co–incubants Plutarch and Domninus are both prescribed a pork diet but with very different challenges[152].

All of the above illustrate the repeated insistence of Artemidorus that personal context and character matter much for the meaning of dreams[153]. Literary authors seem aware of this, and able to exploit the double dream format as a way of inviting the reader to make the connection between differing responses and these personal factors.

3.5.2 Intrinsic Enigma

As noted above, there appear to be 15 cases that differ in their intrinsic degree of difficulty. Of these, 10 are the mixed form pairs[154] and a further six have the same form but show differing degrees of transparency[155]. Amongst the double message dreams, several dreamers are bemused merely by unrecognisable dream figures[156]. This makes Ptolemy's mission to fetch an effigy from Pontus difficult[157] and Alexander's encouragement from

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[147] Listed in A4.3.3.
[148] Listed in A4.5.3.
[149] No.36, although this involves a gesture only.
[150] No.26.
[151] No.25.
[152] No.47.
[153] Artem.*Oneir*.1:13.1-11, 4:2.74-79, 2:37.97-101, 4:30.24-26.
[154] I.e. Nos.5, 12, 17, 22, 32, 42, 45, 52, 53 and 60.
[155] Nos.15, 16, 20, 34, 38, 43.
[156] This could be viewed as an issue of relative difficulty.
[157] No.15.

Jaddus at least peculiar[158]. The problem contributes to Paul and Peter's difficulties in knowing what to make of their respective "voices". Amongst the double visual dreams, differing difficulty can be caused by pairing a symbolic dream with a theorematic one, as with Theron's closed door and Leonas' scene of wish–fulfilment[159]. A far more bizarre case occurs for Aristides who apparently sees a temple official serving him a meal, only for the official to see himself putting Aristides' favourite ham to "sleep" in the temple[160]. The point may be to re–focus Aristides on incubation, although this is not stated.

Of more immediate interest for Peter's vision are the 10 cases which pair a message dream with a symbolic or other visual dream[161]. In the biblical example, a plain command to Gideon is paired with the Midianite dream of the rolling barley–cake[162]. Although it is the symbolic dream that should pose more problems, it is ironically Gideon who baulks at his plain command while the Midianites understand their dream immediately.

In the siege of Tyre, the discouraged Alexander is also convinced of victory with some difficulty, this time via two symbolic dreams, whereas the Tyrians learn of their fate via a simple message dream[163]. Whilst the dream forms are opposite to Gideon's the dynamic is similar. The irony in each case is established through the relative difficulty rather than the precise form of dream. Thus Pausanias pairs an enigmatic message dream for Pindar with an "easy" visual dream for an elderly relative. Pindar is rebuked by Persephone for not having composed a hymn for her, and promised ominously that he would do so "…*when he had come to her*" [164]. By way of amusing, if not chilling confirmation, the old woman sees the now *late* Pindar singing his composition at her bedside, and in an ironic twist, just manages to jot down the words.

Another enigmatic prod comes to Lucius Apuleius, who one year after his Isis conversion, hears about unspecified further rites[165]. After deep thought and discussion with other initiates, Lucius makes the "amazing discovery" that he must undergo Osiris initiation[166], although the implication is that he should have understood this much earlier. In the double dream that culminates the sequence, Lucius sees only an unknown temple functionary although correctly presumes he must go and find him. Asinius Marcellus,

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[158] No.34.

[159] No.20.

[160] No.38 (cf. *Or.* 47.43.7, ἐγκοιμίσαι ἐν Ἀσκληπιοῦ)

[161] Nos.5, 12, 17, 22, 32, 42, 45, 52, 53, 60.

[162] No.5, with the symbolic dream traditionally given to the foreigner.

[163] No.12. Alexander needs the help of his seers.

[164] No.17.

[165] No.32 re the rites mentioned earlier in *Met.*11:26.18-21.

[166] Apul *Met.*11:27.4-6.

meanwhile, has been told everything in a clear message dream[167]. In this complex sequence, both of Lucius' dreams have an enigmatic quality, and the powerlessness that comes from his perhaps culpable ignorance makes him completely dependent on others[168].

Another colourful example is the "virginity" dreams in Achilles Tatius[169]. The goddess' requirement for the couple will prove crucial when Leucippe later takes refuge in the temple of Artemis[170]. Whilst she receives a plain reminder of the requirement, Clitophon is struggling, and his dream articulates this visually. He sees himself trying to enter the temple of Aphrodite only to have the doors slammed in his face. An attendant tells him that if only he waits, he will not only enter, but be made "high priest"[171]. After sharing and discussing their dreams, he finally accepts the need to wait and reluctantly obeys, although neither in fact fully understand just how critical this will be.

In a double dream of Aristides and Zosimus[172], Aristides despatches Zosimus to incubate for him at the shrine at Colophon where he receives a simple oracle predicting a cure. At home, Aristides imagines himself inspecting votary inscriptions at his own family hearth, giving thanks for healings with the debris of sacrifices all around. Here both dreams seem to be good news, although the perennially nervous Aristides takes his dream *prescriptively* and resolves to sacrifice more often[173].

Finally, in the Apocryphal Acts, after a sequence of revelations, the reluctant Thomas has finally set out for India. Unknown to him, the Indian merchant Abban is returning home on the same boat. He has had a very striking participatory and quasi–theorematic encounter with Jesus in a crowded market place[174]. Since Abban had been trying to obtain a workman for a job at the King's palace, Jesus mentions that he is a master carpenter and has a fully trained–up slave to sell, and calls him over and introduces him to Abban. The entire conversation is, of course, charged with irony since Thomas has proved anything but the compliant "slave of Christ". That he should continue his master's "trade" abroad, of course, is a nice reference to the mission that lies ahead. After all this, however, Abban is enabled to recognise Thomas on the boat and strike up a conversation. Abban's exchange with Jesus bears comparison with Paul's vision, where Jesus complains of having been "persecuted",

[167] Apul *Met.*11:27.31-37.
[168] Cf. Acts 9:6.
[169] No.22.
[170] Only free women who were virgins were admitted.
[171] The sexual symbolism is practically transparent.
[172] No.42.
[173] His response may indicate some insecurity, since there are no pointers to divine displeasure in either dream.
[174] No.60.

misdirecting Paul until the figurative nature of the offense is ascertained. Both involve the trope of dissimulation.

From the brief survey above, we see that double dreams with an enigmatic dream in one limb and a rather straightforward one in the other represent a common device. Although there is one OT example, the majority come from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, including the two cases in Acts. Although there is frequently a difference in attitude between the dreamers, one of whom is often a lead and the other a supporting character, this is not always the case. It is also striking that which one of these gets the "enigmatic" revelation can vary. Two patterns emerge. In the first, the dreamer who has the difficulty[175] is given the more coded revelation, and the other, the simpler one. This is the case for Alexander, Lucius, Clitophon, Paul and Peter. In all of these, the lead character has to be helped to understand or accept something difficult. Gideon and Thomas, however, already understand the divine will perfectly well, and are given their orders in simple message dreams. The supporting characters, an enemy in Gideon's case, and the future convert Abban in Thomas', are given revelations that in principle are harder to interpret, but which they manage admirably well, and in a sense, show up their counterparts. In nearly all the cases, this contrast between the struggler and their foil is the important thing.

The Acts examples show some nuances, however. The plain message dreams of Ananias and Cornelius are not without their challenges. Cornelius is certainly awestruck, and Ananias briefly objects to what he is hearing until suitably re–assured. Cornelius, like Abban must make all the running in contacting Peter and bringing him to the mission field as Ananias too ushers Paul into his work. Of all the above examples, however, Peter's vision remains possibly the most enigmatic dream to be placed in such a pair, and unique in ending in a state of loggerheads and distress. His willingness to go with Cornelius' servants is ensured by a second "word", but one gets the impression that his compliance at this point is born of stunned perplexity more than actual eagerness. In the final section, I shall survey this wider dimension of differing disposition towards the divine will that has in various ways shown itself in the development and use of double dreams.

3.6 Disposition and Character

As shown above, contrasts in double dreams, whether in form, dream figure, complexity, practicality or transparency can be used by authors to highlight a conceptual struggle or battle of wills taking place within *one* of the characters, brought into sharp relief when paired with a rather compliant supporter who discerns and obeys the divine more easily. Exploring reluctance is by no means the only use of double dreams. 20 of the 60

[175] Usually but not always, the lead character.

accounts do not even feature a command[176], although having a double dream at all may imply doubts need to be overcome. In 19 cases, instructions are met by willing and cooperative subjects on both sides[177]. In 22 there is some degree of reluctance or staged compliance, however. Although four of these involve both dreamers equally[178], 18 have one struggling more than the other, still nearly a third of the total[179]. Bar a few ancient examples[180], all the more developed portrayals of differential *reluctance* are from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, making it highly likely that the motif would be known to Luke and his readers.

Struggle with the divine will represents a something of a theme in this period, and has been encountered in previous chapters. Chapter 4 discussed several escalating sequences of rebuking or challenging dreams, although noted that unresolved internal repetition was more associated with anxiety dreams. Chapter 5 showed how enigmatic dreams were often used for rebukes, not only adding to dreamer's worries, but in some cases, sealing failure. Some divine–human dialogue at oracle shrines and in dreams could also reflect agonistic and pedagogic idioms. Greek dream theory allowed a certain assimilation between struggle with the divine will as traditionally conceived, and purely personal tensions of conscience, identity and destiny, a link providing creative possibilities in literary settings.

At least some of the contrasts seen in the double dreams are not so much about titanic struggles with the gods, as about personal confidence, and used to add a touch of emotional realism as when Priam is told to recover his son's body, Epaminondas, re–found Messene, Alexander persevere against Tyre or Achilles take heart for his fateful combat[181]. When the two characters are accorded equal status and operate as a team, this dynamic is a little different. This is often the case in the comedies and the romances, where the failings of one (e.g. Theagenes' pessimism or Clitophon's temptations[182]), can serve to highlight the compensating qualities of the other partner.

In other cases, the sheer reluctance of the lead character starts to show itself more significantly, and thus be shown up by their supporting foil, as with Gideon and the Midianites, Aeneas and Latinus, Pindar and the woman of Thebes, the Serapeum scribe and his mother and Lucius and the various staff at the Isis and Osiris temples[183]. In some of the more extended heroic narratives, the doubts of the lead character become a dark running

[176] Nos.1, 4, 14, 18, 24, 29, 33, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 50, 51, 55.
[177] Nos.2, 3, 6, 13, 20, 21, 23, 26, 28, 30, 31, 34, 35, 48, 49, 54, 56, 58, 59.
[178] Nos.9, 11, 12, 15.
[179] Nos.4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 16, 17, 19, 22, 25, 32, 36(?), 43, 47, 52, 53, 57 and 60.
[180] Nos.4,5,7,8.
[181] Nos.8, 16, 12, 7.
[182] Nos.25, 22.
[183] Nos.5, 10, 17, 36, 30-32.

motif over extended sections of the narrative. This is already evident in the simpler version of the Aeneas/Latinus episode in Dionysius[184]. Here, even after the fulfilment of the "Sow/tables" oracle, Aeneas still complains that this was the "poor part of the land … and [too] distant from the sea" and plunges himself into doubt[185]. Latinus, the local King, however, who has just learned of the invading Trojans, seems very trusting by comparison when asked by the god to receive the visitors and allow them to settle[186]. The uncertainty of Aeneas is played up further in Vergil's version where the double dream is almost lost in an extended interlocking sequences of message dreams[187]. Prior to this, the nervous Aeneas has been subjected to a veritable barrage of acts of divine persuasion[188], reflected in the tortured inner dialogue of anxiety dreams[189]. As Aeneas' uncertainty is thus augmented, so Latinus' compliance is further highlighted, as he is now asked not only to make peace with the foreigners, but give his daughter to Aeneas and risk all–out war with his neighbours simply to help fulfil the divine will[190].

In a more comic form, the saga of Lucius's various initiations in the *Metamorphoses* uses a similar technique when contrasting the many delaying tactics of Lucius with the ready obedience of the temple staff. The delay between the saving transformation from his time as an ass and his eventual Isis initiation is underlined by a bout of recurrent anxiety–style dreams in *Met.*11:19.8-18. Another delay before moving on to Osiris initiation results in a veiled complaint from the goddess in 11:26.18-21. As the priest of Isis, the high priest of Osiris and the initiate–helper Asinius Marcellus are all drawn in via a sequence of double dreams, the reluctant initiate Lucius is cajoled, coaxed and steered painstakingly to the fulfilment of the divine will.

Opposition being turned to compliance is obviously a more deliberate theme in what might be called "conversion" stories. The lead example is that of Paul in the canonical Acts, where an initial conversion vision is supplemented by the supporting and double revelation required to restore his sight and administer baptism[191]. The story and its various contrasts has been sketched from several angles above, but the visionary dialogue and its riddling rebuke, lies at the centre of the complex. Although later opponents of Christianity, such as the pro–Consul Lesbius, are converted with the help of double dreams in the Apocryphal

[184] No.10.

[185] *RA* 1:56.2.

[186] *RA* 1:57.4.

[187] Aeneas' father appears in *Aen.*5:733-737 ,and the river god Tiberinus in *Aen.*8:26-67, between which is sandwiched a sequence of revelatory events for the Latins (e.g. 7:64-67, 7:71-80) before Latinus' dream in 7:97-101.

[188] *Aen.*2:270-297, 2:771-795, 3:96, 3:147-185, 3:179-185, 4:219-278.

[189] As McNeely (1998: 17, 19-32).

[190] *Aen.*7:97-101 and the ensuing narrative.

[191] Acts 9:1-9, 10-17.

Acts[192], they are not the lead protagonist in the way that Paul is, in so far as that role is primarily filled by the various eponymous Apostles being called through numerous adventures to bring the gospel to otherwise supporting figures. Ananias is a supporting, not apostolic character, although is briefly brought into the limelight in 9:13-16 when given his own moment of doubt, as if to echo those more routinely overcome by the more important figures.

Finally, of course, the above pattern is evident within the Peter–Cornelius complex, although in a somewhat subtle way. One of the key differences in the two accounts is that Paul's opposition to the divine will has been illustrated in earlier stories and statements from the stoning of Stephen through to Paul's own persecuting activity, so when the vision eventually comes, we are not entirely surprised. In Peter's case, however, although his dream contains a rebuke, there have been no stories that give this any context; indeed there has been no mention of Peter at all for some time. It was suggested that this invited speculation about whether his struggle was purely with perplexity, or also with conscience[193].

If the animal vision were omitted altogether from this account, as suggested by Hanson[194], the remaining paring of Cornelius' vision and Peter's "word of the Spirit", which would admittedly work at the practical level, would end up with no note of differing disposition at all. This would destroy a key aspect of similarity between the Peter and Paul stories, which in many regards have been edited precisely to draw attention to parallels[195]. However, leaving Peter with a conceptually challenging vision delivering a riddling rebuke and practical instructions that temporarily force him to be "taken where he does not wish to go"[196], makes entire sense.

4 The Peter–Cornelius Story and Ancient Double Dreams

4.1 Summary of Findings

In the above survey, using an extended selection of cases based on the earlier work of Wikenhauser and Hanson, the Peter–Cornelius double dream has been set in a more informative context. The text comprised non–identical parallel revelations of contrasting form, complexity, dream figure and degrees of practicality and enigma. Although leading to a meeting, reciprocality, and significant experiences for both parties, neither vision served merely to confirm a single underlying revelation. The narrative paired a straightforward

[192] No.57.
[193] Contra Conzelmann.
[194] Hanson (1978: 83).
[195] Cf. Kelley (1991).
[196] Cf. Jn 21:18.

message dream on one side with a hybrid visual dream. On Peter's side, this vision formed part of a small sequence together with the supplementary "word of the Spirit"[197]. Neither combination proved unusual within the spectrum of possibilities seen.

In respect of dream figures, bearing in mind that Peter's animal vision is not a normal message dream, the anonymous voice contrasted strongly with Cornelius' angelophany. The uncertain identity and intent of the voice, made Peter's experience more ambiguous and of lower status compared to Cornelius'. Closely coupled with this were the differing degrees of enigma. Cornelius' vision was perhaps terrifying, but not difficult to understand. Peter's enigmatic animals, the dissimulating transgressive suggestion of the voice and its riddling aphoristic reply all conspired to produce not only distress but complete confusion, and an experience hardly recognisable as revelation.

The highly asymmetric distribution of practical information, where most was given to the supporting character Cornelius, was also a recognisable pattern. This was often seen when a main protagonist received a more enigmatic revelation, perhaps allowing more time for contemplation, and sometimes amounting to a temporary disempowerment.

Although eventually enlightened, Peter is unable to comprehend his vision either during or shortly afterwards, something that stands almost unique amongst the cases reviewed here, although reminiscent of forms of anxiety dream or nightmare. Indeed, chapter 4 showed how overtones of purely natural dreaming could be introduced specifically to foster this uncertainty. That Peter for the moment must suspend judgement and go with his visitors all contribute to a sense of epistemological confinement until enabled to recognise the implications of his vision in the surprising developments at Cornelius' house. In the meantime, it is ironic that the very danger of being inadvertently found to be opposing God, as warned about by Gamaliel in Acts 5:39, has been symbolised in the dream to stimulate consideration of real–life stances, past, present and future.

Although somewhat extreme and more exclusively cognitive than perhaps any seen so far, Peter's animal vision could certainly belong amongst the visions encountered in this survey. Although conceivably based on a source, its rich halakhic intertexture makes eminent sense if the problem of association, the paradox of divine impartiality and eschatology of the Spirit were all entirely in mind during its composition. Designed to perplex, and indeed to challenge a main protagonist, it also fitted patterns where central characters had shown a history of resistance to the divine will or difficulty understanding it. Far from making the revelation for such a leader *clearer*, we found there was a tendency to make it more *enigmatic*, to force a greater intellectual effort and possibly moral conviction.

[197] Arguably a form of voice-only message dream, but possibly something different.

This established further contrasts with the highly commended and compliant Cornelius. Peter's intellectual difficulties with the integration of Jews and Gentiles within the purposes of God are openly confessed later, but the moral questions about personal consistency are left for the readers' speculation.

If such a contrasting pair lies within the range seen in other examples, it should also be noted that the simplified version involving only practical instructions imagined by Hanson et al., whilst possible, would have generated almost no contrast at all and fitted the wider narratively rather poorly. The contrast that is presented here helps convey in no uncertain terms the perplexity and fear that existed in certain sections of the Jewish Christian community that close association with Gentiles might effectively constitute apostasy in relation to their ancestral faith. By way of some final comments, I now ask how this reading might serve the wider apologetic agendas of Luke–Acts.

4.2 Apologetic Agendas

Given that the apologetic nature of Acts is widely accepted[198], it becomes important to see whether the Peter–Cornelius double dream and the contrary and distressing images of Peter's vision in particular might make sense in relation to wider Lukan themes, as opposed to being the editorial accident claimed by Hanson.

4.2.1 Unexpected Twists

Although surprising contrasts are native to the Synoptic tradition[199], the number of "L" stories of this kind suggests a particular Lukan interest[200] and several of these feature Gentiles[201]. Others have noted such contrasts at the broader narrative level, including unexpectedly fulfilled prophecy, the cross, and in Acts, again, the surprising development of Gentile faith[202]. Were the rebuke of Peter's vision to be omitted, the commendation of Cornelius[203] and his very biblical revelation would lose their contrastive power.

Besides simply being a part of the Gospel tradition, highlighting the unexpected in this way has a more serious apologetic purpose. It is clearly aimed at Jewish Christians who have hitherto not been able to foresee the fundamental place for outsiders in God's purposes[204]. But it also addresses Graeco–Roman attitudes to divine providence that might

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[198] On Luke-Acts as "apologetic history", cf. Sterling (1989).

[199] Cf. Mk 2:16-17, 4:31-33, 10:15, 25, 31, 12:41-44 et sim.

[200] E.g. Lk 10:30-37, 15:11-32, 16:19-30, 17:11-19, 18:9-14 etc.

[201] E.g. Lk 4:25-27, 7:9.

[202] Cf. Ray (1996), although without mentioning Acts 10. Cf. also Morris (1992), Heil (1991), Lyons (1998), Talbert (1991, 1997: 229).

[203] As Stenschke (1999: 148-153).

[204] Cf. Acts 10:45.

find the twists and turns of Luke's story otherwise difficult to accept[205]. In addition, however, that Peter is *uncertain,* and Cornelius takes the *lead*, may seek to ameliorate worries about the unusual and possibly sinister phenomenon of universal proselytising mission[206]. As if agreeing with Goodman on its more or less accidental nature[207], Luke may wish to echo contemporary re–workings of the colonisation tale in emphasising that this had not occurred through "imperial" ambitions, but was rather requested by the recipients[208], confirmed obliquely by the gods, and brought only reluctantly[209]. The very contrasting modes of revelation also carry considerable apologetic import.

4.2.2 Contrasting Revelations

The key redactional theory confronting this study suggests the replacement of Peter's vision by a simpler revelation that is obeyed very directly, commanding him to accompany Cornelius' messengers. As noted above however, one of the contrasts established between Cornelius' angelophany and Peter's vision was one of strikingly different transparency. In chapter 1, it was suggested that portraying Peter learning in such an oblique manner may amount to showing the Christian community learning to read modes of guidance that in biblical terms it was unused to, but which were normal in the Graeco–Roman world. Contra the exclusively supernaturalist perspectives of Haenchen (1956, ET 1971: 362) and Squires (1993: 103-120), this vision fits well within the more diffuse picture of "revelation" suggested by Johnson (1983, 1996a) and Miller (2004, 2008: 178, 182), where weighing experience, reflecting upon events, and discussing in community before discerning God's will are needed. That the surrounding narrative portrays these in action practically requires something controversial and uncertain in the middle of the Cornelius episode. Peter's vision perhaps outstrips all expectations in this regard, but certainly resonates with the confusion, controversy and elevated temperatures of the central section of Acts.

The certainties of Cornelius' vision need their "opposite" in Peter's, and it is to the latter *uncertainty* to which Luke wishes to direct our attention. Although MacDonald's suggestion of Agamemnon's lying dream and associated portents was rejected as a fundamental intertext for the Peter–Cornelius episode[210], the developments in the community after Agamemnon's dream are striking[211]. With the divine voice still "ringing in his ears" and "pondering in his heart" the matters of the dream, Agamemnon relates the

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[205] Cf. Squires (1993: 45, 87, 142 et sim.), although note Driscoll (1994) on Herodotus and Whitmarsh (2003) on Achilles Tatius.

[206] As Goodman (1994: 4, 5, 9) re a Christian development without Jewish precedent.

[207] Ibid., 154-174.

[208] As also at Acts 16:6-10.

[209] As traditionally colony "oikists" discussed in Malkin (1987) and Wilson, W.T. (2001).

[210] MacDonald (2003c) on *Il.*2:1-19, 301-320.

[211] *Il.*2:35-90.

whole matter to the council of elders. They respond very circumspectly indeed, confessing that had it come from anybody else, they would have been very doubtful about the idea of an early assault on Troy. In the end, however, they defer to the "shepherd of the host". As Pervo notes, the caution and deliberations of the Christian community were designed to catch the readers eye[212].

While a Greek reader picking up these resonances might be mildly amused by Jewish Christians getting a rather "Greek" experience and Cornelius a very "biblical" one, if not slightly curious about why the Christian community might look at all to the notorious divine deception of the Argives, it becomes a more pressing question as to how this reverse apologetic of revelation is intended to be read inside the Christian community. One thing it does is precisely deny that the controversial insights about how and why Jews and Gentiles might come together in the Church came from a single unequivocal revelation. That it did not do this, however, does not mean that the cumulative case was not compelling in the end. In addition, however, it shows, through the particular medium of Peter's very "human" vision, that the apostles and others found it very difficult to disentangle pure "theory" from personal feelings. What the mode of revelation also does is provide a clear permissive space, if not even *mandate* for the ongoing existence of Jewish Christianity, so long as it accepted the assurances about free association provided by the endorsement of the Spirit and the lessons about divine impartiality learned here by Peter.

Finally, we may speculate on what purpose may be served by giving Peter not merely a confusing revelation, but a terrifying one. This seems to be oriented to generating pastoral sympathy from Luke's readers for the understandable distress and confusion occurring for Jewish Christians during this phase of the Church's life. If the readers are mainly Gentile Christians for whom the extension of God's Kingdom is a simple and welcome development, then it may be important to have a healthy respect for those for whom this was literally a "nightmare". If Acts, as Brawley (1987) suggests, has a conciliatory function, and that table fellowship remained controversial for some generations (Brawley, 1995), then understanding the incredible "leap of faith" required of people like Peter may be a rhetorical strategy for buying the ongoing patience of the church. Far from looking back on a Jewish–Christian generation that had now passed from sight (as Plunkett, 1985: 479), the effort Luke devotes to this matter (at some risk), suggests strongly that maintaining an empathetic appreciation of the differing conceptual journeys of the two "families" within the Church was still a live issue. A lighter, ironic touch at the point of Peter's "block" may be helping to promote understanding of an issue that had caused and continued to cause considerable

[212] Pervo (2001).

tension. That *the* key insight defining the early mission of the post–Pentecost church should come in such a roundabout way is highly significant. That Peter has to wait for unfolding events to occur before understanding his vision may function as an important apologetic in relation to the external Jewish community as well as those within. That it is Gamaliel in Acts 5:36-39 who commends a "wait and see" policy is no coincidence.

4.2.3 Confused Identities

The Peter–Cornelius double dream is one of seven positively linking foreigners from potentially distrusting communities[213], and one of four that bring up religious issues[214], although resolving them in very different ways. Thus, Aseneth and Joseph cannot initially touch or eat together[215] and after her conversion and marriage, interethnic violence erupts. The dreams of Jaddus and Alexander help protect Jerusalem and the temple from desecration and embolden Jaddus to ask that throughout Alexander's provinces, Jews be allowed "to live according to their ancestral laws"[216]. The dreams of Aeneas and Latinus help make peace between the Latins and the Trojans, and Dionysius proudly notes that "in a very brief time [they combined] their customs, laws and religious ceremonies .. and shared a common life". Finally of course Peter and Cornelius are drawn into a missionary encounter that will shape the whole future of the Church.

Of these various examples, Peter's is the only one where the religious issues are represented directly in one of the dreams. Thus although without exact parallel, that such imagery *could* enter dreams is known to Artemidorus[217], who notes disturbing dreams where religious customs are violated[218]. More important is the fact that the link between religious custom and problems of social integration was also extremely well known, not merely in relation to Jews[219]. Goldhill and others note the divers tensions of overlapping local, Greek and Roman identities[220] in the early empire, caught between a universal respect for ancient practices on the one hand[221] and the demands of a common culture on the other. Balch has shown how these concerns affected treatments of national origins in this period[222] with various ingenious apologetic strategies devised to explain the awkward fact that the Romans had, early on, absorbed *barbarian* customs and peoples, and that the Greeks had

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[213] Two via love (Nos.28, 35), two via mission (53, 60) and three via war (8, 10, 34). For further notes, cf. A4 n.16.

[214] No.35, 53, 10, 34.

[215] JosAsen 7:1, 8:5-7, No.35.

[216] *AJ* 11:338, No.34.

[217] On the importance of local religious custom, cf. *Oneir.*4:4.1-5, 4:4.8-10 et sim.

[218] E.g. *Oneir.* 2:26.30-35, 3:3.1-5, 4.4.5-6 et sim., discussed in ch.4.

[219] As ch.2.

[220] Goldhill, S., *Being Greek under Rome* (2001), esp. the essays by Preston (2001), Whitmarsh (2001) and Schwartz (2001), and cf. also Wordelman (2003) and Gilberts (2003).

[221] As Balch (2003b: 157-158) and cf. Acts 16: 21.

[222] Balch (1989, 2003b) and cf. Penner (2003: 89-96, 2004: 262-330).

occasionally simply *changed* their laws[223]. In Luke's period, the Romans viewed themselves as broadly Hellenic in origin[224] aspiring to facility in Greek; the "Romans" of Greek origin were in turn enabled to feel they were not simply embracing barbarism[225].

Their marriage produced two means of embracing foreigners – Rome's extension of citizenship[226] and Greece's extension of παιδεία[227]. Beyond these broader senses of belonging and some basic shared values, however, the continuance of local and even personal religious and cultural practice was not merely permitted, but actively encouraged[228]. Significantly for our passage, the touchstone of belonging within the broader perimeters of civilisation was table–fellowship, an invitation symbolically extended through the religious duty of hospitality towards strangers[229]. By refraining from receiving even this, Jews were censured for "looking upon all men as their enemies"[230].

In view of these rhetorical positions and social realities, it may be asked whether the use of this double dream sheds any light on Luke's thinking[231]. Whilst Aseneth becomes formally Jewish, one can see Luke looking rather to a Graeco–Roman model of unity that envisages neither forced adoption nor forced abandonment of customs, but a unity through common ethical values, as expressed clearly in Peter's sermon where we hear that "God shows no partiality, but in every nation anyone who fears him and does what is right is acceptable to him.". The use of δεκτός (acceptable) here is highly significant as δέχομαι is used throughout Dionysius and Plutarch to indicate the reception of foreign groups into the Roman family[232]. This level of belonging makes table–fellowship possible, desirable and meaningful, even if requiring some facilitating courtesies.

If this is so, however, what is the purpose of giving Peter such a distressing and contrary dream? That he expresses a level of disgust about even a *visit* to Cornelius' house in terms of what he might feel about "eating unclean animals" is first and foremost

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[223] On Roman origins, cf. *RA* 2:15-16 (Balch, 1989: 354, 359, 2003b: 484). Plutarch admires from a distance (Balch, 2003a: 485) but notes some later chaos (Balch, 2003b: 158 on *RA* 1:89.3-4) relative to the mono–ethnic Greeks (ibid., 168). He admits however, that even the Greeks changed their laws (ibid., 148, 175).

[224] Balch (1989: 353-354) on *RA* 1:89-90 et sim.

[225] Balch (ibid., 354). On Jewish perspectives, cf. Lieu (2002: 301-304).

[226] Balch (2003a: 486), contra the xenophobic Athenians in *RA* 2:17.1–3 (cf. Balch, 1989: 355, 2003b: 166).

[227] Cf. Swain (1996), Too (2001) and cf. Schwartz (2003), Lieu (2002: 304) et al.

[228] Hence the charges levelled at Jesus, Paul and others were worrying even for Romans (cf. Acts 6:14 et sim.). In the Hellenistic era of "personal religion", of course, private citizens in any city might follow customs that began far away, without necessarily compromising Greek or Roman identity.

[229] Cf. Reece (1993), Gowler (1993), Henrich (1994), Arterbury (2002, 2005), Denaux (1999).

[230] *BH* 34-35 (frags) 1:1-5 and similar texts in Stern (1974: Vol. 1).

[231] For a comparison of the legitimation issues in the Aeneas/Latinus pair and Paul's vision in Acts 16, cf. the very stimulating paper of Koet (2008).

[232] Balch (2003a: 486) on *RA* 1:89.2-3, 3:10.4-5, 11:3-4 and Plu.*Rom.*7:1, 9:2 and *Alex.*9:3. On the connection between the "peace" of Acts 10:36 and "universality", cf. O'Toole (1996).

realistic[233] and of potentially general applicability within the new relationships of the early empire. But that this response manipulates rather than honours sacred law is also brought out. Feeling himself to be disregarding ancestral law and thus on the point of committing *religious suicide* plays to Peter's and many others' anxieties in nightmarish fashion. But the vision has, in the end, the didactic purpose of revealing the illegitimate nature of his feelings. That he finally realises, even at Cornelius' threshold, that he must "call no man unclean"[234] is the desired outcome, and again of universal applicability. Paradoxically, he has been shown this by a vision in which everything was temporarily upside down, where he was sure he was right and the "voice", wrong, but where one fallacy is revealed and destroyed by another.

It would seem reasonable that readers familiar with these literary strategies would realise that abolition is not commended here[235]. That the fear of it has to be *articulated* is, however, vital for the narrative, and the truth that Peter discerns, recognisable and commendable to all. It may even challenge Graeco–Roman feelings about those whom they too consider beyond the pale[236].

4.2.4 The Peter–Paul Parallel

We have noted in passing certain relationships between the Paul–Ananias and Peter–Cornelius double dreams. That these are strong may shed further light on the necessity or otherwise of the animal vision, the viability of this interpretation, as well as the rhetorical function of the similarity. The relationship arises from the accounts' proximity in the central section of Acts, their expansive treatment and later repetition, their structural analogies[237], the establishment of mutuality between the distrustful, the occurrence of enigmatic visions with Graeco–Roman features, the intervening journeys, and most importantly, the notes of rebuke and repentance and significance for later mission. That Acts wishes to balance the roles of these two apostles has long been recognised[238] and was at one time viewed as a rhetoric of conciliation between the Pauline and Petrine parts of the church[239]. More recently it has been emphasised that Peter's experience could also be viewed as a type of "conversion"[240], with both Apostles unexpectedly discovering that they are opposing the

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[233] Cf. even the intra-*Jewish* invective "May what I eat of yours be … like pig meat" in M.Ned 2:1[B], noted in ch.2.

[234] Acts 10:28.

[235] Nor even a bland merger. The post-Aeneas/Latinus generation is a protological "exception".

[236] That Herodotus' overly positive approach to foreigners was controversial, cf. Munson (2001: 7, 8, 95 et sim.).

[237] As explored by Kelley (1991).

[238] Cf. Johnson (1992: 10). On Luke's use of synkrisis, cf. Marguerat (2002: 56).

[239] Cf. Tyson (2001: 128) on F.C. Baur.

[240] Cf. Sharkey (1992), Tassin (1995), Dunn (1996: 131ff), Witherington (1998: 360-361), van Engen (2004), Flemming (2005: 36), Parsons (2008: 141ff) et sim.

divine will[241]. Both dreams combine an unusual visual feature with an unidentified voice which speaks in riddles to perplexed recipients. Left to reflect on their experiences, both subjects are made to await further instructions.

We may ask whether the extent of these similarities sheds any light on the interpretation of Peter's vision. Both characters appear to have been influenced by a reactionary form of Judaism articulated by the anti–Gentile Maccabean "zeal" slogan[242] with which both "conversions" may seek to engage. Whilst the Gentile link for Peter is clear, Paul's problems are usually assumed to be about Christology[243]. However, several scholars suspect that disapproval of Jewish–Christian attitudes to Gentiles lies behind his vision too[244]. This most likely did not involve the abandonment of the Jewish law but probably did involve too close an "association", brought on by inviting "direct" Gentile affiliation[245]. It is thus conceivable that both stories are built around the same issue. Certainly in Luke's equalisation of the two apostles, they both claim a calling to Gentile mission, and source this call in their visions[246].

At every point however, the narrative underscores that *neither* calling entailed the abandonment of Jewish practice. In the Acts 15 conference where Peter looks back on his experience, James confirms that Gentile converts do not need to become Jews, and retains a dual conception of the new development[247]. Similarly in the controversial arrival of Paul in Jerusalem, the rumour that he is teaching Jewish Christian families to give up their special identity is explicitly denied[248]. If the solution to which Luke points is thus unity in duality[249], it is surely significant that a terrible but *misplaced* worry about abolition is aired in both Acts 10 and 21[250]. This articulation of the Jewish Christian community's deepest anxiety is not thus an editorial accident, but is absolutely necessary to the plot. That this literally assumes the form of a *nightmare* for Peter, is very telling.

The readerly dynamic of this balancing of the apostolic narratives helps to bolster the case for a non–abolitionist reading of the vision, where Peter's struggle with his worst fear is made explicit. If intentional, it constitutes a powerful exchange, yet with little real danger

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[241] Ironic via Acts 5:39. There is some prehistory for Paul, but none mentioned for Peter.

