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THE DOCTRINE OF THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD
DURING THE RABBINIC PERIOD

John Simon Levi

"Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of requirements for the Master of Arts
in Hebrew Letters Degree and Ordination"

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion
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Referee, Dr. Jakob Petuchowski



Summary

The first two chapters are designed as a general introduction to the thesis in order to "set the stage" for the discussion that is to follow. The first chapter is devoted to a brief general survey of the idea of the resurrection of the dead as it is to be found in the Bible and in the Apocrypha. The second chapter discusses the main technical terms used throughout Rabbinic literature to describe the various phases in the eschatological system of the various periods that were to be at "the end of days."

The next five chapters discuss the process of the resurrection as the rabbinical mind thought that it would take place. In Chapter Three we learn that, for the rabbis, resurrection was not a novel occurrence. There had been men in the past who had performed the miracle. God, however, is to be alone in this activity in the future. In Chapter Four we learn of the texts that were used by the rabbis in their search through the sacred writ for clues as to the reality and the nature of the resurrection. In the chapter that follows we learn of the various categories of mankind and who was to be included, or alternately excluded, from the resurrection. We find that conceptions of the world to come differed radically and that the various beliefs ranged from an all inclusive heaven and general resurrection to the selective revival of only a restricted portion of the Children of Israel. Chapter Five discusses that manner in which the resurrection shall occur and by what force and in which place the dead are to rise. In the sixth chapter the material relating to how the dead shall appear and the manner of their appearance is assembled and discussed. In the course of this

enquiry we examine the link between the rain and the dew and the miracle of the resurrection.

In Chapter Eight and Chapter Nine we look to contemporary, and not necessarily rabbinic, material for an indication of differing or heretical beliefs about the miracle from both the Jewish and the non-Jewish world. There is a great deal of evidence available within the rabbinic texts, in the non-rabbinic Jewish material of the Diaspora and in the archeological remains of the Jewish world. The archeological material in particular seems to offer itself as a valuable "control factor" in our attitude to the available rabbinic material.

The conclusions of the study are marshalled in Chapter Ten. It is obvious that there exists a great deal of variation of opinion with regard to the resurrection of the dead within the body of rabbinic Judaism. We note that whilst the nature of rabbinic thought was not necessarily systematic, in the manner in which we regard ways of thought today, the effect of the mass of material, examined in the study, plays a significant role within the history of Jewish thought and religious development (and through Judaism to Christianity as well). However, the nature of the belief and the manner of its expression carried within it the seeds of its decline, and we conclude by noting the course the doctrine took in the years following the rabbinic period.

Table of Contents

<u>Chapter</u>		<u>Page</u>
1.	Bible and Apocrypha	1
2.	The Time That is Destined to Come	10
3.	That Revivest the Dead	19
4.	Biblical Precedent	23
5.	A Portion in the World to Come	29
6.	The Physical Implications of the Resurrection	41
7.	How Shall the Dead Return?	51
8.	Heresies, Polemics and the Resurrection	67
9.	The Evidence of Archeology	77
10.	Conclusions	92
<hr/>		
	Bibliography	115

"Resurrection, Madame," said the Phoenix, "is the simplest thing in the world. It is no more surprising to be born twice than once."

-- Voltaire

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CHAPTER ONE

BIBLE AND APOCRYPHA

In any study of a subject within Judaism the writer is wise to "begin at the beginning," that is, to turn to the classic texts of the Jewish people for an indication of the limits proscribed and the tendencies described in the Bible regarding the particular belief under discussion. Even though this study is concerned with the development of the idea of the resurrection of the dead in the period immediately after the completion of both Bible and Apocrypha we shall begin by examining these earlier texts in order to be able to determine the direction that these books gave to the course of later thought. We shall see, in a subsequent chapter, the use made of the Bible by those for whom every letter and word of the sacred text was the actual word of God. Now, however, we shall turn to the texts in a more academic manner to determine the nature of the birth and the extent of the development of the belief in the return of the dead to life within both Bible and Apocrypha.

1. THE BIBLE

According to Jastrow the ancient Babylonians and the Hebrew people had very much the same concept of death and life after death.¹ "We find both Babylonian and Hebrews starting out with a general conception of some subterranean cave or hollow in which all the dead without distinction are gathered. The name given to this place in Babylonian is Anulu and it corresponds in every particular to the early Hebrew conception of 'Sheol.' One legend that we read of in

the epic of Gilgamesh tells how the hero endeavours to find out what waits for him beyond the grave but the gods remain silent. Finally one of them permits him to speak to his friend Engidu who has already died. In a scene reminiscent of the calling of Samuel by the witch at Ein Dor, Engidu appears from out of a hole in the ground. Gilgamesh speaks to him: 'Tell me, dear friend, tell me the law of the earth thou hast experienced. Tell me.' But the sad answer comes back: 'I cannot tell thee, my friend, I cannot tell thee. If I were to tell thee the law of the earth which I have experienced you would sit down and weep the whole day.' The moral lies on the surface. Man must not think too much of death."

Sheol was a world of shades. There was to be no resurrection, no escape. Jacob mourns (Genesis 37:35) that he will "go in sorrow to Sheol." "The Pit," "Destruction," "Silence" describe the place that man is bound to reach after death. Job (10:22) pictures it vividly: "It is a land of darkness, of pitch darkness where even light is dark." The dead are weak and ineffectual. Samuel protests at being raised from the pit (I Samuel 28:15) and asks Saul why he has "disturbed" him. In Isaiah 14:9 we read of the "shades who were the leaders of the earth" who taunt the great King of Babylon saying, "You, too, have become as weak as we! You have become like us! Your pomp is brought down to Sheol, the sound of your harps. Maggots are the bed beneath you and worms are your covering."

Apart from this shadow world of half life, half nothingness, there is little contained within the Bible about the World to Come and more particularly about the resurrection of the dead and hope of individual survival after death. In the last verses of the Book of

Isaiah we have a reference to a sinister kind of revival of the dead made by a late apocalyptic writer. "New moon after new moon and sabbath after sabbath all flesh shall come to bow down before Me, God said; and they shall go out and look upon the corpses of the men who have sinned against Me, for the worm that feeds on them shall never die and the fire shall never go out that consumes them. And they shall serve as an object of horror for all flesh"(Isaiah 66:23).

The same thought of damnation and horror without end is echoed by a passage in Daniel, though in this passage the writer sees that there is hope for those individuals who are fortunate enough to be blessed by God. "And many of those who sleep in the dust shall awake. These to eternal life and these to eternal horror." (Daniel 12:2) Who shall comprise "the many," the salvation of whom is foretold, is not clear but that there shall be a revival of the dead may definitely be inferred from the text. Another brief reference to the resurrection is contained in an apocalyptic passage in Isaiah in which the lifeless dust and the shining dew seem to be contrasted as opposites in a mysterious rebirth which wells up from the depths of the earth.² "Your dead shall live...they shall arise, those who dwell in the dust shall awake and sing, for your dew is the dew of lights and the earth shall give birth to the shades." (Isaiah 26:19) The verses describe a new promise made by God to His people, a promise made to compensate for the failure of the great numerical increase foretold in the previous verses of the section to materialize. The significance of the passage has aroused considerable discussion. Moore writes, "The passage is difficult in itself...The author's interest is in the renascence of the people, multiplied by the revival of generations dead and gone,

rather than in the return to life of individuals. It may be surmised that the suggestion came from Ezekiel 37:12-14 (cf. Is 66:7-9). But the concluding verse (26:19) furnished a frequent proof text from the prophets for the Pharisaic doctrine of the resurrection."³

Other Biblical references to the resurrection are obscure and indefinite and often controversial. It is generally held that Ezekiel's vision of the bones in the valley is merely an image of national revival and not of personal revival. Klausner⁴ equates the vision with the subsequent image of the two sticks joined into one that follows the narrative in the text and he gives both visions only symbolic value. Most scholars would seem to agree with this approach. In Isaiah 25:8 we read that God "will swallow up death forever" and it may be inferred from this phrase in an apocalyptic passage that even at this period of eschatological development the disappearance of the power of death had become a firm part of the vision of the latter days and "end." In I Samuel 2:6 we find the sentence, "The Lord killeth and the Lord maketh alive; He bringeth down to Sheol and He bringeth up."

כִּי מָנִים וּמְחִיִּים מְרִירָה לֵב Though this verse has been used for centuries by Jewish tradition to refer to the hope in the resurrection of the dead we may doubt that it did originally bear this meaning. In the first place it would be surprising to find this isolated sentiment of hope concerning the resurrection of the dead in the First Book of Samuel. In the second place the temporal sequence of events is not followed within the verse. Instead of describing a process of life, death and subsequent immortality in some kind of order, the passage merely appears to be saying that God is the author of both life and death.

In Job 14:12-14 the possibility of life after death is considered and then rejected in what is one of the clearest references to the resurrection that we have in the Bible. "So man lieth down and riseth not, until the heavens be no more they shall not awake nor be raised out of their sleep...If a man die shall he live again?" Job rejects the possibility of life after death and the revival of the dead. Perhaps the significant point to be noted is that Job must consider the possibility of the reality of the resurrection and, even though he rejects it, he is at least familiar with the concept as an explanation of eventual theodicy.

There are a number of other incidents and references in the Bible, some of which we have already mentioned, that seem to have some connection with an early belief in life after death and the physical revival of the body. Magic appears a number of times in stories about those who have died. Elisha makes a boy live again (II Kings 4:32). His master, Elijah, not only restores a child to life (I Kings 17:22) but when the time comes for him to share the fate of all mankind he is taken up to Heaven in a fiery chariot and escapes death. (II Kings 2:11) Enoch too (Genesis 5:24) ends his life in a mysterious manner and walks "with God" and is no more, but what has happened is too enigmatic to permit very much valid speculation. The witch at Ein Dor is able to summon the dead prophet Samuel back into the ken of the living in order to give a baleful message to King Saul (I Samuel 28:15). Then, too, there is a "tree of life" in the Garden of Eden (Genesis 3:24) the eating of whose fruit brings death to a previously immortal Adam and Eve. Finally there is the hope expressed in Psalm 16:9-10 that God "shall not abandon my soul to Sheol and Thou shalt

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not permit Thy righteous ones to see the pit." Perhaps it was only the fear of death, and the shadow world that awaited, which produced this cry, though it is possible that here we see the beginning of a greater hope in the eventual saving power of God from the horror of an eternity of gloom.

2. THE APOCRYPHA

The uncertainty of dating the later books and passages of the Bible complicates the process of determining the sequence and importance of the earlier canonical references to the resurrection. The Apocrypha, however, provides us with a number of quite explicit and detailed references to the doctrine which are a little easier to place within an historical context. Taking the second century before the Common Era as our starting point we are able to see a recognizable development within the literature.

