

THE CONCEPTION OF THE DWELLING PLACE OF THE SOUL AFTER DEATH

In Biblical and Rabbinic Literature

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My Beloved Father and Teacher

PREFACE

Due to the enormity of the subject treated, and to the many points in this work which needed treatment, it has been impossible for me to pursue my original intention of investigating the "Conception of the Soul After Death in the Biblical and Rabbinic Literature". I have, perhaps, wandered slightly from the original subject, but this was due entirely to the necessity of explaining and elucidating some of the rites and ceremonies which were vitally connected with the subject.

The treatment I have made, will I hope be considered adequate for the period of time devoted to the work, and be acceptable to the faculty of the Hebrew Union College. I hope at some later date to continue this study and enlarge upon it, for the subject is both fruitful and interesting.

It is with a deep feeling of gratitude that I wish to express my thanks to Dr. Julian Morgenstern for the many useful and valuable hints given to me during the course of this study, and especially for his paper dealing with the "Semitic Conception of Death" which was of invaluable aid to me.

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I

INTRODUCTION

From the very earliest periods of human life mankind has been face to face with one of the world's greatest mysteries and most perplexing of problems, namely, the problem of Death. Even in this age of science when man has plunged bravely into the mysteries of Nature and has come forth seemingly triumphant, bearing aloft the banner of victory, the solution to the secret of Nature--Death itself still remains a baffling puzzle. We can but hope for and aspire to certain things in the Great Beyond, and reason and rationalize ourselves into various beliefs; but when we face the problem point blank, we are of necessity forced to admit that although we have succeeded in unveiling many of Nature's secrets, the shrouded figure of Death still looms darkly across our path, casting shadows, dark, dreary and unknown. To the mind of early man the mystery of Death was the vexing problem of his life. What was the cause of this strange phenomenon? What was it that differentiated a living body from that of a dead one? Early man, we are told, does not think abstractly. Here, however, a concrete every-day case presented itself to him. Only recently, this same individual, now prostrate and lifeless, was walking with him, talking to him, pursuing the duties of an active vigorous life. And now this selfsame being lies inanimate. Outwardly, the man has not altered. The same body, the same face, the same hands and limbs--yet, somehow he is different. He lay^{down} unconscious of all about him--could neither partake of the activities of the group, nor could he betake himself outside of the group. What then had occurred to bring on this altered state?

On close investigation it was observed that this state of "unconsciousness" was strikingly similar to the state of sleep. Yet it

seemed lacking in one condition which sleep maintained, namely breathing. Early man noticed that when one slept there was evident a rising and falling of the chest. He might also notice the warm breath against the cool air, and found that in time his friend would always awaken. In the state of Death, however, there was no breathing perceptible--nor did his friend reawaken, rested and refreshed. Something then had transpired in this prostrate individual which had resulted in a state similar to sleep, yet different. And it took little reasoning power to realize that the "something lacking" was the breathing process. Seemingly then when breathing ceased death set in. Accordingly, the conclusion would naturally follow that the breath itself was the "element of life" or that at least it contained the vital element of life. In sleep, therefore, the breath slowed down or departed to return once again after a period of absence, while in death it was lost or remained away for ever. We find thus that primitive man almost universally identified the life principle with the breath or spirit or "pneuma" or "animus".¹ This is not used, as some scholars maintain, figuratively. The soul is commonly supposed to escape by the natural openings of the body, especially through the mouth and nose. Hence, at the death-bed of an ancient Roman, the nearest kinsmen would lean over the body and inhale the last breath of the departed.² Precautions taken by many savages to prevent the soul from escaping from the orifices of the body resulted in many interesting taboos, regarded by them as³ preservers of life.

This animistic theory of life successfully explained to the savage mind many of the curious phenomena otherwise puzzling and mysterious. Sleep, for example, presented many difficulties to primitive man. On awakening from a deep sleep after an exhaustive day of hunting, he found

himself relating to his fellow tribesmen the story of his travels in distant countries, where he had beheld his deceased ancestors or had fought desperate battles with his enemies. Or again he related the heroic deeds he had performed, the numerous animals he had slain and taken captive after a long and glorious chase. To his utter amazement, his fellow tribesmen assured him that he had not departed from their midst even momentarily, that there on the very same spot where he now sat and spoke, he had been sleeping for a long time. Yet to this individual these dream experiences of his were real; as real as his waking experiences. He recalled the desperate battle he had engaged in with his enemies, and even at that moment felt exhausted because of it. Likewise, was he keenly aware of having held converse with his aforesaid ancestors. How then, could he harmonize this dream experience which to him was real with the persistent assurance of his fellow tribesmen that his body had never left their presence? The explanation once again leads us to the conception of a dual existence--a dichotomous man consisting of a vital element called the soul, and a secondary substance the body. With this dichotomy present, early man could understand somewhat the strange phenomena of life and death. The soul was an entity in itself. It could wander from the body at will. When man was asleep the soul might visit many places, behold those things and perform those acts of which man dreams. ⁴ Since the soul was away on a journey, it was dangerous for the sleeper to be awakened suddenly, to be moved, or disturbed, lest the soul lose its way and return not in time, thus causing death. ⁵ The same explanation was given for fainting spells--unconsciousness, and those conditions in which the body remained intact, but in a state of coma.

Death, therefore, was a condition differing not from these mentioned above. The soul has departed and primitive man waits anxiously

and hopes for its return, as in sleep. When, however, the soul fails to return, and the body begins to disintegrate, when dissolution sets in, then he realizes that the soul will no longer return. It has set out on a journey and lost its way, or for some other reason is unwilling or unable to return to its former abode. However, this soul does not perish, nor is it destroyed. Death to the primitive was not the end of existence. ~~Every~~ so often some member of the group whose soul had departed on a dream journey would, on awakening, relate his meeting the shades of the deceased and his intercourse with them. And these dreams were so vividly impressed on their minds, that often they could with extreme difficulty only distinguish between their dream and waking thoughts, between their real experiences and their imaginary ones. And that the belief in these dreams was powerful--the literature of the world is sufficient testimony. Even today similar ideas exist among many who consider themselves people of culture and of an advanced civilized state. It is, therefore, not surprising to find this condition among people of little culture. The subjective part of man was hardly differentiated from the objective 6 man, the feelings within and the emotions, from the external world about him. We have then before us a world of disembodied spirits or souls wandering about. And these souls are more active than those in the body of man, since they can travel faster, cover a greater area and accomplish deeds more heroic than man himself. These spirits could also talk and come to the aid of man. Therefore, it was considered beneficial to hold converse with them, through dreams or 7 other means and practices available.

With this primitive conception of life and death clearly in mind, we can more readily understand and appreciate the various instances, ceremonies and rites practised by early man when death occurred in his

~~in his~~ household or among the members of his group.

No less powerful was this dual conception of man influential in the thought concepts of the Hebrews, as I shall later demonstrate. Man, being a dichotomous creature, consisting of two entities--soul and body, necessarily brings up the problem of the relation of one to the other, or stated in other terms, where did the soul entity reside in the body? A careful search reveals it in the blood. Hence, the prohibitions so often encountered not to partake of the blood, "But beware that thou eat not the blood, for the blood is the life, and thou shalt not eat the life with the flesh." (Deut. XII:23.)

Even more so is this emphasized and enlarged on in the Holiness Code of Lev. XVII:10¹². This now throws light on the curious passage of Genesis IV:10, "And he said, I know not: am I my brother's keeper? And He said, what has thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground." We can more easily comprehend the significance of this phrase when we realize that the "voice in the blood" is the soul (נֶפֶשׁ) of the deceased crying for vengeance. It cannot find rest nor peace until vengeance is taken of the murderer who spilt this blood. And herein we also find the explanation for the continual insistence that the blood should be covered with earth. (Lev. XVII:17). For blood which was not spilled on the ground, or blood which was covered up, would not demand vengeance. While on the other hand, one who had been wronged and desired that vengeance be wreaked upon the evil-doer, or upon him who had oppressed him, or the one who wished his wrong to become known to all, appealed, as did Job (XVI:12):

"O earth cover not thou my blood,
And let my cry have no resting place."

This is common to all primitive peoples. An interesting incident is given by Frazer of this idea, "It is a common rule that royal blood may not be shed

upon the ground. Hence when a king or one of his family is to be put to death, a mode of execution is devised by which the royal blood shall not be spilt on the earth. About the year 1686, the generalissimo of the army rebelled against the king of Siam and put him to death after the manner of royal criminals, or as princes of the blood are treated when convicted of capital crimes, which is by putting them into a large iron caldron, and pounding them to pieces, with wooden pestles.¹⁰ This is done that the blood may not fall to the ground and the soul of the deceased rightfully demand vengeance from the slayer.

The following conclusions, then, naturally follow, namely, that primitive man, unable to explain the mystery of death, of sleep, of fainting spells, and states of unconsciousness, stirred deeply by the apparitions of his deceased friends and ancestors in his vivid dreams, is forced into a dualistic conception of man. If the soul is an entity in itself, capable of its own existence, then these mysteries are not difficult to understand. We have then before us a world of man consisting of body and soul, and also another world about us of disembodied spirits, those who have lost their way, or were frightened away, or who found no entrance into their former abode possible. These disembodied spirits are still, however, a part of the group life. They may hold communion with mortals through dreams, visions, or other mediums^{as}, and continue to exert a powerful influence upon the actions of their former friends.¹¹ These spirits have the same needs and passions as mortals. Indeed, many of the primitives conceived the soul as a *manikín*, an exact counterpart or double, with the same features, gait and dress as man himself. Un doubtedly, the idea of man's shadow played an important role in the development of this belief. The monuments of the Egyptian kings dating from the eighteenth century before the present era and later, represent various kings standing before their deities, while behind them stand their souls, or doubles, portrayed as

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little men with the features of the kings. Because of this, therefore, primitive man feared these powerful disembodied spirits, and while imploring them for aid and guidance at times, he also regarded them as his most bitter
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foes to be propitiated and placated by entreaties, bribes and prayers. In other words, since the spirits of the deceased are more active than the spirits of the living, since they can traverse a greater distance, since they can appear to mortals and affect his life conditions, it was considered the wisest policy to conciliate these powerful spirits, placate them and win them over as friends rather than have them as enemies. From this idea sprung into existence the cult of the dead, found among all peoples of early times.

II

THE CONCEPTION OF THE SOUL AFTER DEATH IN ANCIENT ISRAEL

In regard to the observation of customs, rites and ceremonies, people are very conservative, much more so than they are in respect to ideas. Often a ceremony or rite will continue to be practiced long after the idea underlying this ceremony has disappeared. The result is that the origins of many of these rites are forgotten, or so altered and changed as to fit the ideas of the new times, while the rite itself continues to be practiced unchanged, or only slightly so. In the study of any origins, therefore, this obstacle will present itself, namely to trace, if this is possible, the real underlying idea, the basic reason for the ceremony, rather than the thought given at the later period.

As I have mentioned above, the primitive conception of man was that of a dichotomous personality, the נֶפֶשׁ, the soul or spirit, and the גִּבּוֹר, the body. Death is explained by the fact that the soul leaves the body and fails to return, for some reason. The very same idea existed in ancient Israel. Death meant the departure of the soul from the body. "And it came to pass, as her soul was departing" (for she died), etc. (Gen. XXXV:18a).

On the other hand, life meant the return of this wandering or departed spirit, as is clearly evident from the legend when Elijah says to Yaweh, "O Yaweh, my God, I pray thee, let this child's soul come unto him again (I Kings XVII:21-23; 2 Samuel I:9; Jonah IV:3).

The identification of the soul in death with the shadow, the breath, the reflection and at times the echo of the living man, led naturally to the conception that this soul of the deceased was something vague and

unsubstantial. Early races and savages regarded the soul after death as a small feeble being, invisible, intangible, and inaudible; unable to care for itself in the world of disembodied spirits, depending upon the living for shelter, and care in the spirit world. ¹⁶ No less true is this of the Semitic conception. The departed spirits are known by the name of "breath, wind, shadow, echo, etc., all of which suggest the ethereal nature of the soul. In Hebrew literature the same idea is brought out. The soul loses some of its physical powers when it parts from the body. Here also it is called a breath or wind and so, therefore, the souls of the deceased are called "Rephaim", meaning feeble ones (Job XXVI:5; Ps. LXXXVIII:11; Prov. II:18; Is. XIV:9f; XXVI:19. "Art thou also become weak as we, art thou become like unto us?" (Is. XIV:10).

The souls of the deceased then were weak, shadowy, disembodied spirits, wandering about. However, although these "refaim" lost some of their physical powers, they were still much to be feared. The spiritual powers of feeling, of knowing, and of desiring were still with them. The ancestors took a keen interest in the lives of their posterity and often interfered in their affairs. ¹⁷ It is because of this that the shades in the Sheol rejoice at the downfall of the Babylonian king, who was their bitter foe in life and that of their descendants after their death (Isa. XIV:9). "And because of this Pharaoh felt comforted on beholding the hosts of the dead who preceded him in the pit." (Ezek. XXXII:31).

Likewise, Rachel is fully aware of the harm that has befallen Israel and mourns over the captivity of her children (Jer. XXXI:15). Isaiah in his firm denial of the common conception, that Abraham and Israel still held regard for the fate of the nation, substantiates by this that the

opposite view was prevalent among the masses. "For Thou (O God) art our father, Abraham no longer loves us, nor doth Israel have regard for us." (Is. LXVII:16) And similarly the idea is enunciated by Enoch, "And now behold the souls of those who have died are crying and making their suit to the gates of heaven, and their lamentations have ascended and cannot cease, because of the lawless deeds which are wrought on the earth." (Enoch IX:10; also Rev. VI:9). A father's curse or blessing could operate after his death, since this was the prevalent conception, for he himself was considered capable of looking out for its fulfillment. Hence, the terrible hatred of Esau against his brother Jacob, who had deprived him unlawfully of his father's blessing, and the piteous appeal, " בִּרְכֵנִי גַם אֲנִי אָבִי ", "Bless me also--father!" (Gen. II:38). This conception was the earlier view.

Recalling what had occurred during their lifetime, the ghosts of the deceased preserved their former friendships and hostility respectively to their friends or foes. Those who met an untimely death remembered the fact, and were extremely unhappy over it.

Another belief current in ancient times was that these disembodied spirits of the deceased, continued to retain the same appearance after death, as they had at the moment of death. Samuel's ghost is recognized by Saul because it appeared as an old man with a robe (I S. XXVIII:14). Those who had been rulers on earth wore royal apparel in the Sheol, and sat upon thrones (with crowns on their heads,) (Is. XIV:9). The dead of all nations could be recognized by their special features and costumes. The warriors displayed their implements of warfare and their swords were placed under their heads. The uncircumcised were easily recognizable by their foreskin, and those who were wounded in battle, pierced by a sword thrust, revealed clearly

the mark of the fatal gash (Ezek. XXXII:21-32; XXVIII:16; XXXI:18). Hence, warriors wounded in battle and fearing lest they be disfigured by the tortures of the enemy, would often commit suicide on the battlefield that they might appear as heroes in life beyond. For this reason, Abimelech called his armor-bearer to slay him, when a millstone had been cast upon his head by a woman. (Jud. IX:54). He feared lest a death of that kind might stamp him as a coward, in the presence of the other shades whose ranks he was about to join. Similarly Saul committed suicide in an attempt to escape the mutilations of the Philistines who had overrun his country and routed his army. "Then said Saul to his armor bearer. Draw thy sword and thrust me through therewith lest these uncircumcised come and thrust me through and abuse me." (I Sam. XXXI:4; also II Sam. XVII:23). Mutilations of the dead were practiced almost universally. In the first place, it degraded the dead in their position among the ranks of the disembodied spirits, and secondly, it succeeded in making them harmless to the living who feared them. Thus David orders the two murderers of Ishboseth to be slain and their bodies to be mutilated. "And David commanded his young men, and they slew them, and cut off their hands and feet and hanged them up besides the pool in Hebron." (II Sam. IV:12). This practice was especially performed against those who were regarded as enemies. In many instances, the foe will cut off the right thumb of the corpse--so that even if the spirit became a hostile ghost, it would be unable to cast the shadowy spear against the living with its mutilated hand.²⁰ The spirit then, although malignant, is rendered more or less harmless (I Sam. XVIII:25).

Concerning the interest that the spirits of the dead take in the lives of their posterity, the belief was existent that under certain

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conditions the dead spirit could appear unto the living. These dead then spoke in audible tones which, however, were very weak, distant and bird-like. Among Babylonians the ghost, known as the "~~E.kimmu-spirit~~" often appeared in the homes of its mortal kinsmen where it gibbered and thus foretold omens. 22 In the Gilgamesh epic, ~~Enkidu~~ ^{Enkidu} comes to Gilgamesh to converse with him and responds to his questions. 23

In the Old Testament the appearance of ghosts is rarely mentioned. The reason is not that the Hebrews held no belief in these ghosts, but rather it was due to the fact that the later editors, realizing that this practise was in opposition to Yahweh worship, opposed such things and managed to eliminate and obliterate such passages. However, we have the striking case in I Samuel. That this was a common practise is evident from the strenuous opposition to it in the book of Deuteronomy. We find mention of this also in Post-biblical literature. In the second book of Maccabees the following incident is related, how Judas encouraged his men: "This was what he had seen: Onias, the former high priest, a good and great man, of stately bearing, yet gracious in manner, well spoken and trained from childhood, in all points of virtue, Onias with outstretched hands invoking blessings on the whole body of the Jews; then another man in the same attitude, conspicuous for his grey hairs and splendour, and invested with marvellous, majestic dignity. This Onias explained to him is the lover of the brethren who prayeth fervently for the people and the holy city, Jeremiah the prophet of God." And later in 24 Josephus, Alexander appears to his widow Glaphyra. (Antiquities, XVII:13,14; Wars II:7:9).

The spirits of the dead not only retained that knowledge which they had acquired during their lifetime, but often attained new knowledge of

greater import. They were believed to be far more wise than mortal beings, and were, therefore, consulted for guidance in the affairs of life, and impo-
 tuned for oracles and omens concerning the future. As such they were called
 "Yidd'onim" D'JlJ7' (the knowing ones), those who are aware of
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 things unknown to man. (Lev. XIX:31; XX:6; Is. XIX:3; Lev. XX:1, 2; Deut.
 XVIII:11; Is. VIII:19; 2 Kings XXI:6). Because of this conception that the
 dead possessed knowledge more than that of mortals, there was much practice
 of necromancy in ^{or} Ancient Israel. (Is. LXV:4).

Another belief prevalent among the ancient Semites was that the
 souls continued to maintain a close relationship with the body of the de-
 ceased. When the flesh disappeared the soul would cling to the skull or to
 the bones of the dead, and when these vanished it would haunt the grave where
 the ashes were buried. Thus the "E~~k~~immu" or ghost comes forth from the grave
 in Babylonian literature.

"The gods which seize (upon man)

Have come forth from the grave

The evil wind-gusts

Have come forth from the grave,

To demand the payment of rites and the pouring out of

libations,

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They have come forth from the grave."

Likewise, the Jinn of Arabia inhabit the graveyards, (the burial place of the
 sheykhs.)