[242] Acts 21:20, 22:3 and cf. Phil 3:6. Based on Phinehas' actions in Num 25:6-13 (cf. Ps. 106:30-31), later, a Maccabean slogan, as 1 Macc 2:23-28, 54, 4 Macc 18:12 et sim. and thence probably a Shammaite term, as Gaston (1987: 28).

[243] Hultgren (1976: 100).

[244] Especially if Paul's persecution is viewed as intra-Jewish violence over compromise with Gentiles, as Phinehas.

[245] Betz (1992: 193).

[246] Re Paul, originally via Ananias in Acts 9:13-14, but claimed directly in 26:17-18, and Peter, cf. Acts 15:7.

[247] Acts 15:15-17 re the "tent of David" and "other peoples". On the use of Am 9:11-12 here, cf. King (1989) and Ådna (1997).

[248] Acts 21:24.

[249] As Jervell (1984: 24) and cf. Tomson (2001: 180-181, 240-241) on 1 Cor 7:17-24.

[250] This makes scholars' bafflement at the *airing* of an abolitionist view inside Peter's vision less justified.

of being misunderstood, particularly if the register of the dream is also picked up. Talk of an inexplicable lapse on Luke's part is thus misplaced[251].

4.3 Conclusions

The above survey has shown how the contrasts established by the Peter–Cornelius double dream fall within patterns seen elsewhere, and that the use of contrasting forms of revelation with differing degrees of difficulty, particularly where one protagonist displays reluctance or confusion, make eminent sense. If this is accepted, then it suggests that the exaggeratedly positive features of Cornelius' vision point not to another experience of the same kind, but to its *opposite*. Wherever Luke got the tradition of Peter's vision, it is likely that something as *difficult* as this was always intended.

In addition, however, this contrast also reinforced several known apologetic agendas within Acts. These include the general surprises and paradoxes surrounding the Gospel itself as "insiders" and "outsiders" respond in their different ways. So too a certain irony about revelation also presents itself. The eschatological blessing of "dreams and visions" turns out to propel the church into "foreign territory" as far as guidance is concerned, as opposed to providing some biblical "fast track". Finally, that the two great Apostles of the early church should be linked not only to the fledgling Gentile mission, but also by painful experiences of nearly unimaginable personal challenge, considerably reinforces the duality of the two pillars of the later Roman church. Again, to remove the animal vision from this account would leave Peter with no matching "conversion".

[251] As Plunkett (1985: 468) and cf. Wilson (1983: 72, 111) et sim.

Chapter 7

Chapter 7 – Summary and Conclusions

1 Survey of Findings

The purpose of this thesis was to see if better sense could be made of the enigmatic dream–vision of Acts 10:9-16 in which Peter is commanded to eat unclean animals, a passage that in apparently commending the abolition of the Torah, points in a rather different direction from the surrounding text and from Luke–Acts as a whole.

In chapter 1, the background to this anomaly was set out. Starting from the perennial problem of Jew–Gentile association, the narrative leads up to a discussion of whether Gentiles can become Christians directly or whether they need to become Jews first. Commentators had traditionally taken Peter's vision as an abolition of Jewish Torah, solving all of the above problems instantly. Jervell, however, pointed out that Luke did not resolve the Jew–Gentile problem in this way elsewhere, particularly in Acts 10 itself, Acts 15 and Acts 21, and rather envisaged the continuity of Jewish and Gentile Christian identities. This, however, made the abolitionist reading of Peter's vision problematic.

One solution was redactional. That Luke reinterpreted the *image* of food law abolition as a critique of a misplaced sense of Gentile uncleanness was read by Dibelius as an attempt to soften a text taken from an abolitionist source. Hanson added that since Peter's vision was not really connected to Cornelius' it could easily be omitted. All agreed that Luke had failed to conceal its origins, and that by this editorial lapse, he risked drawing attention to a view he did not hold. This was deemed unconvincing on a number of grounds. It was proposed to first locate the passage in its Jewish context before turning to Hellenistic and Roman dream accounts to gain new insights into how the vision might have been understood by the original readers and develop a better theory about its distressing and contrary imagery.

Chapter 2 looked at the social and halakhic background of the food laws and the problem of association. The area was fraught with terminological difficulties, with "clean" and "unclean" used in the ritual purity system, for permitted and non–permitted food and figuratively within moral discourse. The food laws symbolised the Jew–Gentile distinction, and keeping them articulated Jewish identity. Although associating with Gentiles risked accidentally eating non–permitted food, possible contact with immorality and idolatry loomed larger. This, however, was reinforced in some circles by an informal rhetoric of Gentile uncleanness. The study then turned to the dream dialogue and its problematic "eating" and "cleansing" references. Peter's legitimate objections about the animals met with an enigmatic response about God's ability to "cleanse" whatever he liked. Wordplays were deemed likely but difficult to pin down. The dialogue could certainly be targeting

Peter's illegitimate beliefs about Gentile uncleanness as well as glancing ahead to the cleansing of the Spirit, but detailed cryptic engagement with association halakha remained speculative. This left the command starkly transgressive. Although many scholars took this literally, the dialogue nevertheless resembled a distorted form of halakhic discourse in the way that it started with a paradox and concluded with an aphorism, suggesting the need for further attention to the exact form and register of the vision.

Chapter 3 showed how the standard form–critical options of "message dream" and "symbolic dream" had illegitimately restricted approaches to Peter's vision. Although Hanson had emphasised the importance of Graeco–Roman evidence, this had never been properly evaluated. After surveying material from Homer to the Greek novels, the moderate stability of the classic message/visitation form was observed, but that other visual dreams diverged widely from the standard symbolic form, mixing both realistic and symbolic elements in participatory dramas influenced by the world of popular, natural and therapeutic dreaming. This was compounded by the Greek tradition of enigmatic divine speech, leaving protagonists in Hellenistic literature to negotiate a revelatory process dogged by ambiguity. A brief survey showed that although most post–biblical Jewish and NT dreams were very biblical, there was clearly some awareness of the Graeco–Roman tradition and cautious experimentation with its possibilities. Although Peter's vision was replete with Jewish imagery, its naturalistic overtones and enigmatic dialogue suggested looking to these broader influences.

Chapter 4 thus turned to the uncertainties of natural dreaming. Although traditionally excluded as non–significant, there was considerable interest from Greek scientists and philosophers who linked such phenomena to states of body and mind. Without excluding divine revelation, authors made increasing use of the motifs of natural dreaming, whilst yet retaining significance by separating "true" and "false" from the explicit involvement of a god. This was achieved not only via the soul's natural ability to see into the future, but also, thanks to Plato, into the recesses of the soul. This permitted biographers to give their protagonists disturbing dreams at critical points in their struggle for identity and destiny.

That Peter's hunger, heat and fatigue led to a surreal vision about food mixed in with issues of religious taboo, distanced the experience from the norms of divine revelation. Whilst bad images might be creatively reversed, they could certainly cause distress if featuring uncharacteristic or sacrilegious behaviour by the dreamer. Indeed, the sense of endless conflict and frustration here approached the realm of anxiety dreams and nightmares. Whilst possibly due to divine displeasure, the reader's attention is also directed to possible inner and particularly moral struggle. Luke's silence on Peter's previous attitudes and practice invited the reader's speculation.

Chapter 5 started with Peter's bafflement. Enigmatic, riddling and paradoxical utterances had long been a feature of Greek oracles, as well as within philosophical teaching, but had never been typical of divine speech in the Bible. However, they appeared increasingly in Hellenistic and Roman dreams, particularly in rebukes where gods could both conceal the reason for their displeasure and the means of placating them. Discussions noted the traditional obscurity of Homer and the oracles, but also a didactic principle that dreamers be made to think. Purely natural dream theory had concluded as much when considering why the soul should choose to warn of the future *symbolically*. This reconstruction was resisted by Jewish authors, particularly Philo. This was in spite of admitting the natural indirectness of dreams, the vagueness of Scripture and that God himself could use dissimulating modes of speech similar to those of the Socratic tradition.

Whilst the utterances in Peter's vision were not quite oracular, they certainly had a gnomic feel, and the agonistic complexion of the dialogue resonated both with the Greek pedagogic tradition and even its Cynic exaggeration, as well as some of the oracular dialogues. Its dream–like distortions, however, also owed something to the popular world of Aristides, where surreal visual scenes and ill–fitting utterances could not easily be interpreted using traditional methods. In a similar manner, Peter's naturalistic vision showed rather oblique links to the context and offered only coded intimations of the future, while leaving its central intent opaque. Whilst its target was certainly Peter's misconceptions about Jew–Gentile contact, in the light of the previous chapter, it was important that the transgressive command stood precisely for *itself* in the nightmare, leaving Peter trapped by a "neck riddle" with religious suicide at stake. Peter is released only by a later recognition he could not have anticipated. Such a dénouement certainly echoes classical Graeco–Roman patterns of narrative rhetoric.

Chapter 6 considered the Peter–Cornelius double dream. The contrasting visions, their lack of clear connection and Luke's reinterpretation of Peter's imagery had led Hanson to see an extraneous unit added to an earlier but simpler pair. Although double dreams could certainly be created, this apparently "untidy" Lukan effort is easily recognisable amongst the other examples. Contrasts were common, pairing message and symbolic forms, single dreams with sequences, known and unknown dream figures, differing practical information, interpretive difficulty and dreamer disposition with the result that coordination and mutuality had to be understood very broadly. The construct could fulfil various narrative functions including the generation of considerable irony where main protagonists struggling with the divine will could be upstaged by supporting characters and made dependent on their help.

In addition, however, the double dream proved eminently meaningful in relation to the wider apologetic agendas of Acts. The ready response of the "outsider" and the problems of the "insider" reflected other tales of reversed expectations and perhaps a non–imperial picture of mission. That the centurion received a biblical revelation and the Apostle something more "Delphic" is not only ironic, but an admission that even Christians have to puzzle over the divine will. That several other examples brought people of different races together was also significant, touching on problems tradition and change and that Luke also grappled with this, eminently recognisable. Although Peter fears "religious suicide", Luke spares him this and commends a Roman model by which common belonging permits reciprocal hospitality whilst fully respecting differing local or ethnic customs. Luke's version of this, involving the common lordship of the Messiah and the moral guarantee of the Spirit is also specifically compatible with Judaism. Finally, it was noted that Peter's double dream closely resembled Paul's, where a certain ecclesial "parallelisation" had long been observed. Both experienced enigmatic visions involving dissimulating divine speech that trapped them into realisations of personal and intellectual inconsistency, adding their own contrition to the ready repentance of the Gentiles. If these resonances are intended, then they provide added support for both the inclusion of Peter's vision and our reading of it. Significantly, just as Paul confronts conservative panic about Torah abolition in Acts 21, so Peter faces the same spectre in his own very Jewish nightmare. That such a fear is articulated explicitly and not covered up is thus already evident in Luke's rhetorical strategy, and its presence in Peter's vision, consistent and meaningful.

2 Wider Significance

The simplest benefit of this study is that a better understanding of the form, intertexture and register of this highly unusual vision has been established. The suspicion of Gaventa (1986: 110) that some of Luke's dreams lie nearer to Plutarch and the Greek novels than the Bible has proved remarkably insightful and has here been fleshed out with surprising results. Whilst the account presents some wry, novelistic, even playful ironies, the darker complexion of Plutarch's troubled leaders at their "Rubicon" moments also resonates strongly.

The suggestion of a "dual literacy" on Luke's account, able to work biblically, but also appropriate Graeco–Roman dream forms and idioms, matches very reasonably conclusions arrived at for other aspects of Luke's writings. This has not been merely stylistic, however. Providing such a dream for Peter has moved beyond Miller's (2007) allowance of *uncertainty* in revelation, into a greater role for human experience and thought. Whilst this reflects related observations about early Christian prophecy, and

rabbinical discourse, this text moves beyond this by including even the paradoxical and transgressive dreams of the disturbed within the revelatory process. This constitutes a remarkable development, although perhaps foreshadowing the later experiences of Jerome and the Jewish mystics.

Seeing this development has also revealed the inadequacy of previous attempts to force dream accounts into the narrower confines of form–critical analysis. Beyond the simple separation of frame and contents, the traditional options for the dreams themselves are quite outstripped by the creative and fluid combinations of classic and popular motifs going on in Hellenistic writers where the key thing as a reader is to detect idiom, register and allusion. Getting this vision right does not solve the "problem of the genre of Acts". But that Luke could attempt something like this, however, adds further evidence that he is comfortable with the mimetic and experimental literary culture of the early Second Sophistic. The overall judgement of "apologetic history with a novelistic feel" need not be revised significantly.

As a rare counter–example to Luke's view of the law, however, resolving this apparent editorial anomaly develops additional significance. If Luke can be read in a more consistently non–abolitionist sense, then Jervell's controversial "dual identity" reading of Luke's ecclesiology is made more plausible. With some Jesus and Paul scholars gradually moving in this direction, and a growing appreciation that an integrated but distinct Jewish–Christian identity survived for some time in the early Church, adds to the possibility that Luke's perspective here was normative and not out on a limb. For scholars to speak of a "temporary compromise" or a "failed two–track system" may be to fundamentally misunderstand the logic. Just because Jewish Christianity faded numerically does not mean that Luke's ecclesiology is not of abiding significance. Its recent resurgence within Messianic Judaism presupposes it, and arguably, Paul's eschatology requires it. One may even ask, as a corollary, whether abolitionism was ever a movement in the earliest Church, or just a *worry* about one. A reverse campaign to declare *only* Jewish Christianity legitimate clearly did exist, and is rejected in both Acts and Paul. Abolitionism would only do this the other way round. The older picture of Peter simply resisting a "change of mind" on God's part was always unsatisfactory, and the coherence of any original abolitionist tract has been implicitly called into question.

3 Suggestions for Further Research

There are many loose ends to tidy up and pursue. Miller's call for more detailed surveys of Graeco–Roman dreams and visions unfortunately stands reiterated, although this study has perhaps indicated the need for richer classificatory schemes. Listing dreams in an

open relationship to sets of features that may be combined in any and every way, and looking for patterns and tendencies that freely cross over the conventional categories would seem a more fruitful way of proceeding. This would allow the development of a broader pattern of judgements about the clustering of such features within genres, of evolution over time, and of borrowing, crossover, and fusion. Humphrey's talk of a "rhetoric" of vision, where authors can use and combine stock motifs in various ways to support very particular apologetic stances is extremely attractive and should be further pursued.

The discovery that the ancients were well aware of the peculiar phenomenon of transgressive and taboo–breaking dreams experienced by otherwise upright citizens has been particularly stimulating and should be investigated further. That Greeks and Romans saw violations of sacred law as rather ominous is telling, and suggests that the type of dream here would have been recognised and read sympathetically. That some popular interpreters had devised ways for less alarming meanings to be salvaged from these experiences is widely known, and yet telling too is the boldness of Hellenistic biographers to tie key turning points in the lives of their heroes to such experiences.

Other observations that merit pursuit lie within the Jewish connections of the vision. That Jews differed about the halakha, practicalities and desirability of contact with Gentiles was already clear before this study, and that in their differing ways, most NT documents touch upon the issue, in either its original or Christian forms. Luke's real knowledge of these issues had sometimes been doubted, as indeed, had any ongoing place for halakhic thought in the Christian community, as can be seen by the responses of Pauline scholars to Acts 15. That specifically halakhic thought continued, however, is being increasingly realised. Further pursuit of the issues emerging from Peter's vision and the surrounding narrative might be added into this debate with a greater sense of coherence. What would add insight here, however, would be looking for further evidence of the ongoing life of Luke's ecclesial "model" in the sub–apostolic period, as attempted in some part by Skarsaune and Hvalvik (2007), not only for evidence of how table–fellowship was managed in practice, but other aspects of mutual acceptance and belonging.

Appendix 1

Appendix 1: Structure and Terminology

APPENDIX 1: STRUCTURE AND TERMINOLOGY 213
1 Outline of Passage 213
2 Dream and Vision Terminology 213
2.1 ANE and Hebrew Terminology 213
2.2 Greek Terminology 214
2.3 Latin Terminology 214

1 Outline of Passage

A: Visions, arrival of delegation from Caesarea
1. Description of the devout Cornelius' in Caesarea (Acts 10:1-2)
2. Cornelius's Angelic visitation, message and travel instructions for Joppa (Acts 10:3-6)
3. Cornelius despatches party of men to fetch Peter (Acts 10:7-8)
4. Peter on rooftop waiting for lunch as men are approaching (Acts 10:9-10)
5. Peter's vision in a "trance" (Acts 10:11-16)
6. Messengers from Cornelius arrive while Peter puzzling (Acts 10:17-18)
7. Word from the Spirit to go with the men (Acts 10:19-20)
8. Peter speaks with the men and invites them to stay the night (Acts 10:21-23a)

B: Return to Caesarea, preaching, conversions
9. Peter and a group of "brothers" journey to Caesarea (Acts 10:23b-24)
10. Joppa party received by Cornelius, relatives and friends (Acts 10:24)
11. Awkward conversations at Cornelius' door
(a) Cornelius falls at Peter's feet (Acts 10:25-26)
(b) Peter explains his reluctance to enter, and how overcome (Acts 10:28-29)
(c) Cornelius recounts his vision and invites Peter to speak (Acts 10:30-33)
12. Peter's sermon (Acts 10:34-43)
13. The Spirit falls as Peter is speaking, Cornelius' household speak in tongues and praise God (Acts 10:44-46)
14. Peter's Jewish companions astounded (Acts 10:45)
15. Cornelius and household are baptised (Acts 10:47-48)
16. Peter and companions enjoy hospitality for some days (Acts 10:48b)

C: Confrontation by members of the Jerusalem church and immediate resolution
17. The Jerusalem church hear of the goings on (Acts 11:1)
18. Peter visits Jerusalem (time and reason unknown) (Acts 11:1)
19. Jewish Christians criticise Peter for visiting Cornelius and "eating with him (Acts 11:2)
20. Peter relates his vision, all the events and explains his thinking and actions (Acts 11:3-17)
21. Jewish Christians amazed/dumbstruck, accept the account and offer own comment (Acts 11:18)

D: Indirect mention during Apostolic council
22. Peter alludes to the above during discussions about Gentile converts, including
(a) His recent involvement in Gentile conversions (Acts 10:25-26)
(b) Gentile reception of the Spirit in the same manner as earlier Jewish Christians (Acts 10:25-26) showing a lack of "discrimination" on God's part (echoing a word used by the Spirit in Acts 10:25-26.

The outline above is based on Gaebelein et al. (1976-1991).

2 Dream and Vision Terminology

2.1 ANE and Hebrew Terminology

In ancient literature, dreams and visions are not always signalled by special words, and when such terms do exist, they can vary according to genre, period, author[1], and register[2]. By unwittingly telescoping time

and flattening variation, dictionaries can give the impression of greater fixity of terminology than is really the case. In ANE languages[3], terms for dreams and visions appear to derive from words relating to sleeping[4], seeing[5] and waking[6]. Not all have a verb "to dream", using the idiom "to see a dream" instead[7]. In Hebrew, there is both a verb חלם *to dream*[8] and a corresponding noun חֲלוֹם[9] for which the etymology is disputed[10], but additional terms do derive from verbs for seeing, ראה[11], and חזה[12]. ראה has derived nouns מַרְאֶה[13] and מַרְאָה[14] which can both mean "a vision", and רֹאֶה a "seer" or prophet. From חזה come חָזוֹן[15] and חִזָּיוֹן,[16] also "a vision" with חֹזֶה[17], similarly a "seer". Since all these also simply imply "seeing", no special phenomenology is necessarily implied and a "vision of the night" (חֲזוֹן לַיְלָה et sim.)[18] is thus a synonym and poetic parallel for חֲלוֹם[19]. Although the roots חלם, ראה[20] and חזה[21] are technically "neutral" from the religious point of view[22], in certain periods, the terminology does seem to have become tangled up in polemic against false prophets, with חֲלוֹם certainly being used more often in a pejorative sense about opponents, with חָזוֹן reserved for God's seers. This is especially observed in the 8th century BCE and the Exile, where the target is foreign divinatory practice[23]. In these periods there is some evidence of an assimilation of חָזוֹן to the notion of a prophetic oracle [24]. This is not, however, a fixed association[25], nor a permanent excising of the visual aspect of revelation[26]. In post-exilic conception, the contrast with Gentile practice can be cast less nervously by giving the "exilic" hero Daniel *superior* "understanding in all visions and dreams" (Dan 1:17)[27].

2.2 Greek Terminology

Greek dream/vision terminology[28], displays both resemblances and differences from its ANE and biblical counterparts[29]. There are two common words for a dream while asleep, ἐνύπνιον and ὄνᾰρ (variant, ὄνειρος). No verbal forms are evident in earlier Greek but start to appear in the LXX[30]. ἐνύπνιον derives from ὕπνος, (sleep) and, together with a number of variants, is common in both Homer and the LXX, which uses it for most occurrences of חֲלוֹם[31]. It is, however, strangely absent from the NT except via a LXX quotation. ὄνᾰρ/ὄνειρος is common in Homer[32] but rare in the LXX[33], making Matthew's frequent (but sole) use of it in the NT rather distinctive[34]. Generic words for *vision, sight, vista, scene* etc.[35] include ὅρᾱμα, ὅρᾱσις, ὀπτᾰσία and ὄψις, which can, in appropriate contexts, mean supernatural visions or dreams[36]. ὅρᾱμα provides the LXX[37] stock translation for חָזוֹן[38] and appears frequently in Gk Daniel and 11x in Acts[39]. The common LXX form ὅρᾱσις[40] comes into Luke (with ἐνύπνιον) only via Joel 2:28. ὀπτᾰσία[41], is used occasionally in the later parts of the LXX[42], and appears in Lk 1:22, 24:23 and Acts 26:19, when specifically visionary experiences need to be indicated[43]. ὄψις[44] is used in the LXX only in the "ordinary" sense of seeing[45], but is used in relation to dreams by Herodotus[46] and Josephus[47]. Besides these, there is a number of rarer words occasionally used for visions, such as φάσμα/φάντασμα[48], ἀποκάλυψις[49] and ἐπιφάνεια[50], for which classical, biblical and para-biblical uses are discussed by Hanson[51]. That neither the LXX, Luke's nor Matthew's preferred words correlate very simply suggests that Hanson may be correct in seeing personal preferences at work[52], and if a deliberate allusion to a story in the LXX or a classical work were intended, then an NT author would need to rely on more than terminology to do so.

2.3 Latin Terminology

Latin terms appear to be dependent on Greek, with the terms "somnium" and "insomnium" by far the most common for dreams while asleep and "visio" for vision[53]. Insomnium is clearly a cognate of ἐνύπνιον[54], and perhaps earlier than its Greek counterpart, tends to be used for non-significant dreams and nightmares[55]. Kessels notes that both Artemidorus and Macrobius later attempt to compile a Latin glossary, based on the usages evident in Cicero; they list the correspondences ὄνειρος = somnium, ἐνύπνιον = insomnium, ὅρᾱμα = visio, φάντασμα = visum and χρηματισμός = oraculum (which they include because it can appear as a shorthand in some writers for a prophetic or oracular dream)[56]. Less frequently, "quies" and "requies" can also be used to refer to dreams in a some literary settings. Inscriptions tend to use the rather sparse formulae "I saw" or "I was commanded" where a dream or vision would seem to be implied by the content.

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[1] Re even inscriptions, Renberg (2003) shows both diachronic change and geographic variation too. On authorial preference, cf. Hanson (1980: 1408).

[2] One may need to distinguish between expert terms and popular language, noted by Artemidorus, *Oneir.*4:Pref.60-64.

[3] Biblical terms show many similarities to those in other ANE languages.

[4] See various terms in Akkadian, Sumerian and Egyptian discussed by Oppenheim (1956: 225-226) and Szpakowska (2003: 16).

[5] Hebrew, Arabic, Ugaritic, Aramaic, and Arabic.

[6] As probably for the Egyptian noun "rsw.t" which passes into Coptic (Oppenheim, 1956: 190, 226, Szpakowska, 2003: 15-16) cf. a similar Akkadian term (Flannery-Dailey, 2000: 22). On the so-called Wecktraum, cf. Oppenheim (1956: 190), Flannery-Dailey (2000: 21).

[7] Egyptian and classical Greek do not have a verb, although Hebrew does. That no great conclusions should be made from such observations, cf. Szpakowska (2003: 16 n.19, n.20).

[8] Cf. Gen 42:9, 27x in OT with Aramaic, Ethiopic, Ugaritic and Arabic cognates

[9] Cf. Ibid. 37:5, 65x in OT. There is an Aramaic cognate חֶלֶם found in Dan 4:2 et sim. (22x in Daniel alone).

[10] See BDB, Bergman et al. (1980), Culver (1980) and Smith (1997). The etymology of חֲלוֹם/חלם is opaque in Hebrew. A homonym with Syriac and Arabic cognates meaning "make strong" or "come of age" leads to a supposed link with sexual dreams (Bergman et al., 1980: 427), however Oppenheim reports an Ugaritic verb linked to "seeing" which sounds more convincing (Oppenheim, 1956: 226 following Gordon, 1947: 228 n674).

[11] See BDB, Culver (1980) and Naudé (1997). ראה vb. *see, perceive, look at, observe, find out, look after, distinguish, consider* (Gen 29:10 et sim). With Arabic and Ethiopic cognates, in passive and causative forms, it can mean "appear" or "be seen" (incl. of God). Besides the conceptual derivatives רָאֶה adj. *seeing* (Job 10:15 et sim), and רֵאִי n.m. *appearance, sight* (Gen 16:13 et sim.), a number of other words meaning *spectacle* or *sight* can refer to prophetic visions, namely מַרְאֶה n m. (Ex 3:3 et sim.), מַרְאָה n f. (1 Sam 3:15 et sim.) and רֹאֶה n m. (Isa 28:7) with the word רֹאֶה n.m. also meaning a "seer" (1 Sam 9:9b et sim.) often a synonym for נָבִיא or prophet.

[12] See BDB, Bergman et al. (1980), Jepsen (1980) and Culver (1980) חזה vb. *see, behold, perceive* (55x in OT) is an almost wholly poetic word similar in sense to English "behold", and used in literal, metaphorical and visionary contexts throughout the OT (w. Aramaic Ethiopic, Arabic cognates). There are derivatives related to the ones for ראה, including מָחֲזֶה n f. ("window") and several words that can mean "vision" such as חָזוֹן n m. (Dan 8:1, 35x in OT), חִזָּיוֹן n m. (2 Sam 7:17, 9x in OT), מַחֲזֶה n m. (4x) and the unusual construct state only חָזוֹת n.f., used for formal vision/prophecy collections. Finally, analogous to רֹאֶה is חוֹזֶה n m. a *seer* (17x in OT). חזה is almost certainly an Aramaic loan-word with an originally similar semantic domain to ראה, thus explaining the apparent redundancy and overlap of meaning. In the Hebrew context, however, visionary and prophetic associations are more frequent than for ראה, with חזה often referring to "a revelation of the divine word, usually at night during a (deep) sleep and sometimes associated with emotional agitation." (Jepsen, 1980: 284).

[13] חָזוֹן n m. as Ex 3:3 et sim.

[14] חִזָּיוֹן n.m. as 1 Sam 3:15 et sim.

[15] As Dan 8:1 et sim. (35x in OT).

[16] As 2 Sam 7:17 et sim. (9x in OT). The less frequent מַחֲזֶה n m. (4x) and the unusual construct state-only חָזוֹת n f., used for formal vision/prophecy collections should also be noted.

[17] חוֹזֶה n m. a *seer* (17x in OT).

[18] בְּמַרְאֹת הַלָּיְלָה (Gen 46:2), חֲזוֹן לַיְלָה (Is 29:7)., חֶזְיוֹן(וֹת) לַיְלָה (Job b 4:13; 20:8), and the highly circumlocutory וְאָמַר חָזֶה הָיִית בְּחֶזְוִי עִם־לֵילְיָא וַאֲרוּ (Dan 7:2 cf. Dan 7:13, Dan 2:19)

[19] "Like a dream, a vision of the night" cf. the nearly identical כַּחֲלוֹם חֲזוֹן לַיְלָה, (Isa 29:7), בַּחֲלוֹם חֶזְיוֹן לַיְלָה (Job 33:15)

[20] And associated word-group, including מַרְאֶה et sim.

[21] And associated word-group, including, חָזוֹן et sim.

[22] Each can refer to natural, divine and "false" dream/visions and indeed, the deceiving or drunken dream/visions of failing or false prophets. חֲלוֹם can thus be used for natural dreams (Pss 126:1, Isa 29:7-8, Eccl 5:7[6]), true dreams from God (Gen 20:3, 28:12, Num 12:6, 1 Kgs 3:5, Dan 2:28) and deceiving dreams of false prophets (Jer 23:25, 32, 27:9-10, 29:8, Zech 10:2). The visions of God's prophets via the ראה–group or the חזה–group need no qualification (see the many examples listed in BDB), but with the addition of a suitable adjective (false etc.), can equally describe the "visions" of opponents (Ezek 12:24, 22:28, 37:7, Lam 2:14, Isa 28:7 – although this latter case may refer simply to the blurred vision of drunkenness).

[23] Initially Canaanite, but later Babylonian (Husser, 1999: 139-154). Husser sees both relaxed and nervous perspectives in Deuteronomy via the inconsistent redactional erasure of the former – see his discussions of (1) Deut 18:9-14, where dreams are not listed amongst "banned" interests (ibid., 143-144), (2) redactional alterations in Deut 13:2-6 (ibid., 144), (3) the Balaam story in Num 22-23 (ibid., 147-149) and (4) the "Deuteronomistic" concerns of the editor of Jeremiah (ibid., 140-141). Husser additionally develops a theory here as to the emergence of a new dream-vision form in the post-exilic age. Note that this OT perspective surfaces as a traditional allusion in Jude 8.

[24] On the close association with God's prophets see Jepsen (1980: 282), Culver (1980: 274-275) and Naudé (1997: 58-59) and with prophetic oracles, Jepsen (1980: 283).

[25] When Miller (1990) argues for a "permanent" distinction between the dreams of false prophecy and the visions of true prophecy he goes too far, especially re biblical periods and genres in which this is not so important. He ends up having to call the dreams of Solomon (1 Kings 3:5-15) and Jacob (Gen 28:12-15; 31:10-13) exceptions (ibid., 402, 403).

[26] Miller's agenda extends beyond a terminological point when he suggests that Daniel's "visions of the night" are not dreams, (ibid., 402).

[27] הֵבִין בְּכָל־חָזוֹן וַחֲלֹמוֹת

[28] Cf. Dodds (1951: 104ff), Kessels (1978: 174-207), Hanson (1980: 1407-1408), Flannery-Dailey (2000: 82ff), Gnuse (1989: 17-20), Vinagre (1996), Fernandez and Vinagre (2003), Leuci (1993), and Renberg (2003) on the special language of inscriptions. Neither Messer (1918) nor van Lieshout (1980) have special sections on terminology, but have copious notes on terms as they occur.

[29] Oppenheim (1956: 186ff) fruitfully considered Greek dream/vision terminology and perceptions alongside ANE material, positing cultural contact between them via the Hittite presence in Ionia (ibid., 199).

[30] ὀνειρώσσω, appears from Plato onwards (Pl.*Tht*.158b, *Rep*.476c). ὀνειριάζω follows much later in the 1st or 2nd century CE (Cyran.1.5.13 K). Verbs based on ἐνύπνιον are, however, known in the Hellenistic period. The LXX actually has ἐνυπνιάζω in Joel 2:17 (LXX 3:1), repeated in the quotation in Acts 2 but never then used directly by Luke thereafter. In most Greek sources, "seeing a dream" remains the norm. That this lack of verbal forms, and needing to speak of "seeing a dream" or a dream image "coming and standing at the head" of a dreamer shows that a culture has a "primitive conception" (Messer, 1918: 10), or a naïvely objective view of dreams (Dodds , 1951: 104-105) is often repeated (e.g. by Flannery-Dailey, 2000: 23-24, 78). Although many such idioms are shared throughout the ANE (see Oppenheim , 1956: 188, 189, 201, 234 who notes the connections with Homer on p.234) working from language to "concepts" proves somewhat misleading. Thus, finding contemporary evidence of an awareness of a "subjective" dimension the whole issue has been queried by Kessels (1978: 157-158) and van Lieshout (1980: 19-20) who conclude that neither "objectivity" (pace Dodds) nor "subjectivity" (contra the *Innenträume*/*Aussenträume* distinction of Hundt, 1935) provide a secure classification.

[31] E.g. Gen 28:12, Gen 37:5, 6, 9, 10, Gen 40:5, 8, 41:1, 5, 11, 15, 26, Deut 13:2, 4, 6, Judges 7:13, 15, Job 7:14, 20:8, 33:15, Ps 73:20 [71:20], Isa 29:8, Jer 23:25, 29:8, all 20 references in Daniel, and Joel 3:1.

[32] The earliest terms for dream *interpreter* (or better "functionary") in the classical tradition is linked to this word group, namely ὀνειροπολος, ὁ, (*Il.*1:63, 5:149, Hdt.1:128, 5.56). Kessels (1978: 31-34) has argued that in the earliest period, in court and military settings, this functionary is likely to have been appointed to "have" dreams on behalf of the King or general and select from amongst them the most auspicious. By the time of Herodotus, however, the more normal later sense of dream-*interpreter* is probably understood. Compounds of κρίνω, such as ὀνειροκρίτης are known from a little after Herodotus, although increase in frequency in the early centuries CE, e.g. ὀνειροκρίτης [ῐ̆], ου, ὁ, *a dream interpreter*, Thpr.Char.16:11 (4th/3rd century BCE), Theoc.21:33, SIG1133 (Delos 2nd/1st century BCE), ὀνειροκρῐ̆σία, ἡ, [the science of] *dream interpretation*, Artem.*Oneir*.2:25, 70 (2nd century CE), ὀνειροκρῐ̆τικός, ή, όν, *for the purpose of interpreting dreams*. For these and many other references, see LSJ.

[33] ὄνειρος only appears in WSol 18:17, 19, 2 Macc 15:11 and 4 Macc 6:5.

[34] Mt 1:20, 2:12, 2:13, 2:19, 2:22, 27:19. Of these six references, the first five concern Joseph and the Magi during the infancy narrative, and the last is to Pilate's wife during the trial. The word is not known in Mark, Luke or John. The masculine form ὄνειρος, is not known in the NT at all. The later tendency by later oneirocritics such as Artemidorus (2nd century CE), to reserve ὄνᾰρ/ὄνειρος for divine and prophetic dreams and use ἐνύπνιον for "ordinary" or deceiving ones, is not known in Homer (where they can function as synonymous poetic parallels, *Od.*14.495, *Il.*2.56), and although ὄνᾰρ/ὄνειρος is rare in the LXX, no special significance appears to attach to it there either. Although the NT uses both forms very infrequently, again no special point seems to be made from the word choice.

[35] Large lexical stock should not be "over interpreted", as per the warnings of James Barr's *Semantics of Biblical Language* (1961). Even if aspects of later Hellenistic culture may indeed be described as "rampant[ly] visual" (Zeitlin, 2001: 211), for Michaelis (1964: 316, 319) to argue that the large number of words in Greek related to "seeing" somehow proves that "seeing was more important .. than hearing" for the Greeks or that "Greek religion may be regarded as a religion of vision" is rather debatable.

[36] Both a supernatural (day-time) vision, what is seen in a dream, and as a "vision of the night" (as per the Hebrew idiom.)

[37] In the later Greek translations other derivative verbal, compound and noun forms appear, e.g. ὁρᾱμᾰτίζομαι, *look*, (Aq.Ps.10(11).4), ὁρᾱμᾰτισμός, ὁ, *vision*, (Aq. Jb.4.13, pl. with νυκτός), ὁρᾱμᾰτιστής, οῦ, ὁ, *visionary*, (Sm., Aq.).

