

Dream as a constitutive cultural determinant – the example of ancient Egypt

Gotthard G. Tribl

Zurich, Switzerland

Summary. Since the discovery of REM-sleep, modern empirical dream research has made considerable advances in making dreaming a subject of scientific interest. To allow for quantification and interpretation of dream material, it is necessary that at first the dreamer him or herself is able to reach an optimal notion of the experienced dream. This means predominantly seeing and memorizing dream imagery. This individual experience is mainly preverbal and is secondarily converted into speech to become communicable. The dreamer's capacity to observe dream imagery and the question as to whether there is a possibility to improve dream imagery perception, have been themes of minor interest in modern dream research. Among Ancient Egyptian texts there are a number of dream reports, which document an interest in observing dreams. Even larger is the corpus of the *night literature* that deals with themes of an otherworldly, nighttime reality, the so-called *Duat*. There are etymologic and textual hints that these assertions on a complex, nightly meta-reality in the Egyptian culture are especially related to the hours of the late night, the peak of REM-sleep and the phase of highest dream recall. This paper develops the hypothesis that the Ancient Egyptian culture appreciated dream experience as a reality deserving high attention; and that the Egyptians deduced cultural knowledge from dream experience, intended for individual and collective, cultural application. Raising the perception of pictorial logic in dreams may be of interest for dream research as well as for improving cultural capacities, inasmuch as a dream-wake-continuum may be realized.

Keywords: Dreaming; Morning; Late sleep period; Freud; Ancient Egypt; Netherworld; Duat; Amduat; Dream-Wake-Continuum

*Can Egypt interpret dreaming?
Can dreams decipher Egypt?
Can culture be led by dreaming?*

Egypt owns a certain fame for dreaming. At any rate in dreams like *Aida* sung by *Maria Callas* or *Cleopatra* played by *Liz Taylor*. And even more popular in *The Mummy*; or the different returns of the mummies. But do these approaches explain Egypt? Or do they enlighten dreams? Just a little. *Freud* went beyond this. But could he clear the situation? Have we come to an end with dreams and Egypt? Has there been a beginning yet?

It still seems highly fascinating to dig in these mysterious grounds. After so many approaches, is it possible that something has been overlooked? After so much science that has dealt with those subjects. Have we seen Egypt or have we only studied it? Have we studied dreams but not really observed them? This article tries to rethink that matter to perhaps start seeing.

1. Introduction

Is it possible to deduce valid meaning from a particular experienced dream content? Electrophysiological and psychological approaches, including linguistic analyses, have

answered this question positively on the statistical and epidemiological level. But in spite of *Freud's Interpretation of Dreams*, the possibility of interpretation of dream content on the individual level has stayed doubtful and has not found unambiguous approval in the wider range of dream research. This paper explicitly acknowledges these doubts as the authentic scientific situation and the state of the art in reflecting on possibilities of individual interpretation of the existential reality of dreaming.

The purpose of this article is to add another perspective to the discussion, the idea that the reflective use of the observed dream imagery by the dreamer himself might be helpful in finding an individual meaning in the dream content. This would primarily include an elaborate capacity to deal with the dream experience itself, before or beyond its verbal denotation. There are hints that the ancient Egyptian culture had developed such a primarily visual capacity and that it had used this both on an individual and a collective, cultural level. Very limited interdisciplinary work has been done between empirical sleep/dream research and Egyptology. *Freud* had strong interests in both dream interpretation and Egypt. He documented his intuition to use structures of the hieroglyphic writing system for the interpretation of dreams, but abstained from further pursuing this idea (*Freud 1953a*). The entity "Morning" – as a daily phenomenon and as a cultural concept – may be used as a starting point to correlate findings from modern dream research to classical self-defining knowledge of the Egyptian culture. Reviewing among other texts the classical Egyptian *night literature*, cultural core texts with highly complex illustrations about the sun and the life of the sun god during the night, the possibility of a conscious use of dream imagery and of a culture of a dream-wake-continuum may be delineated.

Corresponding address:
Gotthard G. Tribl, PD Dr. med., 8044 Zurich, Switzerland,
E-mail: gtribl@hotmail.com

Submitted for publication: March 2011
Accepted for publication: April 2011

2. Somnological Aspects

Dreams emerge during all sleep stages (Bosinelli, 1995; Foulkes, 1993). They are more frequent during REM (rapid eye movement) sleep than during NREM (Non-REM) sleep (Cavallero, Foulkes, Hollifield, & Terry, 1990; Foulkes, 1996; Foulkes & Schmidt, 1983). Dreams during REM phases tend to be more narrative, more elaborated and more bizarre, i.e. more “dreamlike” and more different from usual daytime logic thinking than NREM dreams, which are more “thought-like” (Foulkes & Schmidt, 1983). Bizarreness denotes typical dream features like discontinuities, improbable combinations and improbable identities (Antrobus, Kondo, Reinsel, & Fein, 1995). Most dreams emerge during morning hours, and the later sleep period is most productive in retrieving dream reports, respectively (Antrobus, et al., 1995; Cicogna, Natale, Occhionero, & Bosinelli, 1998; Stickgold, Malia, Fosse, Propper, & Hobson, 2001). The later sleep period also contains the highest percentage of REM sleep. It has been repeatedly observed that “impressive” dreams, which are memorized in detail and experienced as “meaningful”, happen especially in early morning hours during the later sleep period (Antrobus, et al., 1995; Cavallero, et al., 1990; Cicogna, et al., 1998; Rosenlicht, Maloney, & Feinberg, 1994; Salzarulo & Cipolli, 1974; Verdone, 1965). This may be attributed best to the rising morning phase of the diurnal cycle, which causes an increasing level of mental activation during the end-stage of the sleep period (Antrobus, et al., 1995; Wamsley, Hirota, Tucker, Smith, & Antrobus, 2007). In the EEG (electroencephalogram), these comprehensive dreams correlate best with low and desynchronized potentials as are seen during REM-sleep, stage I sleep (sleep onset) and wakefulness (Antrobus, et al., 1995; Aserinsky & Kleitman, 1953). Wakefulness and paradoxical sleep (i.e. REM sleep) have been discussed as fundamentally equivalent brain states, except for the weight given to sensory afferents in cognitive images (Llinas & Pare, 1991).