The Book of Jubilees, which is one of the earliest of the writings of the Apocrypha, has the dead at rest in the earth and although their bodies do not revive, their souls rejoice in the knowledge of God's ultimate justice.⁵ Ben Sirach states very definitely, on a number of occasions, that there is no resurrection, that death is the destiny of all mankind and the end of man is the worm. Though Ben Sirach would seem to deprive us of a source of knowledge of Jewish belief in the resurrection his very emphasis of a denial in the belief at a time when others were describing the details of this process is significant in itself. Ben Sirach refers merely to "the rest" of the dead. He preached that "in Sheol there is no delight" (14:16) and said to those who mourn the dead, "Remember him not for he hath no

hope...When the dead is at rest let his memory rest." (38:21-33) Baron remarks that Ben Sirach "was so outspoken that many modern scholars are inclined to regard him as an outright Sadducee."⁶

There is considerable difference of opinion between the scholars regarding the universality of the resurrection as depicted by the Apocrypha. According to H. J. Wicks there is sufficient ground in the Ethiopic Enoch 10:21 and 22:3 to judge that resurrection will be universal.⁷ Yet in the edition of the book by Charles the opposite view is advanced on the grounds that if this were so, and all mankind was to be involved in the revival of the dead, it would be "solitary and unique in pre-Christian Apocrypha."⁸ In the Book of Jubilees we find a single statement that might have a bearing on our subject as we read, "At that time the Lord will heal His servants, and they will rise up and see great peace and drive out their enemies." (23:30). Whilst this statement need not involve any revival from the dead the following verse in the text does concern itself with spiritual immortality: "Their bones shall rest in the earth and their spirits will have much joy." (23:31).

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs in general have a universal aspect to their whole content and salvation is for both Jew and Gentile. Indeed God's justice will be made manifest to all humanity. "All men shall rise, some unto glory and some unto shame." (Testament of Benjamin, 10:8). In the Book of Wisdom 5:15 we have the idea of immortality, if not physical resurrection, discussed at some length. "But the righteous shall live forever and in the Lord is their reward, and the care of them is with the Most High." The same book tells us that "the souls of the righteous are in the hands of God, there shall

no torment touch them." (3:1). In the same manner we read in the II Maccabees 2:18 that after death God "will quickly have mercy upon us and gather us together from under the heavens into the Holy Place..." That persecution and disappointment helped produce the hope in the resurrection is demonstrated by II Maccabees when in the account of the martyrdom of the seven sons (Chapter 7) one hero says, "But the King of the World shall raise up those who have died for His law unto an eternal renewal of life." In a description of prayer made in the Temple in the same book (12:43,44) a polemical note is introduced concerning the relation of worship to the condition of the dead. "He sent to Jerusalem to offer a sin sacrifice, doing right in this manner and in an honorable fashion, in that he took thought of the resurrection. If he were not expecting that those who had fallen would rise again, it would have been superfluous and idle to pray for the dead."

The evidence from the texts indicates that the books of the Apocrypha to be dated as being "early" (and hence of being within or near the third century) lack a belief in the resurrection. Of the later books only Ben Sirach sees fit to deny the reality of the doctrine whilst many of the other works incorporate the belief into their pronouncements and theology. It is difficult to discern very much systematic thought about the revival of the dead within the mass of literature known as the Apocrypha. Apart from the lateness of our texts concerning the revival of the dead not very much can be added to our knowledge of the development of any systematic doctrine other than the fact that the idea did exist and that it was discussed and known by many of the authors of the books. For some it was a matter which did not impinge upon their beliefs, for others it was a matter

which would involve all or part of the people of Israel and for yet a third group all mankind was to be involved. At least one writer saw fit to deny the reality of the resurrection and another saw the need to defend the belief. The development and adoption of the idea within rabbinic literature demonstrates that the belief in the resurrection of the dead was not a new one. We have seen above how portions of the apocryphal literature together with several late Biblical texts would confirm this observation.

CHAPTER TWO

THE TIME THAT IS DESTINED TO COME

Between the Bible and the Apocrypha, on the one hand, and the literature of the Tannaim and Amoraim, on the other hand, there is a considerable intellectual change in manners of expression and outlook. No longer do we deal with individual expressions of religiousity, of comfort, rebuke or inspiration. Now we find ourselves within a world that deals with proof texts and authority, of debate and pithy statements, of quotation and of hearsay. The nature of the particular problem with which we are dealing changes too. No longer do we look for expressions of comfort or hope embodied in larger essays or epics on inspired themes. Now our search takes us among textual material gathered over a period of some eight to nine hundred years in conditions which ranged from persecution to political independence, from religious polemics to the creation of legalistic formula.

Hence our task will be difficult. The unifying thread will be the slender one of theme and not of thought and we shall use all available material which seems to involve thinking about the resurrection of the dead. We are to explore the full variation of Jewish thinking about the resurrection in the very era that rabbinic Judaism came into being and established itself as the 'normative' religion of the Jews.

The first problem is one of chronology for the awesome occurrence of the resurrection had to take place within the foreseeable future of the world. The secret of the rising of the dead from the grave was hidden but that it would take place in the fullness of time

was the belief of the bulk of Jewry in post-Biblical times. Whether the resurrection was to take place before the Day of Judgement or during it and who was to perform the miracle, God or the Messiah, and whether the dead were to rise to live in a new world or to see the end of the old one is a perplexing and many-sided problem. In discussing the concept of the resurrection it is important to understand that there were differences that existed between many of the various states through which the world was to pass. The terms "world to come"

(עוֹלָם הַבָּא), "day of judgement" (יוֹם הַדִּין) and "the days of the Messiah" (דְּנֵי הַמָּשִׁיחַ) are separate technical expressions used by the rabbis to describe differing events and separate states of being. Though these different expressions may have had quite definite associations at the beginning of the rabbinic era they seem to have lost a great deal of their force and singleness of meaning in the course of the many centuries that belong to this study. However the process of the resurrection involved so many different factors that it does seem possible to deduce a certain order behind the different statements found within our texts. That there always were distinctions between the separate terms seems certain. Our task is to work with these, the expressions, and to discern the chronological sequence of events involved in the belief about the process of the resurrection of the dead.

Within the apocryphal and apocalyptic material in our possession we are able to discern five main ideas about the nature of the future that "set the tone" for later Tannaitic discussion and development about this complex subject. According to such writers as the author of the Book of Jubilees the Kingdom of the Messiah is an earthly Kingdom that

shall remain forever. (Jubilees 23:26ff). In the Similitudes of Enoch (Enoch 37-70) the earthly Kingdom is invested with a more supernatural background. The souls of the righteous immediately enter Heaven at death, where they remain until the resurrection (Enoch 39:4-7) The Messiah, who has been waiting in Heaven, appears on earth to overthrow the enemies of Israel and to bring about the resurrection. "I will transform the heavens and make it an eternal blessing and light, and I will transform the earth and make it a blessing." (Enoch 45:4-5). The Kingdom of God at the end of days thus becomes a joining of heaven and earth. According to the Slavonic Enoch life in the future will be in a world transformed. "...and they will live eternally and then too there will be amongst them neither labour, no sickness, no humiliation, no anxiety, no need, no violence, no night, no darkness but great light. And they shall have a great indestructible wall, and a paradise, bright and incorruptible, for all corruptible things shall pass away and there will be eternal life!" (Slavonic Enoch 65:8-10). Baruch writes of a more earth-centered initial apocalyptic Kingdom. "The earth will bring forth its fruit ten thousandfold..." (Baruch 29:5). At the end of this era the Messiah who has reigned over the earth returns to his heavenly abode and the resurrection takes place. The dead arise as they died and they are transformed by God so that they are "like unto angels." (Baruch 51:10). There are therefore two stages in the future as described by Baruch. The Kingdom of God on earth followed by an eternal Kingdom in Heaven. The book known as the Fourth Ezra, one of the later Apocalyptic works, writes of the establishment of a temporary Messianic Kingdom lasting 400 years (4 Ezra 7:28). The Messiah then dies along with the rest of mankind. There

follows a brief period of silence (4 Ezra 7:28 f.) followed in turn by the resurrection of the dead, the judgement of those who have been brought back to life and then a final age in a World to Come that is veiled in mystery.

We are warned of the confusion attendant upon these terms and expressions regarding the end of the world and of time by Joseph Klausner.¹ He writes: "One of the most difficult problems in connection with the Jewish Messianic idea is this: In what manner and to what extent can we distinguish the Messianic Age from the World to Come in its broader sense? As I see the matter, the 'world to come' in its broader sense is, on the one hand, the life after death with joys and rewards and punishments (Paradise and Gehenna), and on the other hand, the ideas about the judgement of the righteous and the wicked after death, the resurrection of the dead and the renewal of the world. Until the tenth century C.E. the Jewish religion had no fixed and rigid dogmas. Even its most devout teachers used the greatest freedom in dealing with Messianic ideas, as well as with ideas of the life after death." The distinction between the Messianic age and the World to Come was recognized by Maimonides. "The final reward and the ultimate good, endless and perfect, is the life of the world to come; but the Days of the Messiah belong to this world, and will be as the world customarily is, except that sovereignty will be restored to Israel."²

That this topic is not simple is proven by the multiplicity of opinions held by the scholars as to the exact sequence of events and the nature of the different terms. Moore, for example, would appear to disagree with Klausner as he places the resurrection as introducing

the Messianic Age.³ "In the original apprehension this resurrection was to occur at the inauguration of the Messianic Age, and was for the righteous dead of Israel only, who were brought back to life to enjoy in their own land the blessings of that time. This belief was not displaced by the eschatological conception of a righteous and wicked judgement, but persisted beside it." Yet another approach is provided by Schürer who writes that a general resurrection of the dead was to take place before the final judgement rather than at the inauguration of the Messianic Kingdom.⁴

It would seem that Moore is correct in his remark that the resurrection was connected with the more immediate advent of the Messiah (though we shall see that more classes and kinds of people and things were to be brought back to life than purely "the righteous dead of Israel"). The World to Come was a mystery even to the rabbinic mind whilst at the same time the days of the Messiah could often be envisaged and imagined in great detail. In the Talmud Jerushalmi (Shabbat 1:5) we learn that the miracle of the raising of the dead was one of the wonders to be performed by the Messiah and his precursor Elijah the Prophet. In the Midrash on Exodus (23:2)** we learn that the patriarchs preferred to be buried within the land of Israel because there "the dead would live first in the days of the Messiah." A clear distinction between the Days of the Messiah and the World to Come is made in the following brief passage that illustrates clearly the hesitancy on the part of many of the rabbis to describe in detail the world from which no one has ever returned.