[38] It occasionally renders חֲלוֹם, and, as mentioned earlier in relation to the appropriation of visionary language to the legitimation of prophecy, it also renders מַשָּׂא (saying, oracle) in seven places in Isaiah.

[39] Acts 7:31, 9:10, 12, 10:3, 17, 19, 11:5, 12:9, 16:9, 10, 18:9. It continues to be debated whether this Lukan preference is linked to a special interest in Daniel.

[40] ὅρᾱσις, εως, ἡ, *seeing, act of sight, appearance*, also common in the LXX is certainly used of *a vision* in both pre and post-exilic literature.

[41] It too has its own cognate verb, ὀπτάζομαι.

[42] I.e. its translations of post-exilic and second Temple literature, as well as the added Jewish texts composed in Greek – Dan 9:23, 10:1, 7, 8, 16; Mal 3:2, Sir 43:2; 16; Add.Esth 14:7.

[43] E.g. to explain the state of shock of Zechariah emerging from the temple, or the Emmaus road disciples expressing their perplexity, and perhaps incredulity about the reports of the women). The Acts reference is where Paul reports his "obedience to the heavenly vision" to King Agrippa during the last of his reiterations of his conversion

experience. Interestingly, of course, a specific word for vision is not present in the original account, pointing again to the tendency for theophanies and angelophanies to lose the specific accoutrements of the dream-vision form.

[44] ὄψις, ἡ, *aspect, appearance* of a person or thing, vision in the subjective sense of *power of sight* , and thus, as in English, the objective *thing seen, sight,* which can then in certain circumstances mean *vision* in the sense of *apparition.*

[45] i.e., almost always in the simple sense of eye-sight (e.g. Tob 14:2), or appearance (e.g. of spots in Lev 13:4, or of a beautiful woman in Gen 26:7). Its use within the visionary accounts of Ezekiel and Daniel is mainly when the seer is literally struggling to describe the "appearance" of some heavenly body.

[46] E.g. Hdt.1:39, where an ὄψις is promptly called an ὄνειρον.

[47] In the phrase ὄψις ὀνείρατος by Josephus in *AJ* 3:38.

[48] φάσμα, ατος, τό: (φαίνω):—*apparition, phantom* (Hdt.6:69, also *strange phenomena* esp. in the heavens, *portent, omen*), and the related φαντᾰσμα, ατος, τό, can rarely be used of dreams and visions (cf. ὀνείρων φάσματα Aesch *Ag*.274, cf. Soph.*El*.644, cf. Arist.*EN* 1102b.10, Theocr.21.30). φαντᾰσμα does make a fleeting appearance in Mt 14:26 // Mk 6:49 re Jesus walking on the water. The "ghost" refutation in Luke's upper-room (Lk 24:37) uses πνεῦμα.

[49] ἀποκάλυψις [κᾰ], εως, ἡ, *uncovering, revelation*; whist well known to us from the biblical genre, is far more often within Greek literature as a whole, used for general senses of revealing things, and in the more explicitly religious sense, the revelation of divine mysteries, as opposed to visual phenomena as such.

[50] ἐπιφάνής, ές, *coming to light, coming suddenly into view, appearing*, of gods and the cognate ἐπιφάνεια, τά, originally *sacrifices in celebration of a divine appearance,* occur in Herodotus (Hdt.3:27) and pass into the Hellenistic historians often discussed in relation to Luke, namely Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*RA* 2:68) and Diodorus Siculus (*BH* 1:25, 2:47), used when they need to talk about the sudden appearance of deities within an otherwise "historical" narrative. In the NT, ἐπιφάνεια occurs in relation to the second coming in 2 Tim 1:10 where the unusual occurrence forms a traditional part of the discussions surrounding authorship.

[51] Hanson (1980: 1408 n.51).

[52] Ibid., 1408.

[53] Renberg (2003: 55).

[54] Kessels (1969: 395).

[55] Cf. the overtones of disturbed sleep in English.

[56] E.g. Macr.*Comm.ad.Somn.Scip.*3:2

Appendix 2

Appendix 2: Dreams, Classification and Notes

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Ancient Near East and Biblical

1 ANE Dreams

1.1 Introduction, Bibliography

For economy, only the selection of dreams from Oppenheim (1956) will be considered here. This report on an Assyrian dream–book, had a wide–ranging and influential introduction. More specialised studies have appeared, e.g. on linguistic issues (Noegel, 2007) or specific regions (Szpakowska, 2003). In so far as it has been observed that of all the "units" that end up in ancient literature, the dream or vision is amongst the most stable and most uniform across cultures and regions (Oppenheim, 1956: 187), with scattered mentions of the NT (Oppenheim, 1956: 186, 187, 197, 209), via its general location, and particularly its use of the OT, Luke–Acts' own "literary stock" and that of its readers are certainly dependent on an ANE environment, and so such studies do retain some relevance. There is even brief speculation on the ANE origins of the late classical double dream used in Acts, Josephus and other Graeco–Roman texts (ibid.1956: 209). Whilst not a Semitic culture, Oppenheim certainly handles the Greek traditions (on which Luke–Acts is also dependent) as part of the ANE world (Oppenheim, 1956: 186 and frequent references thereafter) with continued scholarly speculation about early Greek contact with the Hittite civilisation and "dream culture" via Ionia (Oppenheim, 1956: 239).

1.2 Texts/Classification

Oppenheim discusses some 78 ANE dreams. The longest texts are provided in 33 excerpts in an appendix to Part I, §8. (p.245–255), although several of these passages contain more than one dream (i.e. no.3 & 4 contain 2 dreams each, no.5, 3 dreams, no 10, 2 dreams, no. 14, 4 dreams and no. 24, 12 dreams), giving a total of 52 examples.

Dreams from Oppenheim, §8. (p.245–255) (1) (Gudea), (2) (Tammuz), (3) (Gilgamesh) [1–2], (4) (Gilgamesh) [1-2], (5) (Gilgamesh) [1-3], (6) (Enkidu), (7) (Enkidu), (8) (Assur to Gyges), (9) (Ishtar to Assurbanipal's army), (10) (Ishtar to Assurbanipal/Priest of Ishtar) [1-2], (11) (anon.) (12) (Marduk to Nabonidus), (13) (Nabonidus), (14) ("huge man" to anon.) [1-4], (15) (Re-Atum to Thutmose IV), (16) (Ptah to Merenptah), (17) (Tanutamun), (18) (Prince of Bekhten), (19) (Khnum to Djoser), (20) (Imhotep to Taimhotep), (21) (Ptolemy Soter), (22) ("the god" to Sethos), (23) (Nektonabes), (24) (Serapeum incubants) [1-12], (25) (Ishtar to Murshilli), (26) (Ishtar to Hattushili), (27) (Ishtar to anon.), (28) (Ishtar to various nobles.), (29) (Ishtar to Hattushili), (30) (Hebat to the Queen), (31) (Gurwashu to the Queen), (32) (The Queen), (33) (Danu-Hepa to the King). **Other dreams** (34) (Amon to Amenhotep II) (p.190-191),

(35) (Bel to anon. Assyrian supplicant) (p.192), (36) (anon. to Ammiditana) (p.192), (37) (Sin to Nabonidus [votive]) (p.192), (38) (The Hittite King [votive]) (p.193), (39) The Hittite King [votive] (p.193), (40) Ending of Akkadian "Epic of Irra" (p.193), (41) (anon. to Khamuas and his wife) [1-2] (p.194), (42) (Hittite incubation) (p.194), (43) (Malik-Dagan, Mari Official) (p.195), (44) (anon. re lost jewellery), (p.196), (45) (Liwani to Gashuliya re healing) (p.197-8), (46) (Hittite prayer) (p.199), (47) (Ishtar to Hittite nobles) (p.197-198), (48) (Shumukin) (p.205), (49) (Bel-iddannu) (p.205), (50) (Extispiciy dream) (p.205), (51) (Uta-napishtim) (p.207), (52) (Keshshi) [1-7] (p.208), (53) (Shamash to Nabonidus "and others") (p.209 and 202–203).

1.2.1 Message/Visitation Forms

31 examples: Nos.8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 22, 25-31, 33-37, 41, 44, 45, 47, 53. Messages can be delivered by either recognisably divine or human figures of especial size, beauty or luminosity (e.g. No.14 [1, 3]) or known or unknown human figures (13, 14 [2, 4], 25, 33), and sometimes just a voice (8, 9, 32 and 43, via a a statue). They can include commands, plans and designs (e.g. re artefacts and temples), promises and revelations (n.3), and frequently involve the dreamer in dialogue.

1.2.2 Symbolic/Other Visual Forms

25 examples: Nos.1-6, 17-18, 21, 23, 48-52. Visual dreams of both presentational and participatory types are found (n.7), but many are not so much symbolic as 'clairvoyant' (Oppenheim, 1956: 196 et sim.), observing a scene occurring elsewhere (as Nos.2, 6, 7, 23).

1.2.3 Hybrid/Uncertain Forms

20 examples: Nos.7, 11, 13, 24, 38-40, 42-43. Messages can be qualified by gestures, accessories or gifts (Nos.10, 14, 16, 35). Sometimes a dream-figure arrives as if to speak, but instead performs an action, or presents a secondary visual scene (Noegel, 2001: 47). Sometimes verbal messages require *symbolic* interpretation (Noegel, 2001: 46-47) and "messages" can be *seen* rather than heard (No.11).

1.2.4 Passing References

1 Passing reference, No.46.

1.2.5 Interpretation

Symbolic dreams need interpreting by experts (as Nos.2, 17 et sim.), unless particularly obvious, as (No.18), but we also see dreamers turning to friends (5, 6, 21), relatives (3, 4) or interpreting the dream themselves. This can happen directly (No.18) or in stages (poss. No.16) or with the help of adjunct portents and signs (No.13). In terms of technique, whilst erudite methods often feature when scribes and advisors are involved, the more fluid dreams of the epic heroes are often self-interpreted in a less formulaic way.

Notes

[1] **Women and servants as recipients**: Women: Nos.24[1], 27, 41[1], 45 (discussion p.190, 197), Servants: 10, 43.

[2] **ANE double dreams and multiple recipients**: Nos.10, 41 (two individuals), 53 (individual plus group), 9 (group only).

[3] **Dreams afecting awareness/understanding**: Nos.6 (clairvoyant, re death), and 15, 19 (promises).

[4] **Presentational vs. participatory visual dreams**: Presentational: Nos.1,6,11, 17,18,21,23, Participationary: 2-5, 7, 13, 24.[1,3-5, 8, 9, 11], 42, 43, cf. "objective/subjective" (Messer, 1918), "Innenträume/Aussenträume" (Hundt, 1935) "passive/active", "enstatic/ecstatic" (van Lieshout, 1980).

[5] **Dream accounts within reported speech**: Nos.2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 13, 20, 43.

[6] **Multi–tableaux dreams**: Nos.1, 13.

[7] **Dream sequences and repeated dreams**: Nos.3-5, 14, 24[5-8, 9-12], 49, 52.

[8] **Framing problems:** Anomlies can occur via reported speech, which can reduce, alter or split the frame (as n.5), sequences of dreams (n.7) or of tableaux (n.6) and for dreams within dreams (No.43). In other cases, information traditionally held in the frame is simply mixed up with the dream content (Nos.2-4, 13 et sim.).

[9] **Character development in ANE dreams**: esp. re Gilgamesh dreams, cf. Oppenheim (1956: 213), Bulkley (1993).

[10] **Dreams and votive offerings**: Nos.37-39.

[11] **ANE Dreambooks**: There are three partially extant ANE manuals, an Assyrian dream book (Oppenheim, 1956: 256-334), Egyptian hieratic (Gardiner, 1935: 1:9-23, photographs in 2: plates 5-8a, 12-12a, ET Wilson, 1969: 495, Lewis , 1976: 7-15) and Demotic (Volten, 1942).

[12] **ANE temple–building dreams**: No.1 (cf. Oppenheim, 1956: 211, 224, Cryer, 1994: 268, Lowery, 1999: 34), No.15 (Hughes, 2000: 8), No.23 (Tait, 1994: 213-214), No.53 (Oppenheim, 1956: 202-203, 209).

[13] **Psychological Status Dreams**: cf. Oppenheim (1956: 185, 206). The simpler examples concern health or sexual issues (ibid. 227, 193-194, No 8) or general anxiety (No.13), although on the psychological character of the dreams of Gilgamesh, cf. Bulkley (1993).

2 Hebrew Bible

2.1 Introduction, Bibliography

On OT dreams in their ANE environment, cf. Ehrlich (1953), Caquot (1959), Richter (1963), Resch (1964), Bar (1987, 2001), Husser (1999) and Noegel (2001, 2007) and re magic and divination, Davies

(1898), Guillaume (1938), Wood (1994), Cryer (1994) and Jeffers (1996) and again, Noegel (2006, 2007). Re the prophetic visions, see Horst (1960), Long (1972, 1976), Amsler (1981), Walton (1989), Miller (1990) and comments in the more general studies of Wilson (1980) and Nissinen (2003). Some prophets expressed negative views about dreams (Jer 23:25, 28, Jer 27:9; 29:8, Zech 10:2), as discussed by Wilson (1980: 256-257), Niditch (1983: 12-19) and Gnuse (1984: 63). That Luke was heir to both positive and negative tendencies, cf. Acts 23:9b, 26:19. The post–exilic prophets are important for the "new" form of the symbolic vision (Niditch, 1983). Besides relevant sections of the above, works consulted on individual dreams or visions also include Judges 7:13-15: commentaries of Schneider (2000), Martin (1975), Boling (2005) and notes in Noegel (2007: 141-146), Dan 5:1-30: Goldingay (1989), Collins (1993) and notes in Noegel (2007: 160-162).

2.2 Texts/Classification

Given the number of other studies, there will be no full listing here, just stylistic, thematic and other observations.

2.2.1 Message/Visitation Forms

Message–dream *variations* include (1) touch and or other ritual action e.g. Isa 6:1-13, Jer 1:9, cf. Dan 10:10, 10:16, 10:18 (2) objects being passed, Ezek 2:9-3:3 (3) waking e.g. Zech 4:1-14**.** Since the divine being cannot be portrayed, various circumspect formulae or merely verbal references are used (Husser, 1999: 123), however, and even pre–exilic descriptions of "the Angel of the Lord" are minimal, probably because he functioned as a divine representative (Savran, 2005: 16). Human dream figures do not occur, except in the necromancy apparition at 1 Sam 28:3-25 (Noegel, 2007: 114 n.4).

2.2.2 Symbolic/Other Visual Forms

For surveys, cf. Husser (1999: 106-122), Lowery (1999: 44-59). Classic symbolic forms include the dreams of the Joseph and Daniel cycles (Gen 37:5-8, 9-11, 40:9-15, 16-19, 41:1-4, 5-7, Dan, 2:1-49, 4:1-37) and are presentational and without sound. Other cases show a mix of symbolic and "real" elements, such as the dream of the Midianite soldier (Judges 7:13-15), or are symbolic in a more general sense, such as Jacob's ladder (Gen 28:10-17). The visions of Micaiah (1 Kings 22:19-22) or Elisha's servant (2 Kings 6:17-18), disclose heavenly realities like Oppenheim's "clairvoyant" dreams (Oppenheim, 1956: 196 et sim.).

2.2.3 Hybrid/Uncertain Forms

General hybrid features include visual scenes with multiple oneiric figures but where significant speech is heard or overheard, as 1 Kings 22:17, 19-23, Isa 6:1-13, including cases of dialogue (Zech 3:1-10). Cf. also group/shared visions in 2 Kings 7:6. The "writing" apparition of Dan 5:5-12 is similar to some ANE cases in showing visualised writing, but thus providing a *message*. The speaking angel in Dan 4:13-17 at the end of Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the tree in Dan 4:9-12 also adds a tableau of a different kind to the main part of the dream.

A special case includes the deliberately composite form of the so–called prophetic–symbolic visions (cf. Sister, 1934, Horst, 1960, Long, 1976, Hanson, 1979 [parts], Niditch, 1983, Lowery, 1999, Husser, 1999: 139-154) which set out a visual scene but then provide a verbal interpretation, often followed by dialogue and a concluding oracle. Examples include Jer 1:11-12 (almond branch), Jer 1:13-16 (boiling pot), Jer 24:1-8 (baskets of figs, *poss.*), Jer 38:19-23 (captive women), Am 7:1-3 (locusts), Amos 7:4-6 (the shower of fire), Amos 7:7-9 (plumb-line), Amos 8:1-3 (basket of fruit), Amos 9:1-4 (destruction and slaughter). Zech 1:1-6:8 (8 visions, or poss. tableaux in one vision). (a) Zech 1:7-17 (man on red horse), (b) Zech 1:18-21 (horns and blacksmiths), (c) Zech 2:1-5 (man with measuring line), Zech 3:1-10 (Joshua and Satan), (d) Zech 4:1-14 (lampstand and lamps), Zech 5:1-4 (flying scroll), Zech 5:5-10 (woman in basket), Zech 6:1-8 (chariots). More elaborate examples include the apocalyptic-style visions of Daniel and Ezekiel. Possibly prefigured by earlier biblical dreams such as 1 Kings 22:17, this is essentially a new development, although Husser's claim (1999: 139) about new *experience* is not certain. Lacking proper frames, the majority are introduced by simple formulae such as "The Lord showed me", "and I saw …", "N, what do you see?". The interpretation provided would seem an attempt to control the message and cut out secondary interpreters. The interpretive methods used by "God" or the angel are, however, very similar to those used by scribes and diviners. According to Niditch (1983), the form develops through the simpler examples in Jeremiah and Amos, to Zechariah, where a figure *within the scene* takes the role of interpreter, who in turn may command the participation of the the visionary some. This gives way to the more "baroque", proto-apocalyptic elaboration in Ezekiel and Daniel.

2.2.4 Interpretation

As with ANE texts, professional interpreters are visible, although only at foreign courts (for reasons, cf. Noegel, 2007: 117-121, Husser, 1999: 139-145), but can involve Jewish interpreters (e.g. Joseph, Daniel). Visual elements are interpreted by a mixture of conventional symbolism and wordplay (Noegel, 2007).

Notes

[1] **Editorial transformations of dream–vision and theophany forms**: That this can sometimes be seen "in process" is suggested by (1) Dream–vision indicators at end of an account (1 Sam 3:1-21, 2 Sam 7:4-17, Isa 29:11) (2) Retrospective indicators (Lk 1:22, Lk 24:23) (3) Sequences with editorial inconsistencies (1 Kings 3:1-15, 1 Kings 9:1-9) and (4) the Chronicles/Kings variants (1 Kings 3:5/2 Chron 1:7).

[2] **Theophanies and appearances:** Unlike the ANE, but in common with Homer, numerous divine visitations *appear* to take place while the subject is awake (Gen 15:1-21 et sim). Scholars have disagreed about the nature of these accounts. Readings them as implicit visions, Husser (1999: 139) sees them adapted from dream accounts for apologetic reasons to do with true and false prophecy (cf. Sister, 1934). Although the frame sometimes indicates that a dream or a vision is intended (Ezek 37:1), in many accounts, no onset notice is given and God or an angel simply "appears" (Gen 17:1, 18:1, 26:2, 23, 35:9, Ex 3:2, 34:5, Num 12:5, Jdg 13:3, 2 Chron 1:7 etc). These have been traditionally called theophanies or angelophanies and handled separately, as Savran (2005), although the case for doing so is weak (cf. Husser, 1999: 123-124) They are much closer to message dreams than, for instance, tales of incognito divine visits (Gen 18:1-15, 32:22-32, Josh 5:13-15).

[3] **Direct divine speech and prophetic oracles:** Direct divine speech, introduced by bare statements such as "God said to X", and called "theoloquy" by Gnuse (1996: 145) is used for all the divine–human dialogue from Adam to Noah, many of the Patriarch stories (Gen 12:1-3, 13:14-17, 22:1, 31:3 etc) and to Moses after the burning bush. For a possible example of editorial transformation from a dream account in process, cf. 1 Sam 3:1-21 which starts with the formula "The Lord called … saying" but includes the later note that "the LORD came and stood …", a standard message dream formulation. Prophetic oracles with their related introductory formula "the word of the Lord came to X saying …." are rarely discussed with dreams and visions (cf. Weis, 1992, Aune, 1983) but more clearly presuppopse an ecstatic background that could include dreams. That both of the above formulae can introduce messages *within* dreams or act as "continuity markers" within dream dialogue suggests an easy editorial trsnaformation between theoloquy and dream (Gen 15:1, 4, 7, 13, 17:9, 20:6, 35:10, 11, 46:3, Jer 1:6, 9, 11, 13, 24:3, 4, Isa 1:9, Zech 4:8, 15, 18, Judges 13:7, 1 Sam 3:4, 6, 8, 11, 1 Kings 3:5, 11, 1 Kings 9:3, 1 Kings 22:20, 22). Editorially, it only requires the disappearance of the "frame" (cf. observations on Gen 28 and 31 by Husser, 1999: 139).

Ancient and Classical Greek Tradition

3 Homer

3.1 Introduction, Bibliography

The two Homeric epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* appear to have had an oral pre–history in Ionia from some time from the mid–8th century before appearing in written form in perhaps the late 8th to early 7th century BCE, more or less the same period that writing itself was first being introduced in Greece. For a general introduction to this literature, see Kirk (1985). On Homeric dreams, cf. Messer (1918) (with Tragedy), Hundt (1935), Amory (1957), Kessels (1978) and Carey (1998), plus Flannery–Dailey (2000: 78-90), Noegel (2007: 191-222) and appropriate sections of Dodds (1951), Halliday (1913), van Lieshout (1980). Besides relevant sections of the above, works consulted on individual dreams or visions also include, re *Il.*2:4-94: Kessels (1978: 35-44), and Morrison (1992), *Od.*15:1-43: Morris (1983: 48).

3.2 Texts/Classification

3.2.1 Message/Visitation Forms

Accounts clearly presented as dreams or visions: These are (1) *Il.*2:4-94 (a deceiving "dream" disguised as Nestor, to Agamemnon), (2) *Il.*23:62-108 (Patroclus to Achilles), (3) *Od.*4:787-841 (Iphthime to her sister, Penelope), (4) *Od.*6:14-48 (Athena disguised as "a friend" to Nausica).

Nightime "appearances" most likely intended as dreams: (5) *Il.*24:682-706 (appearance of Hermes to Priam) and (6) *Od.*15:1-43 (Divine visitation of Athena to Telemakhos). These may relate to a general fascination with waking/sleeping confusion, as at *Il.*2:4-94, 23:62-108, 24:682-706 et sim. For further notes and discussion , see n.2.

More than in the ANE, living and deceased people feature as dream figures or at least, their "images" (εἴδωλον). This modest list is dwarfed by a further 63 theophany accounts presented as direct, waking divine appearances (cf. n.3, 4, 5, 6 below). Oppenheim (1956: 191) sees the bare theophany as the "original" and the dream version as a "development", but I would favour the reverse. For futher notes, cf. n.3. Form–critically these accounts are related to message dreams (Arend, 1933, Morris, 1983, Gunn, 1971 et al. and display similar variants such as multiple recipient (n.7), "double" visitation (n.8) and voice–only forms (n.9). In these, deities appear "as themselves" in about half (n.4) and are either disguised, or not recognised in the others (n.5).

3.2.2 Symbolic/Other Visual Forms

(1) *Od.*19:509-604 (The dream of Penelope).

3.2.3 Brief Reports, Indeterminate Forms

Brief reports with little or no content given:

(1) *Il.*10:495-498 (death dream of Rhesus, King of Thrace), (2) *Od.*14:495-498 (a dream report within a fictional life–story retold by Odysseus), (3) *Od.*20:85-87, 88-90 (report of Penelope's separation and anxiety dreams).

3.2.4 Poetic, Proverbial and Other Passing References

(1) *Il.*22:199-202 (the anxiety dream analogy for Achilles' endless chase of Hector around Troy, and others listed by Kessels (1978: 226-227).

3.3 Interpretation

Although "professional" diviners are visible (*Il.*1:62-6, 80-120, 5:148-149, *Od.*15:525-534), recipients generally interpret their own dreams sometimes helped by friends, elders etc (reasons for this are debated). Message dreams do not need "interpreting", but since potentially deceptive, do still need assessing (*Il.*2:4-94). The amateur analysis of symbolic dreams is necessarily instinctive but sometimes reflects scribal practice (*Od.*4:787-841).

Notes

[1] **Dreams in reported speech**: *Il.*2:56-71 and cf. passing mentions in *Od.*14:495-498, 20:85-87, 20:88-90.

[2] **Waking/sleeping confusion**: cf. the reminders offered to dreamers that they are actually sleeping (*Il.*2:4-94, 23:69).

[3] **Non-oneiric vs. dream theophanies**: Contra the "biblical" theory, Oppenheim (1956: 191) suggests that theophanies in *dreams* come rather late and are adapted from earlier bare "theophany" accounts (ibid. 1956: 191).

[4] **Theophanies where the dream figure is recognisable**: *Il.*1:199-225, 1:350-430, 2:166-190, 2:446-458, 4:515-520, 5:121-134, 5:445-480, 5:710-909, 10:500-515, 11:185-210, 11:714-716, 13:89-135, 13:350-360, 14:354-360, 14:360-389, 15:165-219, 15:220-245, 16:705-710, 18:165-203, 19:1-39, 22:5-24, 22:214-225, 23:62-108, 24:75-119, 24:120-140, 24:144-216, 24:682-706, *Od.*3:430-433, 5:43-14, 5:333-364, 15:1-43, 20:22-55.

[5] **Theophanies where the deity is disguised or not recognisable:** *Il.*2:4-94, 2:279-282, 2:785-810, 3:121-149, 3:385-440, 10:495-498, 13:43-58, 13:205-245, 14:135-149, 15:242-280, 16:715-725, 17:70-89, 17:319-349, 17:580-597, 20:79-114, 21:270-297, 22:225-270, 24:324-439, *Od.*1:96-324, 2:267-3:384, 2:382-392, 6:14-48, 7:19-78, 8:8-14, 8:193-198, 10:277-278, 13:221-438, 16:154-180, 22:205-498, 24:502-509, 24:545-549.

[6] **Form criticical relation between message dreams and Homeric visitation scenes**: For an excellent recent treatment see Morris (1983). Building on the earlier work of Arend (1933) on "arrival scenes" and Gunn (1971), who demonstrated an equivalent overall pattern (ibid. 1971: 15), Morris nuances these findings by indicating two distinct types of relationship between the "arrival" and dream forms, one for the messages *tout simple*, and another for those visitations/dreams that involve dialogue (1983: 43-45). Whilst this involves only the different placing of descriptive elements within the frame, the observation is striking and appears to confirm that the transformation is a "procedure".

[7] **Visitation scenes with multiple observers**: The numerous accounts of gods circulating amongst forces in battle (e.g. *Il.*2:279-282, 2:446-458, 4:515-520, 5:710-909, 13:89-135, 13:205-245, 13:350-360, *Od.*2:382-392) are most likely tales of incognito divine visits, as explicitly noted by Medon of Athena in *Od.*24:443-449.

[8] **Double visitations**: e.g. *Il.*22:214-225 and *Il.*22:225-27.

[9] **Voice only messages**: *Il.*2:785-810, 10:500-515, 13:205-245, 20:79-114 et sim.

[10] **Divine councils and other consultations**: e.g. not only general gatherings of the gods, but conversations and consultations between two or three divine figures, e.g. *Il.*1:493-610, 4:1-104, 7:17-45, 7:440-469, 8:1-55, 8:198-215, 8:350-489, 12:10-19, 14:186-355, 15:13-169, 16:430-510, 17:197-219, 17:440-459, 18:355-617, 20:4-79, 20:114-165, 20:270-320, 21:330-357, 21:376-389, 21:389-514, 24:22-76, *Od.*1:22-95, 5:5-147, 8:266-369, 13:125-163, 24:472-487.

[11] **Portents and Omens**: The interpretive techniques for omens often resemble those used for dreams, especially where birds are involved. They include *Il.*8:236-244, 245-255 (eagle), 10:274-285 (heron), 12:195-209 (eagle and snake), 12:251-260 (thunder), *Od.*2:146-160 (two eagles), 3:174-175 ("signs"), 8:79-82 (oracle), 15:160-181 (eagle), 15:525-534 (hawk with a dove in its talons), 17:161 (no content), 17:542-550 (sneezing), 20:240-246 (eagle with a dove in its talons), 20:102 (thunder), 20:105-121 (thunder).

[12] **Other divine interventions**: The gods routinely intervene to assist their favourites, as *Il.*3:373-383, 5:22-29, 5:29-39 et sim., *Od.*2:393, 5:291-332, 5:365-370 et sim.

[13] **Professional interpreters in Homer**: Professional dream interpreters are visible in passing at *Il.*1:62-6, 1:80-120, 5:148-149, *Od.*15:525-534. The tone is generally negative.

[14] **States of anxiety prior to dream/vision or divine visitation**: *Il.*1:199, *Il.*1:350-430, *Il.*2:166-190, *Il.*5:121-134. *Il.*16:715-725, *Il.*21:270-297, *Il.*23:62-108, *Il.*24:120-140, *Il.*24:144-216, *Od.*4: 795-842, 19:509-534, 535-554 et sim. Two accounts underline anxiety states by implying that the dreamer has had nightmares in the-build up to a subsequently significant dream, *Od.*19:509-534, 20:83-90.

[15] **The gates of horn and ivory in *Od.*19:559-581**: The image of the two gates, which appears to have no clear literary pre–history, is much remarked upon by both ancient authors (cf. Macrobius *Comm.ad.Somn.Scip.* 1:3:17-20 and Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* Book 4, discussed by Holowchak, 2004) and modern scholars, such as Amory (1966), Russo (1982: 5), Noegel (2007: 176-177, 206ff), Kessels (1978: 100-111), Bulkeley (2001: 230), Carey (1998: 242-243), van Lieshout (1980: 38) and Harris (2003: 21). The dichotomy of the gates reflects the basic Greek concern as to whether dreams foretold the future. On Vergil's later use of the image, cf. Kilpatrick (1995), Molyviati-Toptsis (1995).

[16] **Dream figures and foreigners:** Although both Greeks and Trojans can in principle see relatives, friends or their own gods, it is the Greek gods that appear alike to both in Homer, although are not recognised by the latter. The gods are, however, more often in disguise for the Trojans than they are for Greeks. Of the 19 divine visits in disguise, 12 are to Trojans or other foreigners, and 7 to Greeks, whereas of the 23 undisguised appearances only 4 are to Trojans (*Il.*11:185-210, 15:242-280, 24:144-216, 682-706) who of course, do not recognise the deities.

4 Greek Tragedy

4.1 Introduction, Bibliography

The majority of the tragedies come from the 5th century BCE and were written primarily for performance in public competition. For a general introductions see Winnington-Ingram et al. (1985), Easterling (1997). For studies on the dreams in Greek tragedy, see Whitmore (1911, repr. 1971), Messer (1918: 56-102), Lennig (1969), Cederstrom (1971), Devereux (1976), Carey (1998: 73-105), Flannery–Dailey (2000: 93-102). The surviving plays are Aeschylus: The Persians, Seven against Thebes, The Suppliants, Agamemnon, The Libation Bearers, Eumenides, Prometheus Bound. Sophocles: Ajax, Antigone, The Trachinian Women, Oedipus the King, Electra, Philoctetes, Oedipus at Colonus. Euripides: Alcestis, Medea, Heracleidae, Hippolytus, Andromache, Hecuba, The Suppliants, Electra, Heracles, The Trojan Women, Iphigenia in Tauris, Ion, Helen, The Phoenician Women, Orestes, Bacchae, Iphigenia at Aulis, Rhesus, Cyclops. For texts and commentaries, cf. Easterling (1997: 355-358). Although the plays are typically dependent on Homeric episodes, the dreams are often new. The stage context, however, alters the way these are handled. With gods able to appear on stage (n.1), the need for message dreams is reduced. Symbolic dreams, however, are typically only *reported.* These assume greater not diminished complexity, however. The overall results are powerful and dreams assume an important role for both plot and character development. Besides relevant sections of the above, works consulted on individual dreams or visions also include Soph.*Elec*.405-504: O'Neill (1998), Aesch.*Ag*.1069-1223: Vellacott (1956: 12-14, re plot b/g).

4.2 Texts/Classification

Besides direct "parts" for the gods, the single message dream report is outnumbered by some eight symbolic or "other visual" dreams with full content, together with simpler dream *notices* and mentions of "natural" dreams and nightmares.

4.2.1 Message/Visitation Forms

(1) Aesch.*Prom.*645-673

4.2.2 Symbolic/Other Visual Forms

8 examples: (1) Aesch.*Pers.*176-230, (2) Aesch.*Ch.*523-554, (3) Aesch.*Eu.*94-104, (4) Aesch.*Ag*.1215-1223, (5) Eurip.*Iph.Taur*.42-64, (6) Eurip.*Rh.*780-789, (7) Eurip.*Hec.*1-97, (8) Soph.*El.*405-504. This list differs from Flannery-Dailey (2000: 96) by the inclusion of Eurip.*Hec.*1-97, as she treats speech within more complex visual dreams as embedded message dreams, an error repeated by Carey (1998: 78-79).

4.2.3 Brief Reports, Indeterminate Forms

4 examples: (1) Aesch.*Ch.*32-43, (2) *Ag.*420-426, (3) *Sept.*709-712, (4) Eurip.*Or.*618-620.

4.2.4 Poetic, Proverbial and Other Passing References

4 examples: (1) Eurip.*Alc.*354-357, (2) Eurip.*Her.*490-501, (3) Eurip.*Her.*516-519, (4) Soph.*Oed.Rex.*977-984, (5) Aesch.*Suppl.*885-890.

4.3 Interpretation

Notes

[1] **Portrayal of divine visits in drama**: Of the 33 complete tragedies, 12 have gods as speaking members of the cast, making 20 or so separate appearances. Some plays use this device only in at the beginning and/or end of the story (Eurip.*Io.*, *Alc*., *Tro*., *Hipp*., *Suppl*., *Or*.) and Aesch.*Prom*. Only 3 plays do so in in the middle, Eurip.*Rh. And.* and *Her*. In only two plays, gods remain on stage for longer sections, Eurip.*Bacc.* where Dionysus is a major participant, and Aesch.*Eum.*, where Apollo, Hermes, the Furies and Athena participate extensively. The gods are not disguised, however, and ghosts of deceased people (e.g. Darius in Aesch.*Pers.*, Polydorus in *Hec.* Clytemnestra in *Eum.* and Helen in *Or*.) all appear "as themselves". The Homeric tradition of personified concepts such as "sleep", "dream" etc is also developed in tragedy with the personifications of "Death" in Eurip *Alc.* and "Madness" in *Her*. For a comparative perspective, cf. Feldman (1993: 62, n.79) on Ezekiel the Tragedian's staging of the burning bush.

[2] **Natural dreaming and nightmares:** Examples of natural–*style* dreams include Eurip *Alc.*354-357, *Rh.*780-789, Aesch.*Eum.*94-104, *Suppl.*884-895, *Ch.*, 32-43, *Prom.*645-673 etc, as discussed in chapter 4.

[3] **Notes of distrust in dreams**: *Od.*559-581 and cf. also Aesch *Ag.*274-275, Eurip.*Iph.Taur*. 569-575, Aesch.*Eum.*104, Soph.*Oed.Rex.*977-984.