Point-to-point correspondences between electrophysiological sleep parameters and cognitive functions are still not achievable, more than a half century after the first description of REM-sleep (Aserinsky & Kleitman, 1953; Foulkes, 1996; Stickgold, et al., 2001). In particular, the originally supposed equation REM sleep equals dreaming could not be confirmed somnologically (Cavallero, Cicogna, Natale, Occhionero, & Zito, 1992; Foulkes, 1993; Hobson, 2009).

However, leaving aside the still undetermined relation between the dream phenomenon and the electrophysiological entities REM- and NREM-sleep, a more phenomenological term, “apex dreaming”, has been coined to refer to a subcategory of dreaming that is distinguished by exceptional vividness, intensity or complexity (Nielsen, 2000). This type of dreaming has had important impact on science. Reports of dreams are documented which have produced or facilitated solutions to difficult empirical problems (Mazzarello, 2000). Teleological approaches towards dream and sleep stress aspects like brain plasticity and memory processing (Maquet et al., 2000), gaining insight (Stickgold & Walker, 2004; Wagner, Gais, Haider, Verleger, & Born, 2004), and influence on waking-life creativity (Hobson, 2009; Schredl & Erlacher, 2007).

From a descriptive perspective, within the general phenomenon of human dreaming there is a subspecies of elaborated dreams with highly meaningful content. From a somnological perspective, there is a late night / early morning clustering of complex, elaborated dreams with logic

unusual to daytime functioning (Eiser, 2005). There seems to be a time window in the late sleep phase for (I) on the physiological level frequent emerging, (II) on the cognitive level rich material producing and (III) on the individual's level meaningful dreaming. Fully unresolved, by somnological approaches of interpretation, remains the supposed link between on the one hand physiology of sleep and dream, and on the other hand dream content and meaning (Kramer, 2000). The vast variety of reported dream content in a given physiological brain state is far from being explained by any empirical method up to now. If avoidance of a reductionist oversimplification is an aim, dream content and meaning cannot be explained only by empirical factors but have to be studied in their own right. There seems to be little probability that this might ever change.

3. Psychoanalytical Aspects

“*Dreams, then, think predominantly in visual images ...*”, according to Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams* (Freud, 1953b), this was one of his major themes. Another clear-cut theme of Freud was Egypt, especially in one of his last and certainly not least books, “*Moses and Monotheism*” (Freud, 1964). Furthermore, Freud was a passionate collector of original sculptures of Egyptian gods, preferentially of small sized bronzes. He provided his private practice with these figures in great number. In “*The claims of psycho-analysis to scientific interest*”, Freud (1953a) understands dream as a phenomenon which follows rules of early writing systems: “*In fact the interpretation of dreams is completely analogous to the decipherment of an ancient pictographic script such as Egyptian hieroglyphs. In both cases there are certain elements which are not intended to be interpreted (or read, as the case may be) but are only designed to serve as ‘determinatives’, that is to establish the meaning of some other element. The ambiguity of various elements of dreams finds a parallel in these ancient systems of writing; and so too does the omission of various relations, which have in both cases to be supplied from the context. If this conception of the method of representation in dreams has not yet been followed up, this, as will be readily understood, must be ascribed to the fact that psycho-analysts are entirely ignorant of the attitude and knowledge with which a philologist would approach such a problem as that presented by dreams*” (p. 177). Here the hieroglyph script is seen as one among other writing systems, which ought to allow – by virtue of its systematically inherent atavistic impreciseness – for analogies to the indeterminacy of certain dream structures. Both themes, dreaming and Egypt, have been treated by Freud extensively in important works. The above quotation reaches a singular simultaneous statement on both themes. Interestingly and somehow against his deepest endeavor, Freud did not gain a direct confrontation of these two topics: dream and Egypt.

4. Egyptological Aspects

4.1. Lexical remarks

The Egyptian noun “the dream” (*resut / rswt*; transcription / transliteration from Ancient Egyptian, following the scheme of Allen, 2000) is etymologically related to the verb “to awaken” (Egyptian: *res / rs*) (Sauneron, 1959), which means “to awake in the morning”. A hieroglyphic verb for “to dream” has not been documented (Szapkowska, 2003). The ety-

mologic relationship between the verb *res* (to awaken) and the noun *resut* (the dream) allows the assumption that the Egyptians felt the dream related to the process of awakening (Szapkowska, 2003). Apparently, this has to be imagined a sort of awakening somewhat different from the awakening to normal wake consciousness; namely an “awakening” into dream consciousness (see the term “paradoxical sleep” above). The hieroglyphs for *resut* (the dream) show at the end the sign “eye” [i.e. hieroglyph number D4, according to Gardiner’s Sign-list of hieroglyphs, 1994] as an explanatory and categorizing determinative. As these terminal determinatives in hieroglyphic words provide information on the general field of expressed meaning, it may be deduced that the term *resut* (the dream) clearly depicts something visible and that optically impressive events are meant (Szapkowska, 2003).