** The same expression is to be found in Genesis Rabbah 76:7 and Yalkut Tehillim 888

"R. Johanan said: Every prophet prophesied only for the Days of the Messiah; but as for the World to Come, no eye has ever seen what God had prepared for those who wait for Him."⁵ This last example, incidentally, would seem to refute the contention made in an article by yet another scholar who, writing on the resurrection of the dead, stated: "It is important to notice the distinction which is made between enjoying the World to Come and 'arising for the Judgement Day.' Thus it is stated that those who perished in the flood will neither enjoy the World to Come nor arise for the Day of Judgement, while according to the general opinion, the inhabitants of Sodom will arise at the Day of Judgement, but will not be permitted to enjoy the World to Come."⁶

The clue to a solution of these contradictory opinions may have been provided by the statement of R. Johanan's which places the actual resurrection within human ken and hence during the Days of Messiah whilst what is to happen after the resurrection and the subsequent final judgement is said to belong to the World to Come. This World to Come could not be foreseen but it would exist and this new life would not end. So it is that we read statements like: "The righteous, whom the Holy One Blessed be He, will resurrect will not revert to the dust...Just as the Holy One Blessed be He endures forever so shall they endure forever."⁷

The person of the Messiah is to be involved in the process of the resurrection though his role is far from dominant in the texts that we have before us. In one case it will be one of the proofs of identity demanded of him by the people of the world. To make sure of the identity of the Messiah he will have to perform the miracle

of the resurrection reviving such dead as had been known personally.⁸ There are, however, very few references linking the actual person of the Messiah to the resurrection. The resurrection shall be in his time but he shall not be the power that revives the dead. The overwhelming tendency of our texts is to link the miracle with God directly. "How shall the Holy One Blessed be He revive the dead? He shall take a huge Shofar..."⁹ "The dead also will come to life only after three days (from the beginning of the final judgement) as it says, 'On the third day He will raise us up, that we may live in His presence.' (Hosea 6:2) In the hour of resurrection the Holy One Blessed be He shall descend from the Heavens on high and shall be on his throne in Jerusalem and the Holy One Blessed be He summons the ministering angels and says to them: 'Go and wander with the four winds of the earth and lift up the four corners of the earth and make pardon in the earth for every righteous man that is outside the land of Israel unto the land of Israel. Bring to Me every righteous man.'"¹⁰

The return to life had, quite naturally, to be accomplished before the life to come could be enjoyed. Judgement would follow the resurrection. Eternal life, as we shall see when we discuss the rewards and punishments to be visited upon the reborn, was by no means guaranteed by the opening of the graves and the reconstitution of the body and the reappearance of a definite personality.¹¹ "Said R. Shimeon be Elazar: With this ('At that time...they shall bring out the bones of the Kings of Judah...and they shall spread them before the sun.' Jeremiah 8:1) I have proved the fallacy of the books of Sadducees who say that the dead will not live again. For I said to them: It is said 'That soul shall be utterly cut off, his iniquity shall be

upon him' which last words must mean that the soul will have to give an account in the Day of Judgement."¹²

The resurrection was the sure sign of the Messiah for the rising of the dead would necessitate his arrival to institute justice and the Kingdom of God. "R. Phineas ben Jair used to say, '...saintliness leads to the holy spirit; the holy spirit leads to the resurrection of the dead; the resurrection of the dead leads to Elijah the prophet (and hence to the Messiah)!"¹³ The process of redemption and resurrection is thus clear and logic would demand that it be in this order anyway.

The confusion of terms regarding the last stages of life and of the world does not affect the debate about the resurrection as seriously as could be imagined. The separate eras through which the world was to pass came to be known by many names but the position of the resurrection at the "end of days," brought about or indicated by the arrival of the Messiah and the ushering in of the reign of God, (whether it was to be on earth or in Heaven) does nothing to change the central and vital position of the miracle. In Strack and Billerbeck's authoritative "Kommentar zum Neuen Testament," there is a rather lengthy section devoted to the very topic of "This World, the Day of the Messiah and the Future World" that endeavours to describe the development of the different terms used to describe the various states of the apocalyptic vision.¹⁴ It will be worth while to briefly summarize the scheme which is presented before proceeding to discuss the actual process of the resurrection.

Within the Rabbinic period we find that there are initially three main terms with specific meanings attendant upon them. The עַלְמָא דְּמַלְכוּתָא "This World," the ד'עֵלְוָה דְּמַלְכוּתָא "The Days of the Messiah" or the

Kingdom of God on earth and the 1000 yrs. "The World to Come" introduced by the resurrection and the final Day of Judgement. The Days of the Messiah were considered by some to be full of trouble and war. The length of this intermediate period differed considerably from sage to sage. The Tanna Rabbi Akiba thought that it would be as long as the years of the wandering in the desert after Egypt. The Amora Samuel was inclined to think it would endure four thousand years before the final hour was reached.

Samuel was of the opinion that the only difference between the present age and the Age of the Messiah was that in the latter period Israel would be mistress of her own fate—that she would be politically independent. The Days of the Messiah became, in this way, less important than the culminating World to Come. Similarly the World to Come took on many of the characteristics of the formerly important Age of the Messiah. It was in the course of this change that considerable confusion in terminology arose. The World to Come acquired a number of different characteristics and stages. In one case it became the intermediate heavenly destination of the souls after death. For another school of thought it was held to refer to the saving power of God within this life and became a symbol of earth bound salvation.

CHAPTER THREE

THAT REVIVEST THE DEAD

The process of the resurrection of the dead was extensively discussed. We shall see, in a later chapter, how the body was to be reconstituted and where it was to rise again; however, before we examine these problems, we should note the special power of God that was required for the working of this act. It is mentioned a number of times that God is not and was not the only power that could bring about resurrection. We have already mentioned those prophets who brought the dead back to life. Their power came from God and they acted as agents of the Divine but they had revived the dead and hence they had demonstrated that it was possible for man to accomplish this feat. There is even the suggestion that the fact that the resurrection had been performed by men ensured the possibility of its being performed by God. "If a man should ask how the Holy One Blessed be He shall revive the dead, say to him that it has already been done by Elijah, Elisha and Ezekiel."¹ The story of Elijah and the child is mentioned frequently as a kind of "proof text" for the feasibility of resurrection. In one Midrash it is said that Elijah himself "revived the dead"² and in another passage it is ^{the} direct and miraculous power of God that achieves the same result.³ "Elijah stood and prayed before God and said: 'Now teach the generations that there is resurrection of the Dead.' Restore the soul of the child." In another passage the miracle of the raising of the dead is numbered among the wonders that the Messiah and his precursor Elijah will perform when they usher

in the Kingdom of God. This particular ability is described "as a share of God's glory" by one Midrash, which adds, "God quickens the dead, and He gives a share of His glory to Elijah that also revived the dead as is proved by the text: And Elijah said 'See, thy son liveth' (I Kings 17:23)."

We shall have occasion to note in the following chapter that the story of the dry bones, as described by Ezekiel, was considered by some to be a revival of the dead only in the form of a parable. From a number of passages, however, it is evident that other authorities attributed to the prophets the real power of reviving the dead. One statement in the Talmud takes the example of Elisha as indicative of a much more widespread ability on the part of many to revive those who are dead. "Elisha is not the only man who made the dead come to life again, in the world to come the righteous will make the dead live again." It is related in some detail how and why the righteous are to be involved in this miracle. "R. Samuel ben Nachmani said in R. Jonathan's name: The righteous are destined to resurrect the dead for it is said 'There shall old men and old women sit in the broad places of Jerusalem every man with his staff in his hand for every age' (Zechariah 8:5). And it is written '...and lay my staff upon the face of the child.' (II Kings 4:29) (when Elijah resurrected the child)."

If the righteous of the future world were to be invested with the ability to make the dead live again so the righteous of the past had already had an opportunity to do so. The Midrash claims that Abraham was accustomed to revive both men and animals. "And as the Messianic time was made known to Abraham, so also was the time of the

resurrection of the dead. When he had laid the pieces of the animals together (the animal that had been previously sacrificed) the animals came to life again."⁹ It was Isaac who invented the important concluding blessing in the Amidah וְיָיְהוָה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ.

Isaac, the Midrash tells us, died of fright on Mt. Moriah when Abraham bound him on the altar and raised his hand with the knife to slay him. The Lord speaks to Abraham and the miracle occurs: "(Isaac's) spirit returned to his body and he stood on his feet and Isaac knew that the resurrection of the dead is from the Torah, that all the dead are destined to live in that same hour. He opened his mouth and said: 'Blessed Art Thou O Lord Who revivest the dead.'"¹⁰

Not to be outdone by the activities of other Biblical personalities and prophets we find that in the world to come the righteous will have a share in the performance of the miracle.¹¹ Ezekiel is told by God, in one narrative, to resurrect the dead in the plain of Dura and the bones that he brings up from the earth smite King Nebuchadnezzar in the face causing him to utter praises of the Lord!¹² The dead revived, whilst Moses was alive, in greater numbers. A literal application of the life-giving qualities of the Torah gave rise to the statement, "All the words of the Torah can cause death and can cause life." So it was that the revelation at Sinai caused the dead to arise so that they too could hear the word of God.¹³

There are some passages which take the power of resurrection into the days of the rabbis themselves. The revival of Lazarus (John, Chap. 11) was by no means unique in the world of 1900 years ago. "Antonius went to Rabbi and found him sitting with his disciples before him. Said Antonius to Rabbi: 'Are these the men of whom you boast?' He

answered, 'Yes! The least of them can revive the dying.' After some time a servant of Antoninus was on the point of dying and the latter sent to Rabbis saying, 'Send me one of your disciples that he may revive this dying man.' He sent him one of his disciples-some say it was R.Simeon ben Chalafta-who went and found the man lying down. He said to him: 'How is it that you are lying down whilst your master is standing on his feet?' Immediately the man broke out in perspiration and arose."¹⁴

Finally we read of one incident involving a rather remarkable feat of healing which indicates that, for the rabbis, the concept of the revival of the dead even extending into the realm of the animal kingdom was by no means a strange one. Even the animals were to be brought back to life and could themselves revive others. "It happened that someone was walking from the land of Israel to Babylonia and whilst he was eating some bread he saw two birds pecking each other. One killed his companion and then went and brought some grass and laid it upon its mouth and it revived. Then the man went and took the same grass and used it himself to resurrect dead people."¹⁵

CHAPTER FOUR

BIBLICAL PRECEDENT

The Bible as the Source of Proof Texts

"If a man should ask how the Holy One Blessed be He shall revive the dead, say to him that it has already been done by Elijah, Elisha and Ezekial."¹ It was natural that any appeal for precedent in the texts that we are now studying should be based upon the Bible, and Biblical personalities. We have already dealt with ideas relating to the life after death and the resurrection that can be found within our material from Biblical times. The Tannaitic authorities however found many more proof texts for their exposition of the doctrine than the modern mind is able to accept and it is these "proof texts" that we shall now examine. From the texts that were utilized to prove the hope of the resurrection we may learn much about the belief itself. The Bible was the source book of all knowledge and so had to be made to contain references to the resurrection of the dead. Reason may have taught the ancient mind that there was a form of life after death and faith may have formed the notion of a resurrection but only appropriate Biblical confirmation of this belief could ensure its validity.