5 Greek Comedy

5.1 Introduction, Bibliography

Greek Comedy began to be performed in the 5th century, but was not included in the formal festival competitions until later. For a general introduction, see Dover (1968), Handley (1985). Comedy is often assumed to have evolved from the shorter so–called Satyr play performed at the end of the three tragedies offered by each author in competition. In its development through to the Hellenistic period, Old, Middle and New phases are often distinguished. Old comedy was staged in a similar way to tragedy, including the use of a chorus, and the direct appearance of gods. New Comedy sees the end of the traditional chorus and a switch to everyday prose in what some have called "situation comedies", exploring character and particularly class. Although comedy did not feature in Greek education earlier on, it most likely did by the

Roman period. For possible contact with New Comedy in Acts, cf. Harrill (2000) and Chambers (2004). There are eleven extant works of the "Old" comedian, Aristophanes and the sole complete example of New Comedy by Menander. Aristophanes: The Acharnians, The Knights, The Wasps, Peace, The Clouds, The Birds, The Thesmophoriazusae, Lysistrata, The Frogs, The Ecclesiazusae, Plutus. Menander: The Grouch. The comedies often make fun of the melodramatic dreams of Tragedy, and the quackery of popular dream and oracle interpreters. On the dreams of Greek comedy, cfFlannery–Dailey (2000: 102-104), Reckford (1977).

5.2 Texts/Classification

There are no clear message dreams but a number of symbolic dreams, nightmares and other "psychological status dreams" totalling some eight passages, as well as a selection of metaphorical and passing references. The informal context and quick–fire dialogue means that frame and contents are often blurred and terminology missing.

5.2.1 Message/Visitation Forms

Although three dreams feature dream figures, none is a message dream in the conventional sense. The dreams are interpreted by visual features only.

5.2.2 Symbolic/Other Visual Forms

7 examples: (1) Ar.*Eq.*1090-1091, (2) Ar. *Eq.*1092-1095, (3) Ar *Nu.*1-37, (4) Ar.*Vesp.*15-28, (5) Ar.*Vesp.*31-53, (6) Men.*Dysc.*406-407 and (7) Men.*Dysc.*411-418.

5.2.3 Hybrid forms

1 example: (1) Ar.*Ra.*1331-1344. As a nightmare with a single dream figure, this can count as a "visitation", but no words are uttered, and the purpose of the visit is both to frighten and to steal a rooster.

5.2.4 Brief Reports, Indeterminate Forms

None.

5.2.5 Poetic, Proverbial and Other Passing References

(1) Ar.*Ra.*48-52, (2) *Vesp.*91-94, (3) *Vesp.*1036-1043, (4) *Vesp.*1218 et sim.

5.3 Interpretation

In terms of interpretation, we invariably see lower class figures discussing their own dreams, whose amateur attempts at "professionalism" (n.4) are played to comic effect (n.3). Omens, dreams and oracles are all tackled in the same manner.

Notes

[1] **Humour and irony in the Bible**: In general, see Trueblood (1965), Good (1981), Samra (1986), Klein (1988), Adams (1997), Gottwald (1984), Gunn (1984), Murphy (2000), and re rabbinical approaches, Jónsson (1965) and for hermeneutical issues, see Leithart (2007). Re particular OT characters, episodes or books, see Exum and Whedbee (1984) Buss (1984) Good (1984), Robertson (1984), Brenner and Radday (1990). Re Graeco-Roman εἰρωνεία, see O'Gorman (2000), Driscoll (1994), Whitmarsh (2003), Foley (1985) and in Acts, Damm (1998). On the influence of New Comedy on Luke–Acts, see Harrill (2000), Chambers (2004), Morris (1992), Heil (1991) and Lyons (1998).

[2] **Disputed message dreams**: I differ from Flannery–Dailey (2000: 102-104), who classifies as message dreams several accounts that merely feature the *appearance* of a single oneiric figure, e.g. Ar.*Ra.*1331-1344, *Eq.*1090-1100 etc.

[3] **Sketches of non-elite popular interpretation of symbolic dreams**: Eg. The two friends comparing notes in Ar.*Vesp.*15-28, 31-53 where Xanthias sees an eagle swooping on the market-place and carrying off a bronze buckler which he perceives "Cleonymus" to have thrown away. Cleonymus's identity is a riddle (γριφος) and the whole scene *possibly* an evil portent, but is dismissed as meaningless. Sosias's dream which he sees as very important (l.28-29) has three tableaux: (1) "sheep, wearing cloaks and carrying staves, … harangued by a rapacious whale … screaming like a pig" (l.31-36) (2) "the whale seized a balance and set to weighing ox-fat" (l.40-41) and (3) "Theorus, who had the head of a crow etc."(l.42-45). The attempts at interpretation are suitably hilarious with Sosias telling the audience they have certainly had their two obols' worth (l.53-54).

[4] **Professional interpreters mentioned in Greek Comedy**: Religious and divinatory personnel featured in Aristophanes include the Soothsayer, Hierocles in *Pax*, a Priest of Zeus and various Asclepion staff in *Ploutos*, the Priest and the "Oracle monger" in *Aves.* The portrayals are uniformly negative.

[5] **The visit of Ploutos to an Asklepion in Aristophanes, *Ploutos***: Although for staging reasons, Asclepius' appearance is not done as a dream, it nevertheless remains of considerable interest. The visit is proposed by Chremylus in ll.410-12 and carried out in extenso in ll.620-748. As in Tragedy, the god enters directly while the companions are pretending to be asleep but in fact stealing food from other incubants. It is not widely believed that the healing cult is under fundamental comic attack in this play, and indeed, Ploutos is healed from his blindness.

[6] **Comedic dreams and Tragedy**: Aristophanes often parodies Euripides, esp. at the nightmare in *Ra.*1331-1344.

6 Herodotus

6.1 Introduction, Bibliography

Herodotus (c.484–425 BCE), the "father" of Greek historiography, was from Halicarnassus on the Ionian coast (McDonald, 1965: 83-84). His literary heritage was primarily Homeric (Boedeker, 2002), although

with some contact with tragedy (Saïd, 2002, Chiasson, 2003). His approach to religion and the supernatural was a little too accepting for some of his contemporaries (McDonald, 1965, Mikalson, 2002, Harrison, 2000), especially Thucydides but is best described as "critically open". Herodotus studied in Athens under Pericles (Moles, 2002), and shows an interest not only in politics and rhetoric, but also natural science (Raaflaub, 2002). Later, he travelled widely, collecting ancient lore and traditions (Hornblower, 2002). He appears to have taken a special interest in foreign places, animal species, place names, peoples and customs, and shows a remarkable "generosity" to the level of civilisation shown by those conventionally considered barbarians (Thomas, 2000, Munson, 2001). Like the tragedians, he also lived through the Peloponnesian War, which shook much of the previously confidence as to what it meant to be Greek. On the dreams in Herodotus in general, cf. Frisch (1968), Carey (1998: 46-72), Flannery-Dailey (2000: 105-113, 2004: 68-71), Dodson (2006: 141-158) and on specific examples, Hdt.3:30.61–65 (Cambyses): de Jong (2006), Hdt.1:107-108 (Astyages): Pelling (1996), Hdt.7:8-18 (Xerxes and Artabanus): Harrison (2000: 132-136), MacDonald (2003a: 37-38), Kim (2003: 431-432), Dodson (2006: 37, 109-111), Carey (1998: 47, 64-70), Lang (1984: 45, 119, 139-140), Gallop (1996: 5-6), Day (1994: 52-54), Miller (2004: 44-45), Munson (2001: 43-44), Saïd (2002: 143-144), de Sainte Croix (1977: 143-145), Flannery-Dailey (2000: 105-106, 2004: 68-69) and de Armas (1993: 270-273).

6.2 Texts/Classification

Herodotus' dreamers are almost all high status males, but invariably foreign. Form–critically, he has seven clear message dreams, nine other visual dreams and a few passing dream "notices".

6.2.1 Message/Visitation Forms

Herodotus' seven message dreams are all experienced by foreigners.

(1) Hdt.2:139, (2) Hdt.2:141, (3) Hdt.3:30, (4) Hdt.5:55-56 (5-7) Hdt.7:12, 14, 17 a "tall and beautiful man" to Xerxes (x2) and Artabanus.

6.2.2 Symbolic/Other Visual Forms

Herodotus has 9 symbolic dreams, with the majority coming to foreigners.

(1) Hdt.1:34-45, (2-3) Hdt.1:107, 108, (4) Hdt.1:209-210, (5) Hdt.3:124, (6) Hdt.6:107, (7) Hdt.6:117, (8) Hdt.6:131, (9) Hdt.7:19.

6.2.3 Dream Notices and Other Passing Mentions

(1) Hdt.3:149, (2) Hdt.7:170, (3) Hdt.8:54.

6.3 Interpretation

Herodotean dreams can be interpreted by professionals but also by the dreamers and their relatives. Court advisors are aware not only of standard oneirocritical lore, but also scientific theories about dreams. Although often "correct", their views do not dominate proceedings. Unfortunately, the dreamers, who like to remain in control, often get things wrong.

Notes

[1] **Homeric–style divine visitation and interventions**: Although Herodotus is aware of tales of divine visits, he shows restraint in their use. He includes them when justified by mythological references, such as the appearance of Triton to Jason (Hdt.4:179) and is interested in the traditions of other countries (Hdt.2:142, 2:91, 3:27-28) as well as incubation (Hdt.1:182), and otherwise reports only a "popular" appearance of Pan (Hdt.6:105). Beyond these, however, he certainly likes ghost stories et sim. (Hdt.4:15, Hdt.5:92, Hdt.6:69, Hdt.8:84). He avoids direct claims of divine intervention (except poss. Hdt.1:87 and Hdt.8:65) and lucky escapes via quirks of nature (Hdt.2:141) are not routinely reported in such terms.

[2] **Prodigy, omen or portent reports**: E.g. at Hdt.1:59, 1:78, 2:66, 3:10, 3:153 (confirming an earlier prophecy), 4:79, 6:82, 6:98 (with connected following oracles), 6:117 (a remarkable event, in conjunction with a dream), 7:37, 7:57, 7:57, 8:27 (a mistaken response), 8:37 (multiple, unspecified), 8:94, 8.137, 9:10, 9:120, with foreign perspectives re Scythia (4:28) and Egypt (2:82) where he notes that seers record unusual events and look for patterns. This scientific approach may well be part of Herodotus' own "open" convictions that just because many of these stories are of superstition and gullibility, it does not mean that all such things should be dismissed. The divine voice "phenomenon" is still in its infancy in Herodotus, but is seen re a shrine in Hdt.1:159, and cf. the booming phantom in Hdt.8:84, both offering oracular–style utterances.

[3] **Oracle and prophecy reports**: The oracle reports in Herodotus are extremely numerous, almost overwhelming. The accounts are of four types: (1) Stories of the origins and practices of shrines, (2) Passing mentions that an oracle was consulted (3) Brief reports of consultations where summary contents are provided, (4) Responses quoted in full with notes on rival interpretations, misunderstandings and subsequent actions. For full listings and further notes, cf. appendix 3.

[4] **Herodotus' editorial remarks and his attitude to the supernatural**: Herodotus is entirely aware of the anti–Homeric backlash of the "Greek enlightenment" but commends a middle course, contra his younger contemporary Thucydides, e.g. Hdt. 6.27, 8.20, 77. These remarks form part of a pattern of more generally didactic comments, e.g. that the Greeks and Persians are "raised by the same god" in Hdt.4:119, the importance of plurality of opinion

(Hdt.7:10), on the lesser defeating the greater (Hdt.7:10), on death and life (Hdt.1:31), happiness and gloom (Hdt.1:32), reason vs. human fancy (Hdt.8:60) and providence and warnings (Hdt.9:16).

Popular and Therapeutic Dreaming

7 Epidauros

7.1 Introduction, Bibliography

The sanctuary at Epidaurus, dating from the 6th–5th century BCE was probably associated with healing before the rise of the Asclepius cult. The temple presupposed by the inscriptions dates from a 4th – 3rd century BCE expansion of the site, and the four principal steele date from a later 2nd century BCE renovation. They contain some 70 inscriptions, although some are very fragmentary. For introduction, see Tomlinson (1983) and the text and translation, used here, LiDonnici (1995) (a version is also included in Edelstein and Edelstein, 1945). Most of the inscriptions give thanks for healing, although a few concern other types of help. Several dreamers are initially sceptical about the powers of the god, but of course, won over. For one who fails to give thanks, healing is withdrawn, although restored again later. Whilst some healings can occur in the grounds, or at a distance, more than half occur via dreams received while incubating in the shrine or abaton.

7.2 Texts/Classification

The inscriptions are numbered A1-20, B1-23, C1-23, D1-4 depending on the stele and face. Although most of the dreams start from the basis of a message dream, only 7 contain instructions or conversation alone (A2, 8, B14, C3, 5, 21, 22 and cf. n.2 below) with the majority displaying hybrid features of various sorts, including physical interaction with the god, where the god either touches the incubant or performs an exaggerated "operation" (n.3), although sometimes with accompanying instructions. The healing in B3 occurs in two stages. Whilst treatments are often peculiar, the instructions themselves are given in plain speech. Other hybrid features include movement around and outside the shrine. For this reason, no formal breakdown is attempted here, although the following indicate some of the features and functions.

Instructions to be followed after waking: A2, A4, A7, A8, B14, C3, C5, C21, C22.

Gestures or therapeutic actions only: A9, A12, A13, A18, A19, B3, B8, B10, B12, B20, C19, C23.

(As above) w.intra–oneiric instructions: A4, A6, A7, B7, B9, B17, B21.

Visitations with other hybrid features: B3[1].

7.3 Interpretation

Notes

[1] **Framing and introductory formulae**: In most accounts, there is an explicit formula "While s/he was sleeping, s/he saw a *vision* (ἐγκατακοιμαθεῖσα δὲ ὄψιν εἶδε, e.g. in A2 et sim) or a *dream* (οὗτος ἐνύπνιον εἶδε e.g.in A14 et sim). ἐνύπνιον and ὄψις are used interchangeably, but ὄνειρος does not feature. Visual content is almost always introduced via the brief connective "it seemed [to him] that …" (ἐδόκει, ἐδόκ[ε]ι αὐτῶι et sim.). The endings are usually indicated a brief mark such as "When day came …" (ἀμέρας δὲ γενομένας), followed by response and/or results (e.g. he left well", ὑγιὴς ἐξῆλθε). A few are introduced merely by "the god came to him", ([τι ὁ θεὸσ ἐπιστὰς τὰμ μὲν], C5 et sim.). Simply "ordering" in A15, could, however be merely an instruction from a temple functionary.

[2] **Visitation dreams with messages**: By the nature of the cult, many dreams start with the appearance and approach of the god, often signalled by formulae such as ἐδόκει οἱ ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστὰς, (A4, A7 et sim). Instructions about incubation and healing are given in straightforward message dreams at C5 and C21. Others involve conversation about a variety of things, including pregnancy (A2, B14) and payment for healing (A8). C3 and C22 concern the location of lost objects. The god usually speaks plainly except in the burried treasure request, C3 where clues are provided in a riddle, discussed in chapter 5.

[3] **Vistitations with therapeutic actions**: Many of the other dreams, in which the god is said to approach the dreamer and perform a cure, certainly must count as "visitations" in one sense, but not as message dreams proper, since they effect treatment rather than convey a message. Although touch features even in ANE accounts, here it is taken to a new extreme with the god performing a surgical style operation on the dreamer (A 9, 12, 13, 18, 19, B8, 10, 12, 20, C19, 23). To these we might add sexual dreams involved in the cure of GUIs (A14) or barrenness (B11, 19, 22) – dreams involving the god, various boys and snakes.

[4] **Therapeutic visitations with some speech**: Other accounts are primarily therapeutic but contain incidental speech e.g. A4 (the god announces the healing and asks for a fee), A6 (instructions after treatment), A7 (payment query plus post–treatment instructions), B3 (the sons of Asclepius send for their father), B7 (orders to servants to restrain a dreamer), B9 (post–treatment boxing lesson), B17 (instruction to drink during cure), B21 (instructions to take medicine during cure).

[5] **Dream tokens**: In many of the above therapeutic dreams, the incubant is left with a dream token, often tissues, stones, fluids or parasites extracted during the oneiric surgery or bodily parts restored (A13, A19, B7, B21)

[6] **The nature of therapeutic actions**: A striking feature is the way that although some of the cures represent oneiric versions of more or less possible treatments, some entail exaggerated or impossible actions. "Surgery" thus extends to cutting open eyes (A4), the chest (A13), belly (B3, B7), and even cutting off the head and reattaching it (B1, B3). Other treatments not instantly recognisable as "medical" include the bizarre actions of stripping dreamers naked (B8, B9), sending them up onto the roof (B15), or having the affected part run over by a cart (B18). All of these occur

within the oneiric scene only and feature no requests for action to be performed after waking, although the dreamer in B15 does make an attempt.

8 Other Asclepion Dreams

8.1 Introduction, Bibliography

Besides the Epidauros inscriptions and the therapeutic dreams of Aristides, additional Asclepion testimonies are scattered throughout other literary sources and inscriptions. A large number are in Edelstein and Edelstein (1945), although others have been gleaned from elsewhere. The dates vary very widely from the 2nd century BCE through to the 5th century CE which means that they should be used somewhat cirucmspectly in relation to the New Testament.

8.2 Texts/Classification

The following texts presuppose at least 42 reported or implied dreams. Two, however refer to sequences of unspecified length. In the first 21 of these cases, the text and page numbers refer to Edelstein. No.22 is from elsewhere. Several others contain more than one dream, and in the listings below, these are indicated by a post–fixed .<n> where required.

(1) No.331, p.169–175 (a Serapeum scribe), (2) No.399, p.200 (Euphronius), (3) No.405, p.204 (anon.), (4) No.422, p.220 (a woman), (5) No.425, p.238 (Teucer,·the Cyzicenean), (6) No.427, p.240 (Domninus and Plutarch), (7) No.432, p.247 (Marcus Julius Apellas), (8) No.433, p.249 (Polemo), (9) No.434, p.249 (Hermocrates), (10) No.436, p.250 (2 dreams, a wealthy man), (11) No.437, p.250 (Caracalla), (12) No.438, p.250-251 (Gaius, a blind man), (13) No.439, p.252 (Poplius Granius Rufus), (14) No.440, p.252-253 (Poplius Granius Rufus), (15) No. 441, p.253-254 (a woman) (16) No.444, p.255 (Phalysius), (17) No.445, p.256 (Proclus), (18) No.446, p.257 (Proclus), (19) No.447, p.257-258 (Libanus), (20) No.449, p.259 (anon.), (21) No.455, p.261-262 (Aristarchus of Tegea), (22) Zoilos in P. Zenon Cairo, I, 59034.

8.2.1 Message/Visitation Forms

Visitation with message or gesture only

29 examples: Nos.1.1, 3, 5, 6.1, 6.2, 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, 7.4, 7.7, 7.8, 8, 9, 10.1, 10.2, 12.1, 12.2, 12.3, 12.4, 13.1, 13.2, 14.1, 14.2, 16, 19.1, 19.2, 21.1, 21.2, 22.

Visitations with therapeutic action only

3 examples: Nos.4, 7.6, 20.

8.2.2 Symbolic/Other Visual Forms

3 examples: Nos.1.2, 15, 17.

8.2.3 Hybrid/Uncertain

4 examples: Nos.2, 7.5, 18, 20.

8.2.4 Brief Reports or Indeterminate Forms

4 examples: Nos.11, 19.3, 19.4, 19.5.

8.3 Interpretation

Notes

9 Aelius Aristides

9.1 Introduction, Bibliography

Aelius Aristides (c. 117–181 CE) was an orator who during some years of illness became an incubant at the Pergamum Asclepion. Of some 55 orations, *Or*.47-51 constitute a dream and therapeutic diary known as the "Sacred Tales", text in Keil (1898) and Lenz and Behr (1976) and ET, Behr (1981). For introductions, cf. Bowersock (1985) and Harris and Holmes (2008). On Aristides' rhetoric, see Oliver (1953), and on his religious and Asclepius experiences, cf. Harrison (2000), Israelowich (2008), Petsalis–Diomidis (2010). For commentary on the Sacred Tales, see Behr (1968). For the specific role of the dreams cf. Pearcy (1988) and in relation to the NT, van der Horst (1980).

9.2 Texts/Classification

Only the dreams of the Sacred Tales were formally surveyed, with comments and other brief reports from the other orations mentioned in passing. Aristides' dreams are difficult to count due to the economy of his style and lack of proper framing. A large number of cases recording merely a command from the god may be dreams also. The lists below should certainly be regarded as illustrative rather than definitive.

9.2.1 Explicit or Implied Message Dreams

Of some 150 "messages" only 31 contain any kind of dream or vision indicator.

31 examples: *Or*.47.58, 47.76, 48.9, 48.18, 48.41, 48.71, 49.5.6-7, 49.12, 49.14, 49.15, 49.20, 49.32-33, 49.45.1-3, 49.45.8-9, 49.47.7-10, 50.1, 50.6.5-6, 50.14-15, 50.19, 50.23.4-6, 50.23.6-10, 50.31, 50.39.5-7, 50.39.8-13, 50.40.1-2, 50.40.3-4, 50.41, 50.54, 50.89, 51.8, 52.2-3. Of these, only 4 have full descriptions with visible dream figures. For further note on the exact nature of these, cf. n.1 below. A further 100 "divine commands", may have occurred through dreams, but cannot be certainly identified as such. A

typical example is *Or*.47.6 "On the twelfth of the month, *the god instructed me not to bathe*" et sim.. Behr takes this as a very compact dream reference, which he indicates by italics as shown. For a full list of such references, cf. n.3.

9.2.2 Symbolic/Other Visual Forms

68 examples: *Or*.47.7, 47.8, 47.9, 47.10-14, 47.15, 47.17, 47.18, 47.19, 47.23, 47.24-26, 47.27, 47.28, 47.29, 47.30-31, 47.32, 47.33, 47.34, 47.35, 47.36-40, 47.41, 47.42-45, 47.46-50, 47.53, 47.55, 47.49.13-49.50, 47.51-52, 47.53, 47.55-56, 48.17, 48.30, 48.31-33, 48.40, 49.2, 49.3, 49.4, 49.13, 49.21, 49.23, 49.24, 49.30-31, 49.37, 49.39, 49.48, 50.21, 50.25, 50.28, 50.40.4-7, 50.45.9-15, 50.48-50, 50.54, 50.55-56, 50.58, 50.59, 50.60, 50.62, 50.66, 50.69, 50.81, 50.97, 50.106, 51.12, 51.18, 51.20, 51.22-24, 51.44-45, 51.49-52, 51.57-66, 52.2-3. Several of these are very extended accounts with connected sequences of tableaux and are detailed in note n.5 below.

9.2.3 Hybrid/Borderline forms

18 cases show hybrid features, such as visits with no words, or significant "messages", but not delivered in visitation scenes. For a full classification and listing, cf. n.2. Of this latter type, a high proportion display enigmatic or riddling speech (cf. n.20), including oracular–style messages, strange words and phrases in otherwise comprehensible messages and curious therapeutic instructions. Full consideration will be given to these in chapter 5.

Notes

[1] **The variety of explicit and implied message dreams**: Of the 31 examples identified as message dreams, only 4 have full descriptions with visible dream figures, 47.58 (Asclepiacos, the priest of the temple), 48.9 ("the god" = Asclepius, disguised as Salvius), 48.18 (Asclepius and Apollo) and 48.41 (Athena), although in several others a "source" of a message is identified even if no appearance is described, e.g. 47.76 (Asclepiacus), 50.19 (Rhosander), 49.45.1-3 (Isis), 50.39.8-13 and 50.40.3-4 (Dionysus), 50.40.1-2 (Zeus), 50.41 (Zosimus) 50.54 (Epagathus) (cf. also some of the visual dreams being sent by various deities in 49.47.7-10, 50.39.5-7 et sim.). Although visible appearances may simply have been omitted in many of the others, a voice-only message dream might be possible. In a few cases a "voice" is explicitly mentioned, as in 49.14. 50.6.5-6 et sim. However, a "word" from the god does not need to have been audible, as perhaps at 47.76 (Asclepiacus "seemed to say to me") and several of the experiences labelled as "oracles", as 50.97 "I received oracles from Serapis and Isis". In others such as 48.71, 49.14, 49.15, 50.23.4-6, the bare attribution of a word or message to "the god" *may* represent merely a thought or prophetic word to the subject. Certainly the "verse from Delphi" in 50.75 is a well-known oracle that the god has simply "brought to mind". For further notes on dream oracles and "words" cf. n.19 below.

[2] **Borderline/query message dreams**: There are at least 18 borderline/hybrid accounts including 47.26x2, 47.54, 47.71, 49.2, 49.13-17, 49.37, 49.46 , 50.5, 50.14-15, 50.25, 50.40.4-7, 50.42, 50.59, 50.60, 50.80, 51.31, 51.63. Some feature a dream figure where only appearance or gesture is important, as 49.46 (Sarapis and Asclepius), 50.59 (Lysias) or 50.40.4-7 (Hermes). In one case, the god is silent, but Aristides himself presses a request and eventually forces a response (47.71). In others, an utterance is introduced only by a formula like "someone said" (e.g. 47.26x2, 50.5, 51.63) giving the impression of an excerpt from an oneiric conversation, but hardly a formal visitation (cf. the second anonymous speaker in 47:64). 49.37 features an oneric conversation with Aristides' foster-father, but he has not come as a "messenger". Aelius himself is the only speaker in several dreams (50.25, 51.31, 50.40.4-7), where he too cannot function as a "dream figure" in the usual sense (cf. also 50.42). Here, the dreamer's own words can provide unexpected "revelation" including information the dreamer did not know in real life (15.31), as well as ideas for as yet unwritten speeches (as 50.25 and cf. note 13.18 below). In others, a figure may speak, but in a wider visual scene with others (47.54, 49.13-17, 49.2). In 50.14-15, the god speaks, but then points out various famous philosophers standing by. Other complex participative scenes include 50.60 and 50.80.

[3] **Divine commands**: Although some of these may have occurred via dreams they are now presented as simple commands via a process of editorial summary. Most are introduced by formulae such as "the god commanded/indicated/said etc.". There are at least 100 accounts or references of this kind, including 19.6, 23.43, 27.2, 42.8, 47.6, 9, 21.9-10, 41, 63, 65 (4 examples), 66 (x2), 68, 69, 78, 48.7, 10, 11, 13, 15.1-3, 15.3-4, 16, 26-27, 47, 48.1-2, 48.2-4, 48.5-9, 50, 51, 54, 55, 71.2-4, 71.4-5, 72, 74, 75, 77, 78, 80.1-2, 80.2-4, 80.4-5, 80.5-6, 81.1, 81.2-3, 82, 49.6.4-6, 6.9, 7, 11.5-6, 12, 27, 28, 29, 32, 32-33, 34, 35.2-3, 35.4-6, 36 (4 examples) , 39, 41, 43, 50.5, 6.2-3, 6.5-6, 11, 14.3-4, 14.5-6, 15.3-9, 24, 26, 29, 30, 38, 39, 43, 44, 52, 53, 75, 76, 83, 97, 51.26, 35, 38, 47. Although again, the majority of these might have been message dreams, all that is actually required is that the process of interpretation can reduce the dream to somehow indicating a change of plan or an instruction.

[4] **Aristides' non-therapeutic dreams**: Of the 31 more recognisable message dreams considered above, 4 primarily concern Aristides' rhetorical career and not health as such, e.g. 50.14-15, 50.19, 50.23.6-10, 50.4. cf. six of the 100 divine commands (i.e. 50:26, 29, 30, 38, 52, 53), and 20/68 of the other visual dreams, 47.16, 47.30-31, 47.35, 47.46-50, 47.42-45, 47.51-52, 48.31-33, 49.4, 50.21, 50.28, 50.25, 50.48-50, 50.55-56, 50.60, 50.62, 50.64-66, 50.69, 50.106, 51.52, 51.57-66.

[5] **Extended dream accounts**: of the 68 visual dreams listed above, several are quite elaborate or of extended length (e.g. 47.10-14, 47.19, 51.22-24). Ten even longer accounts contain a sequence of separate tableaux, apparently belonging to the same period of sleep, or briefly punctuated times of sleep within the same night, i.e. 47.15 (T1=47.15.1-2, T2=47.15.2-5), 47.24-26 (T1=47.24-25, T2=47.26), 47.30-31 (T1=47.30.1-3, T2=47.30.3-10, T3=47.31), 47.36-40 (T1=47.36-39.5, T2=47.39.5-6, T3=47.40), 47.41 (T1=47.41.1-2, T2=47.41.3), 47.42-45 (T1=47.42-43, T2.44-45), 47.46-50 (T1=47.46.1-49.13 T2=49.13-17 T3=47.50), 50.48-50 (T1=50.48-49, T2=50.50), 51.49-52 (T1=51.49, T2=51.50, T3=51.51-52), 51.57-66 (T1=51.57-59, T2=51.60, T3=51.61-63, T4=51.64-66). In many of the above, a new tableau marks a distinct visual and thematic unit, sometimes formally rather different from

the preceding one. A unique exception is represented by 50.48-50 where the second tableau forms a descriptive supplement to the first. Tableaux sequences generally share a frame, and Aelius reserves his interpretive comment and resulting action until the end of the sequence.

[6] **Emotional reactions during dreams**: There are 26 instances within sections 47.11, 47.13, 47.21, 47.22 (3x), 47.24, 47.25, 47.30(x2), 47.33, 47.42, 47.45, 47.52, 47.54(x2), 48.32(x2), 49.48, 50.49, 50.50, 50.57, 50.61, 51.45(x2), 51.64. Reactions include pleasure, fear, disturbance, marvelling, wishing, joy, hope, encouragement, suspicion, terror, delight, anxiety and relief.

[7] **Thought or other consideration during dreams**: 12 instances: 47.17, 47.22, 47.26 (2x), 47.38, 47.39, 48.33, 50.49 (2x), 51.22, 51.51, 51.64.

[8] **Notes of visual/cognitive perception**: 17 instances within sections 47.7, 47.11, 47.17 (x2), 47.25, 47.28, 47.45, 47.50, 48.7, 48.32, 49.39, 50.1, 50.21 (x2), 51.51, 51.65, 51.66. Numerous dreams report an idea coming into the mind, but not via an audible word, e.g. *Or.* 47.28 "there was a notion of drawing blood" (ἔννοια δὲ καὶ αἵματος ἀφαιρέσεως). The use of the word ἔννοια points in the direction of an *idea* more than the feeling or sensation more naturally understood in the case of the fouling dream of *Or.*47.7.

[9] **Interpretive activity within dreams**: 10 instances within sections 47.8, 50.11 (2x), 50.57, 50.58, 51.20, 51.47, 51.50, 51.64, 51.65.

[10] **Writing, books and inscriptions**: 9 instances 49.13, 49.30-31, 49.33, 50.69, 51.22, 51.24, 51.45, 51.52, 51.66.

[11] **Literary quotes in dreams**: Literary quotes or clear allusions include, 47.16 (Aristophanes), 47.22 (Euripides), 47.51 (Menander), 48.42 (Homer), 49.4 (Aristides himself, but poss. dep. on/Libanus), 50.89 (Aeschylus), 51.12 and 51:44 (Homer), with other known songs or poems in 47.30. Outside of the Sacred Tales, there are dreams featuring literary quotes in other orations, such as the Homeric quote in 38.1-3.

[12] **Editorial remarks by Aristides**: These are at their most interesting when they explain not only the principles behind the choice of material, but also of the editorial and transformative processes used 48.1-4 (various), 48.8, 48.29, 49.26, 50.15, 50.25, 50.39, 50.41, 50.45 (various), 51.16, 51.36.

[13] **Unpleasant experiences in therapeutic dreams**: Direct oneiric procedures are not frequent in Aristides, but include having a Parthian sticking a finger down his throat and forcibly administering medicine in *Or.*47.9, having a wound cleaned with a sharp blade in *Or.*47.13, having his lips "drained" in *Or.*47.40, and having a cut all around the face in *Or.*49.47.4-7.

[14] **Bizarre imagery**: 49.23 (Telesphorus .... dancing about my neck), 50.50 (a statue of Zeus with 3 heads), vomiting up a viper's head (50.5 hearsay report), 47.42-43, 45 (curious activities with foods, including putting a ham "to sleep"), 47.56 (seeing two sparks), 51.44-45 (lying down while the emperor was sacrificing), 50.49 (finding a tomb for Aristides and Alexander), 50.61 (a famous philosopher falls over), 51.23 (human haruscopy), 51.65 (a near miss by lightening), 51.65 (ladders put up against buildings) et sim.

[15] **Bizarre or unpleasant commands**: Most of these are extra-oneiric, where Aristides wakes and assumes that a command must be followed in real life. Beyond the "standard" prescriptions of bathing (*Or.*47.7, 9), diet (ibid.49.24), ointments (ibid.49.6.4-6) and sacrifices (ibid.50.34 et sim), some commands presented stiffer challenges, e.g. outdoor activities in cold weather (48.18 et sim.), smearing oneself with strange substances (48.68 et sim.), blood-letting (48.48.1-2 et sim.) or more radical changes of diet) 49.34 et sim.). More bizarre requests included reading philosophical speeches to cure toothache (50.30 cf. 50:15-17), crossing a river and throwing away coins (48.27), sprinkling dust over his body like a wrestler (50.11), as well as the dangerous requests to swim in swollen rivers (48.51), sail in stormy weather (47.65), and sink (48.13). A sixty pint blood-let (48.47) would certainly seem impossible, although we never hear whether it was attempted or not. In an earlier oration (*Or.* 36.124), Aristides notes that dream prescriptions sometimes seem to be the opposite of what is really needed, as noted by Dodds (1951: 116), a phenomenon dubbed "healing by paradoxes" by Meir (1966: 317). The most unpleasant command, which Aristides sought to evade by substitution of a ring was a request for finger sacrifice (48.27.10-11). Bizarre intra-oneiric commands include being asked to refuse to kiss the the emperor (47.23).

[16] **Violation of sacred law**: These are not common in Aristides, but 49.37 discusses Zosimus' death due to a breach of sacred law at a bull-sacrifice. More dubious or implicit cases include 51.61 where Aristides' illness may be due to breaking sacred law for the temple featured in the dream.

[17] **Double dreams**: *Or.* 47.43, 47.63, 66, 48.30-35, 48.48.1-4, 49.12-13, 49.14, 49.45, 50.5, 50.23, discussed in chapter 6. Of these, three roughly concern Aristides' career as a speaker, and the rest are therapeutic (49.12, 13 concerns travel for shrine visits). It is hard to make rigorous distinctions since 47.43, whilst primarily philosophical, also features food imagery, and 48.30-32, although primarily about public speaking, is received in the Asclepion.