"In the stony wild of the valley by the grave, is the burying
 place of the sheykhs of the Moahib. I saw there some ruined ground walls of
 old dry buildings; and among the great heaps of stones lie a few forms of

graves and musullies, praying-steads, such as we saw that of Ibn Rashid at el-Hejr, where as much ground as a man may bow himself in, is enclosed from the common by a horseshoe of laid stones, whose bent is towards Mecca. In these I have seen tribesmen come to pray at the graves of their ancestors. The Beduins are loth to pass that way by night, saying ghosts do walk there, which are of the kaffirs, dwellers of old times in the valley." ²⁷

Among the Hebrews, the soul was considered to retain a close association with the dead body and because of this the corpse and everything connected with it was considered taboo. Originally this taboo was not due to "uncleanliness", ceremonial uncleanliness; rather it was Kadosh, holy to the spirits of the dead. But as the ^{Yahwe}Yaweh worship developed and grew this sort of contact was taboo, because ^{Yahweh}Yawehism was opposed to the cult of the dead. (Num. XIX:11), and that a cult of the dead was practiced in ancient Israel we have sufficient and most adequate proof. The departed souls, as I have shown above, were regarded to possess many qualities not common to mortals. As powerful beings, they were regarded as Elohim, some sort of deities capable of working for the weal or woe of man and, therefore, to be won over towards friendliness.

When Saul visits the witch of Endor, and asks her to bring up the ghost of Samuel, she states, "I see a god coming out of the earth." Similarly Isaiah, speaking to the people of Judah, says, "And when they shall say unto you, Seek to learn then to the Aboth and the Yidd'onim who chirp and mutter: does not every people seek from their god concerning the living from the dead." ^{Isaiah 19} We notice here that the term "Elohim" is used parallel to ⁰"Aboth" and "Yidd'onim", the usual terminology representing the ghosts of the deceased. Again, we notice that in Isaiah (XIX:3) the redactor, unwilling to

after employ the term "Elohim" to the spirits of the dead, for by this time the opposition to the cult of the dead had become powerful and was carried on with great vigor by the champions of Yaweh--the prophets--the term "Elohim" was changed to "Elilim" **אלילים - אלהים** meaning "useless, vain, things, of no avail." ²⁸ In early Israel, however, the cult of the dead was extensively practised at the graves of the Patriarchs, proving that the soul was considered to reside either with the body or in the grave (Gen. XXXV:16-20; Jer. XXXI:15; ~~See~~ Mark V:5). The soul and body of a deceased remained together then after death. Additional proof to strengthen this point may be gathered from the following. The "Masṣeba" **מַסֵּבָה**, as is well known, was a personal monument to the deceased. Jacob, at the loss of his beloved wife Rachel, places a Masṣeba over her grave (Gen. XXXV:20; II Sam. XVIII:18). This Masṣeba served as the "beth-Elohim". "And this stone which I place as a Masṣeba shall be a beth Elohim." (Gen. XXVIII:22).

I have shown above that the term "Elohim" was used synonymously with ^{*of set*} "Abot" and "Yia'u'onim", referring to the departed spirits. (Is. LIX:3). It follows, therefore, that the Masṣeba was regarded as the "House" for the departed spirit. Among the Arabs a heap of stones, or a standing *nusḥ* (masṣeba) was placed upon the grave. This was believed to be occupied by the ghost of the dead. ²⁹ In Nabataean, Palmyrene and Aramaic, the term "nefesh" ³⁰ soul refers not only to the dead but also to the tombstone. And the same holds true of later Hebrew. Moreover, the Masṣeba similar to the Beth-El was anointed with oil and libations poured out to it, as was done to the Beth-El; and we must notice that the Masṣeba was called the Beth-El. What follows from this then, is that a Masṣeba, or heap of stones, was erected over the graves of the deceased. The soul of the deceased was then considered to

reside in this stone (Jos. VII:26; II Sam. XI:17), and thus finding a lodging would not be forced to wander about. Here the cult of the dead took place, as is quite evident from the fact that no exception is made in their favor in the sweeping condemnation of the later legislation. ²¹

"Ye shall make unto yourselves no idols, nor graven images, nor masseboth, etc." (Lev. XXVI:1; Ex. XXIII:24; XXXIV:13; Deut. VII:5; 12:3; XVI:22).

To briefly sum this up then: The primitive belief was that the soul of the deceased resided near the body of the dead, or in the Masseba, placed over the grave of the dead. That these souls lost some of their physical powers, but maintained their spiritual powers and even gained much in many respects. That these souls were capable of affecting the life of their descendants, by appearing to them as ghosts or speaking to them through oracular mediu^as. As powerful beings they were regarded as deities, and as such, deserved a special cult of their own.

The early Yaweh religion seemed to have little or almost nothing to say about death and what followed it; therefore, alongside ^{of} ~~with~~ the worship of Yaweh went the cult of the dead, with no contradiction ensuing in the minds of the people. Yaweh was the god of the upper world. Death deprived one of Yaweh's care. Death was the passing out of the suzerainty of Yaweh. Rewards and punishments took place in this world, but in the other world there was no destruction. (Job III:14-17). All were living there in a state of misery. Hence, the desire of the Hebrew was for a long and full life on this earth, where he might enjoy peace and prosperity, with many of his descendants, for death excluded him from the care of Yaweh. (Is. XXXVIII:18; Ps. CXV:16f; VI:5f; XXX:10).

SACRIFICES TO THE SPIRITS OF THE DEAD

Time and again I have made mention of the fact that the living feared the power which the spirits of the deceased possessed. They felt that these spirits or "Elohim" were sufficiently powerful to bring great harm upon them, unless these malignant spirits were won over to a favorable attitude and their wrath appeased. And since primitive man considered these ghosts similar in many respects to mortal men, he thought the simplest method of procedure was to bribe the spirits thru sacrifices and gifts. "In all parts of Syria, Palestine and Arabia there are sacrifices to the dead," reports³² Curtis. The animal is slain in behalf of the spirit of the deceased. This sort of sacrifice is called "feou" and serves as a "Kuffaren" for his sins.³³ In another place, it is stated that the relatives of the dead make some one executor, who is to see that the sacrifice is carried out. He himself must not³⁴ partake of it, but it must be given to the poor.

The same thing is mentioned by Loughty: "I found among these Bedouins that it is with difficulty that they imagine any future life; they pray and fast as man's duties in religion, looking for the present life's blessings. There is a sacrifice to the dead which I have seen continued to the third generation. I have seen a sheykh come with devout sacrifice and pray³⁵ at the heap where his father or his father's father lie buried." Or again, "When one is dead, his kinsmen sacrifice at his grave a ewe, but without sprinkling the blood; they boil and distribute the meat to the company at the³⁶ funeral." We have almost no direct passages in the Old Testament of the animal sacrifice to the dead, excepting that of the Two Heifers which I shall prove were merely offered to the spirits of the departed. But that the deceased spirits were offered food, drink and other material comforts which

they might need for their existence in the other world, there are numerous proofs. In Tobit, which was written at the earliest about 550 B. C., ³⁷ there is still found mention of this idea: "Pour out thy bread and wine on the tomb of the just and give not to sinners." (Tob IV:17; Hosea IX:4; Leut. XXVI:14; Sirach VII:33; ~~30~~³³:18). These offerings were to maintain the spirits of the dead in a state of satisfaction in order that they might not be envious of their living posterity and be [?]wroth up to anger against them. ³⁸ In case the deceased had no children, or if he feared his children might not carry out their duties satisfactorily, the individual himself, in preparation for his future, would place those things he might need in his grave.

"And they buried him in his own sepulchre which he had hewn out for himself in the city of David, and laid him in the bed which he had filled with sweet odors and divers kinds of spices, prepared by the perfumers' art, and they made a very great burning for him." (II Chr. XVI:14)

The articles placed in the grave were usually broken, in order to release the spirit of the object that it might accompany the dead. Or again, they were burnt. The burning of these objects released the soul and was a means of sending them into the spirit world. [?](Jos. VII:25; 26; Num. XVI; Jer. XXXIV:5; Josephus Ant. XVI: 7:12. This burning really served two purposes: In the first place, it was a sacrifice to the departed spirit as mentioned previously; and secondly, it left no objects in the presence of the living which had previously belonged to the departed. The ghost then had no specific reason to return and demand what was his, for his possessions had already been sent on with him into the spirit world. ³⁹ (II Chr. XVI:14; XXI:19; Ez. XXIX:17, 22). The same idea is behind the burning of the Red Heifer. ⁴⁰ The very fact that the Deuteronomic Reformation was offended by these

practices is proof that these sacrifices and offerings were not regarded as part of Yaweh worship, but as offensive to him, for it was a sacrifice to ^{some} one other deity. "I have not eaten thereof in my mourning nor given thereof to the dead." (Deut. XXVI:14).

Another act of worship similar to a sacrifice to the dead, was the act of fasting. As is well known, this took place at any great national calamity, when the nation was endangered. ⁴¹ Thus Joel calls Israel to inaugurate a day of fasting and mourning: "Gird yourselves with sackcloth and lament ye priests, wail ye ministers of the altar: come be all night in sackcloth, ye ministers of my God; for the meal offering and the drink offering are withholden from the house of your God. Sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly, gather the elders and all the inhabitants of the land unto the house of Yaweh your God, and cry unto Yaweh." (Joel I:13-4). This fasting, lying in sackcloth, was a mark of self-abasement to the deity and a sacrifice to him. And when the deity is made aware of this submission and subservience: "who knoweth whether he will not turn and repent." (Joel II:14; Jer. XXXVI:9; I Mac. III:47; II Sam. XII:16; Is. LVIII:3, 5, 10; Lev. XVI:29). The very same thought was behind the idea of fasting for the dead. It served as a sacrifice to the ghost of the deceased and let him know that the living considered himself subservient to his power and sought his favor. This sacrifice is not only carried on at the time of his death but for many years, and often generations after.

"Every year," says Masil, "the people of Arabia Petraea visit the graves of their ancestors about which other graves may be. Almost every family brings a goat, sheep or a camel which is healthy and without a blemish, and sacrifices it upon the grave, or if not upon the grave, close by it. The

blood is either made to flow immediately upon the grave, or else it is caught, and the grave and all nearby graves are sprinkled with it. In the meantime, the worshipper says: 'Here is your supper O our dead.' The flesh of the animal is cooked and eaten immediately, and in the evening they pour some oil on the 'masseba' stone."

And again Musil remarks. The Amowins make a pilgrimage every spring to the graves of their ancestors. There they encamp for a considerable length of time. They offer sacrifices as food to their ancestors and give them milk to drink. When the blood of the sacrifice or the milk flows upon the graves they say, "This is a sacrifice for the soul of N." They likewise place upon the graves as gifts empty cartridges, buttons, bright threads,
42
etc.

This is known as the "Dahiyya-sacrifice" and is similar to the "Dahiyyeh-sacrifice" offered by the pilgrims to Mecca during the great annual pilgrimage on the 10th of the month Dhu-l-Higga^{Thina}, in the valley of Muvin. This sacrifice is in honor of the dead, offered annually on the anniversary of the dead, or else in the spring. They were considered taboo, and were not to be eaten at all by the worshipper but to be given to the poor. They had to be passed through fire, for this was tantamount to giving it to the dead. To eat of it before, means to deprive the dead of what they are justified in expecting.

In order not to divert too much from this topic, I shall now go on with the development of the idea of the soul after death in ancient Israel.

YAWERISM VS. THE CULT OF THE DEAD

I have thus far attempted to show the early or perhaps the

earliest conception of Israel in regard to the souls of their departed. I have shown that it is clear and well evident that the early Israelites worshipped the ghosts or spirits of their ancestors and offered to them sacrifices and libations. The question now facing us is, how could ² these ¹ two views be harmonized? How was it possible for Yawehism to permit this worship of the dead? Were not the elohim considered false gods, to be avoided as is demanded by the parallel legislation of Exodus XXXIV:14: (~~J-Jose~~^K and Exodus XXI:23 ~~E-Jose~~^C)? The answer to this may be found in the suggestion offered previously. Yawehism was limited to the upper world. It offered no message nor brought any hope in regard to life after death. The early champions of Yaweh entirely ignored the other world. But as the conception of Yaweh began to broaden and widen, a conflict was bound to take place. Like the Baalim of the Jaanites, which Israel took over, so also were the Elohim of the other world. As Yaweh grew from a tribal god to a national god, and finally into a universal god, this conflict grew ever more powerful. That one or the other would have to succumb was evident. But in such things people are extremely conservative. Although beliefs may be outgrown, although new ideas may displace the old ones, the habits and customs handed down from the bygone past persist. The old origins are forgotten, new and more modern ideas are propounded to explain these customs, but the rites and customs themselves are almost impossible to be uprooted.

The conflict between Yawehism and the cult of the dead dates back to a very early period, no doubt. For so powerful has this battle between the two become even during the period of Saul's reign that he, who was the chosen of Yaweh to be the king and ruler of Israel (ISam. X:1, 10), made an effort to exterminate those who practised necromancy and acted as mediums (I Sam. XXVIII:9). Also the fact that none but a woman could be found to act

as a medium shows that the idea of invoking the dead had already become discredited in Israel. For it is the women who usually cling longest to those superstitions which the men have already discarded.

The injunction "Thou shalt not suffer a sorceress to live" (Ex. XXII:18) and in Deut. XXVI:14, "I have not given thereof to the dead (also Deut. [?] XVIII:18 and Lev. XIX:31) portrays how this conflict was to be waged. Realizing the inadvisability of open conflict against these superstitions, which could not be uprooted, the champions of Yaweh simply eliminated the fundamental basis of the cult of the dead and instead of fighting it simply appropriated those things to the Yaweh cult. The same thing had been done in regard to the Baal worship. The agricultural ritual and the harvest festivals of the Baalim, which were entirely strange and foreign to the Yaweh cult, at first, were appropriated by Yaweh and reconstructed to his service. ⁴³ Similarly, the cult of the dead was taken over by Yaweh. The shrines where the dead were worshipped were taken over by Yaweh. Thus at Hebron where Sarah was buried by Abraham and where he in turn was interred by his sons (Gen. XXIII:19, XIV:9) the elders of Israel came to make a covenant with David (II Sam. V:3), and Absalom went to Hebron to pay his vows (II Sam. XV:7, 12). This was also made a city of refuge (Josh. XX:7), and a dwelling-place sacred to the priests (Josh. XXI:11). The sanctuary over the cave of Machpelah, the supposed burial place of the Patriarchs, is still regarded as a shrine by the ^{Muslims} Islands and Jews, and even Christians, and these come there from all points of the globe to do homage and offer prayers. At Ramah, which was the burial place of Rachel (Gen. XXV:19; I Sam. X:2; Jer. XXXI:15) there was a holy stone on her grave. The two men who were to tell Saul about the finding of his asses are at the grave of Rachel, ² seemingly inspired by her spirit, and

yet carrying out the will of Yaweh (I Sam. X:2; also Num. XX:1; Josh. XXIV:32, 26; Juag. IX:4, 16; Jud. X:1, 3, 5; XII:8-10, 11, 13-15; Ezek. XLIII:7-9; Isa. LXV:3f.). So also the avenging of blood which undoubtedly was the pre-requisite of the dead spirit was now assumed by Yaweh (Gen. IV:11; II Sam. XXI:1; Deut. XXI:1-4) and the violation of the tombs of the dead, which was an affront to the spirits of the deceased, is now made an affront to Yaweh; to be avenged by Him and Him alone (Amos II:1).

Thus the champions of Yaweh worship simply took the props from under the cult of the dead. And similarly was this the case with sacrifices to the dead. Instead of engaging in a useless battle against these sacrifices to the dead, they were absorbed into the Yaweh cult. The blood in which the life of the animal was thought to reside was poured out upon the ground so that the shades of the departed might drink from it to be nourished and renew their

⁴⁴ vigor. Most likely the bloody offerings first arose in connection with ancestor worship, for the purpose of satisfying the needs of the ghosts, and after becoming customary and traditional, unable to be eliminated, were included in the worship of Yaweh. In many tombs there are channels or trenches by means of which the blood and the libations poured out may descend to the

⁴⁵ dead. (That these sacrifices were absorbed into the Yaweh cult, I shall show in my treatment of the Red Heifer and Azazel.) With the absorption of these into the Yaweh cult, their primitive significance was forgotten, and as early as the time of Hosea they were regarded no longer as a cult to the dead, but as simple mourning rites. Thus the rites of tearing the garments, cutting the flesh, the hair, wallowing in ashes, the lamentations and fasting were tolerated and no attempt made by the prophets of the eighth century to do away with them. However, although the real significance was forgotten, an inkling

of it must have remained. The individual, although not forbidden to practise these arts, was, however, considered unfit to partake of the worship of Yaweh if he did this. ⁴⁶ For those who practised these rites were "Ceremonially unclean" (Hosea IX:9) and the name of Yaweh was not to be mentioned when a corpse was brought out of a house. (Amos VI:10; Deut. XXVI:14; Lev. XXI:1, 11; XXII:4; Num. V:2). The word for taboo is *Kadosh* (*קדוש*), usually holy. "And the altar shall be holy, he who touches it shall become taboo" (Exod. XXIX:37; XXX:29; Lev. VI:11, 20). And the "ceremonial uncleanness" or "taboo" of a later period was due to the fact that they must have been *קדוש* or holy to other gods. So the graves in later Israel religion became unclean. The reason lies without doubt in the realization that the conception of Yaweh as a national and universal god was considered inconsistent with the sanctity of the tombs which represented another cult. For the very fact that they were placed under a ban is evidence that some worship took place there, which the leaders of the Yaweh ⁴⁷ cult opposed. (Lev. XXI:1, 11; XXII:4; Num. V:2; VI:6; IX:6f.; XIX:11f.; Hag. II:13). The literary prophets saw that Yaweh had triumphed over the cult of the dead simply by appropriating their worship into the Yaweh worship, and soon began to demand a purging process. This movement culminated in the Deuteronomic Reformation under Josiah about 622 B.C. The heathen elements were to be eliminated from the Yaweh cult, for they were foreign and strange. The numerous sanctuaries over the graves, and the ^Bbaal worship were to be abolished. Only one sanctuary of Yaweh at Jerusalem was to be maintained (Deut. XII:1-14). The *massēboth* over the graves that had been appropriated to Yaweh worship were now to be abolished and destroyed (Deut. XVI:22). And the graves were considered unclean (Ezek. XLIII:7f.; Num. XIX:11). Urged on by

ardent zeal of the prophets, Josiah proceeded to destroy these places of worship in an attempt to exterminate the heathenish practises from Israel (II Kings XXIII). All these changes naturally were due to the growing and changing conception of Yaweh and his relation towards Israel. But these drastic actions were unsuccessful and soon afterwards a return was made to the older practises. For Yawehism as yet had nothing or little to offer in regard to the future life. This came only about the fourth century B. C. or even later, and is entirely dependent upon the growth of Yawehism from a mere god among the gods to a national god and finally to a universal god ruler of heaven and earth, master of the universe. 48

Now as monotheism developed in Israel, and as this monotheism was the result of the moral relationship between Yaweh and Israel, the position of the other gods who were non-moral fell. The literary prophets, Amos, Hosea, Micah and Isaiah of the eighth century dwelt emphatically on the moral attributes of Yaweh and as this idea was passed down to the later prophets of the seventh, sixth and fifth century, Yawehism grew to the detriment of the other gods. And so, likewise, the souls of the deceased which had been regarded as deities and had previously possessed so much power, which had been feared and revered and worshiped, were now slowly being deprived of their power and soon came to be regarded as mere shadowy beings, neither helpful nor harmful, prayer to whom was futile and sacrifice in vain.