To disbelieve that the resurrection could be found in the Torah was an extremely serious incursion into the realm of heresy. That such evidence was very difficult to find could not be denied. "There is no portion of the Torah which does not contain the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, only we have not the necessary power to expound it." One of the most widely known "proofs" of the resurrection demon-

strates clearly the difficulties which faced the rabbis in their exposition of the doctrine. "From whence is the resurrection of the dead from the Torah? As it is said: 'Then Moses sang.' וְעַל is not said but וְעַל. 'Then Joshua built an altar to the Lord.' וְעַל is not said but וְעַל. From here we may deduce that the resurrection of the dead is from the Torah."³

In similar fashion the question is asked and answered: "Whence is the doctrine of the Resurrection derived from the Torah? As it is said, 'You shall give the Lord's heave offering to Aaron the priest.' (Numbers 18:28). But did Aaron live forever to receive the offering? Is it not true that he did not enter the Land of Israel? Consequently the text teaches that he is to be restored to life and will receive the heave-offering. Hence resurrection is to be deduced from the Torah."⁴ In Deuteronomy 4:4 we read, "You that did cleave unto the Lord your God are alive every one of you this day." The Talmud comments, "Even on the day when people in general are dead you will live, and as you are all alive this day so will you all live in the World to Come."⁵

Even the smallest hint of an action or a promise yet uncompleted or unfulfilled is seized upon in the struggle to find evidence for this vital debate. "For dust thou art and unto dust thou shall return." (Genesis 3:19). "This is not said apart from 'Thou shall return.' -- Here scripture hints at the resurrection of the dead."⁶ There are a number of comments on the different texts referring to Death and Life. One authority said, "This is one of the four promises that God gave to them as a hint about the resurrection of the dead. 'I kill and give life.' וְעַל וְעַל וְעַל (Deut. 32:39) 'My soul shall die the death of the righteous.' וְעַל וְעַל וְעַל (Num.

23:10). 'Reuben shall live and not die.' וְיָחִיד וְיָחִיד וְיָחִיד
 (Deut. 33:6)"⁷ A further exposition of the text "I kill and I give
 life" speaks of those who deny that the resurrection is to be found in
 the Torah. "The Holy One Blessed be He said: 'Just as I slay so will
 I make alive, just as I smite and heal at one and the same time so do
 I slay and make live at one moment (וְיָחִיד וְיָחִיד וְיָחִיד).' Here
 is the answer to those who say there is no resurrection of the dead
 contained in the Torah."⁸

Esau's fate and his quarrel with this brother is connected with
 his right to the World to Come and the story becomes one of the most
 important elements in the discussion regarding the right of non-Jews
 to the promise of resurrection. "Esau sinned five sins on the same
 day. One when he denied the resurrection of the dead as it is written:
 'Behold I go to die.'⁹ From another source we learn that "Esau de-
 spised his birthright and what did he reject it with? He rejected it
 with the resurrection of the dead."¹⁰

Finally in connection with discussion about the Torah and its
 bearing on the resurrection it should not be forgotten that there is
 the tradition already mentioned linking the doctrine with the story of
 the Akeda - the drama of Abraham and Isaac on Mt. Moriah. We read in
 several different places that Isaac actually died of fright or shock on
 the altar on which his father has placed him. "At once Abraham ceased
 touching Isaac who returned to life, revived by the heavenly voice
 admonishing Abraham not to slaughter his son. Abraham loosed his bonds
 and Isaac stood upon his feet and spoke the benediction 'Blessed art
 thou O Lord who quickenest the dead.'¹¹

The Biblical text was used in a number of places to "prove" that

the World to Come was meant or merely hinted at in an elliptical manner. "It is said, 'I have also established My covenant with them to give to them the land of Canaan.' (Exodus 6:4) 'To you' is not said but 'to them'. From this passage one can deduce that the resurrection of the dead is from the Torah." ¹² In the Sifre ¹³ it is said that "The Holy One Blessed be He showed to Moses all the Land of Judah 'unto the sea' (Deuteronomy 34:2). If you wish we could read 'unto the last day' (□ 1' and not ה'ם ה'אירון) teaching that He showed him all the world from the day that it was created until the day the dead shall be resurrected." A favourite method of rabbinic reasoning was to bring two similar or corresponding texts from different portions of the Bible and draw appropriate interpretations from the wording. "And he said, 'Let me go; for the day breaketh.' (Genesis 32:27).

It is also written, 'They are new every morning; great is Thy faithfulness.' (Lamentations 3:23). R. Simon ben Abba interpreted this: Because Thou renewest us every morning, we know that great is Thy faithfulness to redeem us. R. Alexandri interpreted it: From the fact that Thou renewest us every morning, we know that great is Thy faithfulness to resurrect the dead." ¹⁴

The laws of the Bible were to have far-reaching consequences and at least one rabbi foresaw, in the World to Come, the chance of the Heavenly Tribunal to "even up the score" regarding deeds performed on earth. ¹⁵ The very idea of theodicy which is found so often in the Torah was proof for many teachers of the eventual resurrection. "For it was taught, R. Jacob said: 'There is not a single precept in the Torah whose reward is not stated at its side, which is not dependent upon the resurrection of the dead.'" ¹⁶ The doctrine of divine reward

and punishment involved its protagonists in the belief of a clearly defined life after death. "Said R. Shimeon ben Eleazar: 'With this: At that time they shall bring out the bones of the Kings of Judah... and they shall spread them before the sun.' (Jeremiah 8:1). I have proved the fallacy of the Sadducees who say that the dead will not live again. For I say to them it is said 'That soul shall be utterly cut off, his iniquity shall be upon him' which last words must mean that the soul will have to give an account on the Day of Judgement."¹⁷

The opponents of such concepts were not made happy by this use of the Biblical text and were anxious to find rabbinical support of their contention that the resurrection was not to be found in the Torah. "The Sadducees asked R. Gamliel: 'From whence (in the Bible) do we learn of the resurrection of the dead?' He said to them, 'From the Torah, from the Prophets and from the Writings!'"¹⁸ No answer could be more explicit! An interesting argument follows and it is to be noted that each time the Tanna gives a quotation from the Bible the Sadducees re-interpret it according to its more literal (and probably more correct) meaning.¹⁹

The non-Pentateuchal references to the resurrection are less difficult to find, though they are correspondingly less authoritative for the purposes of debate and discussion. In the Prophets and Hagiographa were proof texts for scholars who were already believers as Sadducees and other non-believers would not be convinced by the use of material not supported by the Torah.

Many a text is used to refer to the life everlasting that awaited Israel. "I shall walk before the Lord in the land of all the living" (Psalm 116:9) means the resurrection of the dead.²⁰ Another indication

of the process of resurrection is drawn from Jonah and from Hosea.

"Of Jonah it says, 'And Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights' (Jonah 2:1). The dead also will come to life only after three days (from the beginning of the final judgement) as it says, 'On the third day He will raise up that we may live in His presence.'

(Hosea 6:2)."²¹ The most obvious source for information about the resurrection of the dead in the Bible would appear to be in the story of Ezekiel and the valley of dry bones. It is an impressive fact that many of the rabbis refrain from taking the story as proof of the resurrection of the dead and regard the incident as merely an allegorical picture of national revival. In the following passage the comment is made, and has been preserved, that the story is but a parable (though it must be pointed out that this is immediately refuted by other authorities with more literal opinions). "R. Eliezer said: The dead whom Ezekiel resurrected stood up and uttered song and died. What song did they utter? 'The Lord slayeth in righteousness and reviveth in mercy.' (I Samuel 2:6). R. Joshua said: They sang thus, 'The Lord killeth and the Lord maketh alive. He bringeth down to the grave and he bringeth up.' (I Samuel 2:6). R. Judah said: 'It was truth; it was a parable.' R. Nehemiah said to him, 'If truth why a parable and if a parable why truth? But say thus: In the truth there was but a parable.' R. Eliezer the son of R. Jose the Galilean said: 'The dead whom Ezekiel revived went up to Palestine married wives and begat sons and daughters.' R. Judah ben Bathyra rose up and said; 'I am one of their descendants, and these are the telfillin which my grandfathers left me (for an inheritance) from them.'"²²

CHAPTER FIVE

A PORTION IN THE WORLD TO COME

Who is to be Saved and the Nature of the Salvation

One of the most frequently discussed questions about the resurrection of the dead was the vital one of who was to be revived. Tannaitic literature has no consistent answer to give on this point. The only unifying thought behind all the remarks on record is that the resurrection will be a good time for God to conclude "unfinished business." For some the World-to-Come was a time and a place for judgement, and as such entailed dire conditions and consequences, for others it was time of recompense, pleasure and reward and for yet a third group it was the destiny of all mankind, both those who had done evil and those who had been righteous.

Perdition

We shall deal first of all with those who were explicitly excluded from the resurrection of the dead. We shall find that those who were to be denied the ultimate fate of the righteous come from almost the entire range of human experience and history. The prejudices and interests of the rabbis in this vital field of life after death were catholic in character.

Strangely enough one of the most frequently mentioned groups that was not to be resurrected was the "generation of the flood"

שִׁמְנֹת יָרֵךְ. "All the dead shall rise apart from the generation of the flood...R. Judah ben Bathyra said, 'They will neither revive nor be judged...their souls shall not return to its sheath.'

R. Menachem, son of R. Jose, said: 'Even when the Holy, Blessed be He, restores the souls of the dead bodies their souls shall grieve them in Gehenna.'^{*1} To demonstrate the hopelessness of their situation we learn that even the rest of the nations shall have some form of resurrection whereas they shall have none. "The dead shall not live, the Rephaim shall not rise (Isaiah 26:14)." "The dead shall not rise" refers to the heathens who are like the carcass of cattle; they shall rise for the Day of Judgement yet they shall not live; but the men of the generation of the flood shall not arise, even for the Day of Judgement."²

The wicked contemporaries of Noah, however, were not the only ones to be excluded from the revival after death. It is stated that Abraham shall sit at the gate of Hell and not permit those who have neglected the covenant of circumcision from entering into the World to Come.³ Not only the uncircumcised shall be forbidden entrance but all Amme Haaretz shall be excluded for only "those who use the light of the Torah shall be revived by it."⁴ In the Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer⁵ we read that one man was excluded from the resurrection described by Ezekiel "because he was a usurer." From a text in Numbers (16:33) "And the earth closed upon them and they perished from among the congregation" the Mishnah concluded that the "company of Korach shall not be resurrected."⁶ In the Talmud⁷ we read of different categories who were not destined to live again. "R. Chanina taught that all who go down to Gehinnom will come up again except three. The adulterer,

*It should be noted that whereas R. Judah ben Bathyra foresees no future for the souls of this unfortunate group, R. Menachem ben R. Jose places them in the lower world of the shades and denies them the privilege of resurrection.

he who puts his fellow to shame in public and he who calls his fellow by an opprobrious nickname." There is an ominous comment in the Tractate Sotah to the effect that "Any man who is ill mannered will not be resurrected." R. Eleazar ben Pedat thought that those who died outside the land of Israel would not rise⁹ and there were evidently many who adhered to that point of view as we have a number of texts that take the trouble to state the opposite opinion.¹⁰

The list of those who were excluded from resurrection is quite comprehensive. It includes those who betray their countrymen and the tyrannical governors of cities and provinces.¹¹ ^a Rabbi Chanina included the adulterer in the list of sinners but believed that those who had had their transgression punished by penalty of death on earth were ^{11b} to be considered free of the stigma. The Mishna explicitly mentions three kings who could not be revived and these were Jereboam, Ahab and Manasseh. R. Meir added Ahaz and Ahaziah and all those kings of whom it is said that "they did evil in the sight of the Lord." "They will not arise at the resurrection nor will they be summoned for the last judgement." R. Meir also includes Absalom because he rebelled against his father.¹² There is even one passage which excludes all the dead resurrected by Ezekiel. "Resurrecting dew from heaven descended on the dead of Ezekiel and in that same hour Israel was weeping and saying, 'We were hoping to stand with all Israel with the resurrection of the dead and now we have lost our hope.'¹³" Resurrection evidently could only happen once.