[18] **Revealed philosophical discourse**: Although there are few hints at this in the Sacred Tales, dreams were involved in the composition of his speeches and paeans (for the variety of material, *Or.*42.11). Aristides follows Plato's analogy between prophetic inspiration (2.52-60) and inspired performances and writings (2.70-72, esp. 75), issuing in a supernatural extemporised flow of ideas (27.2-3, 28.112). "carried off course … like a missile … with a whizzing noise" (28.112), what poets have called a "sacred night" (28.117). Such states can, however, be cultivated by associating with the gods (28.116) and can be entered whenever the god commands (superscriptions to Or.18, 27). On a "sacred night", ones literary output "passes through the gates of horn" (28.117). He claims that content, in concept or outline, has come in dreams in 38.1-3, 24, 40.22, 41.1-2 et sim. In some cases, this may have entailed "dictation", as Aristides speaks of *hearing* "many things which excelled in purity of style and were gloriously beyond my models" (50.25), mentions "carefully remembered phrases" (50.26 τῶν εἰς μνήμην δι' ἀκριβείας ἐλθόντων ῥημάτων), and sometimes records such words in his accounts (50.31). At other times, the god only suggested subjects, ideas, or style, leaving Aristides to provide the finishing touches (42.11), although certainly still feeling the mere "actor of your compositions" (42.12). Aristides' sees even his unaided ability as coming from a *training regime* promoted by the divine dreams. If, like a boxing trainer, the god can pass on "good tricks", he also controls his

student's diet (50.24), so as to "solidify and increase" his strength, insisting that his "athlete" always rose "fully simulated and ready to speak" (50.26). He was thus, by guided but hard work, able to improve his fluency in the classic authors, who became his "comrades" (50.24). 28.116 gives an excerpt from a "pep-talk" (which Aristides calls a "sacred tale"), in which the god encourages him to "excel". 50.26 contains a command to practice extempore composition "to weave a speech through mere thought", so as thus to enhance the very fluency required by the process of inspiration. All in all, however, the "the greatest and most valuable part of my training was my access to and communion with these dreams" (50.25). Some of the "revelations" then come from Aristides imagining *himself* making such extempore compositions within his own dreams and thus providing himself with the very revealed content he needed for a more formal written work the next day (50.25). When we read of Aristides composing a hymn for Hermes in 50.40 "while I was singing of him", we are seeing the origins of a later written composition that is not dictated by the god, so much as composed in ecstatic extemporisation by Aristides within a dream. All of the above become extremely interesting in relation to Philo's famous comments about the song-writing activity of the Therapeutae in *de vita contemp*., but that will have to remain a topic for future research.

[19] **Dream oracles in Aristides**: Explicitly tagged or implicit dream oracles with summaries or editorial comments occur throughout the Sacred Tales. These are often introduced by formulae such as "X received an oracle", "the god gave the following oracle" set sim, as e.g. *Or.*48.71.4-5, 49.12 etc. Terminology includes variously μαντεῖον, χρησμός, ἔπος, and the verbs χρήζω, χρηματίζω et sim. With no particular notes of visits to oracle shrines (50.75 refers to a known Delphic text that has been given afresh to Aristides as a "word"), many of these seem to indicate words received in dreams, auditions or simply by "coming into the mind" . Many turn out to be literary quotes which Aristides negotiates easily, but others contain new utterances in a speech pattern typical of Delphic responses. Explicitly tagged or contextually implicit oracle reports occur at 48.71.4-5, 49.12, 49.37, 50.1, 50.5, 50.75, 50.89, 50.97, 50.54, 51.22-24, with summary comments about clusters of oracles in 50.70, 50.98 and 51.21. That Aristides links these to dreams is shown by his routine phrasing "oracles and dreams" (5:98, καὶ τὰ μὲν χρησθέντα καὶ φανθέντα et sim., cf. Pl *Apol.*33c and Artemidorus' classification in *Oneir.*1:2.41-42), suggesting that his "oracles" are like voice-only message dreams. Given that a vision may not need the recipient to be asleep, an oracle may come to a person in a waking, but dream-like way. Whilst at least some accounts must be read in this way (49.14, 50.6.5-6 et sim), a good number are so focussed on the received word that the god is mentioned simply as the source of the message (καί μοι χρήζει ὁ θεὸς τὸ ἔποσ τόδε, 48.71.4-5 et sim). That dreams or visions are involved is sometimes betrayed by an editorial remark ("κατὰ δή τινα ὀνείρατοσ ὄψιν" in the previous example). In one or two cases, however, one might imagine a process of a word merely "coming to mind" that does not really imply a fully dream or vision state (as possibly 50.75 "I received the verse from Delphi ..."). Once the exact mode of delivery has been eclipsed by the general fact of receiving such divine words, it becomes increasingly difficult to press distinctions within the details of the provided texts.

[20] **Enigmatic speech**: Dreams involving enigmatic speech include those of three distinct types (1) full oracular-style messages (Or. 48.18, 49.37, 50.54 et sim.) (2) isolated words and phrases, in otherwise comprehensible messages (Or. 9.32 , 51.8, 47.17, 47.18, 47.26, 47.71, and 51.44-45) and (3) curious therapeutic instructions (so numerous even Aristides has to summarise them cf. 47.65).

10 Artemidorus

10.1 Introduction, Bibliography

Artemidorus of Daldis (2nd century CE, exact dates uncertain) mainly lived in Ephesus and wrote a five volume *Oneirocritica*. Although postdating the NT, his use of earlier texts and oral sources suggests that the world of popular dreaming portrayed is one that would be recognisable throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods.named Unusually, his numerous written sources are . The first three books are aimed at the non–specialist and arranged thematically around typical visual elements. Books 4 and 5 are professionally oriented and contain more complete dream accounts. Following Plato, "true" dreams arise when the soul attempts to warn the dreamer about important future events (n.2). Artemidorus is unusual in using only ὄνειρος for "true" dreams, reserving ἐνύπνιον for "ordinary" dreams (n.3). Of some 230 cases dicsussed, most are highly abbreviated. Although occasionally attributed to named dreamers, most are introduced by vaguer formulae such as "for example, someone seemed to see …" and contextual information is kept to a minimum. For various studies on Artemidorus, cf. Geer (1927), Blum (1939), Pack (1955), Price (1986), Winkler (1990), Martin (1991), Walde (1999), Hansen (2000). Numerous broader studies on dreams touch on Artemidorus to some extent, e.g. Holowchak (1997: 119-155), Flannery–Dailey (2000: 156-161) and for a concise summary of Artemidoran interpretation, cf. Oberhelman (2008: 21-23). Re Referencing: The work is divided into books and chapters in both Greek texts and translations. Unfortunately Pack's line numbers start afresh on each page. The references here retain traditional book and chapter designations, followed by line offsets in Pack.

10.2 Passages/Texts

Book 1: 1:2.72, 1:2.75, 1.4.3-7, 1.4.14, 1.4.16, 1.4.26-32, 1.19.5-12, 1:24.20-22, 1:26.24-28, 1:26.75-79, 1:26.82-86, 1:42.30-32, 1:45.22-23, 1:47.8-9, 1:48.14-16, 1:48.19-20, 1:48.22-23, 1.59.4-5, 1.64.37-39, 1.73.9-12, 1:78.22-33, 1:78.74-75, 1:78.77-78, 1:78.111-112.

Book 2: 2:12.18-43, 2:26.12-14, 2:30.42-46, 2:33.14-17, 2:57.12-18, 2:59.6-10, 2:59.12-16.

Book 3: 3:46.11-13, 3:51.8-10.

Book 4: (102 accounts, too numerous to list here).

Book 5: (95 accounts, too numerous to list here).

10.3 Classification

Although Artemidorus is aware of the Homeric message form, and for which he probably reserves the term oracular dream, his key interest is in visual symbolism, and therefore almost all of the accounts presuppose the more general visual type. Only 18 dreams mention speech at all, listed in n.7 below.

10.4 Interpretation

See n.9, 10, 13 and other notes below.

Notes

[1] **Dreams in Artemidorus with extended descriptions**: Only about 22 accounts are given more than 2 or 3 lines development, including 1.4.3-7, 1.4.26-32, 1.19.5-12, 1:26.24-28, 1:26.75-79, 1.73.9-12, 2:12.18-43, 2:57.12-18, 4:pref 104-108, 4:22.68-71, 4:32.2-6, 4:46.2-6, 4:59.47-50, 4:72.5-9, 5:3, 5:30, 5:39, 5:58, 5:67, 5:74, 5:78, 5:82. Of these, even fewer stand out for any level of detail. Exceptions here include (1) the chase and escape dream in 1.4.26-32, (2) the three ravens in 4:32.2-6, (3) the man carried around in a trough of blood in 5:58, and (4) the dream about the association dinner in 5:82. Of especial interest in relation to Peter's vision is one account with internal repetition (5:78) where a fountain keeps drying up.

[2] **Significant dreams as prescient dreams**: Although not absolutely denying divine dreams, Artemidorus operates out of Plato's dream theory and conceives that that the mind is intrinsically able to register future events and warn the dreamer if necessary (1:2.14-45 cf. 4:27.6-9, οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἡ ψυχή, ἢ ὅτι σπουδαῖα προαγορεύει καὶ ἀξιόλογα καὶ οὐ πάρεργα, πολλάκις αὐτὰ δείκνυσιν, ἢ ὅτι πρὸ πολλοῦ τῆς ἀποβάσεως αὐτῶν ἤρξατο καὶ οὐ διαλείπει αὐτὰ ὁρῶσα. "Similarly, then our mind also presents these dreams frequently, either because it is prophesying matters that are serious, meaningful and not of secondary importance, or because it has begun to see them long before their fulfilment and continues to see them uninterruptedly.")

Unlike Plato, however, Artemidorus maintains a sharp distinction between prescient dreams and "ordinary" ones (Plato admits a continuum) and is the first author to insist on the exclusive use of ὄνειρος for significant dreams, reserving ἐνύπνιον for ordinary ones (n.10.3, below). For the sake of his clients, Artemidorus links this to an educational elitism and claims that ἐνύπνια and other irrational fantasies do not appear to a serious man." (4:Pref.78-84 [239.14-20]). This line of reasoning leads later on to an interesting element of strain between the ἐνύπνιον/ὄνειρος and the θεωρημᾰτικός/ἀλληγορικός categorisations discussed below, where a glimpse of the future is nevertheless encoded in a potentially confusing way. In any case, "true" and inconsequential dreams cannot be told apart on content alone ("There are some dreams which cannot be interpreted before their actual fulfilment", εἰ δέ ποτέ τινα ὄνειρον μηδενὶ τῶν ὀνειροκριτικῶν θεωρημάτων ὑποπίπτοντα μὴ δυνηθείης κρῖναι, μὴ ἀθυμήσῃς, 4:24.7-9 [259.14-16]). Artemidorus, as a professional interpreter for "elite" clients, is thus concerned to find *some* interpretation that can link the dream with a later event, and if one interpretation does not work, others can be tried. Nevertheless, he considers a three year wait for an event to happen unusually long (4:1.25-28). One day, is however, exceptionally short (4:1.9-11).

[3] **Artemidorus' special use of ὄνειρος and ἐνύπνιον**: This is established in 1:1.1-9, 4:Pref.60-90. Artemidorus is well aware that this is not a widely held convention (4:Pref.60-64). In maintaining this, Artemidorus curiously preserves a distinction going back to Homer's gates of Horn and Ivory. "True" dreams are not necessarily divine, but can arise naturally, even if providentially. Artemidorus links the "ordinary" dreams not only to desire, but to the basic functions of the body, and particularly food, as expressed in 4:pref.65-70 "… A dream that has no meaning (ἀσημαντον) and predicts nothing (οὐδενὸς προᾰγορευτικόν), one that is active only while one sleeps and that has arisen from an irrational desire, an extraordinary fear, or from a surfeit or lack of food is called an ἐνύπνιον. But a dream that operates after sleep and that comes true (ἀποβάλλοντος) either for good or bad is called an ὄνειρος".

[4] **Different kinds of significant dream**: Discounting Homeric–style message dreams, Artemidorus divides the significant visual dreams (ὄνειροι) into those that directly foresee an event, which he calls θεωρημᾰτικός (1:2.1-3, examples in 1:2.3-11) and those that do so with some degree of symbolism, which he calls ἀλληγορικός (cf. 1:2.1-3, 1:2.14-16). These latter he subdivides into further types depending on whether the dreamer believes him or herself alone to be doing something (ἴδιος, cf. 1:2.47, attesting what we wouild call *participative* dreams), merely sees others doing things (ἀλλότριος, as 1:2.49, *presentational*), or both (κοινός, as 1:2.52). In addition, he distinguishes dreams set in a known public places (δημόσιος, as 1:2.56, contra the traditional bedside of ANE message dreams), and what we might term "apocalyptic" dreams (κοσμικός) involving the sun, moon, earth or sea (1:2.59). These classifications more or less presuppose the mixed dreams with both realistic and "unrealistic" (potentially symbolic) elements that we have seen in Greek tragedy and later biography. It becomes hard, howver to tell the difference between theorematic dreams and those with entirely recognisable people and objects, but for which meaning nevertheless arises figuratively. For a useful diagram of Artemidorus' classification system, cf. Behr (1968: 186 n.41).

[5] **"God-sent" dreams**: Artemidorus is aware that people do dream of seeing gods and (e.g. 2:34-39) receiving messages from them (2:69.1-10). When he speaks of "ὅραμά τε καὶ χρηματισμός" as species of "true" dream he may be thinking of traditional Homeric and prophetic dreams (1:2.41-42). He certainly believes that a god speaking in a dream should generally be truted (2:69.1-10), although this could certainly occur in a more incidental way in a more general visual dream. Nevertheless Artemidorus uses the word "god-sent" (θεόπεμπτα) in the sense of any dream that has no obvious origin in our current concerns and anxieties (1:6.1-10 cf. 1:7, 4:3, and thus ἐνύπνια). He does allow the possibility that a god can cause a dream when he criticises those who make requests for such revelations

(4:2.79-94 cf. Herm.*Mand.*11:5-6) and those disrespectfully "laying down the law for the gods" (ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν νομοθετούντων τοῖς θειοῖς καταγέλα, 4:2.94-95). After these remarks, divine causality recedes from view, and is not required for his natural understanding of dream prescience.

[6] **Seeing gods in dreams**: Although Artemidorus is aware that gods can and do speak in dreams (2:69.1-10), when they are merely seen, they can function as visual symbols like any other cultural object (2:34-39). It is surprising that seeing gods in dreams is not in the main auspicious. Intriguingly, the brief discussion in 2:34.1-3 appears to suggest that some of the gods are intrinsically capable of being seen (in either dreams or waking visions) but others can be known though the intellect alone, a quality fundamental to Jewish conceptions of God. Broad differences are observed between the sky gods and the chthonic gods in this regard. Much of Artemidorus' discussion presupposes a high likelihood of seeing a god in relation to associated cultic activity or the statues of the gods known from public temples. However, he is also aware of the countryside traditions of Dionysus and Pan apparitions as well as the special sea-faring lore associated with Poseidon, the sea-Nymphs etc. He is clear that whatever the nature of the gods themselves, dreamers are most likely to dream of gods linked to cults, activities and places within which they themselves are more routinely involved. In a general visual dream however, the dreamer must simply ask what seeing a god, dressed in a particular way and performing particular actions *means* in the context of his dream. If everything is as expected, then they may be functioning as a reassuring sign that all is well. But it represents a bad omen for a god to be seen out of place, dressed incorrectly or performing some non–usual task, a fact that would have come quickly to mind had he been advising Peter about the "out of character" command he received in his vision.

[7] **Speech in Artemidorus' dreams**: Of the 230 complete dream accounts, only 18 have any kind of speech mentioned. Unlike the general discussions about such speech in Book 2 (2:69.1-10), all of these accounts come from the more professionally oriented Books 4 and 5. They are 4:32.2-6, 4:33.9-11, 4:59.34-36, 4:59.39, 4:59.47-50, 4:63.8-10, 4:63.12-13, 4:71.13-15, 4:72.5-9, 4:80.8-9, 5:3, 5:30, 5:51, 5:58, 5:66, 5:71, 5:72, 5:82. Five involve gods or statues of gods, (1) 4:71.13-15 (Pan), (2) 4:72.5-9 (Pan), (3) 4:80.8-9 (Serapis), (4) 5:71 (statue of Zeus), (5) 5:72 (statue of Aphrodite), and of these, the last two involve only paralinguistic gestures by the statues, rather than speech as such. Of the others, one involves a bird (4:32.2-6), eight, an unnamed human speaker (4:59.34-36, 4:59.39, 4:59.47-50, 4:63.8-10, 4:63.12-13, 5:3, 5:51, 5:66), and one, an entire group of association members who constitute a kind of "group" dream figure (5:82). Several involve the dreamer conversing with a dream figure (the second Pan dream, the Zeus dream and the Aphrodite dreams above, as well as 5:3, with a stranger at an art gallery).

Not all of these should be counted as message dreams in the usual sense, as conversation may arise more incidentally, as in a school art-gallery in 5:3, or with more than one oneiric figures in more complex cases. Sometimes dreamers themselves can be the significant speaker (4:33.9-11), something experienced also by Aristides. A sizable group do however, involve simple utterances from a single oneiric figure introduced by the formula ἔδοξέ τις λέγειν αὐτῷ, which gives the impression of an intentional message-style communication. Two of these involve gods, one by Pan (4:71.13-15) and the other by Serapis (4:80.8-9), and a further seven present as message-style utterances from human speakers. These are, for the most part, anonymous, although the dreamer is aware of being addressed by a speaker. The typical formula where both the identities of the dreamer and the messenger are left uncertain thus becomes ἔδοξέ τις λέγειν αὐτῷ τινα. Dreams of this type include 4:59.34-36, 4:59.39, 4:59.47-50, 4:63.8-10, 4:63.12-13, 5:51, 5:66. Of these, only two receive some minor qualification as to the nature (although never the name) of the speaker, e.g. 4:59.34-36 (someone trustworthy, τινα τῶν ἀξιοπίστων), 4:59.39 (a handmaid, θεράπαιναν). In none of these is the full appearance or presentation of the figure as a messenger described, and is plainly of little interest. One assumes however, from the brief identifications made for some of the speakers, whether human or divine, that this is in fact, occurring by means of their appearance, and that at least some of them are most likely message dreams. Another smaller group of dreams involve a more complex scene where some of the sense comes from non–verbal elements, but within which a significant utterance occurs as an intentional message to the dreamer. This includes the woman's dream about the ravens in 4:32.2-6, the birth-giving dream in 5:30 and the mother/son dream of 5:58.

[8] **Enigmatic speech in dreams in Artemidorus**: Of the 18 dreams in Artemidorus that feature speech, a high proportion are enigmatic. Given that Artemidorus is primarily interested in dreams that need *interpreting*, this is as expected. Indeed, the only command in plain speech is discussed because it was disobeyed (5:66). The Pan dream (4:71.13-15) involves divine riddling or enigmatic speech ("your wife will poison you …" is not meant literally), and in the other, Serapis (4:80.8-9) provides an explanation in clear speech of an earlier riddling message dream. Other oracular-style questions put by the dreamer result in confusing answers from Zeus (5:71) and Aphrodite (5:72) and a blatantly deceptive one from Pan (4:72.5-9), all of which may reflect a general distaste on Artemidorus' part for oracular practice of this kind. Six utterances by human dream figures also involve riddling or enigmatic speech. In three of these, an information reduction riddle is used, e.g. in (1) 4:63.8-10 "your servant dwells amongst those who are exempt from service" (Thebes - via Homeric narrative), (2)4:63.12-13 "him who has but one sandal" (Hermes, via Perseus/Gorgon myth), (and (35:51 "your staff is broken" (figurative language). In a further three cases, the obliqueness is achieved via a literary quotation, namely (1) 4:59.34-36 -a quote from Hesiod on greed (2)4:59.39 - a quote from Euripides on jealously and (3) 4:59.47-50 - an allusion to the death of Patroclus (the dreamer's husband would soon die). In three more general visual dreams, enigmatic speech occurs via rather different mechanisms. (1) 4:32.2-6 (the encircling and speech of the raven), involves a pun on ἔκβιον (immortal/bereft of life), (2) the "beautiful child" in the pregnancy dream in 5:30 turns out to be death, and (3) "you have disgraced me" in the mother/son dream of 5:58 refers to something the son has not yet done. The general rationale of riddling either via the visual symbolism of the ὄνειρος ἀλληγορικός or via enigmatic speech, as here, is discussed in note n.11 below, and at further length in chapter 5.

[9] **Wordplay in Artemidorus' dream interpretation:** Noegel (2007: 226-231) gives a list of 40 examples of wordplay in Artemidorus' dream interpretation. A more thorough investigation can extend this to some 71 references, too numerous to list here. A good number are explained in the text (22/71), but in many cases, Artemidorus sees it as obvious enough to be indicated merely by "because of the name" (διὰ τὸ ὄνομα). Unfortunately, these are no longer

always obvious. For some of these, White (1975) has attempted some suggestions in his footnotes as to how the wordplay might work, conjectures which are not always certain. Numerological wordplay, given an extended discussion at the close of book 2 in 2:70 in fact features only five times (twice in a dream interpretation). True polysemy occurs seven times (two in a dream interpretation). Homonymy, occurs five times (three in a dream interpretation). Homophony occurs ten times (twice in a dream interpretation). Artemidorus gives a theoretical discussion of transformation based on random changes (deletions, additions and exchanges) of letters or syllables in words (1:11.5-11), however in the five uses of this strategy, two are applied redundantly to existing homophones, and one in the course of correct etymological derivation. One number play on a person's name in 4:22.62-63 works only if the first syllable is taken. One final case transforming γένυς to γυνή is suggested in a footnote by White (1975: 149 n.88) (who offers an alternative) but is not explained as such by Artemidorus himself. Similar alterations to words involve leaving all the syllables in place but dividing the word into two (e.g. 2:20.31-33 cf. 57 eagle = "a" "year", 4:24.18-21 satyr = "your" "Tyre"), although in both of these cases, the phrase might be presumed (bar stress) to be more or less homophonic to the original word (as some jokes in English). Three of these manipulations occur within the interpretation of given dream accounts.

The greatest proportion of instances of wordplay (19) involve picking up a secondary meaning through a common figurative (sometimes euphemistic) or metaphorical use of the word or a derived word. To these may be added five cases where the figurative use is particularly known from a verse from Homer or some other literary source. Either way, Artemidorus assumes the allusion is common knowledge. The stratagem, in either its commonplace or literary version, is used, however, in just four dream accounts. In four cases, the link to the figurative use is via phrasal metonymy (e.g. hand = hand *writing*, mother = mother *land*, mother = mother *earth*, guts = *offspring* of womb) where we end up with a non-cognate of the original word, although have got there via a figurative or metaphorical phrase that *contains* the original word. The word picked up through the phrase is missing in the base dream image, and has to be added via a process of variation/substitution, as envisaged in some structural linguistic analysis. None of these are used in the interpretation of real dream accounts, however. Other strategies also rely on a missing associated word linking the actual dream image with something different. This link word, can sometimes be an adjective, associated with both the dream image and its referent, or with the dream image only, but then via a secondary wordplay to the final referent. Thus for instance both brothels and cemeteries are common (κοινός) via rather different senses of being both shared, and perhaps unclean (1:78.22-33). Illness can be spoken of as a *crisis* (the same word as a legal judgment, and hence a link to an unexpected sphere of reference) (2:29.3-4 cf. 4:45.4-5). "Nymph" can be used figuratively for a woman, hence wife, and thus presage the eventual gaining of *children* (several links here, 2:38.21-23). A whetstone is for making things *sharp*, which is itself used figuratively of the results of exhortation or encouragement (3:37.1-6). Finally, although this is an example that has perhaps reduced itself to purely conventional symbolism, wheat is a *seed*, and thus also speaks of children (5.84). Two of the above are present in the interpretation of sample complete dreams. In five instances the etymology of a word is mentioned, but this approach is never used for a real dream. Interpreting proper names features six times, three relating to scientific designations. Perhaps more common is the need to know the nickname, popular or slang name of a god, part of a plant, part of the human body or other object. This features in twelve passages, although only two in actual dreams. Some of the wordplay examples have a literary rather than a purely popular basis e.g. 1:56.50-52.

[10] **Other interpretive principles**: Visual elements are interpreted separately by cultural convention or wordplay before recombination (*Oneir*.3:66.54-62) to provide an overall meaning, although always guided by dreamer's personal contexts (*Oneir*. 1:13.1-11). In general, uncertainty as to whether elements stand for themselves, or for other things means that θεωρημᾰτικός and ἀλληγορικός are not watertight designations.

[11] **The rationale of symbolism and riddling**: Given that seeing into the future is primarily about warning dreamers, it becomes puzzling as to why the mind should ever choose to alert us obliquely via the symbolism of a ἀλληγορικός ὄνειρος or in verbal riddles where there might be a danger of not understanding the warning. The occurrence of the word αἴνιγμα (riddle) at 4:1.3-4 " ἀλλεγορικοὺς δὲ τοὺς τὰ σημαινόμενα δι' αἰνιγμάτων ἐπιδεικνύντας" is significant. In Book 1 Artemidorus claims that expressing things by symbols is natural ("a movement or condition of the mind", κίνησις ἢ πλάσις ψυχῆς, 1:2.19) and indeed the *default* mechanism (αἰνισσομένης ἐν αὐτοῖς φυσικῶς τι τῆς ψυχῆς, 1:2.14-16) is to generate symbols or elements by which to do this (εἰκόνων ἰδίων φυσικῶν τῶν καὶ στοιχείων καλουμένων προαγορεύει ἡ ψυχή, 1:2.22-23). In cases of emergency, however, the dreamer may not have time to work out the symbolic coding and has to be sent a direct theorematic premonition, by-passing the usual substitution mechanism. Why then is the default communication *symbolic*? Artemidorus implies that when time allows there is a preference that the conscious mind is made to do the work of reasoning (νομίζουσα ἡμᾶς δύνασθαι λογισμῷ διδασκομένους μαθεῖν τὰ ἐσόμενα, 1:2.24-25), a sentiment somewhat in line with the Platonic/Socratic educational heritage. The claim that direct representation is only used in emergencies, however, leaves all sorts of other presuppositions in the book inconsistent, however. For instance, Artemidorus states that theroremᾰtic (transparent) dreams are generally given only to upright people (4:Pref.80-81, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὄνειροι καὶ ὡσ ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον θεωρηματικοί), yet the whole book presupposes that they (along with the uneducated and unworthy) need frequent help in understanding *symbolism*. Later, Artemidorus suggests that the tendency to substitute symbols for realities is actually a sign of learning (4:Pref.84-90), especially where literary allusions are involved (4:59.27-57). Thus even in wish-fulfilment dreams, an educated dreamer does not see his beloved directly, but sees "a ship, the sea, a female animal or an item of woman's clothing" (4:Pref.93-96). This however, renders Artemidorus inconsistent, since if such dreams do not predict the future, they must, by definition be ἐνύπνια, which upright people "do not have" (4:Pref.78-84). Allegorical dreams, as a subdivision of ὄνειρος must come true, again by definition (4:1.9-11). He thus ends up in the curious position of having to suggest that the unusual occurrence of symbolism in the dream of an untutored man would have to be taken as an indication of an ὄνειρος. In so doing, he offers all social classes the possibility of status enhancement.

[12] **Taboo-breaking dreams and unpleasant images**: Generally unpleasant dream experiences include contact with and eating of blood (5:58) and faeces (2:26), illness (3.22), insanity (3:42.1-11), loss of limbs (1:42.19-22, 30-32), robbery and loss of property (2:59.6-10) and death and burial (2:49-54). Dreamers experiencing themselves behaving uncharacteristically include everything from the social embarrassments of exposing oneself (4:44.4-5), urinating in public (4:44.7-8, 10-11) or failing to entertain colleagues (5:82), through to stealing (3:2.1-6), beating mothers (4:2.65), killing children (5:22), sacrificing wives (5:2), and engaging in illegal (1:78.81-79:131), unnatural (1:80.23-28, 1:80.54-59, 1:80.45-54) or bizarre sex (1:80.39-45, 4:65.20, 4:65.23-24), including with children, adult relatives, animals, corpses and even gods (1:80.28-39). The list is extremely extensive, but most cases can be circumvented to allow a good meaning to come (in context) for the individual dreamer. Breaches of sacred law occur in several dreams, including including eating (4:4.5-6) or defecating in temples (2:26.30-35), entering sanctuaries illegitimately (4:4.5-6), stealing from shrines (3:3.1-5) or vandalising statues (2:33.17-22).

[13] **The occurrence and interpretation of opposites**: The general 4-way possible match between good and bad imagery and good and bad outcomes is discussed in 1:5.6-34 [14.14-15.18]. Although it is the general principle that good signifies good, and bad, bad, (4:2.58-74) exceptions are possible in both directions, e.g. bad=>good, 4:2.58-74, good=>bad, 2:30.1-8, as also 1:13.1-11, 2:59.12-16 discussed in 2:59.16-21, 2:59.3-6, 2:30.1-8.

Hellenistic and Roman Literature

11 Dionysius of Halicarnassus

11.1 Introduction, Bibliography

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (c.60–7 BCE[+?]) was a Greek–speaking rhetorician and historian from Asia Minor and although wrote much on Roman history, did so from a Greek cultural perspective (cf. Gabba, 1991). He learned Latin and studied in Rome from about 30 BCE. His major extant work is the Roman Antiquities (abbrev. *RA*). Originally in 20 vols, the first 11 are nearly complete and of the rest, only fragments remain, derived from later quotations. A critic of Thucydides, he followed Herodotus methodologically, and in terms of approaches to the supernatural (cf. numerous references in Squires, 1993). Whilst sceptical of the more fabulous tales, he counsels against ignoring such material altogether (n.5). Besides the usual Greek response oracles (n.2), omens, prodigies and portents (n.3) he shows interest in specifically Roman divinatory practices (n.1) and phenomena such as "divine voices" (n.4). For a general introduction, see Bowersock et al. (1985), re his admiration of earlier historians, cf. Toye (1995). His historiography has been compared with that of Luke–Acts by Plümacher (1993) and Moessner (2002) and in regard to revelation and providence by Squires (1993).

11.2 Texts/Classification

He has fewer dreams than Herodotus, with just three message forms, two other visual cases and a few marginal or passing references.

11.2.1 Message/Visitation Forms

3 examples: (1) *RA* 1:56.5, (2) *RA* 1:57.4 and (3) *RA* 7:68.3-7:69.2.

11.2.2 Symbolic/Other Visual Forms

2 examples: (1) *RA* 5:54.1-5, (2) *RA* 20:12.1-2.

11.2.3 Hybrid/Borderline Forms

11.2.4 Brief Reports or Indeterminate Forms

2 examples: (1) *RA* 3:67.3 and (2) *RA* 1:77.2-3.

Notes

[1] **Dionysius and the Roman religious and divinatory context**: Although writing in Greek, Dionysius includes details of Roman divinatory practices and the myriad officials entrusted with their interpretation (*RA* 2:64-74 as established in the time of Numa). He shows how divination fits together with votes at assemblies in *RA* 4:80.2-3 and 9:41.3-4. One oracular resource unknown to Herodotus is the written collections of Sibylline oracles used in Rome in Dionysius' own day. These are mentioned frequently in his text (*RA* 1:34.5, 1:49.3, 1:52.3, 1:58.2, 3:67.3, 4:62, 6:17.3, 8:37.3, 10:2.5, 10:3.1 [poss], 10:9.1, 12:9.1, 14:11 et sim.), with an extended narrative about how they were originally acquired in 4:62. For a useful collection of essays on divination, portents and dreams from a Roman perspective in exactly this period, see Wildfang and Isager (2000). The essay on Cicero and prodigies by Rasmussen (2000) is helpful in showing how public figures able to express a highly sceptical point of view in their own writings could also at the same time be supportive of a continuing role for divination public and civic life.

[2] **Dionysius and Oracle reports**: Dionysius comments on the foundation and special practices of a number of oracle shrines and other holy places (e.g. the oracle of Mars at Tiora, *RA* 1:14.5 and the sacred lake near Cutilia, Hist.1:15.1-2) and as with Herodotus, makes frequent passing references to oracles having been consulted (*RA* 1:18.2, 1:40.2, 1:51.1, 2:19.3, 4:4.2, 4:69.2-3, 7:9.1, 7:68.1, 10:3.1, 10:14.2, 12:9.1, 12:10.2, 12:12.1-2, 12:16.1, 19:1.3), including cross-references to oracles from later or earlier accounts (*RA* 1:55.1, 1:66.1, 2:32.1, 12:11.2). The number of responses is not great (*RA* 1:23.4, 1:55.4-1:56.2, 19:1.3, 19:2:1 are given in summary form, and only *RA* 1:19.3-1:20.2, 1:68.4-1:69.1, quoted in full verse form). The vast majority concern military strategy or colonisation. Several constitute riddles using the description/omission mechanism, and do not hinge on *symbolism* as such (e.g. Aeneas' "eating tables, follow quadruped" oracle is fulfilled by eating parsley and following a sow escaping from a sacrifice. So also the "goat with beard dipping in to the sea" at 19:1.3 and the "male covered by the female" in 19:2:1). Although not part of the Greek tradition, Dionysius makes frequent references to the Sibylline collections beloved of Rome in 1:34.5, 1:49.3, 1:52.3, 1:58.2, 3:67.3, 4:62, 6:17.3, 8:37.3, 10:2.5, 10:3.1 (poss), 10:9.1, 12:9.1, 14:11.1.

[3] **Dionysius and omens, prodigies and portents**: These are frequent and Herodotean in tone and include *RA* 1:48.2, 1:59.4-5, 1:67.1, 1:77.2, 1:86.3, 1:88.1, 2:4.2, 2:5.2 , 2:60.3, 3:1.3, 3:7.4, 3:13.4, 3:36.1, 3:46.1, 3:47.4, 3:70.3, 3:71.3, 4:2.1, 4:2.4, 4:40.7, 4:59.2-3, 4:63.1-3, 5:28.1, 5:46.1, 5:46.2-3, 6:1.3, 6:6.2, 7:3.2-3, 7:59.8, 7:68.1, 8:86.7, 8:89.3, 9:6.4, 9:23.2, 9:40.1, 9:45.1, 9:55.2, 10:2.2-3, 10:2.3-5, 10:9.1, 11:62.1, 12:11.3 (=12:13.3), 12:16.1-2 (=12:22.1-2), 13:3.2, 14:11.1 (=14:20.1), 14:11.1 (=14:20.1), 16:1.4, 19:2.1. Bird omens and thunder and lightening are particularly frequently represented. A number reports multiple omens and prodigies before important events. Several are interpreted like symbolic dreams, as with the "severed head" found while digging the foundations of a new temple (*RA* 4:59.2-3, interpretation in 4:60-61) and cf. also the "interpretation" of the cleft in the earth appearing in the forum in *RA* 14:11.1 (=14:20.1).

[4] **Divine voices**: A special class of portent includes audible voices either above or around groups of hearers, or emanating from groves, or from statues in temples (e.g. 1:56.3, 5:16.2-3, 7:68.1, 8:56.2-4, 8:89.3, 10:2.2-3, 13:3.2). These stories, depict apparently "open" events, although in reality may be derived from brontomancy and/or kledonomancy. Although some dreams and visions present by "voice only", these stories are not cast as dreams or visions and most likely did not arise in that manner. Although public divine voices are just about known in Homer, Dionysius represents a particularly Roman and Augustan interest in the form. Dionysius does express scepticism about some of these accounts. In line with his habit of offering alternative versions of some stories, at least one "voice from a grove" (1:56.3) is known by Dionysius as a message dream in a second version of the story (1:56.5 - the message confirming the sow oracle to Aeneas). The relative fluidity of these traditions is particularly fascinating, as Vergil has the original statements about the sow (which comes in an oracle in Dionysius) arrive via a message dream from the river Tiber's *eidolon* (*Aen*.8:42-48). Interestingly, none of Dionysius' message dreams are "voice-only". Reverse cross-over between divine voice omens and the dream occurs when characters dream that they are in or near temples or groves, and then hear such voices in their dreams, as, for example in the somewhat later temple dream of the Ephor in Plu.*Cleom.*7:2-3, or the voices heard out in the field in the dream of Antigonus in Plu.*Demetr*.4:2-3.

[5] **Philosophical asides on natural vs. supernatural explanations**: Dionysius' editorial asides include those set out after the portent reports at *RA* 7:68.1, the divine rape of Ilia at *RA* 1:77.3 and cf. also *RA* 1:79.3 "each of my readers will decide for himself which to believe". One of the more extensive discussions occurs in relation to the death of King Tullus Hostilius after his palace burned down at *RA* 3:35. Whilst some suspected a divine thunderbolt sent because of the "neglect of some sacred rites" (3:35.2), the majority actually viewed it as arson by Marcius (*RA* 3:35.2-4). Dionysius not only rejects this as unlikely in the face of the forensic details, but feels the need to commend the divine judgement theory for proper consideration (*RA* 3:35.5) although again remarking "let everyone judge as he pleases".