This then brings us to a new view of man which without a doubt is dependent on the doctrine of monotheism. According to this new view, man is not a dichotomy, but a trichotomy composed of the "Basar" (בשר), the "Nefesh" (נפש) and the "Ruah" (רוח). 49 In early times Nefesh and Ruah were used synonymously for the vital elements of life and the

spirit. But according to this late view, a differentiation is made between the Nefesh and the Ruah. The Ruah is now the seat of the higher faculties, and it lives in the Nefesh which is quickened by it and made active. And when it departs, the Nefesh is left, but the individual is dead, for the vitality of the soul has been withdrawn. ⁵⁰ Therefore, the dead is called either a corpse (נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה) (Num. VI:6; Lev. XXI:11) or simply a Nefesh (Lev. XIX: 28; XXI:1; XXII:4; Numb. IX:6, 7, 10; Hag. II:13).

This idea of the trichotomy of man is based upon the statements (Genesis II-III), which are of Jewish origin, but the thought is not really developed until after the exile. "Thou gatherest in their breath, they die, and return to the dust; thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created." (Ps. CIV:29; Job XXVII:3; XXXII:8; XXXIII:4), or, "If he gather unto himself his spirit and his breath, all flesh shall perish to ether" (Job XXXIV:14; Eccl. XII:9; III:18-21; Sir. XL:11). In all of these passages we cannot fail to notice that the vitality of the individual, the life and knowledge and movement and power seem to be dependent upon the Ruah which is the gift of God. When this departs all activity ceases for the Nefesh or soul. ⁵¹ The new conception then of the souls after death was that they were merely subsisting, and their life was entirely shadowy and negative, an emotionless existence. Their life now is one of eternal sleep. "And they shall sleep, the sleep of eternity and awaken not" (Jer. LI:39, 57; Eccl. XLVI:14f.; Job XIV:12; Dan. XII:2).

This then was the later conception of the soul. Although it continued to exist, or better to subsist, it was practically an unconscious state. However, it must not be thought that this new idea entirely replaced the older idea. Nothing of the sort took place. People are unwilling to give up their old beliefs and practises, and the older ideas and superstitions

often run parallel to the new. Similarly here, in spite of the growth of monotheism, the old practices and ideas ran parallel to the new ideas for a long time and were never completely obliterated from the minds of Israel.

III

THE CULT OF THE DEAD

We have noticed that the ghosts of the dead were things of dread in ancient Israel. Many of the rites and customs which were passed down through the ages were naturally more or less modified by the influencing power of the growing Yawehistic conception. Some were abrogated and entirely abolished, as their hold upon the common mind grew ever weaker. Some were absorbed into the cult of Yaweh during the Deuteronomic Reformation, and even more so during the reformation which took place during the later period of Ezra and his disciples, usually known as the Priestly Reformation. For those traditions which have been handed down from father to son for many generations stamp themselves with an indelible mark upon the minds of the people, and cannot be uprooted by drastic measures. In time some of these rites will die out as the practise of them becomes incompatible with the cultural and social condition of the times; while some of them take ⁴even a new and firmer hold upon the people. This will be especially apparent in this section of this thesis. We will find here ceremonies and practices which hold sway to this very day, whose origin dates back to the dim ages of antiquity. The reasons for the birth of these practises have in many cases long been forgotten or altered with time, or modified with the new conditions that arose, and yet the practises are carried on as aforetime.

In ancient Israel funerals were never held at night, unless this was entirely unavoidable. The fear existed that the night was the most suitable ^{time} for the ghosts of the deceased to roam about and harm those with whom they might come in contact. ⁵² The rabbis state that a corpse ^{might} will never remain ⁵³ over night in Jerusalem. Because of this fear of the ghosts at night, it

54
was considered a matter of extreme danger to remain in the cemetery at night. But with the rising of the sun the power of these ghosts disappears and they flee in fright (Gen. XXXII:5). Even into the rabbinic period the ghosts of the departed, the "rephaim" were ~~regarded~~^{regarded} as spirits of evil, attempting to bring harm and injury to the living.

"All their souls become spirits who injure, accursed demons unto the sons of men, and in the future world, the Holy One blessed be He, will destroy them ~~out~~^{out} of the world, so that they should not do harm to a single Israelite." 55 Particularly, were these malignant spirits feared and guarded against during funerals and immediately afterwards. The Talmud records the tradition that the Angel of Death charged Joshua b. Levi never to stand in the presence of women returning from a corpse "because I dance before them with my sword in my hand, and I have permission to slay." 56 Fearing the ghosts of the dead who might follow the mourners back from the cemetery, an attempt was made to deceive them. Even to this day, the Jews do not return from the cemetery ^{but} the same road on which the corpse was carried to the grave. Undoubtedly, this explains the origin of the following peculiar custom:

After closing the grave, or after the mourner has turned his face from the grave, it was a customary thing to draw off a shoe or sandal from the foot of the mourner. Likewise to pick up a handful of dirt with grass and cast it backwards towards the grave, 57 afterwards the hands would be washed. In a note to this, Isserles adds, that on returning from the cemetery, it was a custom to sit down on the road three times or seven times and to recite

58 special prayers. The reason stated is: מפני שהרוחות מלוות אתו וכל

59 . פעם שישבין בורחין ממנו The ghosts accompany the mourner and when he sits down they flee from him.

This, however, fails to render a suitable explanation for the custom. The ghosts do not flee from the mourner, but are deceived by him. When he casts off the sandal or shoe, the ghosts are misled to thinking that the road back to his former abode can be found by following the direction in which it points, since this is the sandal which he recognizes as belonging to some relative with whom he has had contact in life. Or when the mourner takes a different road from that which he followed on coming to the cemetery, the ghost is misled into believing that the mourner is not leaving for home, or when he sits down the ghost again is led to the belief that the mourner is not going home, and passes by the figure on the road, and so is lost. Presumably, then, the idea is that the spirit of the deceased wishes to return to its customary abode, the home whence it came, there to dwell as formerly. These methods of misleading the ghosts are practiced to keep it away from the home.

The fear of the malignant spirits of the dead will also account for the extreme haste to dispose of the body and bury it (Leut. XXI:22f.; Jos. VII:29; 1:26f.; Mat. XXVII:57ff.). If the dead body remained in the home over night, the ghost hovering over this body would have full sway and unrestrained opportunity to work mischief. Many are known to sprinkle water behind the corpse which is being carried to the cemetery in order to ward off the spirits of the dead. "In the region of Damascus people pour out water from the pots as a corpse passes by. The Bedouins of Moab pour water behind the corpse (um das Böse abzuwischen) to wipe away the evil." The custom also existed to pour out the water of vessels of the neighboring houses, the fear being no doubt that the spirit of the deceased, angered at

its inability to return to the body, might wreak vengeance upon the home, its former abode, and the neighbors with whom the deceased had relations. Most interesting is the note stating that the Angel of Death has dropped some⁶³ poison into the water. Another curious custom already mentioned was that of casting stones or dust upon the graves, especially of those deceased who were exceptionally powerful and influential, or wicked during their lifetime.⁶⁴ Heaps of stones were placed over the graves of **Achan** and Absalom in order that their ghosts might remain in the graves and trouble Israel no longer (Jos. VII:26; II Sam. XVIII:17). The weight of the stones was also thought to hold the ghost down, so that he could not escape, or it may have served, as mentioned previously, as the **בית אל**, "House for the Soul". This was⁶⁵ undoubtedly the origin of the tombstone or **Maṣṣeba**. The casting of the stones, or dirt, may also serve to drive the ghost away. **Doutle** suggests the hypothesis that the casting of the stone established a sort of relationship between him who cast the stone and the spirit in the grave. The caster sends off or throws off the illness or evil, and the spirit in turn sends a (blessing), (Jos. VIII:29; X:27). In rabbinic Judaism stones were still cast⁶⁶ upon any individual who died while in excommunication.

Again and again our attention has been drawn to the fact that the fear of the spirits of the deceased lay behind these numerous customs and rites which were practised after death. The power of the ghosts to attack and bring harm upon the living caused much uneasiness in the minds of the living relatives; on account of this, attempts of various kinds were introduced to free oneself, as far as it was possible, from the dread of malignant spirits. Therefore, the ceremonies described above and many which are yet to follow. Professional wailing women, were brought to the home of the deceased, the

hair was shaven, incisions were made in the skin in order that the blood might flow forth freely. All these elements were indispensable in the usual funeral ceremony. ⁶⁷ The practice of wailing women was a means of warding off the anger of the hostile ghosts. The sight of the sorrow and weeping might soften their anger, but the noise of the wailing women and their cries it was believed would frighten them away. ⁶⁸ Whenever there was cause for mourning, whenever a calamity befell the community or an individual, wailing would be instituted (I Micah VIII: Joel I:3; Jer. IV:8; XLIX:3; Isa. V:2, 3; Jer. XXV:34; Ezek. XXVII:30,31; Est. IV:1; Mark V:38, 39). And this wailing was usually conducted with the aid of musical instruments. "And when Jesus came into the ruler's house and saw the minstrels and the people making a noise, He said unto them, Give place for the maid is not dead," (Matt. IX:23-4). Even more explicit ⁶⁹ is this stated in Josephus: "When the report spread that Jotapaton was taken, the people in Jerusalem were greatly disturbed and upset, and a great lamentation arose and mourning set in at the city, "And a great many hired mourners with their pipes who should begin the melancholy ditties." Even as this was done for public misfortunes, so similarly, it was performed for private grief, where the dead himself is addressed by the mourner. ⁷⁰

זר לי צלך אחי יהונתן (II Sam. I:76; III:34; XIII:18; Ezek. XIX:21; XXVI:17, 18; XLIV:12; XIX:3; Isa. XV:2-3; Job I:20; Jer. VII:29; XLVIII:27; XVI:6; XLI:5).

The Mishna remarks that even the poorest of men must hire professional wailers and their instruments.

The primitive Arabs had a custom that besides the strident cry of the women who bewailed the dead, the "call" was chanted by the mother, the sister, or daughter of the deceased. For seven days the women of the tribe, and they alone (even the widow, if not a member of the tribe, was not included)

lamented the deceased from morning till night, beating the air and waving blue rags (Ezek. VI:11). All these things were done to drive away the ghosts who were unable to withstand much noise, and fled from them. For this very reason, the High Priest is ordered to wear a robe with jingling bells on entering the holy place, and when he comes forth (Ex. XXVIII:31-5). The question might be raised now, why should the High Priest fear death, if the jingling of the bells is unheard? Most probably it is thought that the noise of the bells will drive away the demons who lurk about the door of the sanctuary to pounce upon and carry off this richly clad priest, as he steps over the threshold in order to discharge his sacred office. Likewise, fires and torches were used to drive away demons.

Another rite mentioned is cutting or rather shaving the hair of the corpse immediately after death in preparation for the burial. This probably represents the idea that the ghost of the deceased may attempt to hide in the hair. The hair is, in fact, often conceived of as the seat and lodging place of the soul. Similarly, all the orifices of the body are closed up and the cadaver thoroughly washed in order to wash away the spirit of the ghost. Masil tells us that this practise is carried on to prevent the soul from returning into the decomposing body, for the hair is an excellent hiding place where the soul might return and lurk. And Doughty reports that a man's hair is shaven and his hair scattered to the winds.

After the body is washed (Acts IX:34) the water is immediately thrown out lest some one step over it or use it, which would result in death. Similarly, the board on which the corpse is washed is disposed of lest it be overturned and cause death to the relatives within three days.

Against this primitive pre-Yawenistic cult of the dead, whose origins were fundamentally based in animism, the developing and ever-growing

Yaweh cult came into time to protest. The realization eventually arose in the minds of these people that this sort of worship was incompatible with the cult of Yaweh. But this process was naturally gradual. The deep-rooted traditions and usages of generations past, the sentiments and emotions linked to them, prevented any radical break. Hosea still felt that the eating of the "mourner's bread" (IX:4) was but a taboo and demanded not the cessation thereof as contrary to the laws of Yaweh. And Jeremiah accepted the traditional mourning rites, such as shaving of the head and making incisions of the skin. (Jer. XVI:5-8). As late as Ezekiel we find this practise carried on, but now the prophet is ordered not to mourn in this manner for his wife (Ezek. XXIV:15ff.). The people, rather the leader of the Yaweh cult, made the people realize that this cult was defiling to the Yaweh worshiper. The Deuteronomic Reformation with its program of uncompromising Yawehism, definitely pointed out the incongruity of these two cults; Yaweh on the one hand, and the dead cult on the other, living together harmoniously side by side. If Yaweh was the God of Israel, and a universal God, as had already been suggested by the prophets, then this cult of the dead was forbidden as a direct contradiction to Yaweh's power. The worshiper of Yaweh was required to state, "I have not eaten thereof in my mourning, neither have I put away thereof, being unclean, nor given thereof for the dead" (Deut. XVI:14), for "ye are the children of Yaweh, your God; ye shall not make incisions, nor shall ye make baldness between your eyes for the dead" (Deut. XIV:1; also Ps. CVI:28; Jubilees^{cl} XXVIII:17; Lev. XIX:27^f).

The cutting or incisions in the flesh made by the mourner represent a covenant made with the dead, is the opinion of Robertson Smith. 80

Mention of these incisions are found in Lev. XIX:28; XXI:5; Deut. XIV:1; Jer. ^xVI:5; ¹²XII:5; XLVII:5. This seems to ^{have been} ~~be~~ a universal custom among the

Semites. The ~~Arab~~ women scratch their faces and beat their breasts with
81 sandals. And similar examples are found among the Greeks and Scythians,
82 who make incisions in the nose, forehead, ears, arms, and hands. It is
worth our attention to note that the priest of Baal performed a similar rite
in their worship (I Kings XVIII:28), and that this was a common practise
among worshippers of Tammuz. These incisions serve then as a means of wor-
ship, but they may also serve other purposes, namely, to supply nourishment
83 to the hungry ghosts and thus make them less angry, or as a means of dis-
guise from the ghost. For fearing the ghost who might return, these incis-
ions are made to disfigure the face in order that the ghost might be unable
to recognize the individual with whom it had formerly had contact. Again, the
emphasis might be placed on the fact that the blood caused thus to flow, serves
as a barrier against the malignant spirit. The beating of the arms and
84 breasts is a substitute for the incisions.

In Genesis (XLVI:4) Jacob is promised that Joseph, his beloved
son, "will put his hand upon thine eyes." This was another custom practised
on the dead (Job XXIII:7). This is also mentioned in the Talmud where it is
stated explicitly that the eyes of the dead should not be closed until death
85 has surely set in. It serves as a means of blindfolding the spirit of the
dead, that it might not be able to find its way back from the cemetery. At the
grave, however, there is no cause for further concealment, since the ghost had
been unable to perceive the direction taken, hence some people there opened
86 the eyes of the dead. The Jews often placed pottery over the eyes of their
dead for this purpose, and occasionally metal coins. It is difficult to decide
whether the purpose was to blind the ghost as above, or to drive away the
87 ghost. For metal served the purpose of driving away the demons. For the

jinn, or demon, or spirit, ⁸⁸ was in deadly fear of iron and, therefore, fled from it in terror. It is also of interest to note that the very name of the deceased was to be avoided, lest the name cause the ghost to respond. The Jews, therefore, usually follow the name, if mentioned, with the expression, ^{עליו השלום} "May he rest in peace", and in a similar manner the mention of an evil spirit is followed by the expression, ^{רחמנא לעילן} "May God save us".

There is also a custom of placing a glass of water at the bedside of the dead (Yoreh Deah 359). This may be a relic of an old Babylonian custom, the belief existing that souls are thirsty and can, therefore, drink from this water. For the same reason water was poured as a libation upon the graves of the dead. Mohammed poured water upon the grave of his little son, Ibrahim. The water in this cup is regarded as taboo (see note 63). Then also ⁸⁹ a candle is often placed at the bedside of the deceased. It is considered by some to light the way for the soul to depart, and it serves also to drive ⁹⁰ away the ghost which may seek to return home. Seemingly, there was also a custom extant of placing the dead body upon the ground and lighting two candles ⁹¹ over it. There is also the custom that the mourners are to look for eight ⁹² days at the burning candle in his home. The custom of burning a light all the seven days in the house of mourning is based perhaps on the idea that

^{זהר מנצח הנפלים} "light drives away him who has vanished (the ghost)"; ⁹³ for the ghost of the dead visits the body for seven days and mourns over it. It is also stated that the soul which is to be punished, does not enter the garden of Eden immediately, but pays visits to the body in the ground for a period of twelve months. The light in the house is, therefore, symbolic of the fact that the ghost of the deceased visits its previous abode the first seven days and the light is there to frighten him away.??

The superstition regarding a glass of water and a piece of

linen or towel is symbolic of the same idea, namely, that the soul returns to bathe in the water and dries itself on the towel. ⁹⁶

Among the ancient Semites it was customary to rend the garments and strip oneself naked at tidings of death, or of great calamity ⁹⁷ (Micah I: 8, 11; Is. XL:2). This stripping of one's garments and the state of nudity ⁹⁸ was practiced by him who was to take part in the cult of the dead. And because this was not the ^{contact} position suitable for the worshipper of Yaweh, the high priest was forbidden to participate in any such custom (Lev. XXI:10). Originally then it seems that the mourner remained naked during the funeral rites. Nudity was not a thing of shame then and seemed to be the practice often. This may have been a means of imploring the powerful "elohim" and showing that the worshipper is their willing slave. Even at present, when Palestinian women implore the help of some deity or saint, they will either ⁹⁹ uncover their breasts or strip entirely naked.

"At Mecca in times of heathenism, the sacred circuit of the Kaaba was made by the Bedouins either naked, or in clothes borrowed from one of the tribes, or religious community ^{at} of the sacred city. The Mecca ^W custom is explained by saying that they would perform the sacred rite in garments stained with sin, but the real reason is quite different. It appears that sometimes a man did make the circuit in his own clothes, but in that case he could neither wear them again ^{nor} sell them, but had to leave them at the gate of the sanctuary. They became taboo through contact with the holy place and function." ¹⁰⁰ The fear then existed that the clothes would become taboo by contact with the "elohim" or with the cult of the dead, as did anything which came in contact with the "Ka'ash". As the social group grew, and as the culture and civilization advanced, the state of nudity was felt to be indecent, and therefore sackcloth was wadded on after the clothes had been torn off (Gen.

XXXVII:34; II Sam. III:31; I Kings XXI:27; II Kings VI:30; XIX:1; Esther IV:1) or else a sackcloth was girded on over the ordinary garments. Barefeet, however, were unobjectionable and continued as a sign of mourning down through the ages (II Sam. XV:39; Ezek. XXIV:17). Later, during the period of post-exilic Judaism, the Jews merely tore a section of their upper garment (Ezek. IX:3; Num. XIV:6). By the first century B. C., or thereabouts, this custom was still more altered with a mere tearing of a small piece out of the robe, or a baring of the arm and shoulder. In the Babylonian ritual of ancient times, the worshipper is depicted entirely naked pouring a libation before the goddess. "The naked worshipper is by no means an uncommon figure in Babylonian art, and it would appear that at one time it was customary to remove one's garments, preliminary to stepping into the presence of the god."

Attention should also be placed on the custom so often found expressed in the Old Testament of wallowing in the dust or putting dust and ashes on one's head as a sign of mourning. "O daughter of my people, gird thee with sackcloth, and wallow in ashes, make thee mourning, as for an only son, most bitter lamentation, for the destroyer shall suddenly come upon us." (Jer. LVI:6; Micah I:10; Ezek. XLVII:3; Esther IV:3; Is. LVI:19; XLVII:1; Josh. VII:6; I Sam. IV:12; Jonah III:6; I Sam. IV:12; II Sam. I:2; XII:19; Esther IV:1; II Mac. X:25; Rev. XVIII:19). All these arts point to the idea that the living considers himself a slave to the ghost of the deceased. Among the Kaitish tribes of Central Australia a widow must cover her body with ashes during the period of mourning, if she failed to do so, "the spirit of the dead man, who constantly follows her about, will kill her and strip all the flesh off her bones."