That many teachers were convinced that resurrection would be confined to the people of Israel is beyond doubt. R. Huna said, "All Israel who die outside of the land of Israel have their souls

gathered into the land of Israel, as it is said: 'Yet the soul of my Lord shall be bound in the bundle of the living.' (I Samuel 25:29). All the heathen who die in the land of Israel have their souls cast outside the land, as it is said: 'And the souls of thine enemies, they shall be slung out as from the hollow of a sling.' (ibid.) even beyond the land of Israel."¹⁴ On the other hand it must be noted that R. Abahu was of the opinion that even a Canaanite slave girl would rise again if she was buried within the borders of the land of Israel.¹⁵ R. Eliezer ben Hyrcanus held that "No gentiles have a portion in the world to come."¹⁶ Yet another sweeping statement of condemnation is to be found in the sentence, "Let no man make a proselyte among the Samaritans. They have no portion in the resurrection of the dead."¹⁷ In the Midrash we have at least one rabbi (Chiyah) who states that although resurrection is for mankind (and not for animals) it is in fact only for Israel in particular.¹⁸

As is usual in any collection of rabbinic material it is possible to find within it two diametrically opposing views on almost any given subject. The question of the resurrection of the dead is no exception in this general rule. In contrast to the sentiments quoted above, there were, among the rabbis, those who were willing to admit that whilst "Every nation who says that there is a second god I will slay them as with a second death which has no resurrection," it also followed that "every nation that says that there is no second god, I will gather them for life eternal." (based on Daniel 12:2).¹⁹ It is possible to find statements that are even more liberal than this last one. Rabbi Joshua ben Chaninah was of the opinion that "pious Gentiles have a portion in the world to come."²⁰

There was one major section of the people of Israel for whom resurrection would not come about. Those Jews who denied the resurrection of the dead denied themselves any hope of participating in it. We read, "The dead that Ezekiel resurrected were the children of Ephraim that counted to the end and erred, these were the children of man that denied the resurrection of the dead."²¹ Heresy was a crime for which the most distressing of consequences were bound to follow. "And these have no portion in the world to come: He who says that there is no resurrection of the dead in the Torah."²² Even more sweeping is the statement of Rabbi Meir who said, "He who studies the Law and does not teach it, despises the Law and is therefore excluded from resurrection."²³ Rabbi Nathan included the Mishna in this category and Rabbi Neharai mentions those who though able to study the Law had neglected to do so.²⁴ There was some discussion, but no denial, of the importance of "believing" in the resurrection. In Sanhedrin²⁵ we read, "All Israel have a portion in the world to come except he who maintains that resurrection is not a Biblical doctrine." The Gemara asks why such a denial warrants such a severe penalty and we read, "A tanna taught since he denied the resurrection of the dead he shall therefore not share in the resurrection, for in all measures (of punishment and reward) taken by the Holy One Blessed be He the divine act parallels the human deed, measure for measure."²⁶

In general, throughout Tanaaitic literature, there is considerable discussion about the fate of the non-Jewish world.²⁷ We have already quoted several passages which would seem to exclude, or alternatively to include, the gentiles. In the following section we shall see that in a large number of cases resurrection for gentiles

was only to take place for the painful purpose of punishment and retribution. Present too is the theory that the resurrection would "weed out" the righteous from the sinners regardless of religious allegiance. We may recall, for example, the famous passage, "A day of rain is worth more than the resurrection of the dead, because the former is alike for the righteous and the unrighteous and the latter is for the righteous only."²⁸

Whatever may be the case with the non-Jewish world the quotations collected in this section should make it clear that many were the peoples and classes condemned to eternal suffering or momentary purging and consequent eternal oblivion. Whilst there is no consistent strain running through the list of the condemned we may learn that, for the rabbis, resurrection had to be earned or deserved. It was not an automatic gift from God. It was something to be affirmed through fear of God and its denial could have serious consequences.

Purgatory

Resurrection served many purposes. We have just examined those texts which denied eternal life to certain classes of people, nations and specified individuals. The World-to-Come, however, was not necessarily a pleasant place even for those who were bound for the miracle of resurrection. Many who were to rise again would be punished, others were to live so as to suffer torment and judgement and then only would they be finally admitted to a happier existence.

The twin ideas of recompense and resurrection were not in opposition in much of Tanaitic thinking. "The Holy One Blessed be He will ordain the resurrection of the dead in the time of the son of David in order to give a reward to his followers and to those who fear

him and he will ordain a resurrection in the world to come to give justice and equity."²⁹ That the resurrection was to be a prelude for the final judgement is not a new thought. In 4 Esdras 7:37f. we read of both Jews and Gentiles summoned to the last judgement and with Heaven and Hell open before them, God commands, "Behold and see whom you have denied and whom you have not served, whose commandments you have not contemned."

The principle that the denial of the resurrection involved a denial of the right to be resurrected was even over-ridden in one passage in favour of the notion of retribution. Even the Samaritans and other Gentiles will be resurrected, according to this extract from the Pesikta Rabati: "Said the Holy One Blessed be He: 'I shall cause both Gentiles and Israel to arise so that Israel may lay a claim against those that pursue them.'"³⁰

Not only Israel shall settle accounts in the world-to-come, God too shall resurrect unworthy souls for this very purpose. "R. Levi said: 'Behold, if a man slew and yet was not slain when will he be slain? When a man comes for final judgement, thus it is written: Whosoever sheddeth man's blood when that man comes his blood shall be shed.'"³¹

Perhaps nowhere in the texts is a Jewish version of purgatory so well expounded as in Rosh Hashahnah 16b. "It has been taught: Eeth Shammai says, There will be three groups at the Day of Judgement - one of the thoroughly righteous, one of the thoroughly wicked and one of the intermediate ones. The thoroughly righteous will immediately be inscribed as entitled to everlasting life, the thoroughly wicked will be written as being consigned to Gehinnom as it says 'And

many of them that sleep in the dust shall awake, some to everlasting life and some to reproaches and abhorrence.' (Daniel 12:2). The intermediate will go down to Gehinnom and be singed there and rise again, as it says 'And I will bring the third part through the fire, and will refine them as silver is refined and will try them as gold is tried. They shall call on my name and I will answer them.' (Zechariah 13:9)."

In a subsequent passage a harsher punishment is meted out to Gentiles than is promised to Jews.³² "Wrongdoers of Israel who sin with their body and wrongdoers of the gentiles who sin with their body go down to Gehinnom and are punished there for twelve months. After twelve months their body is consumed and their soul is burnt and the wind scatters them under the soles of the feet of the righteous, as it is said 'And you shall tread down the wicked, and they shall be as ashes under the soles of your feet'(Malachi 3:21). But as for the heretics and the informers and the scoffers who rejected the Torah and denied the resurrection of the dead and those who abandoned the ways of the community and those who sinned and made the masses sin, like Jereboam ben Nebat and his followers - these will go down to Gehinnom and be punished there for all eternity." On the other hand we find in Chagiga 7b a statement attributed to Resh Lakish which reads that "the fire of Gehinnom does not reign over the sinners of Israel." Here is an echo of the hope that "all Israel has a portion in the world to come" and it may be assumed that those who were spared the discomfort of the nether regions would also be granted the privilege of participation in the resurrection of the dead. The statement of Resh Lakish is significant too in that it seems to be directed at those who were of

the opinion that there were Jews who would not merit a place in the world to come and who would not participate in the resurrection but would rather be consigned to the fires of the pit. We can therefore see before us evidence of the difference of opinion that existed between the rabbis on this vital subject of life after death.

It should be noted that Marmorstein is of the opinion that the "sinners of Israel" (שׂוֹעֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) that we have mentioned above were followers of Jesus "who stood between two fires; on the one side Jews attacked them for their partly separatist position and Christian leanings, on the other hand they were condemned by Gentile-Christians for their Jewish observances and Jewish leanings."³³ Resh Lakish, Marmorstein points out, defended these Jewish transgressors. "The fire of Gehenna has no dominion over the Jewish apostates (פְּשָׁעֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל). This is a conclusion a minori ad majus. If for so many years the fire had no power over the golden altar which did not contain more gold than the thickness of a dinar, how much more the Jewish apostates, who are as full of Mitzvot as a pomegranate, as it is written: 'Thy temples are like a piece of pomegranate (Song of Songs 4:7).' That is the empty ones in Israel are full of observances; consequently Gehenna cannot have power over them."³⁴ Marmorstein further comments that "An anonymous preacher in expounding Psalm 31:24 saw in the 'faithful that God preserves our Posh'e Israel who reluctantly utter their Amen in fact they say: Blessed be He who revives the dead.' Their chief doctrine was, therefore, belief in the resurrection, a belief which must have been exceedingly pleasing to the ears and minds of the Rabbis."³⁵ It must be admitted that this theory carries with it a considerable amount of extremely persuasive textual material

with which to support it. It would remove the apparent contradiction that exists within our texts concerning the exemption of the sinners in Israel from the fires of Hell whilst many other kinds of Jews and Biblical personalities were explicitly consigned to suffer everlasting annihilation or suffering.

In general the Gentiles do seem to fare badly in the world to come (when they are permitted to get there). The scales of justice are weighted in favour of God's elect. "In the World to Come all the princes of the nations shall come before the Holy One Blessed be He and accuse Israel saying: 'O Master of the Universe, what difference is there between Israel and the rest of the world? These are idolators and these are idolators, these are shedders of blood and these are shedders of blood, both are lewd, yet these go down to Gehinnom and these do not go down to Gehinnom.' Israel in his turn pleads with God. 'We have no security but you.' And God replies: 'Do not fear. You are all clothed in scarlet.' (Proverbs 31:21).' For this is the covenant of circumcision."³⁶

The Ultimate Goal

There is a third broad group of statements concerning the resurrection which appears to attempt to involve all those who have once lived on earth. Even with the statements which exclude the certain classes and groups of people there is the underlying initial assumption that were it not for their particular blemish they, too, would have been acceptable for the resurrection.