12 Diodorus Siculus

12.1 Introduction, Bibliography

Diodorus Siculus (1st century BCE) was a historian from Sicily, although later worked in Rome. His *Bibliotheca Historica*, consisted of forty books, of which 1–5 and 11–20 are extant. For introduction, see Sacks (1990), commentary, Burton (1972), and on various sections, Stylianou (1998), Boncquet (1987), Green (2006), Murphy (1989, 1990). Besides overlapping with Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus also has the story of Alexander. Diodorus features a large number of portents and oracle reports (n.1), especially for Alexander for whom divination was important. The dreams of Diodorus do not appear to have been the subject of any dedicated study, but are discussed briefly by Flannery–Dailey (2000: 121-124). For some comparison with Luke on revelation and providence, see various scattered references in Squires (1993).

12.2 Texts/Classification

Besides a number of passing or marginal reports, there nine message dreams and eight other visual dreams.

12.2.1 Message/Visitation Forms

9 examples: (1) *BH* 1:53.9-10, (2) *BH* 1:65.5-6, (3) *BH* 3:55.8, (4) *BH* 3:57.5, (5) *BH* 4:34.6, (6) *BH* 5:51.4, (7) *BH* 7:5.5, (8) *BH* 19:90.34, (9) *BH* 34/35:2.7.

Of these, 4 are mythological cases, and two are known from elsewhere, leaving only 2 "new" accounts.

12.2.2 Symbolic/Other Visual Forms

8 examples: (1) *BH* 10:29.1, (2) *BH* 13:97.6, (3) *BH* 16:33.1, (4) *BH* 17:30.7, (5) *BH* 17:103.7-9, (6) *BH* 18:60.4, (7) *BH* 22:7.1, (8) *BH* 29:25.1.

12.2.3 Passing References and Unclassifiable Reports

(1) *BH* 1:25.3-4 (2) *BH* 5:49.6 (3) *BH* 5:63.2 (4) *BH* 1:23.45.

12.3 Interpretation

All the symbolic/visual dreams are interpreted instinctively by dreamers without recourse to word-play or other obscurities, although some do make mistakes.

Notes

[1] **Oracle reports**: These are too numerous to list in full, but include consultation notes at *BH* 9:31.1, 9:6.1, 10:19.6, 15:49.2, 16:25.3, 16:92.4, 17:49.2, 17:93.4, summary responses at *BH* 9:3.1, 15:49.2, 15:74.3, 11:50.4, 9:3.3, 15:49.3, 12:77.1, 15:13.4, 11:45.7, 15:49.1, 12:58.6, 11:45.9, and full text responses at *BH* 9:36.2, 14:56.5, 9:36.3, 9:31.2, 16:27.1, 9:6.1, 10:25.2, 17:10.3, 9:36.3, 17:10.3, 9:36.3, 17:10.3, 15:74.4, 9:31.1.

[2] **Divine appearances**: Diodorus notes that Isis appears to incubants in *BH* 1:25.3-4, Cybele and Demeter to Corybantes in *BH* 5:49.6 (presumably in a state of ecstasy, and thus possibly implicitly "visionary" experiences), and gives a summary report of incubation dream appearances of Molpadia/Hemithea at a temple in the Cherronesus in *BH* 5:63.2 – no specific dream is related, nor thus any content given, but they are certainly specified as occurring "in their sleep".

13 Plutarch

13.1 Introduction, Bibliography

Plutarch (c. 46–120 CE) was a Greek historian, biographer, local magistrate, diplomat and one time priest of Delphi. His most important surviving works are the Parallel Lives and divers shorter works now in a collection called the Moralia, including the "Greek questions" and "Roman questions" on the origins of their respective cultural and religious traditions. For a general introduction, see Bowersock (1985). On the "questions", see Preston (2001). On Plutarch's relevance for the NT and other early Christian literature, see Betz (1975) and Aune (1978) and on particular books and passages, Green (2001) and Verseput (2001). On the supernatural, see Mackay (1965) and the dreams, Brenk (1975), and Dodson (2006: 175-186). He takes especial interest in how great men were both inspired and misled by their dreams. On the interest in the psychology and "character" of leaders on the part of biographers of this period, see Whitmarsh (2005: 74-76) and cf. Brenk (1975: 343) who suggests that "the majority of dreams in the Lives are anxiety dreams", placing considerable strain on conventional form–critical categories (1975: 337).

13.2 Texts/Classification

With even further use of naturalistic touches, the dreams increasingly strain the standard form–critical options. Besides some apparitions and other brief reports, the *Lives* contain some 22 message dreams, perhaps 26 other visual dreams and a further ten with hybrid characteristics.

13.2.1 Message/Visitation Forms

(1) *Rom.*2:5, (2) *Them.*30:1-2, (3) *Per.*13:8, (4) *Cor.*24:1-25:1, (5) *Arist.*11:5-6, (6) *Sul.*37:2-4, (7) *Cim.*6:5-6, (8) *Luc.*10:1-3, (9) *Luc.*10:3, (10) *Luc.*12:1-2, (11) *Luc.*23:3, (12) *Cra.*12:3-4, (13) *Ages.*6:4-5, (14) *Pomp.*23:1-2, (15) *C.Gra.*1:6, (16) *Demetr.*29:1-2, (17) *Alex.*24:6-7, (18) *Alex.*26:5. Form critically, we could reasonably add three apparition reports that are functionally equivalent to message dreams, i.e. (19) *Cic.* 2:1-2 (20) *Caes.*69:6-12, (21) *Caes.*69:13-14, the latter two part of the repeated apparition to Brutus (there are doublets in *Brutus*). In addition, we might include *Pel.*21:3 as an implied message dream. Of the above, Nos. 12 and 14 also appear to be doublets, although the name of the dreamer has changed. The message dreams are not always conventional. Besides a growing importance of the appearance of the dream figure (n.3), popular forms include two nightmares (n.2) and a healing prescription (Per.13:8). Particularly striking is the frequency of enigmatic speech involving oracular-style riddles, literary quotes, general ambiguities and significantly for Peter's vision, commands to perform morally dubious actions (n.4).

13.2.2 Symbolic/Other Visual Forms

26 examples: (1) *Per.*3:2, (2) *Alc.*39:1-2, (3) *Alc.*39:2, (4) *Tim.*8:1-3, (5) *Pyrrh.*11:2-3, (6) *Pyrrh.*29:1-2, (7) *Sul.*9:4, (8) *Eum.*6:4-6, (9) *Pomp.*68:2, (10) *Caes.*32:9, (11) *Caes.*42:1-2, (12) *Caes.*68:3-5, (13) *Brut.*20:8-11, (14) *Dem.*29:2-7, (15) *Cic.*44:2-4, (16) *Demetr.*4:1-4, (17) *Demetr.*19:1-2, (18) *Demetr.*27:5-7, (19) *Ant.*16:3, (20) *Dio.*9:7, (21-26) *Alex.*2:3, 2:4-5, 18:6-8, 24:4-5, 24:8-9 and 50:6.

13.2.3 Hybrid Forms

10 examples: (1) *Pel.*21:1, (2) *Sul.*28:4, (3) *Cim.*18:2-4, (4) *Eum.*13:3-4, (5) *Pomp.*32:4, (6) *Pomp.*73:4-5, (7) *Arist.*19:1-2, (8) *Caes.*63:9, (9) *Cleom.*7:2-3, (10) *Alex.*24:5. These dreams are difficult to classify, combining aspects of message and other visual forms. The last is particularly marginal, where Alexander sees Heracles reaching out a hand to him from the battlements of Tyre.

13.2.4 Brief Reports, Indeterminate Forms

4 very brief reports or summaries which lead to various actions and responses do not allow any identification of the form of dream, including (1) *Sert.*20:2, (2) *Dem.*22:1, (3) *Ant.* 22:2-3, (4) *Brut.*41:7.

13.3 Interpretation

With dreamers sometimes sharing with friends and colleagues (n.9), resulting interpretations sometimes conflict (n.11). Dreams perceived as prescriptive are mainly acted upon, and when followed, mainly lead to good outcomes. A few however, are disregarded to the dreamer's cost, although some are granted further warnings (n.8).

Notes

[1] **Apparition reports**: These occur at (1) *Dio.*55:1-4, (2) *Thes.*35:5, (3) *Rom.*2:3-4, (4) *Tim.*8:4-7, (5-6) *Sul.*7:3, 27:4, (7) *Cim.*1:6-7, (8-9) *Cic.*2:1-2, 14:3-4, (10-11) *Caes.*69:6-12 (= *Brut.*36:1-37:6), *Caes.*69:13-14 (=*Brut.*48:1-5). Of these, two are general reports, *Cim.*1:6-7, *Cic.*14:3-4, several involve non-human phenomena and figures, e.g. *Rom.*2:3-4, *Tim.*8:4-7, *Sul.*7:3, *Sul.*27:4. Two feature human-like figures that do not speak, (*Dio.*55:1-4, *Thes.*35:5), but three operate just like message dreams e.g. *Cic.*2:1-2, *Caes.*69:6-12 (= *Brut.*36:1-37:6) and *Caes.*69:13-14 (=*Brut.*48:1-5), and which are therefore included in the listings above.

[2] **The nightmares in Plutarch**: The more obvious nightmares occur at *Cim.*7:5-6 and *Mar.*45:3. Both present as message dreams, where condemnations are endlessly repeated by the dream figures in oracular hexameter. The second of these also constitutes a riddle. *Cim.*7:5-6 is the haunting of Pausanius by a girl he has killed, with the words – "Draw thou nigh to thy doom; 'tis evil for men to be wanton". The second is the haunting of Marius in *Mar.*45:3 by a disembodied voice – "Dreadful, indeed, is the lion's lair, even though it be empty".

[3] **Message-syle dreams with visual and symbolic aspects**: Dreams where some of the meaning derives from the appearance of the dream figure include *Sul.*37:2-4, *Demetr.*29:1-2, *Luc.*10:3, *Pomp.*73:4-5 and *Cim.*18:2-4. While Alexander's "brilliant array of armour" is perhaps to be expected in *Demetr.*29:1-2, in *Sul.*37:2-4, that the dreamer's deceased son appears in poor clothes to indicate that he and his also deceased mother were in poverty in Hades, points to the non–literal and rather ominous nature of the father's "homecoming". Sometimes no words are required at all, as in *Luc.*10:3, which after describing Athena's appearance, needs only have her breathlessly report that she had "just come from assisting the Cyzicenes" to indicate her urgency. Cf. Peticius in *Pomp.*73:4-5 where he sees Pompey "humble and downcast". Besides foretelling the defeat, the dream actually helps Peticius recognise the bedraggled Pompey later. Message–less message dreams can also occur as repeat visits of dream–figures where the dreamer assumes that the message is the same as before, as in *Brut.*48:1-5. In a further case which we have classified as a hybrid, the "barking bitch" dream at *Cim.*18:2-4 has a single dream figure with a message. However, the figure is a dog (a bitch), who is barking, but also strangely speaking with a human voice and uttering an enigmatic oracular hexameter. A professional interpreter takes the question of whether a dog should be considered a friend or a foe, and the strange mismatch between the figure and the voice as crucial factors when in interpreting the dog's message, which is decoded in relation to a threat from the Medes. On the phenomenon of growing visual complexity in what might otherwise be regarded as message dreams, see Brenk (1975: 340-342).

[4] **Message dreams with enigmatic patterns of speech**: Riddling speech occurs in *Mar.45:3, Them.30:1-2, Luc.10:1-3* and *12:1-2* which are all oracular heaxmeters. We have noted similar patterns of speech in Herodotus (Hdt.3:30, 5:55-56) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*RA* 7:68.3-7:69.2), but not to the same extent as in Plutarch here. The fact that Plutarch took an active interest in oracular speech of the "old" kind and in his latter years was the priest of the Delphi almost certainly has something to do with this.

[5] **Riddle and enigma in the death portending dreams**: In death-portending message dreams, the riddling aspect is more pronounced. Whilst some dreams make very direct announcements of impending death (*Cim.*7:5), others are more riddling as in Brutus' "evil genius" – "thou shalt see me at Philippi" (*Caes.*69:11), the "homecoming" plea of the son of Sulla (*Sul.*37:2-4), the assurance that Pausanius would soon "cease from his troubles" offered by the ghost of Cleonicé (*Cim.*7:6) and the elaborate riddle "Go thy way, for a friend shalt thou be both to me and my puppies" offered by Cimon's barking bitch (*Cim.*18:2-4), which by the extended interpretive efforts of a local although perhaps not professional "expert" is eventually reduced to an omen of impending death at the hands of the Medes.

[6] **Other visual and hybrid dreams with speech elements**: Examples include *Pel.*21:1, *Sul.*28:4, *Pyrrh.*11:2-3 , *Demetr.*4:1-4, *Eum.*13:3-4, *Cleom.*7:2-3, *Cic.*44:2-4. (1) *Pel.*21:1 has three maidens "weeping at their tombs … cursing the Spartans, and bidding him sacrifice .. a virgin with auburn hair". (2) In *Sul.*28:4, Sulla dreams he sees his enemy Marius being advised by his own (deceased) father " advising his son … to beware of the ensuing day". (3) *Pyrrh.*11:2-3 is a participative dream but which includes a significant conversation assuring Pyrrhus of victory. (4) *Demetr.*4:1-4 is the dream of the stolen "golden harvest", which ends with the dreamer hearing disembodied voices naming the thief. (5) *Eum.*13:3-4 involves a visitation from Alexander, who not only sets out a tent as a throne-room, and commends the general to hold there councils "there". The dreamer arranges for one to be set up literally with a throne fopr Alexander. (6) In *Cleom.*7:2-3 the Ephor of Pasiphaë dreams about an unusual layout of chairs in the temple and hears a voice telling him that this was "for the better for Sparta" (7:2), a comment understood to imply that the layout indicates some aspect of military strategy. (7) In *Cic.*44:2-4 the sons of the senators are invited to the temple of Jupiter and as they are paraded before the statue of the god one by one, the statue stretches out its hand towards the young Octavian, and declares that he will be the ruler who will bring an end to the civil war.

[7] **Feelings before, during and after dreams**: Anxiety before dreams is especially noted for Anthony in *Ant.*16:3, Brutus in *Caes.*69:6-12 (= *Brutus* 36:1-37:6), and Marius in *Mar.*45:3. Other emotional reactions noted within dreams include expressions of joy (*Pyrrh.*29:1-2), bewilderment and foreboding (*Brut.*20:8-11) and distress (*Pomp.*32:4, *Caes.*63:9). On waking, we see terror (*Them.*30:1-2 and implicitly after *Pel.*21:1), assurance (*Pyrrh.*11:2-3 and *Sul.*9:4), perplexity (*Luc.*23:3), uneasiness (*Caes.*68:3-5) and ambivalence (*Pomp.*68:2) where Pompey is "on some accounts … encouraged, but on others depressed".

[8] **Obedience vs. disobedience:** Commands are usually obeyed, e.g. *Them.*30:1-2, *Per.*13:8, *Arist.*11:5-6, *Tim.*8:1-3, *Sul.*9:4, *Pyrrh.*29:1-2, *Eum.*6:4-6, et sim. and mainly leads to good outcomes. One exception is *Pyrrh.*29:1-2, but the interpretation had been disputed. Dreams knowingly ignored include those of Titus Latinius in *Cor.*24:1-25:1 and Sulla and Cimon in *Sul.*37:2-4 and *Cim.*7:5-6 respectively, and can certainly lead to dire consequences. A related report is that in *Them.*26:2-3, where, experiencing deliverance from fear in the dream, *Themistocles* nonetheless continues to travel disguised as a woman. In *Luc.*23:3 Lucullus is unable to obey as he cannot understand the dream (as Peter). In the doom-laden apparitions of Brutus, in *Caes.*69:6-12 (= Brutus 36:1-37:6) and *Caes.*69:13-14 (=Brutus 48:1-5), the pattern of repeats does not arise through disobedience but as an ominous sign of the approaching inevitability of his demise, and before a third haunting is required, commits suicide.

[9] **Retelling dreams to others**: There are 16 cases such cases including *Cor.*24:1-25:1 (to the Senate), *Arist.*11:5-6 (to "the most experienced of his fellow-citizens"), *Luc.*12:1-2 (to his friends), *Cras.*12:3-4 (Senate), *Ages.*6:4-5 (friends), *Pomp.*23:1-2 (an assembly of the people), *Pel.*21:1 (to the seers and the commanders), *Pyrrh.*29:1-2 (friends), *Sul.*9:4 (a colleague) *Demetr.*4:1-4 (his son), *Dio.*9:7 (all those present), *Cim.*18:2-4 (Astyphilus and poss. others), *Eum.*13:3-4 (Antigenes Teutamus, and implicitly others), *Pomp.*73:4-5 (shipmates), *Cleom.*7:2-3 (Cleomenes), *Dem.*22:1 (Athenian council). Where immediate collective response to a dream is sketched, then such re-telling may also be assumed, e.g. *Tim.*8:1-3, *Eum.*6:4-6. Retelling can also be assumed when dreams are recived vicariously by a friend or wife, unless explicitly said to keep it secret (e.g. in *Ant.*22:2-3 dream, *Brut.*41:7, *Caes.*63:9). All of the above are within the category of amateur, although Astyphilus of Posidonia in *Cimon* 18:2-4 is called an "inspired man". The only passing reference to a professional interpreter is Lysimachus "who made his own living by means of a sort of dream-interpreting tablet", *Arist.*27:3, but he is never actually involved in an interpretation within the narrative.

[10] **Comments about differing attitudes to dreams**: Plutarch comments from time to time on the variety of attitudes to dreams, from the positive to the more sceptical, including *Sul.*6:6, *Pomp.*37:2, *Dio.*2:3-6 and *Brut.*36:1-37:6. His own view, with Herodotus, lies somewhere in the middle.

[11] **Disputes about interpretation**: Disputes about dreams occur with both friends and experts. When Pyrrhus shares his dream (*Pyrrh.*29:1-2) with his "friends" it is said that "most of them, then, were fully persuaded that he was right, but Lysimachus was not pleased with the vision" (29:2). The divergent view is dismissed as "nonsense" by Pyrrhus, and although the interpretive reasoning of Lysimachus is eccentric, and wrong in detail, actually, Pyrrhus suffers a defeat (29:3-4). Disagreements with and amongst experts also occur at *Pel.*21:1-4.

14 Suetonius

14.1 Introduction, Bibliography

Suetonius (c. 69–130 CE[+?]) was born in North Africa and served on the staff of Pliny the Younger in Bythinia and later Trajan and Hadrian in Rome where he wrote the Lives of the Twelve Caesars. The dreams in Suetonius are touched on in the commentaries (e.g. Bradley, 1978 on Nero, Hurley, 1993 on Claudius and Wardle, 1994 on Caligula), and also in articles by Harris (2003), Lattimore (1934), Pelling (1997), Grottanelli (1999) and Wildfang (2000); cf. also sections of Dodson (2006: 187-192) and Flannery–Dailey (2000: 151-155). His dream terminology is flexible and not always present. Apparition accounts with one recipient are included amongst message dreams where appropriate.

14.2 Texts/Classification

Besides passing references, there are eight full message dreams and eighteen other visual dreams.

14.2.1 Message/Visitation Forms

8 examples: (1) *Aug.*91:2, (2) *Claud.*1:2 (Drusus), (3) *Dom.*15:3, (4) *Galb.*4:3, (5) *Galb.*18:2, (6) *Tib.*74:1, (7,8) *Vesp.*7:2 (x2, cripple and a lame man). On these, the case of Drusus is an apparition, but formally and functionally equiavent to a message dream.

14.2.2 Symbolic/Other Visual Forms

18 examples: (1) *Aug.*94:4 [1] (Atia), (2) *Aug.*94:4 [2] (Oct.), (3) *Aug.*94:6 (Oct.), (4) *Aug.*94:8 [1] (Quintus Catulus), (5) *Aug.*94:8 [2] (Quintus Catulus), (6) *Aug.*94:8 [3] (alt.ver. of [1] re Quintus Catulus), (7) *Aug.*94:9 (Marcus Cicero), (8) *Aug.*99:2, (9) *Cal.*57:3, (10) *Claud.*37:1 (a plaintiff), (11-12) *Claud.*37:2 (Messalina and Narcissus), (13) *Dom.*23:2, (14) *Caes.*7:2, (15) *Caes.*81:3, (16) *Ner.*7:1, (17) *Ner.*46:1-2, (18) *Vesp.*25:1

14.2.3 Brief Reports, Indeterminate Forms

6 examples: (1) *Aug.*91:1, (2) *Aug.*91:2, (3) *Cal.*57:1, (4) *Oth.*7:2, (5) *Vesp.*5:5 and (6) *Cal.*50:3. Whilst message vs. other visual form may be inferable, these references are left together since no explicit content is provided to resolve the matter further. Of these, three represent nightmare reports, e.g. *Oth.*7:2 "a fearful dream .. uttering loud groans", *Cal.*50:3 "terrified by strange apparitions", *Aug.*91:1 "fearful" dreams etc.

Notes

[1] **Temples and statues in Suetonius' message dreams**: More than in Greek sources, in Suetonius, dream figures are speaking statues often, although not always in their temples. In this, Suetonius betrays specifically Roman sensibilities. Examples include *Aug.*91:2, *Dom.*15:3, *Tib.*74:1, *Galb.*4:3. Several of the other visual dreams are also involve temple or incubation scenes, e.g. *Aug.*94:4 [1].

[2] **Enigmatic speech in Suetonius' message dreams**: This is much rarer than in Plutarch. Of the eight message forms, most have very straightforward messages, but two dreams in *Galba* present midly ridling speech. (1) In *Galb.*4:3, the emperor dreams that the goddess Fortuna (Tyche) is standing outside his door, saying that "that unless she were quickly admitted, she would fall prey to the first comer". This involves the figure of "taking fortune into your house" (= take the opportunity of assuming power). (2) In *Galb.*18:2, the goddess later complains of having been "robbed of the gift intended for her". This turns out to relate to a necklace originally intended as an offering, but given rather to Venus. The "robbing" riddle is formally similar to the divine complaint in Mal 3:8.

[3] **Birth portent dreams**: In *Aug.*94:4 [1] Atia, the mother of Octavian dreams that her intestines "were borne up to the stars and spread over the whole extent of land and sea" while her husband, in the same passage, *Aug.*94:4 [2],

dreams that "the sun rose from Atia's womb". A dream in *Aug.*94:6 has Octavius, the father of the infant Octavian, see a grown up "immortalised" royal dream-image of his son who thus decked does not need to utter a message at all about his own future greatness.

[4] **Recognition dreams**: Quintus Catulus experiences two dreams in *Aug.*94:8 [1,2], the first preparatory to the second but neither fully understandable without the other. In his first dream, Quintus sees an animated statue of Jupiter calling a number of boys who were playing around his altar (cf. similar scenes in Plutarch). Jupiter then enigmatically puts an image of Roma in the fold of his toga. Whist perhaps portending something good in relation to Rome, the exact import of the dream is not easy to understand. In the second dream, however, Quintus sees one of the boys in the place that Roma had previously been. In an alternative version known to Suetonius (also in *Aug.*94:8), the two-stage process is removed. The Octavian recognition dream of Cicero, *Aug.*94:9 is of similar structure where symbolic elements are combined with the recognisable image of the young Octavian. Nero is an exception in that many of his birth portents are bad, and even the seemingly innocent dream of Seneca that he was teaching Nero (*Ner.*7:1) – which he indeed was doing in real life, is taken as a sign of the latter's future cruelty.

[5] **Death portending dreams**: The death dreams in Suetonius are exclusively symbolic/visual and include *Aug.*99:2, *Cal.*57:3, *Dom.*23:2, *Caes.*81:3, and *Ner.*46(multiple) . The nightmares of Nero star after the murder of his mother and portend his decline, in a general sense, but his death is not as imminent as the others. The dream in *Aug.*99:2 is naturalistically styled, where the important information comes through his delirious talking while dying, "calling out in sudden terror that forty men were carrying him off." (foreseseing his pall–bearers) Whilst death dream of Julius Caesar (*Caes.*81:3) uses traditional mythological symbolism ("he dreamt .. that he was flying above the clouds .. clasping the hand of Jupiter", that of Caligula (*Cal.*57:3) is subverted to indicate divine displeasure; thus "he dreamt that … the god struck him … and hurled him to earth".

[6] **Dreams of destiny**: There are dreams predicting world domination in *Caes.*7:2 and *Vesp.*25:1 and again, both are visual rather than messages. Vespasian's dream involves conventional symbolism, where he sees himself and his sons being weighed in a balance against Claudius and Nero. However, Caesar's incest dream in *Caes.*7:2 (cf. Plu.*Caes.*32:9) has a darker tone. Only in Suetonius is the dream made to predict world domination.

15 Apollonius Rhodius

15.1 Introduction, Bibliography

Apollonius Rhodius (3rd century BCE), a former student of Callimachus, was the director of the famous library in Alexandria and tutor to Euergetes III. His epic the *Argonautica*, tells the story of Jason in Homeric–style hexameters. At 6,00 lines, compared to the Iliad's 16,000, the work has a more popular feel, although the metre is entirely conventional. For an introduction, see Bulloch (1985: 586-598) and Papanghelis and Rengakos (2001). His popular development of Homeric themes and the addition of a romantic sub-plot is viewed as a step towards both later fiction and epic, particularly Vergil who has been called Apollonius' closest reader by Mori (2005: 213). Although the general role of the gods is not dissimilar from Homer (cf. Gaunt, 1972 on their literal relationship with the ship), Apollonius' handling of divine visitations and dreams is strikingly different. These have received little sustained attention, although Plantinga (2007) does discuss the Circe dream. For a brief survey, cf. Flannery–Dailey (2000: 92-93).

15.2 Texts/Classification

15.2.1 Message/Visitation Forms

There are several visitation/message-style events, some presented as apparitions to the argonauts as a group. None is clearly labelled as a dream or a vision, but all are form-critically identical and thus noted here.

4 examples: (1) *Argo.*1:1310-1325 (Glaucus to the Argonauts) (2) *Argo.*4:54-65 (Moon-goddess to Medea) (3) *Argo.*4:1308-1329 (Libyan Nymphs to Jason) (4) *Argo.*4:1550-1590 (Triton disguised as a young man to the Argonauts).

Messages are also given by a speaking oak beam (from a tree in Dodona) built into the Argo in 1:524-527 and 4:580-591. There is a good–will message from Chiron the centaur in *Argo.*1:553-558, a prophecy by Idmon (one of the Argo's two on–board seers) at *Argo.*1:440-447, two cases ornithomantic speech interpreted by Mopsus (the other Argonaut seer) at *Argo.*1:1079-1102 (a Halcyon) and *Argo.*3:927-946 (Crow). In two instances, gods are seen but do not speak, Apollo in *Argo.*2:674-686 and Triton in *Argo.*4:1601-1637.

Of all of the above, only one message includes enigmatic speech, that of the Libyan Nymphs (*Argo.*4:1308-1329) "when Amphitrite has straightway loosed Poseidon's swift-wheeled car, then do ye pay to your mother a recompense for all her travail when she bare you so long in her womb; and so ye may return to the divine land of Achaea" (ll.1325-29). This is interpreted by Peleus in *Argo.*4:1370-1379 after the group see an apparition of an immense horse coming out of the sea and charging off inland (*Argo.*4:1363-1369).

15.2.2 Symbolic/Other Visual Forms

3 examples: (1) *Argo.*3:616-635 (Medea), (2) *Argo.*4:663-672 (Circe), *Argo.*4:1731-1745 (Euphemus). All three of these are explicitly labelled as dreams "ὀλοοὶ ὄνειροι", "νυχίοισιν ὀνείρασιν", "ὀνείρατος ἐννυχίοιο", respectively.

Notes

16 Vergil

16.1 Introduction, Bibliography

Vergil (c.70–19 BCE) was a Roman poet with wide–ranging interests in rhetoric, medicine, astronomy and philosophy. Three works survive, the Eclogues, the Georgics and the Aeneid, which adapted the epic form into Latin, producing a founding myth for Rome and by implication, the Augustan empire. It became widely known even among Greek speakers. For Vergil's importance for Christianity, see Smiley (1931). On the Augustan historical and social contexts, see Thomas (2001). On Vergil's epic literary technique in the Aeneid, see Heinze (1993). Although its divine councils (n.1), visitations (n.2), miraculous interventions, prodigies, portents and prophecies (n.9) represent standard Homeric fare, the Aeneid's dreams are particularly used to develop plot and character, avoiding the more typical Roman obsession with divination, as Block (1981), Berlin (1994), McNeely (1998), Lake (2001), Matt (2006), Krevans (1993), Kilpatrick (1995), Molyviati–Toptsis (1995), Kraggerud (2002). On the general literary relevance of Vergil for Luke, cf. Bonz (2000) and Shea (2005) and for other parts of the New Testament, McDonough (2000).

16.2 Texts/Classification

In contrast to Apollonius, the dominance of its 22 message dreams or theophanies and just three other visual cases is striking

16.2.1 Message/Visitation Forms

Message visitations with dream or vision indicators:

12 examples: (1) *Aen.*1:355-356 (Sychaeus to Dido), (2) 2:270-297) Hector to Aeneas(, (3) 2:588-623)Venus to Aeneas(, (4) 2:771-795) Creusa to Aeneas(, (5) 3:147-185) Penates to Aeneas(, (6) 4:351-355)Anchises to Aeneas(, (7) 4:557-572) Mercury to Aeneas(, (8) 5:604-663) Cassandra to Iris(, (9) 5:733-737) Anchises to Aeneas(, (10) 7:92-101) Father of Latinus to his son(, (11) 7:415-466) Allecto to Turnus(, (12) 8:26-67) Tiberinus to Aeneas(. Of these, all appear to be intended as sleeping dreams except No.4, which is experienced as a vision while Aeneas is wandering through the streets of Troy. Nos.3 and 8 are night-time visions and thus possibly dreams. Whilst not a *visitation*, the voice–only "monstra" at *Aen.*3:37-68 should be included as a vision of sorts, where Aeneas hears the voice of the deceased Polydorus calling out from inside his tomb. It should be noted that there are ten other theophanies/visitations with no explicit or implicit dream indicators but which are form–critically identical and convey equally significant messages (n.2).

16.2.2 Symbolic/Other Visual Forms

2 examples: (1) *Aen.*4:465-473, Dido reporting dreams of "endless companionless travelling". This is a natural-style dream of lover's separation and although quasi-theorematic in presentation, the scene itself is figurative. (2) *Aen.*2:559-587 is theorematic. More marginally, we could include the strange sight seen by Dido while trying to make an offering in 4:452-456 where she sees the holy water blacken and the wine change to blood. This is half way between a portent and a vision, depending on whether the "transformation" of the elements is understood literally or as a temporary visual aberration.

16.2.3 Dreams with Hybrid Features

1 example: (1) No.3 from above is mainly a message vision, but as the dream figure recedes into obscurity, a secondary visual scene of "Dreadful shapes … and the vast powers of gods opposed to Troy" is revealed. The scene is intended as a reinforcement and illustration of the verbal message not unlike the revelation of heavenly reality seen in 2 Kgs 6:17-18.

16.2.4 Brief Reports, Indeterminate Forms

2 examples: (1) *Aen.*4:1-53, (2) 5:835-841.

16.3 Interpretation

Since the majority of Vergil's revelations are verbal messages, there is rarely an issue of interpretation. Some of the earlier messages about the founding of Rome are, however, vague and require later clarification, as n.7.

Notes

[1] **Divine councils and conversations**: These follow the Homeric pattern and occur at *Aen.*1:50-80 (Juno and Aeolus), 1:223-296 (Venus and Jupiter), 4:90-128 (Juno and Venus), 5:779-834 (Venus and Neptune), 7:286-341 (Juno and Allecto), 8:370-406 (Venus and Vulcan), 9:77-106 (Cybele and Jupiter), 10:1-95 (full council of the gods), 10:606-632 (Juno and Jupiter), 11:532-596 (Diana and Camilla), 12:113-160 (Juno and Juturna), 12:791-842 (Jupiter and Juno).

[2] **Direct divine visits**: 10 other cases not cast as dreams/visions (but form-critically identical): Undisguised: 4:219-278 (Mercury to Aeneas), 8:608-625 (Venus to Aeneas), 8:1-24 (Iris to Turnus), 9:638-644 (Apollo to Iulus), 10:219-252 (sea-Nymphs to Aeneas). To these we should perhaps add the "public" appearance of Mercury in Troy (4:356-355), since the message he bears appears to be for Aeneas alone. Disguised: 1:314-417 (Venus to Aeneas, disguised as a Spartan girl), 9:644-658 (Apollo to Iulus, disguised as Butes), 10:636-688 (Juno sends a phantom "Aeneas" to trick Turnus), 5:841 ("sleep" to Palinurus, disguised as Phorbas).

[3] **The physical appearance of dream figures**: In Vergil, some of the dream figure descriptions can be quite extended, especially for human figures who have died, as Sychaeus in the dream of Dido at 1.355-356 – "lifting his pale head in a strange manner, he laid bare the cruelty at the altars, and his heart pierced by the knife" (1:354-355) and Hector in the dream of Aeneas at 2:270-297 – "pouring out great tears, torn by the chariot, … black with bloody dust, .. his swollen feet pierced by the thongs .... his beard was ragged, his hair matted with blood, etc." (2:271-278). We see a similarly rich description for the Fury Allecto in the dream of Turnus in 7:415-466 whose disguise as a wrinkled old woman is given in some detail (7:415-419), as is her reversion to her natural and more terrifying snake-haired form in 7:447-451. cf. also the descriptions of Tiberinus in 8:32-34 and the disguised Venus in 1:314-320.

[4] **Dream/reality confusion and dream tokens**: Obviously the "visitations" not specifically cast as dreams or visions can get "mixed up" with waking expperience, e.g. Venus delivering a full set of armour to Aeneas in 8:608-625 (Venus to Aeneas), but in some accounts, there seems to be a deliberate play on dream and reality. Thus Cassandra passes flaming torches to Iris *in a dream* but Iris uses these in "real life" to set fire to the Trojan fleet. Another example is the story of Palinurus who is washed overboard while at the helm of Aeneas' ship (5:841-861). This lapse is explained by the "visit" of personified "sleep" (disguised as the Rhodian hero Phorbas) who comes to try and talk Palinurus into taking a nap. When Palinurus resolutely stays at the helm, Sleep has to use underworld "dew" to make his eyes heavy before physically hurling him from the boat. Another device developed from Homer is delirium in battle. This can be seen in the visions experienced on the war-torn streets of Troy – itself a living nightmare in 2:559-587 and 2:771-795. In the first at 2:559-587, Aeneas has become separated from other troops in Troy and in his terror reports "my dear father's image rose before me" suggesting anxiety-based hallucinations (at this point, his family are still safe).

[5] **Aeneid's message dreams as "anxiety" dreams**: McNeely (1998) suggests at various points, that many of Vegil's dreams are at heart, anxiety dreams. This is a helpful insight in one sense, although does not really constitute a form–critical observation. Indeed when McNeely speaks of "prophetic", "anxiety", "wish–fulfilment", "oracular" and "incubation" dreams (McNeely, 1998: 17), his categories seem rather confused. Besides the more obvious "loneliness" dreams of Dido in 4:465-473, McNeely classifies several of the significant message dreams as anxiety dreams, namely 1.355-356 (Dido's dream of Sychaeus, ibid., 1998: 19-20), 2:270-297 (Aeneas' dream of Hector, ibid., 1998: 20-24), 4:219-278 (the 1st visitation of Mercury, ibid., 1998: 26-27), 4:557-572 (the 2nd visitation of Mercury, ibid., 1998: 27-29) and 4:351-355 and 5:733-737 (the visitations of Anchises, ibid., 1998: 29-32). The form-critical distinction between oracular message dreams and anxiety message dreams cannot really be sustained, as is shown by McNeely's suggestion that the Tiberinus' appearance (8:26-67) could be classified as an anxiety dream if the message is *something that Aeneas himself already knew* (ibid. 38). Within the "anxiety" grouping, McNeely has earlier also confessed that the dream of Hector was "prophetic" (ibid. 24). That Vergil has a strongly psychological dimension to his characters is not in dispute. McNeely (1998: 1-15) helpfully devotes some time to the natural dream theory of Plato, Aristotle, Lucretius and Cicero as to why people see the living (ibid.1998: 19) and the dead (ibid.1998: 18-19) and how the mind distorts images (ibid.1998: 22-23).