4.2. Etymological remarks

During the early periods of Egyptian history the realm of the, in later epochs otherworldly, *Duat* (transliteration: *dw3t*) is a region of the night sky (Kees, 1926; Sethe, 1932). This is documented especially in the Old Kingdom *Pyramid Texts* (Faulkner, 1969; Hornung, 1956), but also later at the *Pyramidion of Amenemhat III* (Hornung, 1956), and in the *Book of the Gates* (tenth hour, lower register; eleventh hour, middle and lower register) (Hornung, 2006b). The Dictionary of the Egyptian language states among the intrinsic meanings of *Duat* as the first one: “Region of the eastern sky where sun and stars are rising” (Erman & Grapow, 1925-63, p.415). But already some of the Pyramid texts describe the *Duat* as a region of a definitely other world (Sethe, 1932), which is the general meaning in later periods (Hornung, 1999). In Gardiner’s Sign-list of hieroglyphs, *Duat* is translated as “netherworld, originally the place of the morning twilight” (Gardiner, 1994, p. 487). “The complex term *Duat* ... embraced the concepts of dawn, dusk, and netherworld” (Lichtheim 2006a). In the most elaborate texts of the New Kingdom, the concept of the *Duat* is understood primarily as a netherworld of the gods and the dead. Some time and space characteristics of the *Duat* are given especially in the Books of the Afterlife (Hornung, 1999), but also in other texts. According to the Book *Amduat* (Hornung, 1987-1994; Hornung, 2006b), – probably the most important of the Books of the Afterlife whose title reads, “*Text of the Hidden Chamber*” –, the *Duat* extends as a vast and dark region from the evening sunset to the morning sunrise. The *Amduat* describes the *Duat* as a space structured by the twelve hours of the night. The first three evening hours, already after sunset and behind the western horizon, are characterized by enormous extensions in space. The *Book of the Gates* also uses this division in the twelve hours of the night and mentions different locations like the desert, fields, the *Fields of Rushes*, and the *Lake of Fire*. Although these indications allow localizing the *Duat* in a nightly region, they do not give sufficiently clear data for a definite localization. Also the characterization of the *Duat* as a nighttime reality has to be put into perspective since “night” does not only refer to the time to pass between sunset and sunrise but designates an afterlife existence as well.

The hieroglyphic writings of *Duat* (*dw3t*, “the netherworld”) and *Duau* (*dw3w*, “the morning”) are highly akin (Erman & Grapow, 1925-63, pp. 415-416 & pp. 422-423). There is no difference in the word stem: “*star*” (hieroglyph number [N14/N15]) plus “*vulture*” (hieroglyph number [G1]) as phonetic

compliment (Gardiner, 1994). The writing *Duat* is explained by a terminal determinative sign “*house*” (hieroglyph [O1]) to classify something in space. The determinative of *Duau* is the sign “*sun*” (hieroglyph [N5]), which is used to designate something in relation with time. Furthermore these two terms differ in the female ending –t in *Duat* and the terminal masculine –u in *Duau*. These relations suggest an interesting supposition: one might assume a fictitious word stem *dua* (**dw3*, hieroglyphs “*star*” + “*vulture*”), as basis for a female entity *Duat* (*dw3t*), designating a concept in space, and a male entity *Duau* (*dw3w*), designating a concept in time. Beyond that, there exists a real verb *dua* (*dw3*, “*star*,” hieroglyph [N14]). This word has as terminal determinative the hieroglyph of a standing man with both arms raised (hieroglyph [A30]). The meaning of this verb *dua* (*dw3*) is: “to praise” or “to adore” in the morning.

Is it licit to search for a real existing entity behind that assumed root *dua* (**dw3*)? A real life experience? A really experienced “*dw3-zone*”? Identified as a male entity, inasmuch its time domain is meant, the semantic field of “morning”? And which is identified as female, if its realization in space is meant, that is the difficult to locate “underworld”? Is there an additional numinous dimension of morning praise and adoration? Would it be possible that exactly this might be the “*Hidden Chamber*” of the title of the *Amduat* (Hornung, 2006a)? Finally, what real life experience could be meant, behind such a back traced term *dua* (**dw3*)? What and where is the “*Hidden Chamber*”?

5. Interdisciplinary initiative: Contrasting somnological and egyptological findings

In a study about late Egyptian, demotic dream reports (Ray, 1987), based particularly on extensive and detailed dream recordings of a high-ranking Ptolemaic priest from the second century BC (Ray, 1976), Ray (1987) could trace a dichotomy of dream forms, which somehow resembles findings in somnologic research. On the one hand reports of well elaborated, narrative dreams, which are known to be more often associated with REM-sleep phases. On the other hand descriptions of more static dream imagery, which are more often NREM-sleep associated: “... *there seem to be two types of demotic dream One kind is the narrative dream: developing action, changes of scene, introduction of new characters, conversations to which the dreamer or others react The second type ... : this consists of a fixed or relatively static image, normally with the message conveyed in words which do not require a response – words more like an oracle, or a gnomic saying, occasionally uttered even by the dreamer himself*” (Ray, 1987).