"In the future life, the Holy One Blessed be He will cause the reviving dew to descend and He will quicken the dead and renew all things, as it is said 'Thy dead shall live.' (Isaiah 16:14). They

are the Israelites who died trusting in His name. 'My dead bodies shall rise'(ibid.). They are the heathens who are like the carcass of the beast, they shall arise for the day of judgement but they shall not live. 'Awake and sing all ye that dwell in the dust.' They are the righteous for they live (even) in the dust."³⁷ All things shall be renewed...all things shall be resurrected even though, according to this passage, the non-Jewish world will not be granted a permanent existence in this world to come.

An interesting and liberally minded contradiction of the doctrine of the exclusion of non-Jews from the world to come is included in the Midrash on the Psalms.³⁸ "The wicked shall return to the nether world. Even all the nations that forget God. (Psalm 9:18) R. Eliezer said; 'There is no portion in the world to come for any of the gentiles.' R. Joshua said to him: 'If the scripture had finished with 'Gentiles' that which you have said would have been right but the text reads 'that forget God.'" That is to say, the scriptures refer to the wicked of the nations of the world."

There are other references to the involvement of all mankind in the final scenes. "God has the keys of the graves and the key to the treasure houses of the souls."³⁹ "He will restore every spirit to the body of man as it is said 'Thou sendest forth Thy spirit, they are created and thou renewest the face of the ground.'" (Psalm 104:30).⁴⁰ In the Ethics of the Fathers we find one unqualified and comprehensive statement: "They that are born are destined to die and the dead to be brought to life again."⁴¹

That mankind as a whole was at least to share in the resurrection is the opinion of some of the sages, is proved in a negative fashion by

the statement that "The army which participated in the destruction of the Temple will not rise on the day of resurrection but at the same time it will be spared the torments of hell."⁴² The fact that it was necessary to remark on the non-participation of the non-Jewish destroying army of Rome in the resurrection is proof that there were to be non-Jews included in the final scenes. In one Midrash we read of Pharaoh in the world to come speaking to God--which would seem to show, that for at least one authority, all mankind, even its tyrants, finally reach or at least approach exalted spiritual heights. Perhaps Pharaoh qualified by the performance of one of the Mitzvot for according to R.Chanina ben Gamliel, "If he that commits one transgression forfeits his soul, how much the more so if he performs one religious duty shall his soul be restored to him."⁴³

CHAPTER SIX

THE PHYSICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESURRECTION

Many were the theories about the method God was to use in the re-creation of the spirit and the body of Man. The need for this combination was obvious and grew directly out of the Hebraic rejection of the dichotomy of body and soul. For the Jew the human personality was a created entity invested with purpose and with the freedom to choose to become either a partner with his Creator or to stand as an adversary, to be reckoned with, before God.

The basic fact of primordial creation proved to the Rabbis the possibility of the revival of the dead. In Sanhedrin 91a in the portion dealing with the statement in the Mishnah that "all Israel has a portion in the world to come" we read of a typical discussion about the ability of God to revive that which has died. "The school of Rabbi Ishmael taught: Resurrection can be deduced from glassware, which though made by the breath of human beings can yet be repaired when broken then how much the more so man created by the breath of the Holy One Blessed be He. A heretic said to R. Ammi: You maintain that the dead will revive, but they turn to dust and can dust return to life? He replied: I will tell you a parable. This may be compared to a human king who commanded his servants to build him a great palace in a place where there was no water or earth (for making bricks). So they went and built it. But after some time it collapsed. So he commanded them to rebuild it in a place where earth and water was to be found; but they replied: 'We cannot!' Thereupon he became very angry with them and said, 'If you could

build in a place containing no water and no earth surely you are able to build where there is (both to be found.)' So it is with mankind. God creates from chaos and nothingness and so re-creation from the already existing raw materials is a simple matter.

The body had to be joined to the soul for purposes of judgement. How, the rabbis ask, could judgement be sure if after death only part of the human being was to be involved in whatever punishment or reward awaits mankind? In the following anecdote, taken from the same passage in the Babylonian Talmud as the preceding quotation, we read how one Antoninus - a Roman whose identity is uncertain - challenges Rabbi Judah the Prince on this very subject of dualism and the need for the body to be united with the soul at the hour of judgement. "Antoninus said to Rabbi: 'The body and the soul can both free themselves from judgement. Thus the body can plead: The soul has sinned, (the proof being) that from the day it left me I lie like a dumb stone in the grave. Whilst the soul can say: The body has sinned, (the proof being) that from the day I departed from it I fly about in the air like a bird (and commit sin. ' He replied: 'I will tell thee a parable. To what may this be compared? To a human king who owned a beautiful orchard which contained excellent figs. Now he appointed two watchmen, one lame and one blind. (One day) the lame man said to the blind: I see beautiful figs in the orchard. Come and take me on thy shoulder that we may procure and eat them! So the lame bestrode the blind, procured the fruit and ate them. Some time after the owner of the orchard came and enquired of them, 'Where are those beautiful figs?' The blind man replied, 'Have I then eyes to see with?' The lame man replied, 'Have I legs to walk with?' What did he do? He placed the lame on the blind

and judged them together as it is written, 'He shall call to the heavens from above and to the earth that He may judge His people.' (Psalm 50:4). 'He shall call to the heavens from above.' - this refers to the soul; 'and to the earth, that He may judge His people' - to the body."

Both scientific theory and philosophy were combined in revealing the process used by God in re-creating the body of Man and joining it to its departed soul. Examples of apparently rapid gestation and birth were brought from all areas of life and nature to illustrate the precedents provided by God in the existing Universe. "Yet (continued R. Ammi) if you do not believe, go forth and to the field and see a mouse which today is but part flesh and part dust and yet by tomorrow has developed and become all flesh. (There was superstition that there existed a type of field mouse which grew directly from the earth.) And shouldst thou say 'that takes a long time,' go up to the mountains where you will see but one snail and by tomorrow the rain has fallen and it is covered with snails (thus proving that God can create living things at great speed)." (Sanhedrin 91a).

We may find that an analogy drawn from the life cycle of mice and snails rather strange but perhaps we should recall the ceaseless efforts that extend to this day on the part of certain orthodox Christians to prove the scientific possibility of the Virgin Birth. There was an important and apparently widespread popular explanation of the resurrection of the body based on what we would regard as erroneous scientific judgement. Though the body could turn into dust there was, according to the Rabbis, one portion of the spinal column which was indestructible. It was this knob of bone that would serve as the focus for the re-creation of the body. Thus though only the bodies of the righteous remained in the

earth without the spirit of life and did not decay one part of every body remained in existence until the time when the whole body would¹ be summoned to arise once more.

"Hadrian-may his bones be crushed- asked Rabbi Joshua ben Chananiah saying: 'From which part of the body will the Holy One Blessed be He, in the time to come, cause man to sprout forth?' He answered: 'From the nut of the spinal column.'²

In a more complete version of this encounter we read that Hadrian questioned R. Joshua more closely.

"Hadrian-may his bones rot-asked R. Joshua ben Chananiah: 'From what part of the body will the Holy One Blessed be He cause man to blossom forth in the future?' 'From the nut of the spinal column,' he replied.

'How do you know that?' he asked. 'Bring me one and I will show you!'

he replied. He threw it into the fire and yet it was not burnt; he put it in water but it did not dissolve; he ground it between millstones but it was not crushed; he placed it on an anvil and smote it with a hammer; the anvil was cleft and the hammer split and yet the bone remained

intact."³ The exact order of re-creation is related step by step in the Midrash: "With the creation of Man He begins with skin and flesh and concludes with sinews and bones, but in the time to come He shall begin with sinews and bones and finish with skin and flesh for thus He said with the dead of Ezekiel, 'I beheld and upon them were sinews,' (Ezekiel 37:8).

And to what were the dead of Ezekiel like? To one who enters a bath house. That which he puts off first he puts on last."⁴

The simple logic of the last statement is amplified in the next passage which comes from a later source and which gives a fuller account of the entire process. "How shall the Holy One Blessed be He revive the dead in the world to come? It is taught that He shall take a great shofar

in his hand - a hundred handbreadths of the hand breadth of the Holy One Blessed be He and He shall blow upon it and its sound shall go forth from one end of the earth to the other. With the first blast the whole universe shall shake, with the second the dust shall be disturbed, with the third bones shall gather together, with the fourth limbs shall start to become warm, with the fifth skin shall begin to reform, with the sixth the breath and the spirit shall enter into the bodies and with the seventh shall stand alive upon their feet and in their clothes."⁵

Where?

Our sources are unanimous in selecting the place in which the great miracle of resurrection is to take place. The land of Israel was clearly the locale for the rebirth of the dead. We read, "There is no resurrection but in the land of Israel."⁶ Those who are buried outside of Israel are to roll to the Holy Land from their places of entombment. "The righteous that are in the diaspora shall live again by שילללל (rolling under the ground to Israel) done to them in the earth."⁷ Whilst death and burial in the land of Israel is to be preferred to burial outside the land there is no problem attendant upon this "rolling" to the land where the resurrection is to take place. "The patriarchs prefer burial in the Land of Israel for the dead of the land of Israel live first in the days of the Messiah. If this is so do the righteous mourn if they are buried outside the Land of Israel? The Holy One Blessed be He forgives them in the land in which they are buried and makes underground caverns for them and they roll and come to the land of Israel."⁸ "The righteous ones that are buried outside the land of Israel the Holy One Blessed be

He pardons them and they will roll until they reach the land of Israel. As soon as they reach the land of Israel the Holy One Blessed be He gives them the spirit of life and they stand erect."⁹

The death and burial of Moses outside the land is of significance to the generation of the people who died in the desert outside of Israel and who might therefore be presumed sleeping for all eternity.

"Moses died outside the land to show to all who come into the world that just as the Holy One Blessed be He shall resurrect Moses so is He destined to resurrect the generation that received the Torah."¹⁰

Though this passage is of a much later date than the rest of our material it does serve to confirm the tradition of resurrection being pre-eminently within the boundaries of the land of Israel. The dead in the diaspora shall be resurrected after those that are buried in the Holy Land for they shall have to make the journey to Israel before they can arise.

"Call the Land of Israel 'the land of the living' because the dead of the land of Israel shall live first in the days of the Messiah. David said, 'I long to dwell in its midst,' (as it is written: 'For the Lord has chosen Zion, He hath desired it for his habitation. This is my rest forever; here will I dwell; for I have desired it.' - Psalm 132:13-14)."¹¹

"And On the Third Day..."

The relationship of the soul to the body was a complex one. We have seen how immortality, personality and the physical appearance of Man were all linked. The fate of the soul following the death or destruction of the body was a perplexing problem.