[6] **Progressive revelation of destiny and Aeneas's character development**: The original instruction to flee Troy comes from the ghost of Hector (2:270-297). The specific mention of *Hesperia* (=Latium) and the *Tiber* comes from Creusa (2:771-795). With the location still unknown, Aeneas consults the oracle of Delos (3:85-89) and is directed to the land which is the "mother" of the Trojans (3:96). Following a suggestion from his father, Anchises, the group think this might mean Crete until Aeneas is corrected by the dream of the Penates (3.147-185), who mention that Hesperia was the original home of Dardanus, the founding father of the Trojans. The story of Trojan origins, however, contained two conflicting traditions and required further consultation with his father about the dream of the Penates. He confirms the Italian story of origins as a prophecy of Cassandra (3:179-185). The first rebuke for simply forgetting his calling comes from Mercury after becoming too in entranced with Dido in Carthage (4:219-278). This is followed by the appearances of his deceased father (4:355), and Mercury reminds him again that the choice of Italy came from higher authority (4:361) After escaping from Dido's kingdom, his father appears again to press the final move into Latium (5:733-737) and even at the very last stages, the river-god Tiberinus has to encourage Aeneas not give up because of fear of the Latins (8:40), and after the attacks of Turnus, Venus encourages him again and delivers his special armour (8:613-614).

[7] **Notes about anxiety states prior to dreams in the Aeneid**: Comments of this kind are particularly frequent in Vergil, e.g. Aeneas "with raging mind,…" (prior to visitation by Venus in 2:588-623), "in my misery … searching endlessly" (prior to vision of Creusa in 2:771-796), Dido in 4:1-53 "wounded long since by intense love" and later, after her abandonment by Aeneas, "appalled by her fate, pray[ing] for death .." prior to her vision in 4:452-456 and followed shortly by her suicide. cf. also Aeneas "pondering his great worries, turning them this way and that in his mind." (5:700-702) and "torn between so many cares" (5:720) prior to appearance of his father in 5:733-737, Latinus "troubled" before his dream at 7:92-101, Aeneas prior to the appearance of Tiberinus "troubled by war's sadness" in 8:26-67, Aeneas again, whom "care allowed .. no rest" before the appearance of the Sea-Nymphs in 10:219-252. As with Greek Tragedy, there are notices of repeated bad dreams, as Dido 4:1-53, or Aeneas' in 4:351.353 Dido in 4:457-464 and 465-473. In many other cases, contexts of anxiety can be legitimately inferred purely from the general narrative context, e.g. in Dido's dream of her husband (1:353-359), Aeneas' dream of Hector (2:270-297), the battlefield context for Aeneas' visions of his family in Troy (2:559-587), Turnus before his nightmare visitation by Allecto in 7:415-466 et sim.

17 Greek and Latin Fiction

17.1 Introduction, Bibliography

Greek and Latin novels from the Hellenistic and Roman periods typically tell of love, adventure and magic through the eyes of otherwise unknown heroes and heroines. Although complete works survive from from the 1st-3rd centuries CE, stylistic similarities to Xenophon, Apollonius Rhodius, Jewish and other earlier writers suggest a currency throughout the Hellenistic period, and the probable awareness of New Testament authors. For a general introduction to the Greek novels, cf. Reardon (1969), Anderson (1984), Tatum (1994), for translations, Reardon (1989) and collections of papers in Morgan and Stoneman (1994), MacAlister (1996), Swain (1999), and Panayotakis et al (2003) and the various Groningen Colloquia, originally edited by Hofmann, and later by Hoffman and Zimmerman. Although noted further below, several Jewish texts from this period, such as Judith, Joseph and Aseneth etc., count as "novels" in this sense (Wills, 1994, 2002). On the probable awareness of the novels by NT authors, cf. Pervo (1987, 1994), Hock et al. (1998), Brant et al. (2005) et sim.

Complete extant works include Chariton, *Chaereas and Callirhoe*, Xenophon of Ephesus, *An Ephesian Story*, Antonius Diogenes, *The Wonders Beyond Thule*, Lucian, *A True Story*, Ps–Lucian, *The Ass*, Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, Iamblichus, *A Babylonian Story*, Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Clitophon*, Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, Heliodorus, *An Ethiopian Story*, Ps–Callisthenes, *Alexander Romance*, Anon. *Apollonius King of Tyre* and Petronius, *Satyricon*.

On the dreams of the novels cf. Weinstock (1934) and sections of Dodson (2006: 192-209). For dreams in particular works, on Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus, Bartsch (1989: 80-108, 1996), on Petronius, Galli (1996), on Apuleius, Gollnick (1999: 57), on Chariton, Xenophon and Longus, Garrido (2003, 2004) and on Xenophon alone, Plastira–Valkanou (2001).

17.2 Texts/Classification

Besides a few passing references to Homeric-style visitations (n.2), there are some 29 message dreams and 32 other visual dreams and a further 5 reports where no form is indicated. Almost all occur during sleep.

17.2.1 Message/Visitation Forms

Message dreams with developed content and dream/vision indicators: 29 examples: (1) Char.2:9.6 (Chaereas to Callirhoe), (2) Ach.Tat.4:1.3-5 (Artemis to Leucippe), (3) Long.2:23.1- 27 (Nymphs to Daphnis), (4) ibid.2:26.25-2:27.16 (Pan to Bryaxis), (5) ibid.3:27.8-3.28.1 (Nymphs to Daphnis), (6) Hld.8:11 (Kalasiris to Charikleia), (7) ibid.8:11 (Kalasiris to Theagenes), (8) Ps-Cal *Alex*.1:33 (Serapis to Alexander), (9) ibid.2:13 (Ammon, disguised as Hermes to Alexander), (10) Anon.*Ap.Tyr*.48 (angel to Apollonius), (11) Apul.*Met.*8:8.15-30 (Tlepolemus to Charite), (12) ibid.9:31.4-9 (Miller to his daughter), (13) ibid.11:3.1- 11:7.7 (Isis to Lucius), (14) ibid.11:6.8-12 (Isis to priest of Isis) .ibid (15) ,11:20.1-5 (High priest of Isis to Lucius) ,(16) ibid.11:22.4-13 (Isis to Lucius), (17) ibid.11:26.18-21 (Isis to Lucius), (18) ibid.11:27.32-38 (Osiris to Asinius Marcellus), (19) ibid.11:28.12-16 (Osiris to Lucius), (20) ibid.11:29.1-27 ("an apparition" to Lucius), (21) ibid.11:30.13-28 (Osiris to Lucius), (22) Petron.*Sat.*104.1-3 (Priapus to Lichas), (23) ibid.104.4-6 (Neptune[statue] to Tryphaena). Summarised or implied reports: (24) Char.6:2.2 (the "royal gods" to the King), (25) Hld.4:8 (anon. to the King), (26) ibid.4:16 ("ancestral god" to the Phoenician wrestler), (27) Ach.Tat.7:12.4 (Artemis to Sostratos). In addition, there are repeated message notices in (28) Apul.*Met.*11:19.8-18 (Isis to Lucius), (29) ibid.11:28.8-12 (Osiris to Lucius).

17.2.2 Symbolic/Other Visual Forms

Symbolic/other visual dreams with explicit content or dream indicators: 32 examples: (1) Char.1:12.4 (Theron, a closed door), (2) ibid.2:1.2 (Dionysius, wedding scenes), (3) ibid.3:7.4 (Callirhoe, Chaereas in chains), (4) ibid.4:1.1 (Callirhoe, kidnap/rescue scene), (5) ibid.5:5.5-6 (Callirhoe, various wedding-related scenes), (6) ibid.6:7.2, X.*Eph*.1:12.3-4 (Habrocomes, a huge woman in a blood-red robe), (7) ibid.2:8.2 (Habrocomes, his father, various activities and transformations), (8) ibid.5:8.5-7 (Anthia, separation scene), Ach.Tat.1:3.4-5 (Clitophon, and sister conjoined then severed), (9) ibid.1:6.5 (Clitophon, re Leucippe), (10) ibid.2:11.1 (Hippias, wedding scenes), (11) ibid.2:23.4-6 (a mother, daughter murdered by bandit), (12) ibid.4:1.6-8 (Clitophon, at a temple), (13) Long.1:7.4 -13 (Dryas and Lamon, Nymphs giving children to Cupid), (14-15) ibid.2:10.1-4 (Daphnis and Chloe, romantic), (16) ibid.4:34.1-9 (Dionysophanes, Nymphs & Cupid preparing wedding party), (17) ibid.4:35.22-24 (Megacles, incest with a sheep), (18) Hld.1:18-19 (Thyamis, in the temple of Isis), (19) ibid.2:16 (Charikleia, being injured in eye), (20) ibid.2:20 (Knemon, being chased), (21) ibid.4:14 (Charikles, animal imagery), (22) ibid.9:25 (King Hydaspes, re his daughter), (23) ibid.10:3 (Persinna re her daughter), (24) Ps-Cal.*Alex*.1:5 (Olympias, sex with the god Ammon), (25) ibid.1:8 (Philip, seeing No.24), (26) ibid.1:35 (Alexander, Satyr dream), (27) Apul.*Met.*1:11.14-14.9 (Aristomenes, Witch

attack), (28) ibid.1:18.14-20 (Socrates, being murdered), (29) ibid.2:31.15- 2:32.22 (Lucius, fighting robbers), (30) ibid.4:27.1-15 (Charite, robber attack), (32) ibid.11:27.11-18 (Lucius, Asinius Marcellus preparing for a party).

17.2.3 Dreams with Hybrid Features

Of the above dreams, message dream No.15 features the High priest of Isis appearing to Lucius, but bearing gifts. Lucius is able to question him, but the reply is rather enigmatic. Similarly, in the visual dream No.32, Lucius sees a young man dressed in linen robes, carrying thyrsi and ivy, placing them on Lucius' own household altar and anouncing a banquet. The dream does not present in message format even though there is a single dream figure. The "message" is overheard, rather than directly addressed to Lucius.

17.2.4 Brief Reports, Indeterminate Forms

6 examples: (1) Hld.1:18 (Thyamis, "disturbing visions"), (2) ibid.3:18 (Charikles, "something disturbing"), (3) ibid.7:11 (Arsake, "alarmed by certain dreams"), (4) Iamb.*Bab*.7 (Rhodanes, "a frightening dream"), (5) Char.2:3.5 ("about Aphrodite").

17.2.5 Passing References

There are several comments and remarks bearing upon dream theory or figurative references, referred to in ch.4.

17.2.6 Interpretation

Although professional interpreters and other educated people are involved in interpretation on occasions (n.7), most dreams are interpreted by the dreamers themselves, although often involving relatives and friends. For a typical remark about erring on the side of following dreams, cf. Lichas in Petron.*Sat.*104. Since several of the message dreams involve riddling oracular-style utterances (n.4), these need interpreting using the wordplays typical of oracles. Of the visual dreams, The number of traditional symbolic dreams is very small although several arguably show symbolic aspects in retrospect where it is the admixture of real and symbolic elements (n.6) that lead to most of the animated discussions (n.12). The occurrence of unexpected "animals" in otherwise realistic narrative is usually unproblematic (n.9), but sometimes allegorising is needed to understand the "plot" of a dream, as well as its figures (n.10). Even if conceivably forseeing real events, allegorising may still be possible (n.11), allowing those with more technical knowledge (n.13) to devise alternative interpretations when circumstances demand. This is particularly true in the extended account of the interpretations of the dream of Thyamis in Hld.1:18 where it is reported that "in desperation he forced the interpretation to conform with his own desires". Later, however "he interpreted his dream quite differently from before".

Notes

[1] **Dream–reality confusion**: This is patricularly noted for Apuleius' Metamorphoses by Gollnick (1999: 57) and Carlisle (2006: 14-15 and n.20). Apuleius often has stories which read like ordinary reality first, but are then discovered to have been dreams or indeed with *two* successive reversals. This occurs prominently at the start of the work when Aristomenes and Socrates are attacked by witches. Aristomenes initially thinks his friend has been murdered (1:11.14-1:14.9) but he later shows up alive and well, and talks of having dreamt of being murdered (1.18.14-20). As the pair journey on, Socrates collapses and dies from his dream wounds (1:19.2-28). Further examples include *Met.*2:31.15- 2:32.22 and the denoument of the Thelyphron story (2:21-30) which also involves a witch attack and a resurrection. Gollnick (1999: 61) remarks "As in Aristomenes' story we are not sure what is dream, what is magic and what is waking reality". For additional comment on this dream-sequence, see Hunink (2006). Other works where the vividness of a dream is so great as to confuse the dreamer as to whether they were asleep or not include Hld.3:11-12 and 8.11, and cf. 2:16 "we really do seem to be in a dreamworld!"

[2] **Classical-style divine visitations in Greek and Latin fiction**: E.g. during the the Cupid and Psyche section of Apuleius' Metamorphoses and other classical "homeric-style" appearances mentioned in passing in Char.2:2.5, Ach.Tat.7:12.4, Hld.3:11-12.

[3] **Enhanced visual features in message dreams**: Enhanced descriptions are given for Ammon disguised as Hermes in Ps-Cal *Alex.*2:13, or when the Nymphs first appear to Daphnis in Long.2:23.1-27. Much more elaborate is the extended description of Isis at her first appearance Apul.*Met.*11:3.13-11:4.17. Since this theophany is the religious highlight of the whole book, this is perhaps not surprising. When human figures appear, the detailed similarity between the "eidolon" and the real-life person is sometimes noted in order to underline the vividness and significance of a dream, e.g. when Chaereas appears to Callirhoe in Char.2:9.6. As with Vergil, when those appearing are deceased, their appearance is made to match their gory ends, e.g. the ghost of Tlepolemus in Apul *Met.*8:8.15-30 and that of the Miller in ibid.9:31.4-9.

[4] **Enigmatic speech in message dreams**: A rather trivial case occurs in Apul *Met.*11:20.1-5, with a dream references to the arrival of a "slave" called Candidus, which turns out to be his lost (white) horse. The paired dreams of Charikleia and Thegenes in Hld.8:11 present messages in "oracular" hexameter and thus need interpreting, and are used to explore the characters' contrasting characters. Note, however a certain Homeric caution about even "plain" messages, e.g. by Sostratos in Ach.Tat.7:12.4, which at the very least, may conceal more than meets the eye. Thus

when the gods tell the King of Persia to performs sacrifices in Char.6:2.2, but things later go militarily wrong, advisors begin to speculate on figurative meanings.

[5] **Romantic wish fulfilment dreams**: These are naturally frequent, including Ach.Tat.1:6.5, Long.2:10.1-4, Char.2:1.2. These dreams are not always experienced by the "featured lovers" but also by unwanted suitors whose plans must be thwarted, e.g. in Char.6:7.2.

[6] **Visual dreams with mixed symbolic and realistic elements**: The dreams of interrupted weddings show some symbolic aspects, e.g. in Char.5:5.5-6 where Callirhoe keeps waking just before kissing the groom and Ach.Tat.2:11.1, where the nuptial torch keeps going out. Both employ popular and conventional symbolism rather than erudite wordplays. In Apul.*Met.*4:27.1-15, Charite dreams of the murder of her fiancee Tlepolemus by "robbers". Whilst broadly true (ibid. 8:5.13-8:6.2), the evil Thrasyllus turns out to be a "robber" only in a figurative sense. When the mother of Leucippe in Ach.Tat.2:23.4-6 sees her daughter cut in two by a bandit, her anxiety is about illegitimate sexual relations. The most bizarre case occurs in X.Eph.2:8.2 where in his dream, Habrocomes is transformed into a horse until he finds Anthia, a device used for the entire novel of Apuleius.

[7] **Professional interpreters**: Professionals appear in Greek and Latin fiction infrequently, the majority of references in Pseudo–Callisthenes e.g. the consultation after the magically induced dream of Philip in *Alex.*1:8 and Alexander's consultation after his Satyr/Cheese dream in 1:35. Kalasiris rebukes Charikles for not being a better interpreter – given his ex–officio qualifications in Hld.4:14 and in 9:25 Hydaspes consults his couriers, but finds fault with their view. In general, the novels are relatively free from the direct invective found in stage comedy, but when we find "ordinary people" displaying more advanced knowledge and ability than the so–called professionals at various points, then the satire is certainly there. The only real exception to this is Petronius' Satyricon, where we get mocking criticism of the more traditional kind "What was I to do, fool, when I was dying of hunger? Stop and listen to a string of phrases no better than the tinkling of broken glass or the nonsensical interpretations in dream books?" (*Sat.*10).

[8] **Enigmatic speech in other visual dreams**: A more significant case occurs in the dream of the robber captain Thyamis in Hld.1:18-1.19 who is given an oracle during an (oneiric) visit to the temple of Isis – "Thyamis, this maiden I deliver to you; you shall have her and not have her; you shall … slay her, but she shall not be slain." The entire account certainly stretches the distinction between message and symbolic categorisations.

[9] **Animal symbols**: E.g. in the horse transformation in X.Eph.2:8.2 and the more conventional dream of Charikles in Hld.4:14 where an eagle swoops down and carries off his daughter.

[10] **Surreal actions and activities**: E.g. Alexander's dream of being given cheese by a Satyr and trampling upon (Ps–Cal *Alex.*1:35) where Alexander is there as "himself", but the cheese stands for Tyre via a wordplay in Greek. In Ach.Tat.1:3.4-5 Clitophon recognises herself and her sister as conjoined twins, cur apart. Similarly in Hld.9:25, Hydaspes dreams of having a new daughter that looks exactly like Charikleia whom he later recognises in real life. The only aspect to be allegorised is the meaning of her "becoming his daughter".

[11] **Plausible scenes interpreted symbolically**: I.e. transforming one "outcome" into another, as Ach.Tat.2:23.4-6, 4:1.6-8, Hld.2:16.1ff , Long.1:7.4 -13 et sim.

[12] **Extended discussions about differing interpretations**: There are five such discussions in Heliodorus. Of these four are conducted between the dreamers and their friends and relatives, e.g. Hld.2:16, 4:14, the paired dreams at 9:25ff and 10:3, 1:18-1:19.

[13] **Technical knowledge of dream interpretation in Greek and Latin fiction**: While professional interpreters can be expected to show such knowledge, as Alexander's advisors re his Satyr/Cheese dream in Ps-Cal *Alex.*1:35, Hydaspes' courtiers in Hld.9:25 and in a more burlesque mode, Eumolpus, the "mad poet" in Petron.*Sat.*104, other characters appear to know some of these principles at a popular level, as Apuleius' old woman in *Met.*4:27.1-15, Clitophon on the psychology of sleep in Ach.Tat.1:6.5 and cf. Heliodorus' own aside in Hld.2:36.

[14] **Double dreams**: E.g. Hld.8:11, Long.1:7.4 -13, 2:10.1-4, Ach.Tat.4:1.3-5, 4:1.6-8 Hld. 9:25, 10:3 Ps-Cal *Alex.*1:5, 1.8 Apul.*Met.*11:3.1-11:7.7, 11:6.8-12 ibid.11:27.11-18, 11:27.32-38 Petron.*Sat.*104, *possibly* Apul *Met.*11:22.4-27 Ach.Tat. 7:12.4. All are discussed in chapter 6.

[15] **Anxiety and other mental states prior to dreaming:** In the novels, nearly every dream is prefaced with a statement or the implication of anxiety or perplexity e.g. Kalasiris in Hld.3:11-12 "I lay awake .. examining every facet of the question …", cf. Callirhoe in Char.2:9.6 "All night long she pursued these thoughts …", Leucippe in Ach.Tat.4:1.3-5 "crying because I was going to be butchered … ", Daphnis in Long.2:23.1- 27 "tears and pain", Callirhoe in Char.4:1.1 "weeping and wailing", and again in 5:5.5-6 "lamenting despondently", Habrocombes in X.Eph.2:8.2 "miserable and alone", Clitophon in Ach.Tat.1:6.5 "unable to sleep". Other implications of anxiety occur in Char.3:7.4, X.Eph.5:8.5-7, Ach.Tat. 1:3.4-5 et sim. All of these implicit contexts show the danger of adhering too closely merely to the information contained in the "frame".

Apocrypha, Josephus, Gospels and Acts

18 Apocrypha and Non-Apocalyptic Pseudepigrapha

18.1 Introduction, Bibliography

By Apocrypha we mean additional Jewish writings in the LXX that do not correspond to books in the MT but which were known to New Testament authors. For introductions to the Septuagint and/or Apocrypha, see Peters (1992), Dines and Knibb (2004), Charlesworth (1992), DeSilva (2002). Greek works not included in the LXX are often classed amongst the Pseudepigrapha, which also include texts and translations known from other languages. Some of the narrative works and examples of re–written Bible or historical romance are essentially "novellas", as described by Wills (1994, 2002), with studies on specific texts by Gruen (1997), Johnson (2004), Ludlow (2005). The Jewish text Joseph and Aseneth,

which may date from the 1st century BCE to 1st century CE, has been particularly well studied e.g. in Burchard and Burfeind (1996), Chesnutt (1995), Docherty (2004), Hirt (2001), Brooke (2005).

18.2 Passages/Texts

18.3 Classification

This is not an exhaustive listing, but just a classification of the examples considered in ch.3.

18.3.1 Message/Visitation Forms

(1,2) The angelophanies of Joseph and Aseneth in JosAsen.14-17, 19:9

18.3.2 Symbolic/Other Visual Forms

The vision of Mordecai in Greek Esther 11:1-12, together with three theorematic examples Ps-Philo *LAB* 9:15, Jub 35:6, Jub 32:1-2.

18.3.3 Hybrid Forms

The nightmares of the Egyptians in the WSol.17:3-4 and 18:17-19. These are demon hauntings of indeterminate form.

Notes

[1] **Battlefield and other public apparitions in 2 Macc**: These characteristically Hellenistic accounts are prominent in 2 Maccabees, of which diaspora provenance is noted. Although "visionary" in the general sense, they are presented as public portents and thus display a distinct literary form. Examples include 2 Macc 3:25 (Heliodorus and entourage, to whom appears [ὤφθη] a supernatural horse and rider with golden armour), 2 Macc 5:1-4 (Antiochus and army, who see hosts of golden-clad horsemen in the air [φαίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἀέρων]– for 40 days "all over the city"), 2 Macc 10:29 (Antiochus and army, to whom appear "from heaven" [ὑπεναντίοις ἐξ οὐρανοῦ] five five resplendent men on horses, leading the Jews), 2 Macc 10:30 (to the Jews, two supernatural horsemen escorting Judas Maccabeus), 2 Macc 11:8 (to the Jews, a white-clothed horseman [ἐφάνη προηγούμενος αὐτῶν ἔφιππος] with golden weapons at the head of their forces). These apparitions are especially mentioned in the epitomiser's preface 2 Macc 2:21 re "the appearances (ἐπιφανείας) that came from heaven". For details on each of these, see the appropriate sections of Schwatz (2008) who interestingly notes that the Maccabees did show a degree of "Greek" circumspection as to what to make of some of these (ibid. 253). Whilst most are apparently visible to all, in the story of deliverance in 3 Macc 6:16-29, the angels are only visible to the Jews, whereas in 4 Macc 4:9-11, only Apollonius is terrified by angels. In a somewhat different category is the apparently physical intervention in 2 Macc 3:26, where two "gloriously dressed" young men not only appear (προσεφάνησαν) to Heliodorus, but physically attack him, reflecting the dream/reality ambiguity explioted in Vergil's attack on Turnus by Allecto.

[2] **Ben Sirach on Dreams**: Sirach reproduces a number of traditionally cautious positions on dreams, some of which appear to show awareness of contemporary dream theory. An important catena of observations occurs in 34:1-8 where we read:

> "What is seen in dreams is but a reflection (τοῦτο κατὰ τούτου ὅρασις ἐνυπνίων), the likeness of a face looking at itself. [4] From an unclean thing what can be clean? (ἀπὸ ἀκαθάρτου τί καθαρισθήσεται;) And from something false what can be true? [5] Divinations and omens and dreams are unreal (μαντεῖαι καὶ οἰωνισμοὶ καὶ ἐνύπνια μάταιά ἐστιν), and like a woman in labor, the mind has fantasies (φαντάζεται καρδία). [6] Unless they are sent by intervention from the Most High, pay no attention to them. [7] For dreams have deceived many, and those who put their hope in them have perished. [8] Without such deceptions the law will be fulfilled (ἄνευ ψεύδους συντελεσθήσεται νόμος), and wisdom is complete in the mouth of the faithful.".

The notion of dreams as a reflection (ὅρασις) is close to the terminology of Epicurean dream theory, although ironically, is one of a range of optical analogies used positively of the law itself elsewhere (cf. Wsol 7:26). Highly ironic from the point of view of Peter's vision, is the way that the un-crossable gulf between the truth and falsity of dreams can be likened to the halakhic separation between clean and unclean in Jewish law (v.4), an allusion, if picked up, that could only bring a wry smile to the face of a Jewish reader of Acts 10. Beyond these barbed remarks, Sirach 40:5-7 does confess that all men, through the trials and tribulations of life, are subject to anxiety dreams troubling them at night.

> "And when one rests upon his bed, his sleep at night (ὕπνος νυκτός) confuses his mind. [6] He gets little or no rest; he struggles in his sleep as he did by day. He is troubled by the visions of his mind (ὁράσει καρδίας) like one who has escaped from the battlefield. [7] At the moment he reaches safety he wakes up, astonished that his fears were groundless."

It is significant that although Sirach is so negative about dreams when set against the standard of God's revealed truth in the Law, here in 40:5-7, natural dreaming is a common experience of all the children of Adam (40:1), in their common post-lapsarian toil and anxiety.

19 Josephus

19.1 Introduction, Bibliography

Josephus (c.37–100 CE) (for general introduction, see Bilde, 1988) has dream accounts in both his biblical and post–biblical histories, for which the major study is that of Gnuse (1996) (cf. his earlier

article of 1989). Within the biblical cases (n1), he omits, adds or modifies accounts by extending, shortening or switching between direct divine speech and dreams (n8). The content is, however, handled conservatively. In the post and non–biblical cases considered below, Jews and Gentiles feature in roughly equal measure and the accounts show specifically Hellenistic features and forms, including destiny (n5) and death dreams (n4) and two "natural" dreams (n6). For additional studies touching on one or more of the dreams, cf. Cohen (1982), Begg (1996) and Kim (2003).

19.2 Texts/Classification

Amongst 15 post–biblical cases, there are 6 message dreams, 2 straightfoward visual dreams, 3 hybrid cases, and 4 brief and unclassifiable reports.

19.2.1 Message/Visitation Forms

(1) *AJ* 11:326-328 ("God" to Jaddus), (2) *AJ* 11:333-335 (Jaddus to Alexander the Great), (3) *AJ* 17:349-353 (Alexander, son of Herod to Glaphyra, cf. *BJ* 2:114-116), (4) *Vit.*208-210 ("a certain man" to Josephus), (5) *Ap.*1:289 (Isis to Pharaoh Amenophis), (6) *Ap.*2:54-55 (Ithaca/Irene to Ptolemy Physcon).

19.2.2 Symbolic/Other Visual Forms

(1) *BJ* 2:112-113 (Archelaus, cf. *AJ* 17:345-348), (2) *AJ* 17:166 (Matthias).

19.2.3 Dreams with Hybrid Characteristics

(1) *AJ* 13:322 (Hyrcanus), (2) *BJ* 3:351-354 (Josephus) and (3) *AJ* 20:18-19 (Monobazus).

19.2.4 Brief and Other Unclassifiable Reports

(1) *BJ* 1:328 (Herod the Great, cf. *AJ* 14:451), (2) *BJ* 5:381 (Pharaoh Nechaos), (3) *AJ* 12:112 (Theopompos), (5) *Apion.*1:206-207 (Stratonice).

Notes

[1] **Theophanies, divine visitations, dreams and visions**: There are 29 *potentially* dream or vision-like episodes in the biblical narrative that are related in some manner by Josephus, including Gen 15:1-21, 20, 28:l0-17, 31:24, 32:1, 32:22-32, 35:l, 37, 40, 41, 46:l-5, Ex 3, 20, Jdg 3:18-23, 6:11-24, 7:1-12, 7:13-15, 13:3-7, 1 Sam 3:l-18, 18: 1-9, 28:8-25, 2 Sam 7:4-17, 12:1-15, 1 Kg 3:4-15, 9:2, 2 Kg 6:15-23, Dan 2:44-45, 4:l-37, 5:1-30, 8:1-26. He omits entirely the divine conversations with Isaac in Gen 26, and Jacob at Gen 31:10-13, the various angelophanies, dreams and visions of Balaam in Num 22:8-13, 19-21, the dream of Mordecai in Gk Esth 11:1-12, the visions of Daniel in Dan 7, 9-12. He adds, from popular sources, we assume, an extended message dream for Amram, the father of Abraham (cf. Ps-Philo, *LAB* 9:10). Other accounts are shortened or extended.

[2] **Dreamers consulting experts**: E.g. Archelaus in *BJ* 2:112-113 and *AJ* 17:345-348. Josephus, of course, views *himself* as an expert, so his interpretation of his dream at Jotapata in *BJ* 3:351-354, discussed in Gnuse (1996: 135), could, somewhat self-importantly, be viewed in this category.

[3] **Dreams related to family and friends**: E.g. the dream of Glaphyra in *BJ* 2:114-116 (*AJ* 17:349-353) discussed by Gnuse (1996: 194, 255-266). Whilst the version in *BJ* simply says she "related" the dream (2:116), *AJ* adds "to her women friends" (17:353, πρὸς τὰς συνήθεις τῶν γυναικῶν).

[4] **Death-portending dreams**: Josephus includes both message and symbolic varieties and offers such dreams for both Jewish and Pagan leaders. Death-portending message dreams include that of Glaphyra at *BJ* 2:114-116, and symbolic dreams, that of Archelaus in *BJ* 2:112-113 which although more a judgement/downfall dream, is followed by a notice that the process of his downfall started very quickly.

[5] **Dreams portending glorious future**: Glorious futures are predicted for Hyrcanus in *AJ* 13:322 and Monobazus in *AJ* 20:18-19. Gnuse (1996: 134) reminds us that the inclusion of dreams predicting the future is a specifically Greek cultural feature and not primarily biblical or Jewish, although, of course, Moses is given one in Ps-Philo *LAB* and Jesus is in the Gospels.

[6] "**Psychological status" or natural dreams**: E.g. Pharaoh Nechaos in *BJ* 5:381 and the priest Matthias in *AJ* 17:166. Other dreams, whist significant, nevertheless incorporate features of natural dreaming, such as the death portent of Glaphyra in *AJ* 17:349-353.

[7] **Pre-dream anxiety:** There are Homeric-style notes of pre-dream anxiety for Jaddus (*AJ* 11:326-328), Alexander (*AJ* 11:333-335) and Josephus (*Vit.*208-210), and implicit contexts of guilt for Glaphyra (*AJ* 17:349-353), Pharaoh (*Ap.*1:289) and Ptolemy (*Ap.*2:54-55). These latter, being villains, do not register any *explicit* sense of disquiet before their dreams.

[8] **Transformations between Theophany/Theoloquy and dream/vision:** Of the classical biblical theophanies, the night-time and dream-like presentation of Gen 15:1-21 (Abraham) is transformed into straight divine speech in the day-time (*AJ* 1:183-185), the divine utterance to Jacob at Shechem (Gen 35:1) becomes an "appearance" (*AJ* 1:341-342), the burning bush and Sinai theophanies given to Moses become "visions" (*AJ* 3:62). The "word of the Lord" coming to Ehud (Jdg 3:18-23) becomes a full, although possibly ficticious dream (*AJ* 5:193), as does Gideon's angelophany at Jdg 7:1-12 (*AJ* 5:215-216). More strikingly, Josephus has Nathan's parable of judgement for David (2 Sam 12:1-15) come to him in a dream (*AJ* 7:147).

20 Gospels and Acts

20.1 Introduction, Bibliography

The literature and other aspects of introduction have been surveyed in the main text of chs.1, 3 of this study. In the survey below, only the dreams and visions of Acts are listed.

20.2 Texts/Classification

As for other collections, we include for form-critical comparison all accounts that might reasonably "work" as dream or vision accounts whether or not explicit terminology is present. We do not include here the public apparitions and shared visions, such as that of the shepherds (Lk 1:8-14), the synoptic baptism and transfiguration and resurrection appearances.

20.2.1 Message/Visitation Forms

14 examples: (1-3) Mt 1:18-25, 2:13-15, 2:19-23 (angel to Joseph), (4) Lk 1:5-25 (angel to Zechariah), (5) Lk 1:26-38 (angel to Mary), (6) Acts 9:1-9 (Jesus to Paul), (7) Acts 9:10-20 ("the Lord" to Ananias), (8) Acts 10:1-9 (angel to Cornelius), (9) Acts 10:17-20 (the Spirit to Peter), (10) Acts 16:5-10 (man from Macedonia to Paul) (11) ,Acts 18:9-11 (Jesus to Paul), ((12Acts 22:17-22 (Jesus to Paul), (13)Acts 23:11 (Jesus to Paul), (14)Acts 27:22-25 (angel to Paul).

20.2.2 Symbolic/Other Visual Forms

(1) Acts 7:54-8:1 (Stephen), (2) Acts 9:12 (Paul).

20.2.3 Hybrid/Intermediate Forms

(1) Acts 10:9-16 (Peter). In smaller measure, the light symbolism and the Macedonian appearance in Acts 16 count as hybrid features.

20.2.4 Brief and Other Unclassifiable Reports

(1) Mt 2:11-12 (Magi), (2) Mt 27:1 (Pilate's wife).

Appendix 3

Appendix 3: Oracles in Herodotus

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1 Types of Record

Although most of the examples below are responses from Delphi, some are unsolicited prophecies. The oracle reports in Herodotus are of four types:

1.1 Historical Notes

Stories of the origins and practices of shrines: Hdt.1:157, 1:182, 2:29, 2:54-56, 2:57, 2:83, 2:152, 2:155-156, 6:57, 7:76, 7:111, 8:33.

1.2 Consultation Notices

Passing notes of consultation, but where no explicit response is given although a yes/no answer can sometimes be inferred: Hdt.1:7, 1:13, 1:19-23, 1:46 [multiple], 1:49, 1:63, 1:64, 1.73, 1:75, 1.165, 2.134, 6:35-36, 6:125, 7:117, 7:139, 7:197 [x2], 8:133-135, 8:135 [various], 9:93.

1.3 Oracles Summarised in Reported Speech

[Oracles indicated with *, display riddling or enigmatic speech.]