I have hitherto taken up some of the mourning customs of ancient Israel. I wish now briefly to discuss the significance of the various

important days during the period of mourning. We find that special ceremonies are performed on the third, seventh, thirtieth^{31st}, or fortieth day after the death and again at the completion of the first year and often at the anniversary of the day of death. During the first three days it is that that the spirit hovers about the corpse or in immediate contact with it, seeking presumably an opportunity to reenter the body where it formerly dwelt. In order to prevent this, the custom arose to close the openings in the body, for just as the soul left the body through the body cavities, so it would endeavor to return in the same manner (Jer. XLV:9; Gen. II).¹⁰⁴

During the first three days the soul has been striving to return to its body and as such, it was not regarded as particularly dangerous. However, when at the end of the third day, the ghost realizes that its attempts to reenter the body are in vain, it becomes greatly angered. The night of the third day when undoubtedly the body gives evidence of disintegration,¹⁰⁵ is a period of extreme peril for the relatives of the deceased. And, therefore, in an attempt to appease the spirit, some sort of sacrifice was then offered to the angered spirit. In Morocco, an "association" sacrifice is offered and this night is known as the "lilet-el-~~coribu~~" night of the departure of the ghost. During this period the soul has been hopeful. When it realizes that the body is disintegrating, and that it cannot consequently hope to reenter it, its wrath is bitter. During the next four day, the ghost is regarded as a demon embittered, and therefore harmful to anyone with whom it may come in contact. The chief mourning rites were therefore carried on during this period.¹⁰⁶ These practices and rites, as we have seen above, were to either placate this dangerous spirit, or to frighten him off.

After the seventh day to the thirtieth day the mourning was less ostentatious. It may have been mostly to express reverence and sincere grief

for the departed. With the close of the thirtieth day usually some sacrifice was brought. This may have marked the final departure of the ghost to the nether-world. Those, however, who were especially powerful during their lifetime or especially great, whose ghost or spirit was consequently very powerful in the nether-world, were mourned usually for thirty days. Moses and Aaron were mourned thirty days (Deut. ^XXXI:13). A gentile woman who is taken captive must continue her period of mourning for thirty days (Deut. ^XXXIV:6). The explanation may be found in the Zohar which states the fact that the soul hovers about the body for thirty days. ¹⁰⁹ Finally, after a period of a year, the cessation of mourning arrives. There seems to be nothing more to fear for the present. Mourning is represented as a sword hanging over the head of the mourner during the first three days; it approaches him from the corner of the room from the fourth day to the seventh; it is likely to strike any member of the family during the whole year. ¹⁰⁸ However, on recurrent anniversaries of the death, continuing sometimes to three or more generations, generally at an annual festival to the dead falling about the spring equinox, the dead are remembered with reverence, and ceremonies are celebrated in their honor. ¹⁰⁹ The thought being that on these annual occasions the ghosts of the dead are thought to return for a brief period to the world above, to associate once again in some distant shadowy way with their former relatives and friends. Now, if this ghost is treated with due respect and honor and accorded the hospitality worthy of it, the living have nothing to fear from it. If, however, the proper sacrifices and honors are not accorded, the wrath of the spirit will be kindled against those who are in duty bound to supply his needs. The close of the year then marks usually another peculiar rite among the Semites known as the "qabiyyeh sacrifice". "Usually before a man dies, he requires his relatives to take some solemn oath, that they will make annual sacrifices in his behalf." ¹⁰⁰

This aids the deceased to have a better existence in the world beyond the grave. This "~~Q~~ahiyeh sacrifice" is performed not upon the anniversary of the death of this or that relative, but at some regular season of the year, usually in the early spring. The Moslems offer this sacrifice on the 10th of the Pilgrim month. ¹⁰⁰ This sacrifice is offered on behalf of those who have passed away since the last "~~Q~~ahiyeh" festival. ¹⁰⁰ The ~~Q~~ahiyeh sacrifice takes place then somewhere about the spring equinox, and in connection with a festival celebrated in honor of the dead. (I shall develop more of this if time permits as an addenda.)

WORSHIP OF THE DEAD

We have often noticed that the spirits of the departed were considered "Elohim", powerful spirits, or deities, and were to be accorded the same worship as was given to other deities. We must also realize that the mind of the primitive was so constituted that he thought mostly and largely in the concrete and not in the abstract. If he conceived of a thing, he desired a substantial representation of it, something that could be comprehended by his senses. We need not, therefore, be surprised to find primitive man representing his deities in some tangible form in order to more fully conceive ^{of} them and reverence them. And this same attitude was taken in regard ^{to} the "Elohim" the spirits of the departed. What better way to show reverence than by representing them in some form capable of impressing the mind of man through his senses? ² and so we find an almost universal custom of household gods in the semblance of man.

Among the early Hebrews we have the Teraphim. These were images, statues about the size of a man and in form more or less human. For when the messengers of Saul arrived at David's home to take him captive, Michal, his

wife, was able to deceive them by the simple means of placing the Teraphim in David's bed. This points to the fact that they must have been about the size of the human form and possessed a striking similarity to the appearance of the human being (I Sam. XIX:13-6). Another fact worthy of our attention is this: The messengers of Saul, as far as we can see, were more or less a surprise to both Michal and David. The incident, as depicted in Samuel, portrays the hurried action that must have taken place. Michal warned David to flee that very night, and almost at his heels appeared the messengers of Saul to arrest David. The Teraphim seem to be at hand. This is a rather significant fact, that the Teraphim should be present in the home of David an ardent champion of Yaweh. We notice also that Micah had a private chapel and made an Ephod and Teraphim (Judges XVII:5). In the early literature the Teraphim are associated with the Ephod which served as a means of determining the will of Yaweh. "And David said to Abiathar the priest, the son of Abimelech, I pray thee, bring me hither the Ephod. And Abiathar brought thither the Ephod to David. And David inquired of Jehovah saying: 'If I pursue after this troop shall I overtake them?' And He answered him: 'Pursue, for thou shalt surely overtake them and shalt without fail recover all.'" (I Sam. XXX:7-9; Exod. XXVIII:6; XXIX:5; XXXIX:2; Lev. VIII:7). The Teraphim are likewise associated with the Pesel and ^{Masseba} Masseba (Judg. XVIII:14), so that the Danites on invading the home of Micah take away the Pesel, the Ephod, the Teraphim, and the Masseba. ¹¹³ Rachel, leaving the home of her father, steals the Teraphim (Gen. XXXI:19, 34), and Laban in hot pursuit after Jacob accuses him of stealing his Elolim, his gods (Gen. XXXI-XXXII).

As I have previously shown, the term "Elohim" refers to the powerful spirit of the dead. The Teraphim then were also considered as gods since they were called Elolim and were associated with Ephod, the Pesel, and the Masseba. Moreover, they too were consulted for oracular utterances.

"For the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the ways, at the head of the two ways, to use divination; he shot with arrows, he consulted with Teraphim, he looked into the liver." (Ezek. XXI:26). Again, in Zechariah, we find that the Teraphim were consulted for oracular purposes although they are here regarded as false (X:2;). In Hosea III:4, we find the prophet lamenting the dreadful ways which are about to befall Israel. So great will be the calamity that there will no longer be a king, nor a lord, neither sacrifice, nor Masseba, neither Ephod nor Teraphim.

In summing up, then, these facts, we find that the Teraphim were statues and were present in every well-furnished household. They were life-size and possessed human appearance. They were considered capable of giving oracular advice and foretelling the future. As such, they were regarded similar in sanctity to the Ephod and the Pesel, and were legitimate cult objects of Yawehism, or better, were not in opposition to the Yaweh cult. For it is hardly possible to conceive of the fact that David, the champion of Yaweh, would have in his household cult objects of a foreign deity. And we have also noticed that Hosea considers these equal in importance to the Ephod and the Zebach. The very fact that the later Deuteronomic Reformation, during the reign of Josiah, is opposed to them and regards them, similar to other practices which had at first been legitimate, as heathen but strengthens this position and substantiates this point. "Moreover the ^{both} and the Y'donnim and the Teraphim and the idols and all the ~~abominations~~ that were seen in the land of Judah and in the city of Jerusalem Josiah destroyed" (II Kings XXIII:24). So we see here that the Teraphim are used parallel to the ^{both} and the Y'donnim which, as I have formerly mentioned, were the names given to the spirits of the departed because they were all-knowing and all-powerful. The acts of worship ^{of} to the Teraphim ^{are} brought out by the following: "What are the Teraphim? They slay a man, a first-born,

and he is red. All that a man requires (to know) is not written here. This is impossible since the men who dispute about the knowledge of making (the Teraphim) have increased. Every one who follows that knowledge will ultimately go down to Gehenna. And they pinch off his head and wet it with salt, and they write upon a golden plate the name of an unclean spirit and place it under his tongue and they put it in the wall and they kindle lamps before it and bow down to it and it speaks unto them." ¹¹⁷ The Teraphim then were, as we noticed, worshipped, placed on the wall, and had lamps burning before them.

The very fact that the Teraphim were in, or better, on the walls of the houses, that lamps were kindled before them makes us suspect that these may be the statues which represent the spirits of those dead who were, perhaps, buried in the home. In other words, the spirits of the ancestors. The lamp is ¹¹⁸ the same that is burned in honor of the dead. We shall see later that in early times the dead were buried in the homes, or in the walls, or under the threshold, in order to guard the home from the inimical spirits and act as protecting deities. We have also seen that the ghost of the deceased was considered an Elohim. The Teraphim then were similar to the Lares and Penates, household gods representing the ancestral spirits. This superstition continued down for ¹¹⁹ many centuries. Being statues about man's size, they could be carried about from place to place with comparative ease. (Gen. XXXI:19; Jud. XVIII). Josephus also mentions that the custom of carrying household gods on journeys into strange ¹²⁰ countries prevailed in the region of Mesopotamia. The following data ^{am} proves rather conclusively the fact that the Teraphim were household gods representative of the ancestors of the family, and accorded the same worship as was given to any other deities.

We can now understand one of the ancient Hebrew laws which appears extremely strange. The Deuteronomic Code states (Deut. XV:12-17); that when

a purchased Hebrew slave had been in service for his master for a period of six years, his freedom should be granted to him on the seventh year. If, however, the slave maintained that he loved his master and refused to accept liberty, then it was provided that the master was to take the servant to the door and with an awl thrust through his ear into the door, after which ceremony the slave was to serve him for ever. A parallel to this is found in an earlier code known as the Book of the Covenant (Exodus XX:2/-XXIII:33), stated somewhat differently, "If the servant shall say, I love my master, my wife and my children; I will not go free, then his master shall bring him unto the Elohim and shall bring him to the door, or the doorpost; and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl, and he shall serve him for ever." (Exod. XXI:5). Earlier I have shown that the Elohim was the term for the spirits of the deceased. We shall see later that often burials were customary in the house or in the walls of the house. We have learnt that the Teraphim were life-size statues hanging on the walls or inserted in the walls and considered Elohim, representatives of the deified ancestors. The ceremony is now clear. The servant, unwilling to leave his master, was adopted into the family through this procedure. By piercing the ear of the servant, a blood covenant was made between the servant and the ancestral spirits who are the guardians of the family. From then on the servant was ^{obligated} subject to honor and respect them, to worship them and supply them with all necessities. On the other hand, he had the right to expect from them the same care and protection that the real members of the family received. He had through this ceremony given up his own ancestral spirits to become a member of this new family of which not only the living but even the dead were a part. Why this was done is difficult to say. Perhaps, the servant thought that his state of servitude was evidence of the weakness of his own ancestral spirits or their displeasure with him. He, therefore, wished to attach himself to some other gods

who were more powerful, to those of his master. Thus he would escape the misfortunes that had befallen him and rendered his lot so difficult.

WORSHIP OF THE DEAD

I have previously suggested that the sacrifice of the red heifer and the ceremony in regard to a corpse found in the field ^{was} a sacrifice to the dead. In Deuteronomy XXI:1-9 the following curious ceremony is mentioned: If a man's corpse is found in an open country and the murderer thereof is not known, then the elders and the judges of the nearest town are to take a heifer which had not been wrought with, nor drawn a yoke, and bring this heifer down to a valley which has not been plowed nor sowed, and in which there is running water. There they shall break the heifer's neck. Then the elders of the city shall wash their hands over this heifer whose neck was broken and answer and say: "Our hands have not shed this blood."

On the very face of this we cannot fail to realize that some superstition underlies this practise. The fear of the unburied ghost was paramount in the Semitic world. The unburied ghost was considered to hover about the spot where its blood had been spilt. The spirit was in anger and would wreak vengeance upon any unfortunate individual who happened to pass by. Because of this the inhabitants of the nearest town were in a state of terror. It was they, therefore, that were anxious to see that the corpse received proper burial, and that the ghosts be appeased by the sacrifice of the heifer. In the Gilgamesh Epic when the ^{English} ~~ghost~~ of Enkidu had been raised from the dead by Nergal it describes the underworld pointing out that the unburied corpse known as the ^{the} ~~Limmu~~ spirit could find no rest and prowled about the earth as long as the body was above the ground.

"He that lieth in a ditch.....

He that no grave covereth

He that lieth uncovered,

The king's son that lieth in the desert or in the ruins

The hero whom they have slain with the sword." ¹²⁰

All of these are dangerous spirits to the living. A contrast is made between those who receive due burial with the one whose corpse is left uncared for.

"On a couch he lieth

And drinketh pure water

The man who was slain in battle

Thou and I have seen such a one

His father and his mother (support) his head

And his wife (kneeleth) at his side.

But the man whose corpse is cast upon the field

Thou and I have oft seen such a one

His spirit resteth not in the earth,

The man whose spirit has none to care for it,

Thou and I have oft seen such a one

The dregs of the vessels, the leavings of the feast,

And that which is cast upon the street, are his food." ¹²¹

The Egyptians believed that if the deceased were not given the proper offerings of food and sacrifice and drink, they would be obliged to wander into unclean places, to eat such filth and drink such dirty water as they might find in their wanderings. ¹²² And the Arabs held to the superstition that the souls of the slain, if not accorded due and proper vengeance, became owls who flew at night over the graves crying, "Iskuni! Iskuni!" give me to

drink, give me to drink." But when the blood of vengeance was finally shed and the thirst of the owls satisfied, this cry ceased. Similarly, Doughty relates "I have heard scritchng owls sometimes in the still night--then the nomad wives and the children answered them with cries, 'Ymegebas! Ymegebas!!' The hareem said, 'It is a wailful woman seeking her lost child through the wilderness which was turned into this lost bird.'" ¹²⁹ And so also in the Biblical literature we have the idea that the soul of the murdered man crieth aloud for vengeance. ¹²⁷ (Gen. IV:10; XXXVII:26). The ancient Semites held to the belief that the blood falling on the ground must be revenged. It is this thought, which may lie behind the whole institution of "blood revenge" which was so common and basic in their lives. The living relatives were afraid lest the ghosts attack-- them if the blood of the slain was not avenged. To oppose this "vendetta" was to draw upon oneself all sorts of misfortunes and evils by the angered ghosts. ¹²⁸ If, however, one is careful that the blood fall not upon the ground--no vengeance is required. ¹²⁸ [?] (Num. XXV:29ff.). If the blood thus poured out is covered with dust, no matter how small an amount, this is tantamount to burial, and no vengeance need be exacted. Presumably, the ghosts of the dead have been laid at rest. "Thair felt some megrims and would have his son Selim let him a little blood in the neck. The young man, who had inherited the witty wands of his hunter-father, came with the end of a cow-horn which was pierced in the tine; by this Selim who had made a knife with a few scotches, sucked up the skin and with a strip of leather ready on his tongue, he closed the hole. Thair cupped in the head, neck and back, felt lightened, he covered the blood with a little heap of dust and one who came in asking him, 'What is this heap?' he answered, ¹²⁹ 'Blood which I have buried.'"

The question might arise in our minds whether this sacrifice of the heifer may not be to Yaweh rather than to the dead, in order to placate or

appease the angry spirit. Careful analysis, however, reveals this to be impossible. During the Deuteronomic Reformation, all local sanctuaries wherein the Yaweh^{cult} was supposedly practised, were to be destroyed (Leut. XII; II Kings XXIIIff). Sacrifice to Yaweh was to take place only at the one recognized central sanctuary of Yaweh at Jerusalem. The very fact that this sacrifice does not take place at the central shrine is a proof that it was not considered to be a sacrifice to Yaweh. But rather, to the spirit ghost who hovered about seeking vengeance. We should also notice the type of place described. It should be neither plowed nor harrowed and be with running water, all of which points to the sanctity of the place. The fact that a heifer was used shows also that this was not a sacrifice to Yaweh, for all of his sacrifices were males. 12a

To sum up then, this sacrifice of the heifer was performed by the inhabitants of the nearest city because they feared lest the ghost of the deceased, being unavenged, would in anger attack any passer-by and bring calamity upon him. In order then to placate this dread spirit and appease him they would offer a sacrifice to the ghost, and bury the body, thus setting the spirit at rest and securing thereby their own safety. 12b

RED HEIFER

In Numbers XIX another ceremony of keen interest is recorded. When a person or an inanimate object comes in contact with a corpse, or is touched by some one who has come in contact with a corpse, or a vessel in the vicinity of a corpse, it shall be unclean. In order to be purified it should be sprinkled with water containing the ingredients of purification, on the third and seventh day. For this purpose a red heifer without a blemish which has never been used for profane purposes should be procured. This then, is to be

taken outside of the camp and slain, and then burnt to ashes, skin/blood and all. Cedar wood, hyssop, and scarlet thread are also cast into the fire to be burnt. After this rite is performed the ashes are to be gathered and stored up in a clean place. This then serves as the ingredients for the water of purification, which is used for those people who have become defiled. ¹³⁰ The ceremony is performed by a person who himself is rendered unclean and who in turn is to be purified by a ritual bath at eventide of the day of the ceremony. Here again we notice that the sacrifice is performed not at the central shrine, as with all the Yaweh sacrifices, nor was the sacrifice a male, but a female. ¹³¹ Here also we notice the interpolations of the Priestly Code just ^{you did not discuss this} as we found it to be the case in Deuteronomy XXI. Holzinger in his Commentary to Numbers states that the priests had nothing at all to do with this ceremony. Brewer suggests that in the original ceremonies the cedar wood, hyssop, and scarlet were not cast into the fire, although they did play a large and important role in the ceremony. ¹³²

Again then, the problem arises to whom was this sacrifice offered? Surely not to Yaweh, for it was not performed on his altar nor was the sacrifice a male. The very fact that the ashes were used to purify the individual from the defilement or taboo which contact with the dead had caused, leads one to suspect that this sacrifice was to the spirit of the dead. And the fact that it was entirely consumed at the place of sacrifice is indicative of the same. ¹³³ It is also of interest to note the continual emphasis placed on red things. The heifer is red, the cedar wood is red, and even the hyssop seemed to be red in color. ¹³⁴ The emphasis on the color of red is due to the association with blood which is always important in the various purifications ceremonies. Blood, as we have previously seen, kept away the evil spirit. ¹³⁵ Musil states that among the Bedouins of today a child about to be circumcised, a moment certainly

critical in life when danger from evil spirits is feared, is clad in a red garment. ¹³⁵ And in the Midrash Rabbi Yohanan ben Zakai states that red is used ¹³⁶ to drive away the evil spirit. Red plays an important element in expelling all evil spirits (Lev. XIV:4f.; and Hebrews XIX:14).