6. Theses

Thesis 1. Thinking in dualities was a preferentially used form of cultural expression in Egypt (Englund, 1999). Also the process of awakening seems to have been experienced in such a duality. One type of **awakening to wake consciousness**, another **awakening to dream consciousness**. “Apparently, the Egyptians saw dream as a wake state (of the brain) during sleep” (Zibelius-Chen, 1988, p. 282; translation G.G.T.). It seems highly reasonable to assume that **dreams were considered as real and a phenomenon to be taken seriously**. This is documented at any rate by Egyptian dream books (Gardiner & Litt 1935; Volten, 1942), especially the very explicit interpretation of a great variety of dream con-

tents in the New Kingdom hieratic dream book (Gardiner & Litt 1935), and by different dream reports (see the comprehensive documentation of dream reports from ancient Egypt by Szpakowska, 2003): During his Syrian campaign, Amenhotep II is visited in a dream by god Amun who bestows fortitude and protection on him (Helck, 1961). Horemachet-Cheperi-Re-Atum appears to the young prince Thutmose (the later pharaoh Thutmose IV) while having a nap at noon, resting at the feet of the Great Sphinx in Giza with the sun in full zenith. The god promises kingship to him, if he sets him, the Sphinx, free from the heavily surrounding sands (Erman, 1904; Zivie, 1976). Ptah hands over a sword to Merneptah in a dream during his Lybian campaign and exhorts him to banish any fear out of his heart (Breasted, 1988). God Khnum tells King Djoser what to do to end an ongoing famine (Barguet, 1953). Amun-Re summons pharaoh Tanutamani to conquer Egypt as far as to the northern Delta thus freeing the country from the occupying Assyrians (Breyer, 2003; Eide, Hägg, Holton Pierce, & Török, 1994; Schäfer, 1905). Hathor reveals to the official Djehutiemhab the location of his future tomb (Assmann, 1978; Seyfried, 1995). On the occasion of a feast in honor of the goddess, Hathor appears to the craftsman Ipy while asleep (Satzinger, 1985). Meritphy writes a letter to his deceased wife asking her: "Please become a spirit for me before my eyes that I may see you fighting on my behalf in a dream" (Wente, 1975-1976). Heni writes a letter to his deceased father asking him for help against a deceased servant by whom Heni is haunted in his dreams (Simpson, 1966; Wente, 1990). In different texts of the Egyptian didactic literature, the so-called *Instructions*, some rather explicit statements on the topics sleep and dream are documented. An especially interesting passage can be found in the demotic *Papyrus Insinger*, which expresses the intentions of the creator god: "He created sleep to end weariness... He created the dream to show the way to the dreamer in his blindness" (Lichtheim, 2006c). Here dream is understood as an essential and instrumental reality whose purpose consists in a widening of human insight. A generally positive appraisal of dreams and the idea that it might be useful to examine the phenomenon of dreaming can also be traced in the earlier Egyptian literature. This has been documented at any rate for the time from the *First Intermediate Period* to the end of the *New Kingdom* (Szpakowska, 2003).

Thesis 2. The *Duat* (*dw3t*) is both an entity of cosmic importance (among other aspects, it is necessary for the sun god to regenerate) and bestows social as well as historical meaning (the deceased king has to pass through the perils of the *Duat* and there he assumes his afterlife kingship as Osiris). Through the king, as the perfect human paradigm, the *Duat* reaches highest importance for every Egyptian; but also because the Egyptians hoped to personally reach the *Duat* after having passed away. This applies at minimum for the later epochs of the Egyptian culture, as there existed the general hope to be allowed to also pass through the *Duat* as an individual Osiris.

Thesis 3. The Egyptian texts and artifacts do not give a clear answer on the question of the "*Sitz im Leben*" (**setting in life**) of the *Duat*. The somewhat contradictory statements about the different locations of and in the *Duat* show that it has been difficult also for the Egyptians to give a clear localization of the *Duat*. The most classical book about the

Duat, the *Amduat*, describes in text and images the incidents around the sun and the sun god respectively in a huge space of dense darkness during the twelve hours of the night. This space is illuminated only during the short period of the passage of the sun god Re. To make use of the knowledge provided by the *Amduat* was not intended exclusively for the afterlife. Repeatedly it is stressed how important the knowledge of the *Amduat* is for "a man on earth", which means not only after death (*Amduat*, end of the first hour and second hour, upper register) (Englund, 1999; George, 1972; Hasenfratz, 1990). Referring to the advantages in knowledge of being acquainted with the *Amduat*, Englund consequently deduces: "This knowledge means attaining insight, it means an epistemological breakthrough (3h), and this insight is thus not only a postmortal possibility, nor is it reserved solely for the king" (Englund, 1999, pp. 106-107). The *Amduat* appears in a relatively late period of Egyptian history (for the first time fragments in the tomb of Thutmose I, around 1500 BC; Hornung, 1999), so that it may well be the most representative product of the afterlife and night literature, but it cannot classify as a direct document of early Egyptian concepts.