The Soul was obviously attached to the body, otherwise it would

not stay there during its life. Death was the end of this partnership though the end of this real relationship is regretted by the soul which survives. "R. Abba ben Rabbi Pappai and Rabbi Joshua of Sikhnin said in the name of R. Levi: 'For three days (after death) the soul hovers over the body intending to re-enter it, but as soon as it sees its appearance change it departs as it is written, 'When his flesh that is on him is distorted his soul shall mourn over him.' (Job 14:22).'"¹²

Leave-taking is all the more painful according to the Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer. "All the seven days of mourning the soul goes forth and returneth from its home to its sepulchral abode and from its sepulchral abode to its former home. After the seven days of mourning the body begins to putrefy and decay and it returns to the dust as it was originally, as it is said, 'And the dust returns to the earth as it was.' (Ecc. 12:7)."¹³

Despite the period of leave-taking mentioned in the passage above the more usual time mentioned in connection with death is three days, derived as it is from the verse in Hosea (6:2), "On the third day He will raise us up, that we may live in His presence." One rather straightforward application of this ancient passage to the newer belief of the resurrection and the Messianic day of Judgement arises from a discussion of the fate of those who are living at the onset of the "latter days" when the resurrection is imminent. "All the inhabitants of earth shall taste of death for two days, when there will be no soul of man or beast upon the earth, as it is said 'And they that dwell therein shall die in like manner.' (Is. 51:6) On the third day He will renew them all and He will establish them before

Him, as it is said 'On the third day He will raise us up and we shall live before him.' (Hos. 6:2).¹⁴

The Midrash on Esther qualifies this interpretation on the verse to mean that the resurrection will take place three days after the final judgement of mankind. "Of Jonah it says, 'And Jonah was in the belly of the fish three days and three nights.' (Jonah 2:1). The dead also will come to life only after three days (from the beginning of the final judgement) as it says, 'On the third day He will raise us up, that we may live in His presence.' (Hos. 6:2).¹⁵ Other authorities interpreted the three days in a less literal fashion. For one teacher the three days stand for different epochs. "Even when for their sins God slays Israel in this world, there is healing for them in the world to come, as it is said: 'Come let us return to the Lord, for it is He who has torn us, and He will bind us up; after two days He will revive us; on the third day He will revive us, He will raise us up.' (Hos. 6:2). The two days are this world and the days of the Messiah; the third day is the world to come."¹⁶

For another authority the days stood for millenia. "R. Kattina said: 'The world is to last six thousand years, and one thousand it will be desolate, as it is said: And the Lord alone shall be exalted in that day.' (Isa. 2:11). Abaya said: 'It will be desolate two thousand years, as it says: After two days he will revive us.'¹⁷

A Biblical contradiction of the theory of the three days period of nomadic existence for the soul followed by its ascension to Heaven is of course to be found in the story of the witch of Ein Dor and King Saul. In that narrative Samuel's spirit is still available for consultation a considerable time after his death. We have a record of an

astute Sadducee who challenged R. Abbahu about this inconsistency.

"A certain Sadducee said to R. Abbahu: 'You maintain that the souls of the righteous are hidden under the throne of glory; then how did the necromancer bring up Samuel?' 'There it was within twelve months of death,' he replied. 'For it was taught: For twelve months the body is in existence and the soul ascends and descends, after twelve months the body ceases to exist and the soul ascends and descends nevermore.'"18

The subject is all the more interesting because of the emphasis placed by the Gospels on the resurrection of Jesus three days after his crucifixion. Wolfson makes the following comment: "To them (the Church Fathers) the belief that Jesus rose on the third day after the crucifixion meant that his soul survived the death of the body and was re-invested with his risen body. Similarly the belief that in the end of days there will be a general resurrection of the dead meant the re-investment of surviving souls with risen bodies. To all of them, in the interval between death and resurrection, the soul had a life of its own without a body, though there was some difference of opinion as to what was the state of the soul's life during that interval. And this conception of resurrection as implying immortality was attributed by the Church Fathers also to Jesus."19

In the Gospels almost the only point on which the three different accounts coincide is the empty tomb on the third day after the crucifixion. In the New Testament account the body, too, is gone when the tomb is opened, an element that seems to have no parallel in Tannaitic writings. Perhaps the gospel writers were merely "going one better" than tradition or perhaps they were intimating that Jesus had automatic-

ally gone through all the processes of death, resurrection and heavenly existence at one moment instead of having to wait, with the rest of mankind, until the end of time. An interesting passage which would seem to have a bearing on this tradition of the three day "waiting period" for the soul after death is to be found in the story of the raising of Lazarus by Jesus in the Gospel of St. John. The truly miraculous nature of the event seems to be emphasized by the sentence (11:17), "Then when Jesus came, he found that he had lain in the grave four days." There could be no doubt that the man was dead and there could be no doubt too that Jesus was doing more than merely playing with a soul which was to be found in the neighbourhood of the corpse anyway. Here was a true reversal of the nature of things!

CHAPTER SEVEN

HOW SHALL THE DEAD RETURN ?

The day of the resurrection of the dead was the topic of much speculation. As it was to be the first day of a new life for almost every individual it was naturally a subject of vital concern to almost everybody. The neighbouring peoples, too, were very much involved in making preparations for some form of life after death. The sacred book of the Egyptians was the ancient Book of the Dead and the principal religious activity of the country was the provision of the deceased with the food, clothes and jewelry they would need in the next world. There was hardly a people or a religion that did not make some provision for their beloved in the world to come. What then would the dead need in the rabbinic hereafter? How would they appear on the Day of Judgement and how would they be brought back to life ?

In the first place the demands of modesty and decency evidently worried our sages a great deal. Would the dead arise again to life naked? The body would live again. It would arise from the dust. What would happen to the grave clothes ? "R. Eliezer said: All the dead will arise at the resurrection of the dead dressed in their shrouds. Know thou this is the cause. Come and see from the analogy of the one who plants seeds and they arise covered with many coverings; and the people who descend into the earth dressed will they not arise dressed ? Not only this but come and see from Chananiah and Mishael and Azariah who went down into the fiery furnace dressed in their garments, as it is said ' And the satraps..being gathered together saw these men that fire had no power upon their bodies

neither were their hosen changed.' (Daniel 3:27). Learn from Samuel the prophet who came up clothed with his robe, as it is said: 'And she said, 'An old man cometh up; and he is covered with a robe.' (I Samuel 28:14)."¹ The example of the three men who descended to the furnace and the vision of Samuel (in addition to the analogy of seeds that "arise covered" from the ground when they sprout) lead R. Eliezer to deduce "all the dead stand at the time of the resurrection and go up in their costume."² The renewal of the garments of the dead was so important that their restoration was compared to the light of life which shall shine in the faces of all those who shall live again. "The Holy One Blessed be He is destined to renew the light of the faces of the righteous in the world to come and as he renews their faces so shall he renew their garments."³ In the order of re-creation enumerated in the Midrash the renewal of the garments is placed among one of the last items in the process but it is included along with the restoration of sinews, skin and bone of the dead.

Apart from the obvious issue of modesty and decency and the question of adequate provision for those who have died on the part of a benevolent God who reviveth the dead the placing of clothes on the body of those who would rise seemed almost a matter of elementary logic. We read: "A queen asked R. Meir: 'I know that the dead will revive as it is said: And they shall blossom forth out of the city like the grass of the earth. (Ps. 72:16). But when they arise, shall they arise nude or in their garments?' He replied, 'You may deduce ~~it~~ ~~by~~ ~~an~~ a fortiori argument from a wheat grain. If a grain of wheat, which is buried naked, sprouteth forth in many robes, how much the more so the righteous who are buried in their garments!'"⁴ We read in a number of places that resurrection will be all-embracing and hence even include

clothes. "All that the Holy One Blessed be He smote in this world he heals in the time which is destined to come and as man went so shall he come. If he went (died) dressed he shall come dressed." ⁴

Perhaps the main reason behind this rabbinic concern over the question of clothes is to be found within the vital issue of continued personal existence. Would all be as it was before? Would the poor still be poor and the crippled still be afflicted and if all was to be healed what would distinguish one man from the next? Kaufman Kohler once wrote, "the prevailing rabbinical conception of the future world is that of the world of resurrection not that of pure immortality."⁵ The rabbis could not conceive of a future life which included judgement, repayment, retribution, reward without some form of continued personal existence. We may question Kohler's contention that the rabbis could not visualize condemned souls existing in some kind of shadow-like half-world but there can be no doubt that in the following passage, as in much of rabbinic literature, real life in the World to Come is involved in the recommencement of physical existence. "'And he sent Judah before him unto Joseph' (Gen. 46:48). This illustrates the verse 'The wolf and the lamb shall feed together' (Is. 65:25). Come and see how all whom the Holy One Blessed be He has smitten in this world He will heal in the future that is destined to come. The blind will be healed, as it says: 'Then the eyes of the blind will be opened.' (Is. 35:5). The lame: 'Then shall the lame man leap as the hart.' (Is. 35:6). The dumb: 'And the tongue of the dumb shall sing.' (ibid.). Thus all shall be healed, save that as a man departs from this life so will he return (when he is) resurrected. If he departs blind, so shall he return blind; if he departs deaf, he will return deaf; if he departs dumb, he will return dumb; if he departs

lame he will return lame. As he departs clothed so will he return clothed, as it says 'It is changed as clay under the seal and they stand as in a garment.' (Job 38:14)....Why does a man return as he went? So the wicked of the world should not say, 'After they died God healed them and then brought them back! Apparently these are not the same people but are others!' If so God says to them: 'Let them arise in the same state in which they went and then afterwards I will heal them.' Why so? 'That ye may know that ... before Me there was no God formed neither shall there be any after Me.' (Isa. 43:10). After that the animals too will be healed, as it says 'The wolf and the lamb shall feed together.' (Is. 65:25). But the one that brought the blow shall not be healed, as it says 'And dust shall be the serpents' food.' Why so? Because it brought all down to the dust."⁶

The idea of the continuity of individuality is made by R. Levi and R. Jacob of Gebal in the name of R. Chanina, who said, "As a generation passes away so it comes (at the time of the resurrection). If one dies lame or blind one shall be resurrected accordingly so that people shall not say 'Those He allowed to die are different from those He restored to life.'"^{7*}

On the other hand Kohler's statement regarding the imperfection of the rabbinic conception of immortality is contradicted by the

* It should be noted that the Church Fathers were also very concerned by this problem. Justin asks (and in doing so seems to echo the Midrash quoted above): "If the flesh rise it must rise the same as it falls; so that if it die with one eye, it must rise one-eyed; if lame, lame; if defective in any part of the body in this part the man must rise deficient." Interestingly enough Justin deals with this problem with a "kal v'homer" type of argument. "If on earth He healed the sickness of the flesh and made the body whole, how much the more so will He do this at the resurrection."⁸

following picture of the souls of the generation of the flood who, whilst their souls are not reunited with their bodies, nevertheless are apparently judged, condemned and suffer anguish in Gehenna. "R. Judah ben Eath~~ya~~ said: They will not revive to be judged (referring to the generation who died at the great flood)...their souls shall not return to their sheath. R. Menachem the son of R. Jose said: Even when the Holy One Blessed be He, restores the souls of the dead bodies their soul shall grieve them in Gehenna."⁹