The ceremony of the red heifer then most likely took place not as stipulated in ~~numbers~~ on a particular day, but immediately after death or after the corpse was removed. It was performed in the vicinity of the home and not at the sanctuary at Jerusalem. It was a sacrifice ^{to} of the ghost of the dead and not to Yaweh, and the ashes mixed with water were used as a means of keeping off the angry spirits from the relatives and objects, the ghost had been accustomed to associate with. The sprinkling of the uncovered vessels was performed in fear lest the spirits seek there refuge, and from there bring calamity upon the occupants of the home. Until the ceremony was completed on the third and seventh day, the days when the ghost was most ferocious, the relatives were regarded to be in a state of danger and were not permitted to enter ^{the} home.

IV

THE ABODE OF THE DEAD

After a careful study of the Semitic beliefs in regard to the dead and their spirits, and the practices resulting from their beliefs, we will find it less difficult to comprehend the importance ^{which} of the rite of burial played in Semitic life and perhaps be better prepared to understand the ceremony of burial, the idea behind it, and their primitive and naive conception of life after death. The ghost of the dead was regarded with dread and fear by the living. The thought pervaded the minds of these people, that if the corpse were not buried properly with the customary rites, the disembodied spirit would wander about in bitter anger and attack not only the near blood relatives, whose duty it was to care for them, but often even strangers who chanced to pass near them, but especially would they make themselves disagreeable to their undutiful relatives. ¹³⁷ Many peoples practiced mutilation of the dead in order to render the ghost harmless (II Sam. IV:12). These mutilations were especially performed upon those who were considered as enemies. In many places it was customary to cut off the right thumb of the corpse so that the hostile spirit might not be able to cast with its mutilated hand the shadowy spear. ¹³⁸ The ghost then is malignant but harmless. And this is also a means of torturing the inimical spirit, for the idea prevailing was that the spirit ¹³⁹ felt all that happened to the body.

If then the body remains unburied, the spirit of the deceased would suffer, or if the place of burial is disturbed the soul would bear the pain and torture. Not to be buried, or to be dragged forth from the grave, is ¹⁴⁰ regarded as one of the most horrible ends for the dead. When Elijah is

wrought unto fierce anger at the desecration of justice by Jezebel, he curses her with the threat of remaining unburied. "And the dogs shall eat Jezebel in the portion of Jezreel and there shall be none to bury her." (II Kings IX:10). Similarly, David threatens Goliath that after slaying him his body will be as prey to the wild beasts of the field and the fowls of the air. He will, therefore, find no rest in the netherworld. (I Sam. XVII:50). Similarly, the prophet Jeremiah warns Israel of the terrible day of Yaweh when "the slain of the Lord shall be at that day from one end of the earth even unto the other end of the earth; they shall not be lamented, neither gathered nor buried; they shall be as dung upon the face of the ground." (Jer. XXV:33; Deut. XXVIII:26; Ezek. XXIX: V; Jer. XLVI:6; XIX:21; Jubilees XXIII; I Macc. XVII:17; II Macc. 5, 10, 9, 15, 13, 7; Wisdom of Solomon IV:14; Tobit XVII:18; II:1ff.) We see then here that the worst possible calamity was to remain unburied, or for the corpse to be mutilated or disturbed after interment, for these could not dwell quietly in the nether world. This may likewise explain why many people refused to mutilate the body in spite of the fact that they dispoiled it and robbed it, the fear being lest the angered and malignant spirits revenge themselves. "Arabs despoil the corpses of their enemies but do not mutilate them."¹⁴⁹

Without doubt it is for this reason that the Old Testament takes such care in portraying how the bones of Joseph were brought up from Egypt to Canaan and there given proper burial (Exod. XIII:19; Josh. XXIV:32). And the same care was taken in the burial of the bones of Saul, Jonathan and the seven members of Saul's family that were slain (I Sam. XXXI:13; II Sam. XXI:12ff; I Chr. X:12).

With this thought in mind, namely the fear of the unburied or disturbed spirit, we can fully understand the horror of Amos at the act committed by the king of Moab--who burnt the bones of his enemy (Amos II:1). In ancient

Israel cremation seldom took place. Only the worst sort of crime or immorality would induce such an act. Judah orders his daughter-in-law accused of adultery to be taken out and burnt (Gen. XXXVIII:24). Those party to an incestuous marriage are to be burnt (Lev. XX:19, Josh. VII:15). Josiah in his attempt to stamp out the heathenish cult of ancestor worship, exhumed the bones of the idolatrous inhabitants of Jerusalem and burnt them upon the false altars of the idols, thereby procuring for the spirits eternal unrest and deriling the altars (II Kings XXIII:14-20).¹⁴⁸

Only once do we find some sort of honorable mention of cremation in the Old Testament, and this is when Saul and his sons perish in the Battle of Gilboa. The Philistines mutilated the bodies by removal of their heads. The corpses were then suspended on the walls of Beth Shean. The warriors of Yabesh Gilead, who had been rescued formerly by the heroism and courage of Saul, came there at night, took the bodies and carried them to their village where they burnt them. The bones they then buried under the Tamarisk at Yabesh (I Sam. XXXI:8-13). Why this case was regarded as honorable is difficult to explain. Chronicles omits the story of cremation entirely (I Chr. X:12). Some commentators suggest this to be a corrupted text, and in place of *וַיִּשְׂרֹפוּ* it should read, *וַיִּשְׂרֹפוּ*.¹⁴⁹ Robertson Smith suggest that this act may have been performed to prevent the Philistines from exhuming the body and further putting it to shame. Or it may have been a cult act as in an expiatory sacrifice.¹⁴⁹ Schwally thinks that this may have been the custom among the people of Yabesh Gilead.¹⁴⁵ In other words, an attempt was made among the ancient Semites to keep the body of their dead intact for burial and especially the bones, for this would be of help to the spirit. In the interesting passage of Ezekiel's vision of the Valley of the Dry Bones, the picture given is that

the bones are all whole and intact. Therefore, when ordered to do so by the prophet, they could come together and be clothed with flesh and like the individual be resurrected. (Ezek. XXVII).

The conception underlying this undoubtedly was that as long as the bones are preserved there is a possibility of resurrection. ¹⁴⁶ This then may explain the extreme care given in the burial of the bones of the patriarchs. Burning would, as we know, destroy the bones and, therefore, resurrection would be impossible. The ancient Semites were extremely careful, therefore, to preserve the bones whole, unless the crime was so great that the desire was to deprive them even of resurrection. Thus, according to John, the Jews sought Pilate to break the bones of Jesus and the two criminals, for Jesus had declared himself the Son of God. This would be the direst punishment, for this heretic, was the belief, for thus he would be denied resurrection. And John is careful to state that the bones of Jesus were not broken (John XIX:33), in order to show that Jesus could be resurrected. Likewise, later Jewish sources hold the same belief. ¹⁴⁷ This then explains the extreme importance placed upon proper burial among the Semitic people, for proper burial will eventually lead to resurrection. If, however, the body was left unburied or was mutilated, then the deceased would not be the same in the Sheol.

Among the Semites it was a common custom to bury people under a tree. It was thought that the soul of the deceased would enter the tree and reside therein. Therefore, in offering gifts to the spirit of the deceased, the gifts were often tied to the boughs of the tree or food and drink placed nearby. ¹⁴⁸ "And Deborah, the nurse of Rebecca, died, and she was buried at Beth El under the oak and the name of it was called Allon-Basuthan (Gen. XXXV:8). The very tree became the Beth El, the dwelling place of the spirit of the deceased.

The bones of Saul were buried under the tamarisk tree at Yabesh. (I Sam. XXXI: 13). Sometimes the tree took on the name of the person buried beneath it. Thus, the tree under which Deborah was buried was known as the Palm Tree of Deborah, for therein was the shade of Deborah. This appears as a plausible explanation for the sanctity of trees and the worship which seems to have been accorded unto them. Under these trees lay the corpses of the deceased, and the spirits of the ghosts of the deceased hovered about the body and resided in the tree. It follows naturally then that the trees, having the Elohim or the Y'donnim, as the spirits of the dead were regarded, in them, could serve as mediums^a for oracular purposes. In reality, it was the ghost of the dead within the tree that was addressed. This would then explain the term אלון מורה the Terebinth of Moreh, where Moreh is the term used for oracular, as "Kohen Moreh", meaning oracular priest. In Judges IX:37, the same term is used in regard to the tree as occurs in consulting the dead, אלון מעוננים Elon Meonenim-- where Meonenim refers to the consulting the dead in regard to the future. David likewise awaits an indication from the leaves of the mulberry tree before he proceeds against the Philistines (II Sam. V:22). It is reasonable to suspect that the importance of tree worship is due, therefore, to the spirit of the dead residing in the tree. ¹⁴⁹ Burials also took place in the houses. This is ¹⁵⁰ presumably to make the ghost the ^{us}geni of the place. "And Samuel died and all Israel gathered themselves together and lamented him and buried him in his house at Ramah." (I Sam. XXV:1). So also Joab was buried in his house (I Kings II:34). The underlying idea was, without doubt, that if this powerful spirit who during his lifetime had been friendly to his people would be kept well supplied in his home, he would guard the house and his inmates from any trouble that might befall them. Similarly, many used to bury the dead under buildings

in order to guard the place, or at the founding of a city a person would be immured in the wall of the city or in its gates. ¹⁵⁷ In the Book of Kings we hear that Hiel of the family of Eli on building the city of Jericho immured his eldest son Abiram at the founding of it, and his youngest son Segub when the gates were set up (I Kings XVI:34). ¹⁵⁸ The idea is that he who made the sacrifice when his house or city was built, was guarded together with his household. That human sacrifice was common among the Semites is well evident from recent excavations. In the work done around Megiddo, a corpse was found in the wall, a corpse of a child under the threshold of a door in Taanah, the remains of an infant under the great altar of the citadel of Ishtarwasu, the body of a woman and a child at Gezer, etc. ¹⁵⁹ Here also may lie the explanation of the curious custom mentioned in the Old Testament, namely the sin of leaping ^{over} on the threshold (Zeph. I:9).

We are told that the Philistines would never step on the threshold when they entered the temple of Dagon (I Samuel V). In the Temple at Jerusalem we are told there were three men called "Keepers of the Threshold" (Jer. XXXV:4; LIII:24; II Kings XII:9; XXII:4; XXIII:4; XXV:18). Trumbull gives numerous examples of this and states that the threshold was regarded as the family altar on which the sacrificial blood of a covenant was poured out, therefore, it is not to be considered lightly and not to be stepped upon. ¹⁵⁴ "When the bride reaches the door of the husband's home among the Fellaheen of Palestine a jar of water is placed on her head. She must call the name of the god as she crosses the threshold and at the same moment her husband strikes the jar from her head and causes the water to flow as a libation." ¹⁵⁵ Among the Arabs of the Syrian Desert, if a man flee from his own tribe and desire to join himself to another, he offers a sacrifice at the threshold of the Shaykh

of the tribe and appeals to be accepted as a member of the tribe by adoption. 155
What then is the significance of the threshold, and why the Keepers of the
Threshold? The Keepers were to ward off the danger of stepping on the thresh-
hold. Under the threshold were the spirits of the dead who were, as we formerly
noticed, regarded as the Elohim of powerful spirits, guardians of the home. They
were represented sometimes by the Teraphim, Lares, and Penates. To step on the
threshold would be desecrating the sanctity of the spirit and, therefore,
arouse his fierce anger. In order to guard against this the watchers were
placed there. 156 On the other hand, when a man married and his bride was to
become a member of the family, or when a man desired to be adopted into a family,
a covenant had to be made between the newcomer and the ancestral guardians of
the home by means of sacrifice and libation. This is strikingly similar to the
ceremony of boring the ear of a servant.

Merely to be buried was insufficient. The close relationship of the family and clan necessitated something more. It demanded that the deceased remain a part of the family. Although not present in body, he was still regarded as a member of the clan. Each clan or family endeavored to possess a burial place of its ^{own} ~~own~~ where the ghosts of the deceased might remain and where the members of the family who passed away might eventually gather. This is the meaning of *ל'אבותיו יקבר* "to be gathered unto one's fathers". When the deceased dwelt in the family grave he could with ease be supplied with the necessities which he required to exist in the state befitting his rank. The dead existed just as did the living not as individuals but as members of the clan. 154 Because of this Abraham was anxious to purchase the "Mecorath Hamakpela" for a family burial place (Gen. XXIII:20). Here, he buried his wife and was in turn buried. (Gen. XLV:8). Tradition has it that Isaac and

Rebekah, Jacob and Leah, were also buried in this grave, (Gen. XXXV:29; XLVII:31; L:13; 24; Josh. XXIV:32) for the same reason Bar Zillai declined David's invitation to accompany him to Jerusalem, although promised many pleasures. He feared lest death overtake him, and he be buried in a strange place (II Sam. XIX: 32-8). The belief in the family grave has continued down to the present day.

The Talmud Jerushalmi states

אין מפנין את המת ואת העצמות מקבר
מכובד למכובד, ולא מבזוי לבזוי ולא מבזוי למכובד אין צורך לומר מן
המכובד לבזוי ובתוך שלו אפילו מן המכובד לבזוי, ערב הוא לאדם שהוא
ניצוח אצל אבותיו.

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To be buried in the common sepulchre was considered a disgrace.

"And they fetched forth Uriah out of Egypt and brought him unto Jehoiakim the king who slew him with the sword and cast his dead body into the graves of the common people." (Jer. XXVI:23). The common graveyard was outside of Jerusalem, and the refuse of the city was often cast there (II KINGS XXIII:6; Matth. XXVII:7). There existed a horror at the thought of being buried on strange ground away from the family grave, and it is with this that Jeremiah threatened Pashur saying, "And thou Pashhur, and all that dwell in thy house shall go into captivity. And thou shalt come to Babylon and there thou shalt die; and there shalt thou be buried, thou and all thy friends to whom thou hast prophesied falsely." (Jer. XXVI; Amos VII:17). These examples point to the conclusions we have already arrived at, namely, that a family grave was a thing much to be desired and sought after. For it was at this family grave that the sacrifices and worship took place, and here was the center of the Cult of the Dead. It offers us, therefore, no surprise to find that the rulers of Judah had a royal sepulchre somewhere in the precincts of the palace (I Kings II:43). And it seems that

these family sepulchres existed not only in Israel but among all Semitic peoples. ¹⁶⁰
When a ruler is not buried in the family grave he is subject to ridicule.

"All the kings of the nations,

All of them sleep in glory

Every one in his own house

But thou art cast forth away from thy grave

Like an abhorred offshoot." (Isa. XIV:18)

In the excavations recorded by Barton he tells of the tomb found in Jerusalem called "The Tomb of the Kings". This tomb was built by Queen Helena of Adia^{ne} who during the days of Herod the Great became a convert to ¹⁶¹ Judaism and remained in Jerusalem where she was buried.

The expressions used for burial in the family grave are the following:

האסף לעמיו (Gen. XLIX:29, 33; XXV:8, 17; XXXV:39;
Numbers XXVII:13; XXXI:2; XX:24, 36; Deut. XXXII:50; II Chr. XXXIV:28; II Kings
XXII:30).

בוא אל אבותיו (Gen. XV:15).

האסף אל אבותיו (Judges II:10).

שכב עם אבותיו (II Sam. XVII:23; XXI:14; I Kings XIII:22;
II Sam. XIX:38).

THE BABYLONIAN SHEOL

The problem of the final dwelling place of the soul after death among the Hebrews has caused much discussion and led to many opinions diverse in content. Most scholars seem to feel that the Hebrew Sheol was taken over almost bodily from the Babylonian and is an exact counterpart thereof. In order to make a careful study of the two conceptions, I intend to present here a parallel study of the Babylonian and Hebrew description of the Sheol, and from that draw my conclusions.

It is a well known fact that people conceive of things unknown from things known. The social life of a group will often play a tremendous role in their cultural and intellectual development. The Babylonians, a powerful and well-organized group, thought of their dead as dwelling together in a mighty realm similar in a marked respect to the ancient Babylonian kingdom. This realm was known as "Aralu" or "Shualu". It is a great dark cavern, called also "The Land of the Dead" or the "Land of No Return" or simply "Earth". In the Epic known as "Ishtar's Descent to Hades" we read, "Ishtar has gone down to the Earth and has not come up." Another term was the "Kigalu", "The Great Beneath" or "Underworld" or "Nakhu", "The Hollow". Deep down beneath the surface of the ground was this dark, gloomy cavern which held the souls of the departed. It was surrounded by seven walls strongly guarded by beings of the underworld. No living person could go there nor once leaving it could mortal person return; for it was the "Land of No Return", and held all there whose existence on this earth had ended.

The Babylonian conception of the Sheol was never highly developed. The dead seem to have been buried at first beneath the houses where

they had formerly resided. Sometimes they were placed in pottery coffins and sometimes in great jars and sometimes simply wrapped in reed mats. Similar to the Hebrews, they also placed drinking cups, ornaments and tools with the departed body to be used in the life beyond.¹⁶⁴ And similar to the Hebrews they considered the dead as deities or at least all all-knowing spirits capable of advising and coming to the aid of the living by answering their questions.¹⁶⁵ Because of this necromancy was a common practise in Babylon.

The habitable earth was regarded as an island lying in the midst of the ocean; consequently, in order to reach the entrance of the Sheol, which lay at the setting sun, one was forced to travel westward towards the setting sun and cross the sea. In the "Gilgamesh Epic" Gilgamesh who has set out to seek his ancestor, ~~Ea~~-Eaishkum, after crossing the desert comes to the sea. Salutu who rules this section of the sea coast warns him of the difficulty of crossing over:

"O Gilgamesh, there hath never been a ferry here

Neither hath any one ever crossed the sea.

The hero Shamash hath crossed the sea.

But besides Shamash, who can cross it?

The crossing is difficult, the way is very hard

The Waters of Death are shut in, they are closed up as with

a bolt.

O Gilgamesh how canst thou cross the sea?

If thou shouldst come to the Waters of Death

What wouldst thou then do?"¹⁶⁶

However, Gilgamesh insists and ~~Salutu~~ points out to him the ferryman who might be induced to help him across. Because of this necessary crossing, the

land of the dead is known also as "^aMat-Mabalkatu", "The Land of Crossing Over."

Aralu was thought to contain seven divisions separted by walls which in turn had seven gates which had to be forced by Ishtar in her descent to Hades. At each gate Ishtar was forced to leave an article of her apparel so that when she reached the lowest depth she was nude.

"To the land whence none returns, the place of darkness
Ishtar the daughter of Sin inclined her ear.

To the house of darkness, the seat of the God Irkalla

To the house from which none who enter come forth again.

To the road whose course returns not

To the house wherein he who enters is exoluded from light,

To the place where dust is their bread, and mud their food,

They behold not the light, they dwell in darkness

And are clothed like birds in a garment of feathers

And over door and bolt the dust is scattered.