Thesis 4. At an earlier stage of historical development, there are analogous statements in the **Pyramid Texts** about conceptions of a regeneration of the king to new life. These texts develop complex astronomical relationships and a difficult to interpret cartography of the night and the night sky. The *Pyramid Texts* name different locations like the *Field of Rushes* and the *Field of Offerings*, which are situated in certain regions of the sky (Faulkner, 1966; Krauss, 1997; Spiegel, 1971). Also the term *Duat* is often used and with oscillating meaning in the *Pyramid Texts* (Sethe, 1932; Spiegel, 1971, p. 421, note 2). But from these indications it is impossible to deduce a geography or cosmography compatible with today's logic. As concerns awakening, "comparisons between death and sleep and between resurrection and awakening are frequent in the *Pyramid Texts*" (Spiegel, 1971, p. 392, note 16; translation G.G.T).

Thesis 5. At a probably much earlier and much less elaborated level, the **Opening of the Mouth Ritual** (Assmann, 2006; Baly, 1930; Otto, 1960; Szpakowska, 2003) exposes in texts and images that the Sem-priest was performing part of that ritual in sleep state (Hornung & Burton, 1991). Apparently, this part of the ritual dealt somehow with an active use of the sleep state. Perhaps it served to find a deceased one safe and sound in the other world (Assmann, 2003; Helck & Otto, 1971; Otto, 1960). Another possible interpretation of these ritual scenes favors meditative vision sequences of a statue to be sculptured (Fischer-Elfert, 1998). The *Opening of the Mouth Ritual* gives much fewer indications of time and location as compared to the later, already mentioned texts. But the sleep state of the Sem-priest is clearly prominent in that ritual and belongs to the most original parts of it (Baly, 1930). Beyond doubt, scenes nine and ten depict sleep conditions accompanied by a "vision", be it a vision of beings in the other world, be it an artistic vision of a statue to be sculptured. At any rate, the *Opening of the Mouth Ritual* dealt with inspiration in sleep, having a significant impact on the "normal" living environment. The themes of night and of afterlife have been treated in all these historically succeeding texts: *Opening of the Mouth Ritual*, *Pyramid Texts*, and *Amduat*, as well as in other *Books of the Afterlife*. It seems

that there have been increasing trials to describe the nightly other world in more detail in time and space. At any rate, it may be considered as safe grounds that these texts tried to give information about ongoing processes during sleep and after death, according to the theories of that culture.

Thesis 6. “Awakening” to dream consciousness can be understood as awakening to another form of life, and – in analogy – as awakening to life after death. According to this, dream might figure as a model of life after death. Death would only be an intermediate state, comparable to deep, unconscious sleep. In the morning, the sleeper usually awakens to normal daytime consciousness. Alternatively, he may also awaken to another, sometimes highly impressive alternative world, the world of dream consciousness. Elaborate and, for usual daytime logic, amazing dreams mostly happen in early morning hours. Dream consciousness may be considered the existential background of the highly detailed assertions about the other world of the *Duat*. The *Duat* may be understood as a highly complex, culturally elaborate declaration about human existence, based on the early-morning experience of the impressive and awe evoking meta-world of dreaming. This does not mean the *Amduat* is a report of a dream or of various dreams. *Amduat* and related texts about the afterlife may be understood as having become authoritative, top-end intellectual performances, which have drawn actively on the metalogic of dream consciousness. This use of dream logic is supposed to have inspired the compilation of texts and images, whose production relied of course also on “normal” wake consciousness. In that sense, the *Amduat* would be the document of a dream-wake-continuum culture. The etymologic vestige *dua* (**dw3*) hints on the proximity of that meta-world *Duat* (*dw3t*) to the morning (*duau* / *dw3w*). Thus it might appear justified to assume an interrelation between early morning dreaming and afterlife in the Egyptian culture. Here the term “morning” may be seen in two dimensions. On the one hand “morning” may be seen as a phase of the day-night-cycle during which impressive dreams are emerging. On the other hand “morning” may be a transition into a new state of consciousness: either to normal daytime consciousness, or to dream consciousness or into an afterlife that is generally expected to be positive. **As there is dream in sleep, there has to be life in death** – could be the formula to summarize this relationship. Based on the exposed, most eminent accomplishments of Egyptian culture, it might be hypothesized that dream consciousness served in that culture as a central element in defining reality.

Thesis 7. There might seem to be a **problem in the above analysis** in that the *Amduat* does not only describe the morning hours during which prominent dreams are emerging but rather the whole night, from sunset to sunrise. This might be explained on the one hand with the necessity of logic to interpret the entire nighttime period, which also includes periods without dreaming. On the other hand it is even more important that the *Amduat* – with its diligently composed twelve-hour-scheme as dual complement to the daytime period – claims sovereignty of interpretation over the whole cycle of the sun. It makes sense to suppose that it was precisely dream consciousness which served as a model and material for the Egyptians to venture into such a holistic interpretation of the sun cycle. The conclusions which the Egyptians seem to have drawn on the basis of dream consciousness experience are not limited to interpretations

of dreams or nighttime experiences. These conclusions also have significant repercussions on the interpretation of daytime life. It is only the nocturnal regeneration which completes the sun’s trajectory of daily aging to a complete circle and which allows a morning rebirth in newly regained youth. **This cosmic regeneration in the day-night-cycle seems to have been retrieved at the human level: in the physiological regeneration during sleep (De Buck, 1939) and, moreover, in the psychological and mental regeneration during dreaming.**