Oracles summarised in indirect speech (usually prose): 51 texts, including Hdt. 1:13 (Gyges), 1:19 (Alyattes), 1:53 (Croesus*), 1:67 (Lacedaemonians [1st]), 1:158-160 (Cymeans), 1:167 (Agyllans), 2:18 (Marea and Apis), 2:52 (Pelasgi), 2:139 (Sabacos), 2:147 (Egyptians*), 2:152 (Psammetichus*), 2:158 (Necos*), 3:16 (Amasis), 3:64 (Cambyses*), 4:15 (Metapontines), 4:149 (Aegidae), 4:150 (Grinus), 4:151 (Theraeans), 4:156 (Theraeans), 4:161 (Cyrenaeans), 4:179 (Jason), 4:203 (Cyrenaeans), 5:1 (Paeonians*), 5:43 (Antichares), 5:79 (Thebans), 5:82 (Epidaurians x2), 5:89 (Athenians), 5:90 (Alcmaeonidae), 5:92 (Cypselus [2nd]*), 5:114 (Amathusians), 6:34 (Dolonci), 6:66 (Spartans), 6:76 (Cleomenes), 6:118 (Thebans), 6:135 (Parians), 6:139 (Pelasgians), 7:6 (Onomacritus x2), 7:178 (Delphians), 7:189 (Athenians*), 8:36 (Delphians), 8:60 (Themistocles), 8:114 (Lacedaemonians), 8:122 (Greek army), 8:134 (Amphiaraus), 8:135 (Mys*), 8:141 (Lacedaemonians), 9:33 (Tisamenus*), 9:42 (Mardonius), 9:93 (Apolloniats).

Of the above, 10 cases display riddling or enigmatic speech, some 20% of the total.

All of the above feature enough of a prose summary to detect whether riddling had been present in the original form of the oracle. The only exception is the oracle of 8:135 (Mys*) above, which was noted as being highly enigmatic because of being unexpectedly delivered in the Carian dialect which could not be fully understood by the inquirers. In the above list, the names included in parentheses are usually the names of inquirers, but for unsolicited prophetic oracles, the names of the prophets are given. Numbers in square brackets indicate a sequence number when more than one oracle is listed for a single inquirer within one chapter. For brevity, individual line numbers in the Loeb text are not given.

1.4 Oracles Quoted in Direct Speech

[Oracles indicated with *, display riddling or enigmatic speech.]

Oracles quoted in direct speech (usually verse) with notes on rival interpretations, misunderstandings and subsequent actions: 35 texts, including 1:47 (Croesus*), 1:55 (Croesus*), 1:62 (Pisitratus*), 1:65 (Lycurgus), 1:66 (Lacemaemonians*), 1:67 (Lacedaemonians [2nd]*), 1:85 (Croesus*), 1:91 (Lydians), 1:174 (Cnidians), 2:133 (Mycerinus x2), 3:57 (Siphnians*), 4:155 (Battus), 4:157 (Theraeans), 4:159 (Cyrenaeans), 4:163 (Arcesilaus*), 4:179 (Triton), 5:67 (Clisthenes), 5:92 (Aetion*), 5:92 (Bacchiadae*), 5:92 (Cypselus [1st]*), 6:19 (Milesians*), 6:52 (Lacedaemonians*), 6:77 (Argives*), 6:86 (Glaucus*), 6:98 (Delos*), 7:140-141 (Athenians, 2x*), 7:148 (Argives*), 7:169 (Cretans), 7:220 (Spartans), 8:20 (Euboeans*), 8:77 (Bacis*), 8:96 (Lysistratus*), 9:43 (Bacis*).

Of the above, 23 cases display riddling or enigmatic speech, some 66% of the total.

The fact that prose summaries of type (3) are derived from full texts in verse (4) would seem confirmed by Hdt.7:220 which includes both. The famous ambiguity of many of these oracles and their impact on portrayals of divine speech in Greek dreams is discussed in ch.5. Interestingly, some operate via *verbal imagery* in a similar way to symbolic dreams, e.g. at Hdt.1:47, 1:55, 1:62-63, 1:66, 3:57-58, 4:163-164, 5:79, 5:92, 5:92, 6:77, 7:140-144, 7:148-149, 7:178, 8:20 and cf. 2:55.

2 Structure of Riddling Oracles

2.1 Riddling Language Throughout

I.e. where an unknown entity - some special time, circumstance, person or place is spoken of entirely figuratively. Examples include (1) 1:47 (Croesus) (2) 1:62-63 (Pisitratus) (3) 3:57-58 (Siphnians) (4) 5:79 (Thebans) (5) 5:92 (6) 6:77 (Argives) (7) 8:20 (Euboeans).

2.2 Riddling Elements in One Half of Oracle

In the following examples, the respective parts of the oracles are labelled "[a]" and "[b]" respectively, with the riddling section indicated by *. (1) 5:79 (Thebans) [a][b*] (2) 1:66 (Lacedaemonians) [a][b*] (3) 4:163-164 (Arcesilaus) [a][b*] (4) 6:86 (Glaucus) [a][b*] (4) 7:148-149 (Argives) [a][b*] (5) 5:92 (Bacchiadae) [a*][b].

2.3 Riddling Elements in Middle of Oracle

(1) 7.140 (Athenians) [a][b*][c] (2) 7.141 (Athenians) [a][b*][c].

2.4 Single Ambiguous Element

Oracles with a single ambiguous element include (1) Hdt. 1:53 (Croesus) "*a* mighty empire", (2) 1:55 (Croesus) "a *mule*", (3) 2:147 (Egyptians) "cup of bronze", (4) 2:152 (Psammetichus) "brazen men", (5) 2:158 (Necos) "labouring for the *barbarian*", (6) 3:64 (Cambyses) "Agbatana", (7) 5:1 (Paeonians) "Paean", (8) 6:98 (Delos) "shake", (9) 7:189 (Athenians) "son-in-law", (10) 9:33 (Tisamenus) "contest".

Marginal cases: to the above we might add the oracle predicting the birth of a son to Aetion (5:92). The phrasing "a rock, that will one day / Fall on the rulers and will bring justice to Corinth" is such conventional poetic imagery, that it hardly counts as enigmatic at all. Similarly the oracle to the Milesians at 6:18-19, otherwise expressed in entirely plain language, speaks of washing the feet of "long-haired masters". In context, these are readily identified as Persians.

3 Other Authors

For the oracles in Diodorus Siculus, 29% of those presented via prose summary still betray some riddling aspect. Of the full text examples, the figure is 57%. In Plutarch's lives, the figures are 24% and 71% respectively. It should be stated however, that this includes everything from oracles that are simply so vague as to produce interpretive problems for the inquirers, through to deliberate metaphor, wordplay or some other enigmatic mode.

Appendix 4

Appendix 4: Double Dreams

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1 Basis for Expanded List

After noting the two double dreams in Acts, Saul and Ananias (Acts 9:10-16) and Peter and Cornelius (Acts 10:1-11:8), Wikenhauser lists twelve dreams from post-classical Graeco-Roman literature (including Josephus) as well as a further five from the apocryphal Acts and Eusebius, making 19 in total from a period of general relevance to Acts[1]. In his original thesis, Hanson (1978: 34-50) added no new accounts but used some of Wikenhauser's examples for a discussion of form[2] and tradition history[3].

Whilst Wikenhauser claimed that his list integrated previously known cases with new ones, he did not consider ANE, Homeric, OT or Jewish literature (other than Josephus) and omitted cases even from these[4]. Later expansions of the list have been made somewhat sporadically, with at least some citations turning out to be parallels of existing accounts or double dreams of the "wrong" kind[5]. In Greek and Latin fiction, Hanson (1980: 1414-1419) did later footnote two further dream pairs from Longus and Petronius[6], but this hardly constituted a major revision. Other cases have, however, been noted by those focussing on particular novelists e.g. Bartsch[7] and Kragelund[8], or by those seeking comparisons between such fiction and particular parts of the New Testament, such as Dodson on Matthew[9] or Pervo on Luke-Acts[10]. New cases from historiography and the therapeutic material have been less frequently noted.

On various grounds, there has been a need for some time to fill out the number of cases that might be brought into the discussion. Exactly how many one finds depends somewhat on the exact definition followed. Thus although Wikenhauser was clear that visions belonged alongside dreams in his list, further expansion could have resulted from including scenes of divine visitation not specifically cast as dreams or visions. Even within the basic orbit of dreams given to different people, several different sorts of narrative pattern present themselves depending on what might count as "paired" - not all of which display the same type of pairing seen in the Peter-Cornelius story. Casting the net as wide as Wikenhauser's original definition might allow, I have found 60 cases for the period up to Eusebius, a considerable increase in the 19 examples originally listed. Some of these are claimed as double dreams in scattered references by modern authors, and others have been added when they fulfilled similar criteria to those included. They are given below. The list includes several references that are claimed as double dreams but which can be dismissed fairly quickly on technical grounds although in some senses do display literary pairing in some manner. Literary parallels to existing dreams are added to a lead reference, and clearly mistaken designations are omitted altogether[11].

2 Catalogue

2.1 ANE, OT and Homer

(1) The dream of the army of Assurbanipal in Oppenheim (1956: 249 [§8, no. 9]) cited as a double dream by Oppenheim (1956: 209) and a multiple simultaneous dream by Caillois (1966: 35). We have not included further mass dreams in this list, except where a group dream is paired with one to an individual in a narrative structure similar to a more conventional double dream.

(2) The double message dream of Nabonidus commanding the rebuilding of a certain temple, received not only by the King, but also by "others", cited as double dream by Oppenheim (1956: 209).

(3) The theophany of Assurbanipal and the visual dream of the priest of Ishtar, text in ANET 451, 606 and Oppenheim (1956: 249 [§8, no. 10]), cited as a form of double dream by Husser (1999: 40).

(4) The visions of Abraham (theophany) and Hagar (angelophany) in Gen 21:12-13, 17-18. The visionaries are separating from each other, but the revelations are coordinate within the divine purpose.

(5) The night-time theophany of Gideon and the symbolic dream of the Midianite soldier in Judges 7:9-14. The two are enemies, but the dreams are complementary within the divine purpose.

(6) The double angelophany to the parents of Sampson in Judges 13:3-5 and 9-23.

(7) The divine visitations of Athena to Achilles and Hector (*Il.*22:214-225 and 225-227). Athena is helping Achilles, and Hector's vision, deceptive.

(8) The divine visitations of Thetis to Achilles (*Il.*24:120-140) and Iris to Priam (*Il.*24:144-216), helping Achilles and Priam to liaise over the return of the body of Hector.

2.2 Historiography, Biography and Related Inscriptions

(9) The message dreams of Xerxes and Artabanus in Herodotus Hdt. 7:8-18. This unusual pair is set up as a test after a series of dreams to Xerxes, and serves to bring the two into agreement about military policy. Cited as a possible "dual dream" or "double epiphany" by Kim (2003: 432).

(10) The message dreams of Aeneas and Latinus in Dionysius of Halicarnassus *RA* 1:56.5 and 1:57.4 = Wikenhauser No. 3. Coordinate dreams facilitating the Trojan colonisation of Latium with discussion in Day (1994: 56-57), Dodson (2006: 120-121) and numerous others. Vergil retains the framework, but broadens it out to include a closing sequence of dreams for Aeneas about the final push into Latium (the appearance of Anchises in Aen.5:733-737, and the appearance of Tiberinus 8:40) as well as two portents and a dream for Latinus (7:64-67, 7:71-80, and 7:97-101). The pairing of just two dreams, evident in Dionysius, is rather lost in Vergil's version.

(11) The demon nightmares of Publius and Marcus Tarquinius in Dionysius of Halicarnassus *RA* 5:54.1-5. This simultaneous shared dream with coordinate purpose is similar to other accounts included as double dreams.

(12) The dreams of Alexander (symbolic/visual x2) and the Tyrians (message) in Plu *Alex.*24:5-8. This unusual triple dream structure has a mass (message) dream for the Tyrians (24:6-7) bracketed by two dreams for Alexander (24:5 and 24:8). A clear mutuality and coordinate revelations mean this should be included.

(13) The message dreams of Titus Manlius Torquatus and Publius Decius Mus in Liv.*Hist.*8:5.7-10= Wikenhauser No. 4 (also a double dream in Val.Max.7:1.3, one-dream only in Cic.*Div.*51).

(14) The fraudulent visual dreams of Narcissus and Messalina in Suet.*Claud.*37:2. This simultaneous shared (albeit made–up) dream with coordinate purpose, is similar to other accounts included as double dreams.

(15) The message dreams of Ptolemy and Scydrothemis in Tac.*Hist.*4:83-85 = Wikenhauser No. 5 (one dream only in Plutarch *Isis and Osiris* 28, discussed in Caillois, 1966: 35-36)

(16) The message dreams of Epaminondas and Epiteles in Paus.4:26.6, 7-8; coordinate dreams helping the Messenians return home.

(17) The dreams of Pindar (message) and an old woman of Thebes (visual) in Paus.9:23.3,4. Although sequential, these are clearly coordinate and aimed at fulfilling the divine will.

(18) The double visual dreams of the priest of Heracles and Comon in Paus.4:26.3 = Wikenhauser No. 6.

(19) The dream of the magistrate of Lindos and the "epiphany" to the Persian army during Datis' siege in the Lindos inscription FGrH 532 D [1], is cited as a "double epiphany" by Cohen (1982: 50-51). Whilst the dream is certainly interesting, the "epiphany" to the Persians is actually the miracle of a very directed rainstorm, providing much needed water inside the city and denying it to the Persians and causing their eventual retreat. That such a deliverance could be called an ἐπιφάνεια or manifestation of the god's power is an entirely normal use of the term, but this clearly leaves the account as a dream with an accompanying miracle and not a double dream in any normal sense. It will therefore not be included in further discussion.

2.3 Greek and Latin Fiction

(20) The dreams(?) of Theron and Leonas in Char.1:12.4-5, 10. Cited as double dream by Dodson (2006: 193-194) and Pervo (1987: 73 n. 85 (p.164)). However, Leonas' remark "you are setting out before me in reality what I dreamed about" is almost certainly figurative. I would thus reject this account, although the experience of coincidence is spoken of using the language of "dreams come true".

(21) The visual dreams of Dryas and Lamon in Long.1:7.4-13 where they see Nymphs handing over the infant Daphnis and Chloe over to Cupid. These simultaneous identical dreams, coordinate within divine purpose, are cited as a double dream by Hanson (1980: 1415 n.82).

(22) The dreams of Leucippe (message) and Clitophon (visual) in Ach.Tat.4:1.3-5 and 4:1.6-8. These simultaneous complementary dreams are cited as a double dream by Dodson (2006: 124 n.87), and as a "pair of contrasting dreams" by Bartsch (1989: 89). Clearly similar to other cases we have included.

(23) The appearance of Artemis to the Byzantine soldiers and to Sostratos in Ach.Tat..7.12.4. Galli (1996: 42) discusses briefly whether this vision loosely paired with a group apparition should be considered as a form of double dream. The two events are separated by an unknown length of time, and conspire in a very round-about way to save the lives of the protagonists. Certainly part of a reported coincidence.

(24) The dreams of Kalasiris and Charikles in Hld.3:11-12, 18 is cited as a double dream by Pervo (1987: 73 n. 85 [p.164]) but this seems very difficult to understand and the dreams do not constitute a pair in any meaningful sense. The reference has possibly been culled from elsewhere and misunderstood, in so far as the first of these two dreams does feature twin dream figures in a joint appearance of Apollo and Artemis.

(25) The message dreams of Charikleia and Theagenes in Hld.8:11. Cited as double dream by Dodson (2006: 124 n.87).

(26) The visual dreams of king Hydaspes and Persinna in Hld.9:25 and 10:3. These nearly identical visual dreams of husband and wife, dreamed at some distance, relate to a common purpose concerning the fate of their daughter and should thus be included with others of the same type.

(27) The magic-induced visual dreams of Olympias and Philip in Ps-Cal.*Alex.*1:5 and 1:8. Although produced by sorcery, this device functions within the evil plot of Nektanebos to sire an illegitimate child through the Queen.

(28) The visual dreams of Odatis and Zariadres in Chares of Mytilene, *Histories of Alexander* as quoted in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophists* 13.35 = Wikenhauser No. 2. This double dream is listed here with the fiction, as it comes from an Alexander Romance text, although not extant. The dream results in a cross-cultural marriage between a Median and a Scythian.

(29) The visual "dreams" of Aristomenes and Socrates in Apul.*Met.*1:11.14-1:14.9 and 1:18.14-20. Whilst involving a complex sequence of events within dream/reality confusion of a witch's attack, this is cited as a form of double dream by Panayotakis (1998: 128) and Hunink (2006: 20 n.13).

(30) The message dreams of Lucius and the priest of Isis in Apul *Met.*11:3.1- 11:7.7 and 11:6.8-12 = Wikenhauser No. 7 and cf. also Day (1994: 45-47).

(31) The message dreams of Lucius and the High Priest of Isis/Osiris, Mithras, in Apul.*Met.*11:22.4-13, 20-27 = Wikenhauser No. 8. Whether a second dream is understood here depends on the translation of one particular phrase. I agree with Wikenhauser on its inclusion.

(32) The dreams of Lucius (visual) and Asinius Marcellus (message) in Apul *Met.*11:27.11-18 and 11:27.32-38 = Wikenhauser No. 9.

(33) The message dreams of Lichas and Tryphaena in Petron.*Sat.*104, cited as a double dream by Hanson (1980: 1415 n.82).

2.4 Jewish Historiography and Fiction

(34) The message dreams of Jaddus and Alexander in *AJ* 11:326-335 = Wikenhauser No. 12. The long time-gap (three years) and the rather different intent leads Kim (2003: 439) to see this dream as a much weaker candidate as a double dream than others.

(35) The angelophanies of Joseph and Aseneth in JosAsen 14-17, 19:9, cited as a double dream by Burchard (1983: 233 n.19), Pervo (1987: 73 n. 85 [p.164]) and Henrich (1994: 141 n.117).

2.5 Therapeutic, Popular and Personal

(36) The dreams of the writer and his mother in the Serapeum Papyri, P.Oxy 11, 1381 *In praise of Imouthes-Asclepius* = Wikenhauser No. 11. The writer has a wordless visitation (as well as several other revelations). The mother as co-incubant "sees" the visitation of her son.

(37) The visual/hybrid dreams of Arata of Lacedaemon and her mother in Epidauros B1 [21] = Wikenhauser No. 1 and also discussed by Klauck (2000: 164-165).

(38) The dreams of Aristides and official from the Temple of Olympian Zeus in Aristid.*Or.*47.43. This highly peculiar example portrays two speakers discovering that they have both just had dreams (although

about moderately unrelated matters), but doing so in a conversation inside another dream. The double dream (of the coincidence variety) is thus not real but imagined.

(39) The message dreams of Aristides and Zosimus in Aristid.*Or*.47.63, 66 re a prescription are cited as a "dream coincidence" by Gollnick (1999: 44), and by implication, a form of double dream (ibid. 34). They are included via similarity with others in Aristides.

(40) The visual dreams of Aristides and Philadelphus in Aristid.*Or*.48.30-35 = Wikenhauser No. 10 and also cited a double dream by Delling (1964: 1124).

(41) The (implicit) message dreams of Aristides and a Roman senator in Aristid.*Or*.48.48.1-2, 2-4, re a prescription. Included via similarity with others in Aristides. The senator is told in his dream of its pairing with Aristides'.

(42) The dreams of Zosimus and Aristides in Aristid.*Or*.49.12, 13, received on the same night. They are discussed by Gollnick (1999: 43), where the main interest is in Zosimus' proxy incubation. Although not explicitly labelled as such, Gollnick certainly classes such dreams as "double dreams" in his introductory remarks (ibid. 34).

(43) The dreams of Asclepiacus and Neritus in Aristid.*Or*.49.14-re treatments for Aristides. Although these are dreams of people who did not know each other concerned different conditions of Aristides (consumption and bones respectively), the proximity in the time of the revelations is taken as significant by Aristides in his report. This thus constitutes a rather weak case, linked in only a rather general way.

(44) The message dreams of Aristides and a goose-seller in Aristid.*Or*.49.45 constitute a classic double dream similar to those of Acts in order to facilitate a meeting and the purchase of a goose for sacrifice. Not apparently mentioned in the major studies.

(45) The dreams? of Aristides and a local farmer in Aristid.*Or*.50.5. A somewhat marginal case which pairs (dream?) "oracles" received by Aristides with the dream of a local farmer in which Aristides vomits the head of a snake. Aristides appears to consider there to be a circumstantial link.

(46) The dreams of Euarestus of Crete and Hermocrates of Rhodes in Aristid.*Or*.50.23 re Aristides taking up rhetoric again. Another coincidence dream featuring two "third parties" dreaming something of relevance to Aristides at more or less the same time. Aristides speaks of them as "pertaining to the same end" (ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις ὀνείρατα ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ φέρντα εἰς ταυτόν).

(47) The message dreams of Plutarch and Domninus in Suidas, *Lexicon* s.v. 'Domninus' This somewhat late example of an Asclepion coincidence dream is fascinating because the discussion about eating unclean meat (pork) that arises as a result (one is a Syrian [=Jew?], the other a Greek).

2.6 New Testament

(48) The message dreams of the Magi and Joseph in Mt 2:12 and 2:13-15 (re each avoiding Herod). Cited as a double dream by Dodson (2006: 265-269).

(49) The message visions of Zechariah and angelophany of Mary in Lk 1:5-45 are given as an example of a double vision by Humphrey (2007: 62), although rejected as such by Henrich (1994: 140-141 n.117). A now missing annunciation to Elizabeth and the vision of Zechariah are briefly considered as a possible double vision by Bovon (2002: 48) – although this is in the end rejected.

(50) The (message) visions of two angels to the women in Lk 24:1-9 and the 11 male disciples in Acts 1:10-11. This is claimed as a double vision in direct consideration of the definition of Hanson by Prince (2005: 231-233). Contra Prince, this would seem something of a dubious case, since although the accounts have many features in common, they are not coordinate in any obvious sense.

(51) The encounters with Jesus on the Emmaus road and in the upper room in Lk 24:13-35 and 24:33-53, claimed as a double vision by Prince (2005: 231, 234-235). Contra Prince, this would seem something of a dubious case, since although the accounts have many features in common, they are not coordinate in any obvious sense. Also, we assume that the two friends become party to the second vision, and thus for them, the story becomes one confirming sequential revelations. The duality continues to exist for the others in a generally confirming sense.

(52) The visions of Saul and Ananias in Acts 9:10-16 = Wikenhauser (intro). Certainly accepted as a double dream/vision by Haenchen (1971: 108). Since this involves three visions, several contrasts and pairings are possible.

(53) The angelophany of Cornelius and vision of Peter in Acts 10:1-11:8 = Wikenhauser (intro). Since this involves three visions, several contrasts and pairings are possible.

2.7 Apocryphal Acts and Other Hagiography

(54) The "voice" to John and vision of Lycomedes in Acts of John 18-19 = Wikenhauser No. 13. Cited also as a double dream by Lalleman (1998: 88-90) but rejected by Czachesz (2002: 91-96) on the grounds that John's message is too vague. This example can be accepted, however, and follows a pattern of differential clarity and specificity seen in other double dreams.

(55) The visions of James and John in Acts of John 88-89. Discussed as a possible double dream by Czachesz (2002: 232-233). As a public apparition, we would not normally count resurrection appearances, however James and John see the risen Christ differently at the same time, confirming a miraculous non-coincidence of sight with a visionary quality. The peculiar Gnostic agenda of the "polymorphous Christ" lies behind this episode.

(56) The dreams of Thomas and the young man raised from the dead, Acts of Thomas 29-35 = Wikenhauser No. 14.

(57) The visions of Andrew and Lesbius in the Acts of Andrew 22 = Wikenhauser No. 15.

(58) The visions of John Mark and Barnabus in Acts of Barnabus 1ff = Wikenhauser No. 16.

(59) The dreams of Alexander, Bishop of Cappadocia and the elders of Jerusalem in Eusebius, *Church History* 6:11.1-2 = Wikenhauser No. 17.

(60) Acts of Thomas 1-2 (99:1-102:9). The dreams of Thomas and the merchant Abban, discussed by Hanson (1978: 110-116).

2.8 Additional Cases

Two cases noted after the compilation of the above list are fairly trivial and do not alter the statistics in any significant manner.

ANE: No.41 in the list in appendix 2. A double message dream featuring the appearance of an anonymous dream figure first to the wife of Khamuas and later, to her husband, noted in Oppenheim (1956: 194). The double dream tells of the miraculous birth of their son. The wife's dream reveals a herbal preparation by which she (or both of them?) can be healed (of infertility?). In the second appearance, to the husband, the name of the child is given, and it is prophesied that he will grow to become a great magician.

Greek and Latin Fiction: Long.2:10.1-4, the simultaneous complementary sexual dreams of the lovers Daphnis and Chloe. The dreams would represent wish-fulfilment, but at this point, they have not yet had sex, so that aspect of the dream reveals something they know nothing about, and thus is perhaps theorematic. They do indeed have sex in 2:11, based on what they experienced in the dream. The account emphasises their inexperience and naiveté.

3 Form

3.1 Double Message/Visitation Form

Nos.1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 22, 23, 25, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 39, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 52, 55, 56.

Re dream figures for these, 19 feature the same dream figure (with slight differences), but a third of the cases (11) involve different dream figures (Nos.4, 7, 8, 10, 33, 34, 53, 54, 55, 57, 58).

3.2 Double Symbolic/Other Visual Form

Nos.11, 14, 18, 20, 21, 26, 28, 29, 37, 40, 53. Nos.20 and 38 were viewed as too marginal. No. 51 as paring two "group" apparitions should perhaps count as double hybrid.

3.3 Mixed Forms

Nos. 5, 12, 17, 22, 32, 42, 45, 52, 53 and 60. A smaller group of 4 pairs (Nos.3, 27, 36, 54) technically displays mixed forms where the second dreamer "observes" the message/visitation scene of the first. The supporting revelations here would thus technically count as general theorematic visual dreams. Nos. 38 and 45 are less certain since the forms of the one or more of the dreams are not clear.

4 Interrelationship And Function

4.1 Confirming

There are 9 identical dream pairs (Nos.1, 2, 11, 13, 14, 21, 39, 41, 47) and a further 6 showing only differences in perspective or wording (Nos.6, 9, 26, 27, 29, 36, 37), by no means the majority. A further 4 confirm a single idea via distinct dreams in a generally coordinate relationship (as below), Nos.16, 42, 57, 60 and a further 3 are more obliquely related, but also essentially confirm a single revelation after appropriate interpretation, Nos.17, 18, 46.

4.2 Coordinate

(37x) 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 38, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60.

4.3 Coincidental

Nos.20, 23, 25, 43, 45, 48, 49, 50.

4.4 "Structural"

Nos. 25, 49, 50, 51.

5 Interpretation

5.1 Equal Difficulty (Straightforward)

Nos.1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35, 39, 41, 44, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 58, 59.

5.2 Equal Difficulty (Some Interpretation)

Nos.18, 21, 25, 26, 27, 37, 40.

5.3 Differing Intrinsic Difficulty

The mixed form pairs, by definition (as 3.3 above), but also Nos.15, 16, 20, 34, 38, 43 which although the same form, show intrinsically different content that makes one harder to understand than the other.

Notes

[1] He goes on to discuss a later patristic (ibid. 109-110, No. 18) and an early medieval case (ibid. 110-111, No. 19).

[2] He gives a full text in Greek and English and a form-critical analysis for Dionysius of Halicarnassus *RA* 1:57.3-4 (p.35-37, =Wikenhauser, No. 3), P.Oxy 11:1381.91-145 (p. 38-41, =Wikenhauser, No. 11), Josephus *AJ* 11:8.4-5 (11:326-335) (p. 42-45, =Wikenhauser, No. 12).

[3] The basic contention that double dreams are primarily a literary phenomenon is illustrated by the fact that literary parallels to some of the accounts either do not have a double dream, and indeed some, no dream at all. In his article, Hanson discusses the Josephus double dream in *AJ* 11:8.4-5 (11:326-335) (p. 42-45, =Wikenhauser, No. 12) in relation to parallels in Diodorus Siculus *BH* 17:16.3-4 and recension C of PsCal.*Alex.*2:24 (Hanson, 1978: 48-49), the Tacitus double dream *Hist.*4:83-85 (Hanson, ibid., 50) in relation to the only parallel in Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris* 28

[4] I.e. including various instances from the Hellenistic and Roman historians, several further examples from Aristides, and numerous other examples from Greek and Latin fiction to supplement the three dream pairs he did list from Apuleius.

[5] The two additional references from Conzelmann (1987: 72 n.9) seem to be spurious. Val.Max.1.7.3 is a parallel to the double dream of Publius Decius and Titus Manlius Torquatus from Livy and already discussed by Wikenhauser. His second reference, Hermas Vis. 3.1.2, is not a double dream at all in the sense intended by Wikenhauser, but a nested dream report and thus must be dependent on a remark in some other author using "double dream" in this alternative sense.

[6] The dreams from Long.1:7.4 -13 and Petron.*Sat.*104. In this paper, Hanson uses as his main worked examples, three double dreams from Wikenhauser's list, Dionysius of Halicarnassus *RA* 1:57.3-4, P.Oxy 11:1381 lines 91-145 and Josephus *AJ* 11:326-335. He footnotes some of the others from Wikenhauser, although omits to mention the dreams in Pausanias, the second and third pairs from Apuleius, the examples from Aristides, the Acts of Andrew, Acts of Barnabus and the closing case in Eusebius. Thus, although there is an awareness that Wikenhauser's list is incomplete, there is no attempt here to draw up a new comprehensive one.

[7] Bartsch (1989: 80-108) includes a number of candidate double dreams in her discussion of the dreams in Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius.

[8] Kragelund (1989) has an extensive discussion of the double dream in Petronius.

[9] Dodson (2006: 118-124) touches on some double dreams in his study of the special relationship between the dreams of the romances and those of Matthew's Gospel, and adds two cases to Wikenhauser's and Hanson's lists, namely Ach.Tat.4:1.4-8 and Hld.8:11.1-9 (ibid. 124 n.87).

[10] To Wikenhauser and Hanson's cases from Greek fiction, Pervo (1987: 73 n. 85 (p.164)) added Joseph and Aseneth 14-15, 19, Char.1.12 and Hld.3.11-12, 3.18. The last example from Petronius seems very difficult to understand and the dreams do not constitute a pair in any meaningful sense.

[11] As with one of the references given by Conzelmann in note 5 above.

[12] **Alternative definitions (1) re two dreams of the same person:** Although Oppenheim (1956: 209) is aware of Wikenhauser's definition, he does not hold to it exclusively, using the term double dream rather casually in ibid., 208 for the two-dream sequences of Gilgamesh, (Nos. 3 & 4 in the ANE section of Appendix 2). Others occasionally following such usage include Fishbane (1985: 454), Jeffers (1996: 46, 131), Wesselius (2005: 250, 269), Pelling (1996: 73), Carey (1998: 50, 89 n.574), Lowery (1999: 89), Noegel (2007: 136 n.94), Paul and Cross (1991: 224) and Stone (1990: 101), as well as some modern scholars studying contemporary dreams, as Goldberg (1993: 258 n.12). Oppenheim particularly has in mind sequences of symbolic dreams that are analogues of each other, like Joseph's sheaves and stars dreams in Gen 37:5-8, 9 and cf. Wenham (1994: 19 and 63, 393-394, 413) on Pharaoh's dreams. Similar pairs, sometimes with development or augmentation are discussed for Herodotus by Pelling (1996: 73) and Carey (1998: 50, 89 n.574) and prophetic symbolic dreams by Lowery (1999: 78, 89) and cf. Stone (1990: 101) on 4 Ezra 4:48-49. All of the above take this phenomenon as an emphasising device (stated explicitly by Oppenheim, 1956: 208-209, Flannery-Dailey, 2000: 29).

[13] **Alternative definitions (2) Dreams within dreams**: This usage appears in Cederstrom (1971: 28 and n.57) and Behr (1968: 195 and n.77, 8) on Aristides and Miller (1988: 330 n.20 [p. 337]) on Hermas, but with references to Behr. They envisage not merely nested reports, but where a dreamer recounts the contents of an earlier visual tableau to the oneiric participants of a later tableau in the same dream, as possibly seen in *Or.*50:69 and 51:50 (poss. also *Or.*47:9, 17, 22, 39, 43). Miller compares this with Herm.*Vis.*1:1.3ff, and in a similar vein, Conzelmann (1987: 72 n.9) adds *Vis.*3:1.2. Behr sources this double dream concept in Aristotle, although the passages he quotes is talking only about lucid thought during dreams. The use of the term "double dream" for such cases does appear in Synesius of Cyrene (Kelsey, 1973: 252).

[14] **Double frameworks linking other types of revelation**: Since Wikenhauser's definition stipulates only "revelations", it can be meaningfully extended to include revelatory events other than dreams or visions, such as portents, oracles, apparitions etc., as we see in the double omens in *Od.*20:102, 105-121, Agamemnon's dream and the portent seen by Odysseus in *Il.*2 (MacDonald, 2003c: 21-22) and the "companion" oracles noted by Parke and Wormell (1956: 250 on Paus.4:12.1, 7). Sometimes the pairwise sense of coincidence can be established with simply a miraculous or coincidental development on one side paired with a revelation on the other, such as the dream of the Magistrate of Lindos and the Persian army, during Datis' siege (No. 19. above), where the "epiphany" of the latter is merely an unexpected military reversal (cf. Versnel, 1987: 50-51), and also the meeting of Aelius Aristides and Rufinus in *Or.*50:43 where Aristides is glad for Rufinus' help, but discovers that he has been guided to the very spot by a dream. This is probably the sense of the "dreams" of Theron and Leonas in Char.1:12.4-5, 10 where Theron's talk of their meeting as "a dream come true" is probably figurative. Leonas's dream was real, however, although not apparently related to their meeting. The dream coincidence is thus initially perceived only by one side. The essential duality of Wikenhauser's definition can be preserved if one or both of the dreamers become groups, as permitted by his "zwei verschiedene Personen (kreise)" (Wikenhauser, 1948: 100). A single vision or apparition shared by two people would be just a minimal example of a multiple-recipient case and thus not quite in line with the sense of coordination envisaged by Wikenhauser, but a group vision could certainly form one limb of a parallel structure, as also allowed by Prince (2005: 231, 234-235) who pairs the Emmaus revelation with the upper room vision in Jerusalem on the travellers' return.

[15] **Revelation clusters in Aristides**: We have noted various cases where "pairing" is very loosely perceived as a more or less coincidental affair, meaningful only to a third party (e.g. Nos. 45, 46). Other pairings occur with more general sequences of revelations involving Aristides and others. Indeed cases 42 (Aristides and Zosimus) and 43 (Asclepiacus and Neritus) essentially belong to the same sequence arising in relation to a single medical episode. The section opens with a revelation to Aristides that he had consumption (*Or.*49.11), followed by an oracle of assurance given through Zosimus (*Or.*49.12). After confirming "signs" to the priest, Asclepiacus (*Or.*49.14), a revelation comes to Neritus suggesting the removal of Aristides' bones (*Or.*49.15). This distressing recommendation is countered by permission to take the first prescription figuratively (given again to Neritus in *Or.*49.15.6-8), and eventually a new prescription based on unsalted olive oil. It is not clear whether these three points come in sequence within the same dream, or whether they come as a dream sequence. The resolution of this complex sequence into two double revelations is thus somewhat artificial.

[16] **Double dreams linking foreigners**: Double dreams linking people notionally foreign to each other include Nos. 5, 8, 10, 12, 15, 19, 28, 34, 35, 48, 53, 60. Some of these do not raise tensions between the dreamers, even if they share a common enemy (15, 48), and some simply exacerbate them, in so far as the gods simply take sides (5, 7, 12, 19). Seven, however link the dreamers positively across a divide of potential distrust. Two involve romantic plot lines (Nos.28 - Odatis and Zariadres, 35 - Joseph and Aseneth), two involve mission (53 - Peter and Cornelius, 60 - Thomas and Abban) and three occur in war (8 - Achilles and Priam, 10 - Aeneas and Latinus, 34 - Alexander and Jaddus).

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