When Ishtar drew near the gate of the land whence none return

She spoke to the porter at the gate

Ho Porter! Open thy gate

Open thy gate that I may enter in

If thou openest not thy gate, so that I may (not) enter,

I will smite the door, I will shatter the bolt,

I will smite the threshold and tear down the doors,

I will raise up the dead, that they may devour the living

And the dead shall outnumber those that live

And the porter opened his mouth,

And addressed the mighty Ishtar,

Stay, O Lady, do not throw it down

Let me go and declare thy name to the queen Allatu." ¹⁶⁹

Allatu, the queen of the underworld, was much enraged at Ishtar's coming. She ordered the porter to open the gate and admit her, but to treat her according to the laws of the underworld. The porter opened the gate saying,

"Enter, O Lady, let / Outhah be glad (at thee)

Let the palace of the land whence none return rejoice before
thee

The first gate he made her enter, and he took the great
crown off her head,

Why, O Porter, didst thou take the great crown from off
my head?

Enter, O Lady, for thus are the laws of Allatu." ¹⁶⁹

In this manner Ishtar was made to pass through all the seven gates of the underworld and naked and powerless she was brought into the presence of the queen Allatu. The angry queen caused Ishtar to be struck with many diseases. Ishtar, however, was not long left forsaken in the clutches of Allatu. Under-shunamir, the messenger of Ea, was sent down to release her and restore her back to life by the powers of the "Water of Life" which Allatu held. Ishtar sprinkled by these waters was led back through the seven gates and the articles of her apparel previously taken from her were now restored.

As we analyze this description of Ishtar's descent, we have a clear picture of the Babylonian conception of Sheol. The House of the Dead was dark and gloomy, and in it the dead dragged out a weary and miserable existence, beholding never the light of the sun, ¹⁶⁹ and because of this gloominess in the nether-world, it reacted on the dispositions of the "spirits" there. The dead are not favorably disposed towards the living and are

eager
anxious to make use of their powers to bring harm to the living of whom they are envious. They are like the demons, and because of this they are naturally feared and many rites are practiced to win their goodwill and turn their hostility to friendship. In appearance they resembled the birds, being clothed in a garment of feathers. Their foods was dust and mud and thick dust was scattered over everything. They held no hope of a joyous life beyond the grave. Nor was there in the nether world any distinction between the just and the unjust, the good and the bad. They thought that all would share the same common fate and be reduced to the same level after death.

The goddess presiding over the dead was known as "Allatu" or "Ereshkigal" and she was associated in her rule with Nergal in his character as god of the dead. Nergal according to legend forced his way into the lower world with the purpose of slaying Allatu. She, however, entreated him to spare her life and marry her.

"You shall be my husband and I will be your wife

The tablets of wisdom I shall lay in your hands

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You shall be master and I mistress."

Nergal accepted and together they ruled the dead. Nergal becomes the chief god of the nether-world. He is cruel and ferocious waging continuous battle with mankind in his greedy longing for more victories. Armed with a sword he stalks about at night when he strikes with unerring blows. That Ishtar came nude before Allatu does not necessarily mean that the dead appear naked in the Sheol. Jastrow believes that this is but symbolic of the decay of vegetation which takes place when Ishtar, the goddess of fertility, leaves the earth for the
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nether-world.

The final question to be considered is whether the Babylonians

believed in a resurrection or not. Many of the gods, especially Marduk, bears the title "Muballit mitut/i", "quickener of the dead"; Jensen thinks that this refers to the resurrection. ¹⁷⁹ The evidence, however, is insufficient. It probably refers to the possibility of a god to bring back to life those who are "sick unto death". For, as we have seen earlier in this work, the primitive idea was that the soul left the body in sickness, in death or unconsciousness, and drew near to the Sheol. For a time it was uncertain whether this soul would remain with the shades in the underworld or return to earth. The god who prevented its final separation from the body was called "Quickener of the dead" ¹⁷⁹ "Muballit mitut/i". It is extremely doubtful that this refers to the resurrection of the body after dissolution has set in. The "Waters of Life" mentioned in the "Descent of Ishtar" was used upon a living person, on one who descended into the Sheol alive. We may find similar examples in the Old Testament.

THE HEBREW SHEOL

The Hebrew Sheol, as we shall notice, is a remarkable and striking parallel to the Babylonian Sheol. But whereas the Babylonian conception was never much developed the growing Hebrew conception of Yaweh from a monolatrous deity, a national to a universal deity whose essence was moral and just, led to a new interpretation and an increasing and ever enlarging change of the idea of life after death in the Sheol. Growing out of the state of clans and family into the larger element of tribe and nation, we find that concomitant with this growth came the change from family grave to national grave, leading finally and eventually to the universal idea that the Sheol was the dwelling place for all those who had departed this earth, barring neither race, religion nor color. Thus we would expect the conception of the Sheol to arise when

through some social change the clans or family units were united into a national group.¹⁷² Just when this word "Sheol" became a Hebrew usage is unknown, nor is even the etymology of the word exactly clear. There are some scholars who hold to the belief that the conception of Sheol is very old and "dates back to the period when the Hebrew clans dwelt in the valley of the Euphrates and shared this and other beliefs with the Babylonians of the time."¹⁷³ Jastrow points out the striking similarity between the early conception of the Hebrew Sheol and the Babylonian Shalam. "It is almost startling to note to what a degree the views embodied in the ~~old~~ Testament of the writings regarding the fate of the dead coincide with the Babylonian conceptions. The descriptions of the Sheol found in Job, in the Psalms, in Isaiah, Ezekiel and elsewhere are hardly to be distinguished from those we have encountered in the Babylonian literature."¹⁷⁵

The names given to the Sheol are: Death (II Sam. XXII:5; Hosea XIII:14; Psalm CIX:17); Earth (Exod. XV:12; Isa. XIV:9; XXIX:4; Eccl. III:21); Underworld (Ezek. XXVI:20; XXXI:1, 4; XXXII:18, 24); Bor or Pit (Ezek. XXVI:20; XXXI:14-6; XXXII:18-23; Isa. XIV:15, 17; XXXVIII:18; Ps. XXVIII:1; XXX:3; XL:2; LXXXVIII:6; CXLIII:7); Shaphat (Job XXXIII:18; 24, 28, 30; Is. XXXVIII:17; LI:14). Similarly one goes down to the Sheol (Ps. XXVIII:1; XXX:3; LXXXVIII:4) and when man escapes death he is brought up from the Sheol (Job XXXIII:24; 28, 30; Ps. XL:13; XVI:10; XXX:3; XLIX:15; Lamen. III:57; Wis. XVI:13).

"For he chastiseth and showeth mercy

He leadeth down to Hades below the earth

And he bringeth from the great destruction

And there is nothing that shall escape his hand."

For the Sheol is under the earth (Ps. LIII:9; CXXXIX:15; Is. XLIX:23) even lower than the foundations of the mountains (Deut. XXXII:22; Jonah II:6).

Beneath the earth there is water (Gen. XLIX:25; Ex. XX:14; Amos VII:4) but the Sheol is even lower than this (Job XXVI:5; Lev. III:53). Similarly to the Babylonians, the Hebrews conceived of the earth surrounded by water and to reach the Sheol one had to cross over these waters (II Sam. XXVII:8; Job XXXVI:16f.; Ps. LXXXVIII:7; CVII:26; CXXIV:3-5) but unlike the Babylonians the Hebrews had no ferryman to take them across. The spirits had to fly across the water to their abode (Ps. XD:10). This was a simple matter for they were bird-like, and spoke in twitters (Is. VIII:19; XXIX:4). The Sheol could be entered by a gap in the earth as did Korah; usually, however, it was entered through a gate considered in a later period to be in the west (Enoch XXII:1-4).

In earlier times the Sheol was considered to be outside of Yaweh's dominion. In the earlier period of Israel's history ^{Yahweh} was considered but a god of the living. His rule was limited to Israel and only to the upper world. Sheol was entirely outside of Yaweh's rule. Death, therefore, was a thing to be feared, for it deprived man of Yaweh's care. It was because of this that Hezekiah sought and prayed for a continued lease on life;

"For the Sheol cannot praise Thee

Death cannot celebrate Thee

They that go down into the pit cannot hope for Thy truth

The living, the living, he shall praise Thee

As I do this day." (Isa. XXXVIII:18-9; Ps. XXXI:28).

When a man died he was removed from all jurisdiction of Yaweh (Ps. LXVIII:8). Therefore, being independent of Yaweh, the moral distinction that prevailed on earth had no currency in the Sheol. Here dwelt both the good and the bad without any relationship to Yaweh (Eccl. VIII:10).

It is probable, claims Toy, that in the Old Testament just as

in the Babylonian religion, Sheol was under the control of a separate deity independent of Yaweh. ¹⁷⁶ Indeed, Sheol seems to have been worshipped as a deity by the Canaanites. ¹⁷⁷ ^{Mot} Muti was deified by the Phoenicians. The Hebrew word "mut" or מוֹת , "Dumah" or דוּמָה , and "Sheol" were originally demons or jinns, corresponding to the Greek, "Ker", "Thanatos", "Hades", and the Roman, "Lethum", "Mors", and "Pluto". ¹⁷⁸ This appears in the name "Ahi-Moth" who appears to be ruler in the Sheol (Job XVIII:14; Hos. XIII:14; II Sam. XXII:6; Josh. XXII:14). However, ⁱⁿ no place in the Old Testament do we find any specific mention of a divine government in the Sheol. There are a few places where Sheol is personified as a hungry monster (Isa. V:14; Hab. II:5; Jonah II:2; Prov. I:12; XXVII:20; XXX:15) or death as ruler of the Sheol (Ps. XLIX:14; Job XVIII:14) from whence come the demons "Belial", (Nashum I:15; II Sam. XXII:5; Job XXXIII:22; Ps. CXXVI:3), but there is no clear and definite evidence of a separate government in the lower world. The Sheol is an isolated place, a land of darkness (Ps. LXXXVIII:6, 12; CXLIII:3; Psalms of Solomon XIV:14) from whence there is no return (II Sam. XII:23; Job XVII:9; I:21; XVI:22; Wisdom of Solomon XVI:14).

The blessings of Yaweh, therefore, are a long life in order to praise Him and serve Him; Many offsprings to carry on the cult of the dead. To die neglected of one's family was fatal to one's well-being in the Sheol. Descent into the Sheol is henceforth regarded as a great misfortune, for it brings to a close all the relationship with Yaweh.

"As water disappeareth from the sea,

And the river drieth up and vanisheth,

So when a man dieth he doth not rise again.

Even should the heavens be no more--

He will not awaken nor stir from his sleep."

The Babylonian conception of the divisions in the Sheol are also familiar to Jewish theology. Although definite mention of it is first found only in II Esdras VII:80, the idea must have existed earlier, for we find mention of it in Proverbs VII:27.

"Her house is the way to the nether world

Going down to the chambers of death." (also Is. XIV:15; Ezek. XXXII:23; Is. XXXVIII:10). The Sheol also has gates,

"Have the gates of death been revealed unto thee?

Or hast thou seen the gates of the shadow of death?" (Job XXXVIII; 17; Ps. IX:14; CVII:18; Wis. of Sol. XVI:13) and bars (Job XVII:16; Jonah II:6).

These chambers of death are not to be regarded as private rooms of the underworld but simply as its most distant corners. The distinction here, as in the Babylonian, is not a moral one but a ritual and social one. The uncircumcised or those who descend into the Sheol without proper burial are assigned to the remotest corners (Ezek. XXXII:18-32; Is. XIV:9) while the kings and great warriors sit upon the thrones or occupy other prominent positions (Isa. XIV:9).¹⁷⁹

For in early times it was the belief that all went down into the Sheol even those who were left unburied. Jacob expects to find Joseph, who supposedly was devoured by a wild beast, in the Sheol (Gen. XXXVII:30). Samuel tells Saul that on the morrow he will fall on the battlefield and be with him in the Sheol (I Sam. XXVIII:19).¹⁸⁰

The difference seems to be this: those who are not buried in the family grave are not united in the Sheol with the family shades but are cast into the farthestmost corners, (Isa. XIV:15; Ezek. XXXII:23) for the Sheol is a place where all nations dwell in death. Each nation has its definite place. To be gathered to one's fathers means to be included among the

shades of the family or nation in the Sheol. ¹⁷⁸

Like the Babylonians, the Hebrews use the term grave and Sheol interchangeably (Isa. XIV:11; Ezek. XXXII:17-32).

"For my soul is sated with troubles

And my life draweth nigh unto the grave.

I am counted with them that go down into the pit;

I am become as a man that hath no help

Set apart among the dead,

Like the slain that lie in the grave,

Whom Thou rememberest no more,

And they are cut off from Thy hand. (Ps. LXXXVIII:3f.)

How the soul could be in the grave and at the same time in the Sheol was never fully explained. It may be that the soul was considered to reside actually in the Sheol but that it paid periodic visits to the tomb. ¹⁷⁹ La Grange tries

to explain that the "Semites believed a passage existed between the tomb and the realm of the dead and that it was through this passage that the soul went to visit the family ghosts." ¹⁸⁰ This is hardly plausible, since we have seen

that all people went into the Sheol, even those who were not buried (Gen. XXXVII:35; I Sam. XXVIII:19).

The early conception of the Sheol imparts to the deceased a certain degree of knowledge and power in regard to the affairs of the living. The shades in the Sheol possessed self-consciousness, speech and movement, and were, therefore, called "The Y/donim" or "Abodh" (Isa. XIV; Lev. XIX:31; XX:6). Not only were they acquainted with the occurrences in this world but were vitally interested in the welfare of their offspring (Jer. XXXI:15). Possessing a greater insight and knowledge than mortal man, they were consulted

by the living in periods of stress and danger (I Sam. XXXVIII:13-20). And so to the primitive Hebrew mind the conditions on earth were reproduced in the Sheol. The prophet there wore his mantle (I Sam. XXVIII:14) and the kings were adorned with their crowns (Isa. XIV); the warrior carried his sword. Those who had fallen in battle or had through other means suffered a violent death showed tokens of this violence in the Sheol (Ezek. XXXII:25). Those dying of grief are ever-mournful there (Gen. XLII:18). He who in life has lost a hand or foot lacks the same in the Sheol (Matth. XVIII:5-9). "Wherefore if thy hand or thy foot offend thee cut it off and cast them from thee; it is better for thee to enter into life halt or maimed rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into the everlasting fire" (Mark IX:43, 45, 47). In other words, a replica of the conditions in which man finds himself at the point of death is maintained in the Sheol. Thus we can more fully comprehend the significance of David's departing counsel to Solomon concerning Joab, who had caused him so much trouble and aggravation during his life time, "Let not his hoar head go down to the Sheol in peace" (I Kings II:6). Joab, slain in this world, would suffer eternal shame in the Sheol. Similarly Abimelech afraid of the mockery of degradation in the Sheol for being slain at the hand of a woman called for his armor-bearer to slay him (Judges IX:54). A parallel case we find in the death of Saul, "Then said Saul to his armor-bearer, 'Draw thy sword and thrust me through therewith, lest these uncircumcised come and thrust me through and make a mock of me.' But his armor-bearer would not for he was sore afraid. Therefore, Saul took his sword and fell upon it." (I Sam. XXXI:4).

Alongside with the changing conception of the soul after death in ancient Israel came also the change in the idea of the Sheol. The

primitive idea of the Sheol as we have notice grew out of the family graves and into the national Sheol, containing Israel's dead. This naturally was a slow growth. The families had first to be united into clans, and clans into tribes, and finally, ^{into} the nation. And the national bands had to be strengthened and tried. Then as the culture of Israel grew and their contacts made them increase their outlook and widen their perspective, the Sheol became the dwelling place of other nations, each of which had a definite corner or section of its own. The Sheol was as yet free, entirely free from the sway and power of Yaweh whose dominion was only over the living. However, the growth of the Yawehistic conception could not fail to alter the conception of the Sheol. Already in Amos we notice the germ of the idea that Yaweh's power is increasing and beginning to reach down even unto the Sheol,

"I saw the Lord standing beside the altar; and He said:

Smite the capitals, that the posts may shake;

And break them in pieces, on the head of all of them;

And I will slay the residue of them with the sword;

There shall not one of them flee away;

And there shall not one of them escape.

Though they dig into the Sheol

Thence shall my hand take them;

And though they climb up to heaven,

Thence will I bring them down." (Amos IX:1-2).

Although this is but a poetic expression of the prophet, the germ of the idea is there. According to the prophet, it is not inconceivable that Yaweh might reach down into the Sheol or up into the heavens to punish those against whom his wrath is aroused. And the God of Amos is no longer limited to his own

country. If man flees to the top of Carmel or hide himself in the depths of the sea, if he flees to another country outside of Palestine, he cannot escape Yaweh. For Yaweh has grown into a universal God whose power extends even outside of Palestine. This, however, is but the expression of the prophet who was far in advance of his age. Universalism did not develop in Israel until after the Exile. Before Yaweh could be recognized by Israel as the only God whose reign was supreme he had to be conceived of as the creator of the Heavens and Earth ¹⁸¹ fashioner of mankind, ruler of all nations and people. And this idea we find expressed only as late as the literature of Deutero-¹⁸⁴ Isaiah and later.

"To whom then will ye liken Me, that I should be equal?

Saith the Holy One.

Lift up your eyes on high,

And see, who hath created thee?

He that bringeth out their hosts by number,

He calleth them all by name." (Is. XL:25ff; Ps. CII:26).

Only then, when Yaweh is made the ruler of both heaven and earth, when mankind and all are subjected to him, only then can his power extend into the Sheol, after death. It is when this idea spread and became supreme that the psalmist could cry out,

"Whither shall I go from Thy spirit?

Or whither shall I flee from Thy presence?

If I ascend up into heaven; Thou art there,

If I make my bed in the nether world, behold Thou art there."

(Ps. CXXXIX:7-8). The Sheol and the Abaddon are open before Yaweh and even more so the heart of man (Prov. XV:16; Job XXVI:6; XXXVIII:17). Therefore,

even the Rephaim (shades) tremble before Yaweh (Job XXVI:5).

But before this conception could be reached, a long period of development and evolution had yet to take place, and this could follow only concomitant with the growth of Yaweh as the Universal God and His moral and just aspect. Down to the period of the Exile and even later the belief of Israel in a future life was ^{non-familial} ~~heathen~~ to the core. As sole God of Israel, Yaweh's authority was limited to His own country and to His people during their lifetime. Death was the line of demarcation separating the individual from Yaweh. As a national God, his concern was chiefly for the well-being of the nation; the individual himself was of no account, except in that he represented part of the group. Therefore, there was no necessity for the prophets to concern themselves with the question of life after death, nor with the beliefs concerning death. Having nothing to offer the individuals, the heathenish beliefs were taken over bodily and the champions of Yaweh saw therein no conflict to the Yaweh cult. The Teraphim could thus very well be regarded as household deities representing the spirits of the ancestors, and be worshipped alongside of the worship of Yaweh, and Hosea did not ¹⁸⁵ oppose it. And thus, the various conceptions of the Sheol and family grave were maintained. The ghosts in the Sheol, moved and talked and operated for good and evil in behalf of the living. As, however, the conception of Yaweh widened and broadened, it came into conflict with these ideas which the new champions of Yaweh opposed. Thus the Deuteronomic Reformation attacks these views. Life in the Sheol was ¹⁸³ slowly reduced to a weakened state, to an almost complete annihilation, incapable of aiding the living (Deut. XVIII:10).

"And when they shall say unto you,

Consult the ghosts and familiar spirits--

On behalf of the living unto the dead,
That chirp and that mutter;
Should not a people consult their God,
To get teaching and warning,
And should they not believe in this word,
Against which there is no counter-spell?
Surely they will speak according to this word
Wherein there is no avail." (Isa. VIII:19-20).