Thesis 8. Provided such an esteem of dreaming, as a process of regeneration of the most complex human capacities, really has existed and has been actively pursued in Egypt, this capacity to integrate dreaming in daily life seems to have formed the anthropological basis for the incomparably steadfast hope of eternity among the Egyptians. “*Dreams are ten a penny*” does not seem to have been the prevailing idea about dreams in Egypt. It appears that dreams have been considered neither lies of false prophets nor a backward glancing struggle to come to terms with the past or the unconscious, but rather they were viewed as firm basis of reality. Dreams seem to have been considered something even more real than bright daylight; something highly trustworthy that allows, those capable to read dream logic, insight in what ought to come. “*Look, the dream is true! It is something beneficial for him who places it in his heart, (but) makes matters worse for him who forgets it*” – tells the Dream Stela of the Nubian Pharaoh Tanutamani of the 25. Dynasty (Breyer, 2003; Eide, Hägg, Holton Pierce, & Török, 1994). Tanutamani took his dream to heart. Coming from his homelands in Nubia, he followed the call of Amun-Re to conquer Egypt, which he accomplished reaching the northern Delta in 664 BC. What was not mentioned on that stela is the later destiny of the pharaoh. Shortly after this victory, the Assyrians, under Ashurbanipal, conquered Thebes in Upper Egypt and Tanutamani lost what he had conquered. These historical facts seem to make the dream of Pharaoh Tanutamani almost a counterpart to the Delphian Oracle to King Croesus: he would destroy a great empire, if he were to cross the river Halys. Croesus interpreted this statement as referring to the Persian Empire; but it was his own empire that was finally destroyed. Following a dream, or an oracle message, does not necessarily generate enduring success. Provided one accepts dream as a mode of cognition in the Egyptian culture, there is no reason to expect clairvoyance with a precise and a continuously positive prognosis of the dreamer’s future. This is not what the Egyptian texts offer. To err is human – this also applies even to elaborate dream vision ability, including the capacity to convey this ability into a **culture of a real dream-wake-continuum**. But the most impressive phenomenon is not the occurrence of predicted historical events, but what degree of knowledge and performance, as a whole, the Egyptian culture has generated. Apparently, it depends to a great extent on taking ones’ dreams to heart and not misconceiving them. This seems to be one of the essential cultural messages of Egypt. The peril of dreams was certainly a theme and, if indicated, medicine and magic were applied as protection (Szpakowska, 2003, p183). But to take dreams to heart seems to have been worth the trouble and the risk to the Egyptians.

Thesis 9. As far as the ominous **Egyptomania** is concerned (Humbert, Pantazzi, & Ziegler, 1994): there is a very well

known, rather prevalent, and still difficult to explain fascination for everything Egyptian. The fervor of that attraction goes beyond the scope that may be observed with any other of the ancient cultures, somehow even beyond the admiration for classical Greek culture. It seems reasonable to assume that a considerable part of this ambivalently discussed phenomenon, originates from the cultural achievement of intentional fertilization by dream consciousness. **The phenomenon dream as a constitutive cultural determinant** seems to have found too little attention in the reception of Egyptian culture up to now. Conversely, Egypt as a culture model of dream valorization has hardly found any attention in Somnology. A targeted treatment of both themes in respectful interdisciplinarity promises not only better insights in dream semantics but in the anthropological foundations of Egyptian culture as well. Further enlightening insights, even into modern culture, might be reached inasmuch as habitual shortcomings in dream perception can be surmounted.