The rapid advance of the Assyrian hosts, the spectacle of nation after nation and its gods falling helpless before the resistless power of the Assyrian conqueror seemed to the prophet Isaiah as God's plan. As supreme deity of the universe, he could do all these things. This monotheism then was one of the great factors influencing the growing idea of a Yawehistic conception of life after death. A second and extremely important factor was the growth of individualism. Even earlier the idea had sprung up that when the terrible and awesome Day of 'aweh would arise there would not be a complete annihilation of Israel. Yaweh would save at least a remnant. However, Jeremiah went even a step farther. The old idea that the nation was the unit was expressed by the proverb, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the teeth of the children are set on edge" (Jer. XXI:29). It is not the sin of one's own committance, for which we are punished, but those which others have committed before us. Jeremiah, however, came forth with the new doctrine, "Every one shall die for his own iniquity, every man that eateth sour grapes, his teeth shall be set on edge" (Jer. XXI:30). Man shall suffer for his own sin, and be rewarded for his virtue. The individual was not only a unit of a group of the nation, but was an entity in himself, to be rewarded or

punished. But Ezekiel, a younger contemporary of Jeremiah, took up the teachings of his brother prophet and basing his thought on the principle, "Behold all souls are mine, as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine," concludes that if the individual is faithful to Yaweh, he is unaffected either by his own past (Ezek. XVIII:28-8) or by the acts of his fathers (Ezek. XVIII:20; XIV:12-30). According to Ezekiel, however, judgement was daily meted out by Yaweh and finds concrete expression in man's outward lot, in the short period of his space of life. If this is so, the righteous and those that are moral should receive a just recompense during their lifetime, while the wicked should pay the penalty of their deeds by suffering. This theory could not long escape a challenge. Too glaring were the exceptions in life. Too often was undeserved suffering beheld and the time was soon to be ripe when from this soil the germ of personal immortality would spring.

The growth of individualism would entirely stamp out the older conception. Ideas become deeply rooted, and although new theories and new conditions arise, the older ideas refuse to be ousted. Alongside with this theory of individualism still ran the older idea of the children suffering for their parents. As long as Yaweh was not fully conceived of as master of the Sheol, as long as he could not ²reach down there to punish those who though wicked seemed to escape penalty in this life, the older idea would be of necessity maintained. ¹⁸⁴ Ben Sirach states "that the offspring of the ungodly put forth few branches: that the children of an adulterous wife are destroyed (B. S. XL:15); that men are punished for the iniquities of their fathers" (B. S. XXIV:25).

"We have sinned with our fathers,

We have done iniquitously, we have dealt wickedly"

cries the Psalmist (OVI:6; also Dan. IX:2, 8, 16; Judg. VII:28; Tob. III:3; Assump. of Moses III:5; Matth. XXIII:35-6; Baruch I:18-21; II:13-26; Apoc. of Baruch LXXVII:3, 4, 16).

In opposition to Ezekiel's view that man receives his just due in this world came some of the psalms and especially the Book of Ecclesiastes and Job. Since this is not the problem with which I am dealing, I shall mention it but briefly. That it troubled many is apparent in Psalm XXVII, the author endeavors to explain the situation by a recourse to time. The suffering of the righteous and the triumph of the wicked is but a temporary matter--

"I have been young and now am growing old,

Yet saw I never the righteous forsaken, nor his seed
begging bread."

But on the other hand,

"I have seen the wicked like a terrible one

Putting forth his strength like a spreading cedar.

But I passed by and lo, he was not;

When I sought him, he could not be found."

Therefore,

"Mark the perfect man and behold the upright,

For there is posterity to the man of peace.

But the transgressors shall be destroyed together

The posterity of the wicked shall be cut off."

This then is the reply of the Psalmist, the wicked shall die early and lose communion with Yaweh, while Yaweh will ransom the righteous from the Sheol which is cheerless, a land of no return, of darkness, where all are but

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shades--rephaim (Job XIV:12, Ecc. IX:5, 10) or Met/rim (Is. XXVI:14;
Ps. LXXXVIII:10). All in the Sheol are in profound sleep, king and slave and
oppressor and oppressed, good and bad alike (Job III:14-20) and existence is
almost at an end (Ps. XXXIX:13; Job XIV: 4, 16).

Even greater opposition is raised by Job and Ecclesiastes to
Ezekiel's conception of due deserts during the lifetime of mortal man. Con-
scious of his righteousness Job pleads to be treated according to his deserts.
His friends, unable to understand any other view, maintain that the very fact
of his suffering is sufficient proof of his wickedness. Misfortune betokens
God's anger to an individual and prosperity God's favor. There is, state Job's
friends, a retributive justice in life, but Job denies it and wishes, longs
for an answer to the suffering of the righteous later, after death--

"Oh that Thou wouldst hide me--in the Sheol,
That Thou wouldst keep me secret, until Thy wrath be past.
That Thou wouldst appoint me a set time and remember me!
If a man die, shall he live again?
All the day of my warfare would I wait,
Till my relief should come." (Job XIV:13-5).

If Yaweh but had power in the Sheol is Job's feeling, then he could bear with joy
the pain of this life and its trials. As we see this is but a wish not an
expression of Yaweh's power in the Sheol. For to Job the dead are gone past
the hope of Yaweh's power, into a state of eternal sleep.

"As Death is the end of all,
"As water disappeareth from the sea
And the river drieth up and vanisheth,
So when a man lieth, he doeth not rise again;
Even should the heavens be no more

He will not awaken, nor stir from his sleep." (Job XIV; XXI:13; VII).

For there is no hope of escape from the Sheol--

"As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away,
So he that goeth down to the Sheol shall come up no more.
He shall return no more to his house;
Neither shall his place know him any more." (VII:9-10).

Similarly, Ecclesiastes maintains the old idea of an shadowy or almost unconscious subsistence of man after death in the Sheol. Indeed, man after death differs not from the beasts.

"That which befalleth the sons of man befalleth beasts:
Even one thing befalleth them;
As the one lieth, so lieth the other,
Yea they have all one breath,
And man hath no preeminence above the beasts,
For all is vanity."

or

"For the living know that they shall die,

But the dead know not anything, neither have they any more reward, for the memory of them is forgotten. As well their love their hatred and envy, is now perished; neither have they any more a portion for ever in anything that is done under the sun." (Eccl. IX:3-6).

However, the sufferings of Job and the vexing problem demanded an answer, and slowly with Yaweh's power being extended even the Sheol is placed under his supervision, and the Sheol becomes under the power of Yaweh--

"The Sheol lieth open before Him,
The netherworld is unveiled." (Job XXVI:6; also see Toy,

Prov. XV:11; XXVII:20; Job. XXXI:12).

Through the growing monotheism and universalism and through the problem of individualism, Yaweh's power eventually was brought to the Sheol. This is still vague and uncertain, as if the idea is but newly arrived at. But, as before, we must not expect any radical change to take place. The later literature is full of the older idea, that death ends all.

Ben Sira views death with no hope in the hereafter (B. S. XXXVIII:16-23)--

"Whether it be ten, or a hundred, or a thousand years,

There is no inquisition of life in the Sheol." (XL1:1-4).

As a salient contrast to these views comes the work of "The Wisdom of Solomon" stating that though the righteous may suffer here, their reward will come in the future--

"But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God,

And no torment shall touch them.

In the eyes of the foolish they seem to have died,

And their departure was accounted to be their hurt,

And their journeying away from us to be their ruin;

But they are in peace.

For even if in the sight of men they be punished,

Their hope is full of immortality;

And having borne a little chastening, they shall receive

great good;

Because God made trial of them, and found them worthy

of Himself.

As gold in the furnace He proved them,

And as a whole burnt-offering He accepted them.

And in the time of their visitation they shall shine forth
And as sparks among the stubble, they shall run to and fro.
They shall judge nations, and have dominion over peoples;
And the Lord shall reign over them for evermore.
They that trust in Him shall understand truth.
And the faithful shall abide with Him in love;
Because grace and mercy are to His chosen." (III:1-9)

Psalms ~~XLIX~~ and LXXIII troubled by the same problem as was Job, by the prosperity of the wicked (Ps. LXXIII:11, 12) and the ill of the righteous, finds that like Job he can present no solution, unless he turned to a life with Yaweh after death (Ps. LXXIII:23ff.)

"My flesh and my heart faileth,

But God is the rock of my heart and my portion for ever."

Here then we have the basis for spiritual immortality, for the righteous who are chastised perhaps on this earth but whom God loves.

The problem of Immortality is not our concern at the present time. It has been touched upon here in a cursory manner simply to illustrate how this conception of Immortality of a life in the Beyond would be the natural outcome of the two factors, Universalism and Individualism, which were in a process of rapid development in Jewish life. The interesting passage in connection with this whole subject still faces us and needs investigation, namely, the Song of Hannah.

"And Hannah prayed and said:

My heart exulteth in the Lord.

My horn is exalted in the Lord:

My mouth is enlarged over mine enemies;

Because I rejoice in Thy salvation.

There is none holy as the Lord;
For there is none besides Thee,
Neither is there any rock like our God.
Multiply not exceeding proud talk;
Let not arrogance come out of your mouth;
For the Lord is a God of knowledge,
And by Him actions are weighed.
The bows of the mighty men are broken
And they that stumbled are girded with strength,
They that were full have hired out themselves for bread;
And they that were hungry have ceased,
While the barren hath born seven,
She that hath many children hath languished;
The Lord killeth and maketh alive;
He bringeth down to the Sheol and bringeth up.
The Lord maketh poor and maketh rich;
He bringeth low--He also lifteth up.
He raiseth up the poor out of the dust,
He lifteth up the needy from the dunghill
To make them sit with princes;
And inherit the throne of glory;
For the pillars of the earth are the Lord's
And he hath set the world upon them.
He will keep the feet of His holy ones,
But the wicked shall be put to silence in darkness;
For not by strength shall a man prevail,
They that strive with the Lord shall be broken to pieces;

Against them will He thunder in heaven.

The Lord will judge the ends of the earth,

And He will give strength unto His king,

And exalt the horn of His anointed." (I Sam. II).

Even at a glance it is apparent that this is of a very late origin. Yaweh is here recognized as the sole God, master and judge of the universe, ruler of all men.

"There is none holy as the Lord;

For there is none besides Thee."

The description of the cosmogony also shows definite Persian influence. It reminds us strikingly of the passages in the ^{a secondary} late Deuteronomic strata.

"See now that I, even I, am He,

And there is no god with Me;

I kill and I make alive;

I have wounded and I heal;

And there is none that can deliver out of My hand." (Deut. XXXII:

39).

And similar passages in Isaiah XLI:4; XLII:5, XLIII:11-12. The whole section pictures Yaweh not only as the supreme God of Israel, but as the One and Only God, Creator of Heaven and earth. Of especial interest, however, is the passage

"The Lord killeth and maketh alive

He bringeth down to the Sheol and bringeth up."

A similar passage is found in Ben Sirah XI:14. It is of extreme difficulty to decide just what this passage means. As I have shown above, the passage is late. It could not possibly be before the fourth century. The passage in Job, which was written about this time, knows not yet that Yaweh is powerful

in the Sheol. כלה עין ילך כן יורד שאול לא יעלה, לא ישוב
עוד לביתו ולא יכירו עוד מקומו.

The explanation given by Dr. Batten~~er~~ to this passage is that the individual may at any moment die and there is no hope for him ever to return to his kinsmen and former residence. Even in Job XIV and XXVI, the idea of Yaweh's power in the Sheol is not definitely expressed. It still seems to be questioned and doubtful, although greatly longed for,

"The shades tremble

Beneath the waters and the inhabitants thereof.

The Sheol is naked before Him,

And Abaddon hath no covering." (Job XXVI:5).

From this passage it seems that Yaweh has finally been recognized to hold some power in the Sheol. Yet how this came about just at this moment, or how much power Yaweh had, there is very uncertain. The passage in Hannah is much clearer and more definite

יהוה ממית ומחיה מוריד שאול
ויעל.

The point at question is, does this refer to the resurrection? Has Yaweh already gained sufficient power to resurrect the dead from the Sheol?

Before we come to a definite conclusion, it is worth our attention to notice Psalm XXX. According to Kittel (in his commentary on Psalms) this Psalm dates from the Maccabean period about the second century.

"I will extol Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast raised me up.

And hast not suffered mine enemies to rejoice over me.

O Lord my God

I cried unto Thee, and Thou didst heal me!

O Lord, Thou broughtest up my soul from the nether world;

"Thou didst keep me alive that I should not go down to the pit." (XXX)

Bringing up the soul from the nether world refers but to Yaweh's ability to draw back the soul which had wandered away, and to restore it to the individual thus bringing back life and vitality. The term, however, חַיִּיתָנִי is of interest. It is similar to the terms מַחֲיָה וּמָחִית.

A glance at the history of Israel may perhaps help us to solve this then. Recalling the vast influence of the Persian government over Israel, we may be certain that the Persian religion also played a factor of no small part in the development of the Jewish religion. The Persian religion was a dualism.¹⁸⁹ The universe was divided up between two powerful ever conflicting forces, Ahura-Mazda, representing the good and all that goes with it, and Angra Mainya, the power of evil. Judaism which had developed into a monotheistic religion was naturally antagonistic to this view and definitely opposed it. Yaweh was the sole God

"That they may know from the rising of the sun and from the west, that there is none besides me.

I am the Lord and there is none else.

I form the light, and create darkness.

I make peace and create evil; I the Lord do all these things." (Is. V:5).

With this battle of dualism to face, we can readily see how the champions of Yaweh would come forth with the expression: הוּא מַחֲיָה וּמָחִית ' Yaweh is the source of Life and Death. He, as the one and only God, can do as he sees fit. He can grant life, or take it away. This, although making God all powerful, does not yet refer to the resurrection. It is, indeed, but a step from it, and we can expect the idea of resurrection to follow on the very heels of this, as it actually did but a short time afterwards.

always put author's name before the name of books.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

1. Spiritism and the Cult of the Dead in Antiquity, Paton, p. 2.
2. Primitive Culture, vol. 1, Tylor, p. 433.
3. Myths of the Old World, Brinton, p. 233.
4. Taboo and Perils of the Soul, Golden Bough, Frazer, p. 27.
5. Ibid, p. 36.
6. Primitive Culture, vol. 1, p. 441.
7. Taboo and Perils of the Soul, p. 37-50.
8. Primitive Culture, vol. 1, p. 445.
9. Ibid.
10. The Religion of the Semites, William Robertson Smith, 3rd ed., p. 417 note.
11. Ibid.

We can thus understand the term "^{or}Gaol Ha Dam" (דָּוָן לַחַיִּים) (Num. XXXV:19, 21, 24). The Avenger of Blood shall himself put the murderer to death when he meets him. The Avenger of Blood was a blood-relative or kinsmen who was answerable for the life of every member of the group. This blood-tie was one of the strongest of early society. If some stranger should slay a member of the group, then it was the duty of every member in that group to seek vengeance of the murderer. If this was not done, the soul of the deceased would be restless and would in turn wreak vengeance upon its near relatives. "For the duty of blood-revenge is paramount and every other obligation is dissolved as soon as it comes in conflict with the claims of blood." (The Religion of the Semites, p. 273).

12. Taboo and Perils of the Soul, p. 240ff.
13. Primitive Culture, vol. 1, p. 426.
14. Taboo and Perils of the Soul, p. 29.
15. Prim. Cult., vol. 1, p. 481ff; vol. 2, 113ff.

15. Taboo and Perils of the Soul, p. 86.
16. Hibbert Lectures, D'Alviella, p. 8.
17. Biblical World, Hebrew Idea of Future Life, Patton, p. 11. *reference*
18. Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish and Christian, R. H. Charles, p. 41.
19. Bib. World, Heb. Idea of Fut. Life, p. 11.
20. Prim. Cult., vol. 1, p. 451.
21. The Making of Religion, Lang, p. 138.
22. The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia, Thompson, vol. 1, p. xxxv.
23. Babylonian Religion, King, p. 175.
24. Antiquities, Josephus, 17, 13:4; Wars II, 7:4.
25. In Berachoth 18b we have the interesting story of the Hasid who gave a dinar to a poor man and when he was reproved by his wife, he left to spend the night in the cemetery. There he heard two spirits conversing about the events to occur during the coming year and thus, could so order his life as to benefit therefrom.
26. The Devils and Evil Spirits of Baby., vol. 1, p. xxviii; vol. 2, p. 131.
27. Travels in Arabia Deserta, Doughty, p. 449.
28. Das Leben Nach Dem Tode, Schwally, p. 45.
29. Bib. World, Heb. Idea of Future Life, *reference*
30. The Religion of Babylonia, Rogers, p. 147.
31. Spiritism and the Cult of the Dead in Antiquity, Patton, p. 238.
32. Primitive Semitic Religion of Today, Curtiss, p. 178.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid, p. 179.
35. Arabia Deserta, vol. 1, pp. 354, 442.
36. Ibid, p. 451.
37. ^{Charles} Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of Old Testament, vol. 1, p. 185.

- Schvally*
 38. Das Leben Nach ^ddem Tode, p. 24.
 39. Ibid, pp. 21-4; 160-174; La Croyance A La Vie Future etc. Les Culte ^dDes Morts ^dDans L'Antiquité ^eIsraelite, Lods, pp. 83-5; Prim. Cult., p. 484.
 40. The Rites of the Red Heifer, Journal of Biblical Literature 1905, Brewer.
 41. Das Leben Nach ~~dem~~ Tode, p. 26.
 42. Arabia Petraea, Musil, vol. 1; ^{Arabia} Deserta, vol. 1, pp. 451-2.
 43. Two Ancient Israelite Agricultural Festivals, J. M. R. N. S. 1917-8, p. 39.
 44. Hibbert Lectures, p. 17.
 45. The Excavations of Gezer, Macalister, p. 102.
 46. Bib. World, Heb. Idea of Fut. Life, p. 25.
 47. Ibid, p. 87.
 48. Eschatology, Heb. Jew., and Christ., pp. 19ff; 41-5.
 49. La Croyance A La Vie Future etc., pp. 51-72.
 50. Eschatology, pp. 41; La Croyance A La Vie Future etc., p. 53.
 51. Biblical World, Heb. Idea of Future Life, p. 254.
 52. La Croyance A La Vie Future etc.
 53. Baba Kama, p. 82b.

עשרה דברים נאמרו בירושלים אין הבית חלוש בה, ואינה
 מביאה עגלה ערופה, ואינה נעשית עיר הנדחת ואינה מטאמה
 בצדעים ואין מופי'אין בה זיזין וגזוזטראות ואין עושין בה אשפתות
 ואין עושין בה כבשונות ואין עושין בה גזזות ופרדסות חוץ מחצות
 וורדין שהין מימות נביאים הראשונים ואין ממדלין בה תרנגולין
 ואין מלינין בה את המת.

also Tosefta, Negahin, p. 6.

54. אמר רבי שמעון בן יוחי ה' דברים הן שהעושה אותן מתחייב בנפשו
 ודמו בראשו - האוכל מום קלוי ובצל קלוי וביצה קלופה והשוטה
 חשקין מזוגין מעבר עליהם הלילה והלן בבית הקברות
 (Nidda 17a also Hagiga 3b)

55. Pirke D'Rabbi Eliezer, Friedlander, p. 253.

56. Berachoth 51a.

סח לי מלאך המות.... ואל תצמוד לפני הנשים בשעה שמחזרות מן המת
מפני שאני מוקד ובא לפנייהם וחרבי בידי ויש לי רשות לחבל.

57. Yoreh De'ah 376:4.

58. Ibid; also Baba Bathra 100b.

ת"ר אין פוחתין משבצה מצמדות ומושבות למת.

also Geburt, Hochzeit Tod, Sampter p. 150 note 7.

59. Yoreh De'ah 376:4; note Isserles.

60. Ibid 357

אסור להלין המת אלא אם כן הליצו לכבודו..... כל המתים החמחר
לרועיא הרי זה משובח.

61. Geburt Hochzeit und Tod, p. 88.

62. Yoreh De'ah 339:5 המת שבשכונת המת

63. Ibid באר היטב

מפני שמלאך המות מפיל במים שיפת ^להם המות. ובתשב"ץ כתב
שראה אחד שמתה מהמים שהיו בבית בשעת פטירת המת וכשראה
החכם גער בו שלא לשנות מהם ולאחר מזה קלה שמתה המים
יצאה צממתו של אותו שמתה ושאלו לחכם מה ראית שמצרת
בו אמר אני ראיתי את מלאך המות ששפשף את סכינן במים
שהיו באותו הבית לאחר פטירת המת.

64. Spiritism and the Cult of the Dead in Antiquity, p. 235.

65. La Croyance À La Vie Future etc., p. 201.

66. Jewish Quarterly Review 1895, e.s., vol. 7, Bender.

67. *La Croyance A La Vie Future etc.* pp. 116-23.

68. *Leviticus Rabb* 24:3

ל' ג'רכיה בשם ל' סימון אמר מעשה בקרתני באבא יוסי איש
 ציתור שהיה יושב ושונה על פתח מעין אתנלי עלויה ההוא
 רוחא דהוה שרי תמן אל אתון ידעין כמה שנין אנא שרי הכא
 ואתין ונפקין אתון ונשיכון ברמשא ובטיהרא ולית אתון מתבוקין
 וכדון תהון ידעין דהא רוח ביש בני מישרה הכא והוא מזיק
 ברייתא אל ומה נעביד אל אזיל ואסהיד בבני מתא ואמר
 להון מאן דאית ליה מכוש מאן דאית ליה פס מאן דאית ליה
 מערופיא יפקון הכא למחר עם מצמחיה דיומא ויהון מסתכלין
 על אפי מיא וכד אינון חמיין ערבוביא דמיא יהון מקשין
 בפרזלא ואמרין דידן נצח ולא יפקון מן הכא עד זמן
 דיחמון חרדה דדמא על אפי מיא.

also *Taboo and Perils of the Soul*, p. 170ff; *Tanhuma Kedoshim* 8.

69. *Wars of the Jews* III. 9:5.

70. *Mishna Kethuboth* IV:4 אפילו עני בישראל לא יפחות משני חלילים ומקוננות

Kelim XVI:7 - see Bartenura ורביצית אל איילת

La Croyance A La Vie Future etc. p. 119.

Das Leben Nach Dem Tode, p. 89.

71. *Ceremony of Breaking of a Glass at Weddings*, *H. U. C. Annual*, X. 2.

Lauterbach, vol. 2, p. 351.

72. *Folk Lore in the Old Testament*, Frazer, vol. 3, p. 447.

La Croyance A La Vie Future etc. p. 121.

73. Berachoth 43b.

74. Taboo and Perils of the Soul, p. 359.

75. Yoreh De'Ah 339.

76. Arabia Petraea, vol. 3, p. 423.

77. Arabia Deserta, vol. 1. *where*

Taboo and Perils of the Soul, pp. 258, 290.

78. Arabia Deserta, vol. 1, p. 253. *incorrect reference*

79. Belief, Rites and Customs of the Jews----J.Q.R. 1895, Bender, p. 260.

80. Religion of the Semites p. 322-3.

81. La Croyance A La Vie Future etc. p. 137.

82. Ibid.

83. Introduction to the History of Religions, Jevons, p. 191.

84. La Croyance A La Vie Future etc. p. 142.

85. Sabbath 151b אין מעצמין את המת באבת ולא בחול עם יציאת
נפא והמעצים עם יציאת הנפא הרי זה שופך דמים.

Yoreh De'Ah 339:1.

86. Journal of Anthropology, vol. 15, Frazer.

87. Tosefta Sabbath 6213

Placing Iron under one's head as a means of protecting oneself from the
demons was considered a superstition of the Hebrews.

88. Pesachim 112a. תנא אוכלין ומשקין תחת המטה אפילו מחופין
בכלי ברזל כוח רעה שעה עליהן.

This presupposes that a superstition existed that iron could protect one
from the evil spirits. (Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod, pp. 51, 58, 60, 72, 151).

89. Prim. Cult. vol. 1, p. 140; Taboo and Perils of the Soul, p. 521; Tosefta

Sabbath 6-25.

90. Tosefta Sabbath 6:5

הזיחו זר על הארץ כדי שיצטערו המתים. אל תניחו
זר על הארץ שלא יצטערו המתים.....הרי זה מדרכי
האמורי.

91. Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod, pp. 77-80.

92. ^{פס ידיו} Ibid., p. 76.

During the time of the Pope Martinus Florentine ^{Prai Fidro} ~~Pieri Teoddia~~ appeared before him with an attack against the Jews and their customs and there he mentioned the following interesting rite:

ראיתי שכתבו התלמידים שראוי לשום זר בקרקע הבית
שמת שם מת. ואמרו שהשעם הוא שכאשר תרצה הזשמה
לשוב אל הבית שיאיר לפניה הדרך וגו'

93. Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod, p. 81.

94. Zohar Haye Saph, p. 122b.

דתן כל שבט הימים נפשו של אדם פוקדת לגופו ומתאבלת
עליו.

260 page, שצמי המנהגים

כי צודע מדברי חכמים שסגולת הזר הוא להבריח המזיקין
ואפילו בלילה אבוקה כשנים וצ"כ הדלקת הנרות תועיל
לשבר מלתעות עול ולהניס הסם וכוחותיו החוצה.

ibid., page 260 b

שנים. למנהג שמדליקים זר על המתים במקומו בשבט הימים
כי בה אית ציחא לנשמתא ודאי וכן בכל י"ב חודש בבתי כנסיות
שהוא זמן שכלה גופו בקרקע ונשמתו צדונית אז

also, The reason for praying in the house of the deceased is stated.
ibid.

הואיל והנשמה אוננת עליו כל שבט במקום שנפטר המת

- ואפי' יש לו קרוב למת הראוי להתאבל עליו בארץ רחוקה
 מתפללין במקום שנפטר בשביל קורת רוח לנשמה מחוזרות ומתאבלת
 עליו כל השבוע!
 96. R. Eliezer Liberman Sophar of first half of 17th cent. עוה לשון
 מה שנוהגים להצמיד קצרה מלאה מים וזר בוצר אצלה משך
 ז' ימי האבלות.... מנהג אשר לא יעשה בישראל.

Indeed he seems to object even to the candle. The light, however, is permissible but the use of a glass of water is a heathen superstition, and should not be countenanced. However, in spite of this protest the practise is still maintained (Note taken from Dr. Lauterbach).

97. Reste Arabischen Heidentums², Wellhausen, pp. 177, 195.

98. The Tearing of Garments as a Symbol of Mourning, Jastrow, vol. 21, in Journal of Amer. Oriental Society.

Jastrow claims that the stripping off of the garments and the later concession of wearing sackcloth was not originally a mourning rite. The tearing of the garments, and removal of the sandals are clearly symbolic acts. It is a fact well-known to students of the history of religions, that in religious rites there is a general marked inclination to return to primitive fashions and earlier modes of life; to re-adopt as it were the ways and manners of bygone days. Religious customs are apt to be a stage or several stages behind the customs of everyday life, and this fact holds good for dress as for other things. Because of this the Arabs and Semites in days of mourning forsake the ordinary couch whereupon they sit and sleep, and crouch on the floor--a return to the period when couches did not yet form a staple article of furniture. Similarly the removing of ornaments from the hair and body and the general neglect of the person in days of mourning vouched for in the case of ancient Hebrews by various passages in

the Old Testament, and still observed among the modern Egyptians and elsewhere in the Orient, is due in the first instance not to any inherent aversion to the display in days of distress, but to the same tendency to readopt the simpler forms of life that belonged to the past. My contention then is, that the tearing off of the clothing is not primarily a funeral or mourning custom specifically, but a ceremony observed in connection with religious rites in general, prompted by the general tendency to preserve in such ceremonies the fashions of primitive days.

99. Journal of Palestinian Oriental Society, vol. 6, p. 15.
100. The Religion of the Semites, p. 451.
101. The Tearing of Garments as a Sign of Mourning; also Yoreh De'ah 340:16
102. Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, Jastrow, p. 666.
103. Das Leben Nach Dem Tode, p. 15.

For in Arabia the slaves sleep in the midst of mud and dirt. Robertson Smith states that the dust was taken from the grave and the ashes from the sacrifice at the grave (p. 413). Jastrow gives an interesting discussion of the use of dust and ashes as a symbol of mourning (in the J. A. O. S., vol. 20).

Folk Lore in the Old Testament, p. 76, 298, vol. 3.

When the news of Patroclus' death was brought to Achilles:

Grasping in both hands

The ashes of the hearth, he showered them o'er

His head, and soiled with them his noble face

They hung in lumps to his comely vest

Prone in the dust of earth, at his full length

And tearing his disordered hair, he lay.

104. Taboo and Perils of the Soul, pp. 30ff.

105. Zohar, p. 398, ויקהל

אלין תלת ימין דבר נש בקברא ואתבקצו מצוי

106. Jew. Ency., Mourning, vol. 9.

107. Zohar, p. 398, ויקהל

לבתר דא מתלתא יומין ולהלאה כדין אתדן בר נש מציוני מידוי ומרגלוי
ואוקמוה עד תלתין יומין. כל אינון תלתין יומין אתדנו צפשא וגופא כחדש
ובגיני כך אשתכח צממתא לתתא בארעא דלא סלקת לאתרה. כאתתא דיתבת
לבר כל יומי מסאבותא. לבתר צממתא סלקא וגופא אתבלי בארעא עד ההוא
זמנא דיתער קודשא בריך הוא למיתיא.

108. Yoreh de'Ah, 394:4.

109. Arabia Deserta, p. 354, 442, 451.

110. Primitive Semitic Religion of Today, pp. 176-206; Arabia Deserta, vol. 1,
p. 136; vol. 2, pp. 91, 118.

111. Prim. Sem. Relig. of Today, p. 175.

112. Voyages En Arabie, vol. 3, p. 73, Burckhardt: "On sait que dans la
liturgie musulmane le sacrifice sanglant d'une victime, généralement d'un
mouton, est la dernière cérémonie du pèlerinage à la Mecque, le 10 du Mois
de Dhu / Hidjdja, à Mena, le sacrifice apparaît comme le point culminant des
rites du pèlerinage."

Magie et Religion des Le'afrique du Nord, Doutte, p. 457.

Lods suggests that this festival was a development from the sacrifice
offered to the dead.

113. Das Leben Nach dem Tod, p. 35; Eschatalogy, Heb. Jew. and Christ., p. 23.

114. Pirke D'Rabbi Eliezer, p. 274.

115. *Das Leben Nach dem Tod*, p. 40; Lods writes, "La lampe est la lampe du mort, de L'ancetre de la famille." p. 239.

116. *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, vol. 1, Burton, p. 207.

Lares are considered by Christians as devils, (p. 214) and these are considered as souls of men departed. The good and more noble were deified, the baser grovelled on the ground, or in lower parts and were devils (p. 219). "These spirits which we call angels and devils are not but souls of men departed, which either through love and pity of their friends yet living help and assist them, or else persecute their enemies in their hatred." also Sotah 34b

אמר רבא מלמד שפירש כלב מעצת מרגלים והלך ונשתשח על קברי
אבות אמר לון אבותי בקשו עלי רחמים שאנצל מעצת מרגלים.

117. *Antiquities XVIII 9:5*, Josephus; also *Jew. Ency. XII, Teraphim*.

118. *Das Leben Nach dem Tod*, pp. 37-8.

119. *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, vol. 1, xxx.

120. *Ibid.*

121. *Babylonian Religion*, King, p. 176.

122. *Book of the Dead*, Budge, vol. 2, ch. 52-3.

123. *Arabia Deserta*, vol. 1, p. 305.

124. *Religion of the Semites*, p. 369, note 1.

125. *La Croyance A La Vie Future etc.*

126. *The Religion of the Semites*, note 417.

127. *Arabia Deserta*, vol. 1, p. 492.

Folk Lore in the Old Testament, vol. 1, p. 101f.

128. *La Croyance A La Vie Future etc.*, p. 169-170; also *Notes on the Red*

Heifer, H. P. Smith, J. B. L., 1908, vol. 27.

The sacrifice for the dead were usually females and those that had not yet been approached by the male animal.

129. Rites of the Red Cow, Brewer, J. B. L., vol. 24, 1905.

130. Ibid.

131. Notes on the Red Heifer, J. B. L., vol. 27, 1908.

The blood of the sacrifice was not brought to the sanctuary but it recalls the giving of the blood to placate and revivify the shades of the dead. Besides it was the offerings to the dead that were usually wholly consumed at the place of sacrifice.

132. The Talmud tells us that this ceremony took place on the Mt. of Olives which was really the burial place of Jerusalem. This also points to the fact that the ceremony must be to the dead. Rashi's comment on the section *הר המעשה*
הר המעשה בו היו שורפין פרה אדומה כמו שיתבאר במסכת פרה
והוא הר הזיתים.

Middoth I:3.

Two Ancient Agricultural Festivals, Julian Morgenstern, note 49.

133. H. P. Smith states that the cedar-wood, the scarlet thread and the hyssop which are to be thrown into the flame are symbolic of the warrior's lance, his robe of state and his household implements. This appears to me as a rather fantastic theory. I feel that these were thought to have a cathartic or prophylactic power to drive away the taboo which follows contact with the dead. (H. P. Smith, J. B. L. 1908, vol. 27).

134. The Golden Bough, vol. 3, Frazer, p. 140, 190-2, 208.

135. Arabia Petraea, vol. 3, p. 212.

136. Midrash Rabba, Numbers, XIX:4

שאל גוי אחד את ר' בן זכאי אילין עובדיא דאתון עובדין נראין

כמין כשפים אתם מביאים פרה ושורפין אותה וכותשין אותה
 ונושלין את אפרה ואחד מכם משמא למת מזין עליו ב' וג'
 טיפין ואתם אומרים לו שהרת. אל לא זכנסה בד' חח תחית
 מימך. אל לאו. ראית אדם שנזכנסה בו רוח תחית. אל הן. אל ומה
 אתם עושין לו. אל מביאין ניקרין מעשנין תחתיו ומרביצין עליו
 מים והיא בורחת. אל ישמעו אזניך מה שאתה מוציא מפוך. כך הרוח
 הזו רוח שומאה ---- מזין עליו מי נדה והוא בורח.

137. *Anthropological Institute*, vol. 15, p. 64, Frazer.

138. *Primitive Culture*, Tylor, p. 451.

139. *Berachot* 18b.

קשה רמה למת כמחט בבשר החי

140. *La Croyance A La Vie Future* etc., p. 185.

141. *Coutume des Arabes au Pays de Moab*, Jansen, p. 103.

Lay Croyance A La Vie Future etc. p. 186.

142. *The Religion of the Semites*, p. 372f.

143. *Kurzen Hand Commentar*, Budde, p. 192.

144. *Religion of the Semites*, p. 372.

145. *Das Leben Nach dem Tode*, p. 49.

146. *The Bones of the Paschal Lamb*, J. Morgenstern, *J.A.O.S.*, vol. 36, 1916-7.

147. *Gittin* 46b.

When Titus died he ordered his body burned and ashes scattered lest he be
 resurrected and punished.

כי הוה מיות אמר להו ליקליוה להווא זברא ולבדרי לקישמיה
 אשב ימי דלא לשכחיה אלהא דיהודאי ולוקמיה בדינה.

also *Sanhedrin* VII:2

148. *Primitive Semitic Religion of Today*, pp. 91-4.

149. *Primitive Culture*, vol. 1, p. 476; vol. 2, p. 315.

150. *La Croyance A La Vie Future* etc. p. 198.
151. *Archaeology of the Bible*, Barton, p. 182; also *Golden Bough*, vol. 1, pp. 223ff;
Palestine Exploration Fund 1904, Macalister, p. 17.
152. *Golden Bough*, pp. 233-4.
- As the text now exists, the author states that this was but the death of the children following the curse laid down by Joshua. This merely points to the fact that during the time of the redactor the origin of this custom had already been forgotten.
153. *La Croyance A La Vie Future* p. 194; also *Prim. Cult.*, vol. 1, p. 104-208.
also *Threshold Covenants*, Trumbull, p. 45ff.
- Another explanation offered is that these sacrifices were given to the welis or jinns of the place in order to insure their goodwill.
154. *Threshold Covenants*, p. 10.
155. *Ibid*, p. 29.
156. *Ibid*, p. 59.
157. *Folk Lore in the O. T.*, vol. 3, p. 1 ff.
158. *Das Leben Nach dem Tode*, p. 51; also *La Croyance A La Vie Future*, p. 196.
159. *Talmud Jerushalmi*, Moed Katan II:4.
160. *Principles of Sociology*, Spencer, p. 258, 350-351.
161. *Archaeology of the Bible*, p. 183; *Antiquities of the Jews* XX; 4:3.
162. Jastrow, Paton, Schwally, Charles, Gunkel, etc.
163. *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, Jensen, pp. 185-191.
164. *History of Religion*, vol. 1, G. F. Moore (article: Babylonia).
165. *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Jastrow, p. 553.
166. *Babylonian Religion*, p. 169;
167. *Ibid*, p. 179.
168. *Ibid*.

169. Die Kosmologie der Babylonier, p. 226; also Jastrow, Rel., p. 851.
170. Ibid, p. 570., ~~583, 585~~
171. Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, VI, Jensen, p. 480.
172. Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, p. ~~583, 584, 585~~ ⁵¹⁷
173. Eschatology, Heb. Jew. and Christ., p. 33.
174. Ibid, p. 34; also; Das Leben Nach Dem Tode, 59f.
175. Religion of Baby. and Ass. p, 606.
176. Int. Crit. Comm. to Proverbs, Toy, p. 515.
177. Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper, I, H. P. Smith, p. 55.
178. Magic, Divination and Demonology, T. Watson Davies, p. 97.
179. Int. Crit. Comm. to Prov., p
180. Das Leben Nach Dem Tode, p. 67.
181. Kurzer Hand Commentar zum Alten Testament, Bertholet.
182. Primitive Civilization, vol. 1, Tyflor, pp. 503-5.
183. La Croissance A La Vie Future etc., p. 206.
184. Das Leben Nach Dem Tode, p. 90.
185. Eschatology, Heb. Jew. and Christ., p. 52.
186. Ibid, p. 53.
187. Ibid, p. 62.
188. It is worth noticing the term "Rephaim". Although existence is considered about gone there is still a shadowy body. The influence of the older idea could not be entirely negated, even though the popular notion was weakened and slowly dying out. "Only for himself his flesh hath pain, and for himself his soul mourneth" (Job XIV:22). No longer is the shade capable of affecting ~~religions~~ the living. He is barely conscious of what befalls him. A complete separation of the two has not yet taken place. This

occurred later (Job XIX:26-7) where he states that his soul alone will behold God.

189. History of Religions, G. F. Moore, vol. 1, Zoroastrian Theology, p. 380ff.

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