Medical References

- Antrobus, J., Kondo, T., Reinsel, R., & Fein, G. (1995). Dreaming in the late morning: summation of REM and diurnal cortical activation. *Conscious Cogn*, 4(3), 275-299.
- Aserinsky, E., & Kleitman, N. (1953). Regularly occurring periods of eye motility, and concomitant phenomena, during sleep. *Science*, 118(3062), 273-274.
- Bosinelli, M. (1995). Mind and consciousness during sleep. *Behav Brain Res*, 69(1-2), 195-201.
- Cavallero, C., Cicogna, P., Natale, V., Occhionero, M., & Zito, A. (1992). Slow wave sleep dreaming. *Sleep*, 15(6), 562-566.
- Cavallero, C., Foulkes, D., Hollifield, M., & Terry, R. (1990). Memory sources of REM and NREM dreams. *Sleep*, 13(5), 449-455.
- Cicogna, P. C., Natale, V., Occhionero, M., & Bosinelli, M. (1998). A comparison of mental activity during sleep onset and morning awakening. *Sleep*, 21(5), 462-470.
- Eiser, A. S. (2005). Physiology and psychology of dreams. *Semin Neurol*, 25(1), 97-105. doi: 10.1055/s-2005-867078
- Foulkes, D. (1993). Symposium: Normal and abnormal REM sleep regulation: Dreaming and REM sleep. *J Sleep Res*, 2(4), 199-202.
- Foulkes, D. (1996). Dream research: 1953-1993. *Sleep*, 19(8), 609-624.
- Foulkes, D., & Schmidt, M. (1983). Temporal sequence and unit composition in dream reports from different stages of sleep. *Sleep*, 6(3), 265-280.
- Freud, S. (1953a). The claims of psycho-analysis to scientific interest (1913) (J. Strachey, Trans.) (The standard edition of the complete psychological works, Vol. XIII, pp. 177). London: Hogarth Press.
- Freud, S. (1953b). The Interpretation of Dreams (1900) (J. Strachey, Trans.) (The standard edition of the complete psychological works, Vol. IV, pp. 49). London: Hogarth Press.
- Freud, S. (1964). Moses and Monotheism (1939 [1934-38]) (J. Strachey, Trans.) (The standard edition of the complete psychological works, Vol. XXIII). London: Hogarth Press.
- Hobson, J. A. (2009). REM sleep and dreaming: towards a theory of protoconsciousness. *Nat Rev Neurosci*, 10(11), 803-813.
- Kramer, M. (2000). Dreaming has content and meaning not just form. *Behav Brain Sci*, 23(6), 959-961.
- Llinas, R. R., & Pare, D. (1991). Of dreaming and wakefulness. *Neuroscience*, 44(3), 521-535.
- Maquet, P., Laureys, S., Peigneux, P., Fuchs, S., Petiau, C., Phillips, C., . . . Cleeremans, A. (2000). Experience-dependent changes in cerebral activation during human REM sleep. *Nat Neurosci*, 3(8), 831-836.
- Mazzarello, P. (2000). What dreams may come? *Nature*, 408(6812), 523.
- Nielsen, T. A. (2000). A review of mentation in REM and NREM sleep: "covert" REM sleep as a possible reconciliation of two opposing models. *Behav Brain Sci*, 23(6), 851-866; discussion 904-1121.
- Rosenlicht, N., Maloney, T., & Feinberg, I. (1994). Dream report length is more dependent on arousal level than prior REM duration. *Brain Res Bull*, 34(2), 99-101.
- Salzarulo, P., & Cipolli, C. (1974). Spontaneously recalled verbal material and its linguistic organization in relation to different stages of sleep. *Biol Psychol*, 2(1), 47-57.
- Schredl, M., & Erlacher, D. (2007). Self-reported effects of dreams on waking-life creativity: an empirical study. *J Psychol*, 141(1), 35-46.
- Stickgold, R., Malia, A., Fosse, R., Propper, R., & Hobson, J. A. (2001). Brain-mind states: I. Longitudinal field study of sleep/wake factors influencing mentation report length. *Sleep*, 24(2), 171-179.
- Stickgold, R., & Walker, M. (2004). To sleep, perchance to gain creative insight? *Trends Cogn Sci*, 8(5), 191-192.
- Verdone, P. (1965). Temporal Reference of Manifest Dream Content. *Percept Mot Skills*, 20, SUPPL:1253-1268.
- Wagner, U., Gais, S., Haider, H., Verleger, R., & Born, J. (2004). Sleep inspires insight. *Nature*, 427(6972), 352-355.
- Wamsley, E. J., Hirota, Y., Tucker, M. A., Smith, M. R., & Antrobus, J. S. (2007). Circadian and ultradian influences on dreaming: a dual rhythm model. *Brain Res Bull*, 71(4), 347-354.

Egyptological References

- Allen, J. P. (2000). Middle Egyptian: an Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Assmann, J. (1978). Eine Traumoffenbarung der Göttin Hathor. Zeugnisse "Persönlicher Frömmigkeit" in thebanischen Privatgräbern der Ramessidenzeit. *Revue d'égyptologie (RdE)*, 30, 22-50.
- Assmann, J. (2003). The Ramesside tomb of Nebsumenu (TT183) and the ritual of Opening the Mouth. In N. Strudwick & J. H. Taylor (Eds.), *The Theban necropolis: past, present, and future* (pp. 53-60). London: British Museum Press.
- Assmann, J. (2006). Death and salvation in Ancient Egypt (p. 310). Cornell University Press.
- Baly, T. J. C. (1930). Notes on the ritual of opening the mouth. *Journal of Egyptian Archeology (JEA)*, 16, 173-86.
- Barguet, P. (1953). La Stèle de la famine, à Séhel. *Bibliothèque d'étude (BdE)*, 24, 26 (Pl. VI, col. 18-22). Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire (IFAO).
- Breasted, J. H. (1988). *Ancient records of Egypt: Historical documents, Vol. 3, The Nineteenth Dynasty* (p. 245). London: Histories & Mysteries of Man.
- Breyer, F. (2003). *Tanutamani: die Traumstele und ihr Umfeld. Ägypten und Altes Testament, Band 57*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- De Buck, A. (1939). *De godsdienstige opvatting van den slaap inzonderheid in het Oude Egypte*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

- Eide, T., Hägg, T., Holton Pierce R., & Török L. (1994). *Fontes historiae Nubiorum*, Vol. I (pp. 197-198, Dream Stela of Tanutamani on his enthronement and Egyptian campaign from the Amun Temple at Gebel Barkal). Bergen: University of Bergen.
- Englund, G. (1999). The Border and the Yonder Side. In E. Teeter & J. A. Larson (Eds.), *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization (SAOC), 58, 101-109. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Erman, A. (1904). Die Sphinxstele. *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 11, 428-44.
- Erman, A. & Grapow, H. (1925-63). *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache* (Bd.V). Berlin, Leipzig: Akademie Verlag und J.C. Hinrichs.
- Faulkner, R. O. (1966). The king and the star-religion in the pyramid texts. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies (JNES)*, 25, 153-61.
- Faulkner, R. O. (1969). *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Pyr 390 and 802). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fischer-Elfert, H.-W. (1998). Die Vision von der Statue im Stein: Studien zum altägyptischen Mundöffnungsritual. *Schriften der Philosophisch-Historischen Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Band 5. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter.
- Gardiner, A. H. & Litt D. (Eds.). (1935). *Hieratic papyri in the British Museum, Third series, Chester Beatty gift* (Vol. I. Text, pp. 7-23; No. III (Brit. Mus. 10683), Plates 5-12a, Recto, The Dream-Book). London: British Museum.
- Gardiner, A. H. (1994). *Egyptian Grammar* (3rd ed.). Cambridge: University Press.
- George, B. (1972). Versuche zur Gewinnung eines ägyptischen Menschenbildes aus dem Weltbild des Amduat im Rahmen der vergleichenden Religionswissenschaft. *Göttinger Miscellen (GM)*, 3, 15-20
- Hasenfratz, H. P. (1990). Zur "Seelenvorstellung" der alten Ägypter. Anmerkungen zur altägyptischen Anthropologie und ihrer geistesgeschichtlichen Bedeutung. *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte (ZRGG)*, 42(3), 193-216.
- Helck, W. (1961). Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22. In G. Steindorff (Ed.), *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* (pp. 39-40). Berlin, Akademie-Verlag.
- Helck, W. & Otto, E. (Eds.). (1971). *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Bd. V, p. 273). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Hornung, E. (1956). Chaotische Bereiche in der geordneten Welt. *ZÄS*, 81, 28-32.
- Hornung, E. (Ed.). (1987-1994). *Texte zum Amduat* (3 vols.). Genève: Aegyptiaca helvetica, Editions de Belles-Lettres.
- Hornung, E. (1999). *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*. Cornell University Press.
- Hornung, E. (2006a). Der Verborgene Raum der Unterwelt in der ägyptischen Literatur. In A. Loprieno (Ed.), *Mensch und Raum von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart. Colloquium Rauricum*, Band 9 (pp. 23). München: K. G. Saur.
- Hornung, E. (2006b). *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld*. Karnak House Publishers.
- Hornung, E. & Burton, H. (1991). *The tomb of Pharaoh Seti I* (p. 165). Zürich, München: Artemis & Winkler.
- Humbert, J.-M., Pantazzi, M., & Ziegler, C. (1994). *Egyptomania: Egypt in Western art, 1730-1930* (Exhibition catalog: Paris, Musée du Louvre, 1994; Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, 1994; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum). Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux.
- Kees, H. (1926). Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter (p. 91, Kap IV., Jenseitsland und Weltbild im Alten Reich). Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- Krauss, R. (1997). *Astronomische Konzepte und Jenseitsvorstellungen in den Pyramidentexten*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Lichtheim, M. (2006a). *Ancient Egyptian Literature; vol. I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (p46, note 3). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lichtheim, M. (2006b). *Ancient Egyptian Literature; vol. II: The New Kingdom* (p21, note 7). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lichtheim, M. (2006c). *Ancient Egyptian Literature; vol. III: The Late Period* (p210-211, Nr. 32,11 & 32,13). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Otto, E. (1960). Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual (Teil 1: Text, p21-30; Teil 2: Kommentar, p53-59). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Ray, J. D. (1976). *The archive of Hor*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Ray, J. D. (1987). Phrases used in dream-texts. In S. P. Vleeming (Ed.), *Studia Demotica* (vol. 1), Aspects of demotic lexicography (pp. 85-93). Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies, Leiden 19-21 September 1984. Leuven: In Aedibus Peeters.
- Satzinger, H. (1985). *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*. Zwei Wiener Objekte mit bemerkenswerten Inschriften. *Bibliothèque d'étude (BdE)*, 97(2), 249-259. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire (IFAO).
- Sauneron, S. (1959). Les songes et leur interprétation dans l'Égypte ancienne. In *Sources orientales II: Les songes et leur interprétation* (pp. 18-61). Paris: Editions du Seuil.
- Schäfer, H. (1905). *Urkunden der älteren Äthiopienkönige*, I. Siegesinschrift des Pianchi – Traumstele (III pp. 57-77: 2. Siegesinschrift des Tanotamon (Die sogenannte Traumstele)). Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
- Sethe, K. (1932). Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten (pp. 49-52, Spruch 216, Anhang). Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin.
- Seyfried, K.-J. (1995). Das Grab des Djehutiemhab (TT 194). *Reihe: Theben* (J. Assmann, Ed.), Band 7. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Simpson, W. K. (1966). The letter to the dead from the tomb of Meru (N 3737) at Nag' ed-Deir'. *Journal of Egyptian Archeology (JEA)*, 52, 39-50.
- Spiegel, J. (1971). *Das Auferstehungsritual der Unas-Pyramide*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Szpakowska, K. (2003). Behind closed eyes: dreams and nightmares in ancient Egypt. *Classical Press of Wales*.
- Volten, A. (1942). *Demotische Traumdeutung* (Pap. Carlsberg XIII und XIV verso). *Analecta Aegyptiaca*; vol. 3. Kopenhagen: Einar Munksgaard.
- Wente, E. F. (1975-1976). A misplaced letter to the dead. *Orientalia Lovaniensia periodica (OLP)*, 6-7, 595-600.
- Wente, E. F. (1990). Letters from ancient Egypt (pp. 212-213, P. Naga-ed-Deir N3737 (Dynasty 9)). Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press.
- Zibelius-Chen, K. (1988). Kategorien und Rolle des Traumes in Ägypten. *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur (SAK)*, 15, 277-94.
- Zivie, C. M. (1976). Giza au deuxième Millénaire. Stèle du sphinx (Thoutmosis IV). *Bibliothèque d'étude (BdE)*, 70, 125-145. Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire (IFAO).