There is a fascinating argument which explains why the dead return and in what manner their coming will be heralded and welcomed. "A Samaritan asked R. Meir: 'Do the dead live again?' He answered him, 'Yes.' He then asked '(Do they come back to life) in public or in secret?' He answered, 'In public.' 'How can you prove it to me?' he asked; to which R. Meir replied: 'Not from scripture and not from Mishnah but from everyday life I will answer you. There was a trustworthy man in our city with whom everyone deposited things secretly and restored them to their owners in public. Somebody came and deposited with him in public; so how should he restore it to him, in public or in secret? Will he not do it publicly?' 'Certainly,' was the reply. Then said R. Meir to him: 'Let your ears hear what your lips have said. Men deposit a white drop (in secret) with their wives and the Holy One Blessed be He restores that drop in public in the form of a beautiful and perfect creature. How much the more will a dead person who departs (from the world) publicly return publicly? As he departs with the loud cries so will he return with loud cries!' 'We learn from parables that the dead come back to life, clothed and fed; why then do you weep over them?' He answered, 'A curse on you! Shall a man lose

something that is precious to him and not weep? As the human being comes into the world with loud cries so he departs from the world with loud cries (from the bereaved).'"¹⁰

The Dew of Life

There is a persistent association, throughout rabbinic literature, of the resurrection with the rain and the dew. It was a combination of natural process and religious mythology and custom which was extremely ancient and readily understandable. The most wonderful part of each year in the Eastern Mediterranean region is the time when the rains have had their effect, when all the world springs suddenly into colour and life. The hills of Judea become gold and red and green with the shades of the fresh wild flowers and the short-lived new grass. Even the desert is clothed, for a brief period, with green and with the brightest hues of the flowers of the field. The world has been reborn. "The vine has budded, the vine blossom has opened, the pomegranites are in flower," Herbert Loewe has described the process.

"Already in Isaiah 26:19 dew and resurrection are combined. ('Thy dead shall live, my bodies shall rise - Awake and sing, you that dwell in the dust - For Thy dew is as the dew of light, and the earth shall bring to life the shades.')

It was a natural union for as soon as the first rainfall comes, after summer, the parched land of Palestine revives with such amazing rapidity that the most casual observer cannot fail to be struck with the connection. Now 'the God of Abraham' phrase (in the Amidah) comes from Moses and was a Mid-rashic proof of the resurrection, 'god of the living and not of the dead.' It is used also by Jesus (Mark 12:27). And when he says 'You err, that you know not the scriptures nor the power of God'

(Ib. 24), he means that the resurrection is taught in the scriptures and in the Amidah, for 'power of God' is, in my opinion a reference to the second blessing, called 'powers.'"¹¹

However the linking of the rain and the resurrection goes back earlier than this. We read in the second account of Genesis that God created man from "the dust of the earth" which had been watered by "a mist" that "went up from the earth and watered the whole face of the ground." (Genesis 2:6). Man is created by the combination by God of these two opposites, the dew and the dust of the earth. Nor was the divine fluid, the life-giving powers of water an exclusively Jewish or Hebraic concept. Gaster considers that the progress of the seasons and the rites of all ancient peoples were bound together by certain well nigh universal symbols of which one of the most important was water (or wine) and the companion idea of life and rebirth. "The people themselves continued to die and revive in the seasonal symbols and rites."¹² The rites of spring and the revival of the crops join to make one of the most important of the ancient festivals and the place of water libations and wine is prominent throughout the festivals of the ancient world. Goodenough devotes considerable space to the widespread significance of water in religious rites, particularly in those concerning death and rebirth. "The desire for deity in the form of fluid naturally had its counterpart in the need for rain, or the great rising of the Nile, to give life to the crops. It was just as inevitable that the symbol in desert countries should often have been the drinking of cool water. Much less to be expected but still everywhere encountered is the identification of this fluid of life with quite another fluid, the flow of light from the sun. The phrase 'flow

of light' is about all we have left of the ancient notion that light itself is a fluid."¹³ To this last remark we may add the phrase from Isaiah, "the dew of light" יִרְיָה לֵךְ (Is. 26:19) and reflect how dependent upon an understanding of other cultures is our understanding of any one particular group.

An examination of the connection between fluid and life or immortality in ancient Babylonian and Egyptian and Near Eastern mythology in general reveals many interesting and meaningful insights into the nature and background of our Rabbinic and Biblical material. In both Egypt and Mesopotamia we learn that "the universal damp" and "fluid in general...was a necessity" to the dead if there was to be some hope of immortality. "The Egyptians regarded it as of prime importance that the dead man be able to drink some sort of fluid, usually water, in the next world...There is every reason to suppose that the libations at the tombs were acts by which the dead men were provided with this fluid."¹⁴ The life-giving fluid of Egyptian mythology by which the world was created was represented as the spermatic flow from the divine phallus - a theme which appears again and again.¹⁵ In the Book of the Dead the thirteenth of the fourteen domains of the underworld through which the soul had to pass was the domain of water in which the dead were washed.¹⁶ This baptism was the prelude to divine immortality. Goodenough comments, "The washing of the corpse, however, not only was an important ritual for the ancient Egyptians but it is still important, we shall see, for the modern Jew."¹⁷ In Greek mythology the rebirth of nature was associated with Dionysus. Plutarch states that Dionysus is the lord "not only of wine but of damp elements in general."¹⁸ Aristotle comments on Thales and the Egyptian theory that fluid was

the beginning of all things "because he had observed that the nourishment of all things is damp, that even heat comes out of it, and lives by it...and because the seeds of all things have a damp nature."¹⁹

It is hardly surprising therefore to find within Tannaitic literature many references to resurrection and to rain or dew, a coupling which the rabbis evidently felt bound to explain and to expound. One comment attempts to find the clue to their affinity by stating, "Just as the resurrection of the dead is eternal, so is the descent of rain."²⁰ We read that "the dead do not live except through drops of dew"²¹ and that "The Holy One Blessed be He shall revive the dead with dew."²² One famous passage goes so far as to place the rain as being equal to or exceeding the power of the resurrection through its more universal character. "The power of the rain is as important and may be weighed against the resurrection of the dead. The sages have placed it by the resurrection of the dead. The rain is more important than the resurrection of the dead, for the resurrection of the dead is for man and rain is for man and beast. The resurrection of the dead is for Israel and the rain is for Israel and the nations of the world."²³

Rain was one of the most important of the gifts that God could bestow upon the world and resurrection was in that same category. They were both "keys of God" held by Him to be used on behalf of humanity. A Midrash tells us an anecdote about the possession of these vital powers. "God entrusted 'the key of rain' to Elijah who asked for it and God himself retained the 'keys of the quickening of the dead' and 'the key of birth.' When Elijah further requested 'the key of the quickening of the dead' God said that it was not fitting

that the master should hold only one key and the servant two. Whereupon Elijah returned the 'key of rain.'"²⁴

The rain and the dew were good omens, "A Sign of Blessing" to all who received it. When Jacob left Israel God caused the resurrecting dew to fall upon him so that he was strong enough to fight and to vanquish angels. It was this rain that brought the dead back to life for Ezekiel. "God showed Ezekiel the dry bones of the slain and asked, 'Can I revive these bones?' Ezekiel's answer was evasive and as a punishment for his little faith he had to end his days in Babylon and was not even granted burial in the land of Israel. God then dropped the dew of heaven upon the dead 'and sinews were upon them and flesh came up and skin covered them above.'"²⁵

The dew from heaven could reverse the natural process of death and retribution. It brought healing and rebirth in a very real way. "R. Joshua ben Levi also said: At every word which went forth from the mouth of the Holy One Blessed be He the souls of Israel departed, for it is said 'My soul went forth when he spoke' (Song of Songs 5:6). But since their souls went forth at the first word, how could they receive the second word? He brought down the dew with which he shall resurrect the dead and revived them as it is said 'O God did send a plentiful rain. Thou didst confirm thine inheritance, when it was weary.' (Ps. 68:10)."²⁶

It can be seen, too, that the dew and the rain were symbols of God's grace. They were direct gifts from God Himself. "In the future life, the Holy One Blessed be He, will cause the reviving dew to descend and He will quicken the dead and renew all things, as it is said: 'Thy dead shall live.' (Is. 16:19) They are the Israelites,

who died trusting in His name. 'My dead bodies shall rise' (Ibid.). They are the heathens who are like the carcass of the beast; they shall arise for the Day of Judgement, but they shall not live. 'Awake and sing ye that dwell in the dust.' They are righteous for they live in the dust. 'For the dew is as the dew of light.' (Ibid.) The dew of the righteous is not the dew of darkness but it is the dew of light, as it is said: 'And the earth shall cast forth the dead.' (Ibid.) And what is the meaning of this last passage? Rabbi Tanhum said: On account of the seed of the earth (it casts forth the dead) when it is commanded. It discharges the dew for the resurrection of the dead. From what place does it descend? From the head of the Holy One Blessed be He, is full of a reviving dew. In the future life the Holy One Blessed be He will shake his head and cause the quickening dew to descend, as it is said 'I was asleep but my heart waked... for my head is full of dew, my locks with the drops of the night.' (Song of Songs 5:2).²⁷

The problem of the coupling of rain and resurrection together was a vital one. We find a long Midrash which gives no less than three different explanations of the tradition. "'The Lord will open unto thee His good treasure.' (Deut. 27:12). The Lord will open. The rabbis say: Great is the rainfall, for it is accounted as equivalent to the revival of the dead. Whence this? for it says, 'For he shall come unto us as the rain, as the latter rain that watereth the earth.' (Hosea 6:3). What does Scripture say immediately before this? 'After two days he will revive us' (Hosea 6:2). Therefore the rabbis have inserted (the prayer for rain in the benediction of the revival of the dead because it is equal in importance to it).

"Another explanation: 'The Lord will open unto thee.' See how great is rainfall. Whenever R. Judah ben Ezekiel saw the rain he recited the prayer, 'Let the name of Him at whose word the world came into being be glorified and magnified and blessed, who has countless myriads of angels over every single drop which has come down.' Why? From here (earth) to heaven is a journey of five hundred years, and yet when the rains fall, not one drop is intermingled with another.

"Another explanation: Great is rainfall, for it is accounted equal to the Revival of the Dead. How is this? Scripture uses the term 'opening' of the one and term 'opening' of the other; of the one 'hand' and of the other 'hand'; of the one 'song' and of the other 'song.' Of the revival of the dead it is written, 'When I have opened your graves' (Ezek. 37:13) and of the fall of rain, 'The Lord will open unto thee.' (Deut. 27:12). Of the revival of the dead it is written, 'The hand of the Lord was upon me' and of the fall of the rain, 'Thou openest Thy hand (Ps. 145:16). Of the revival of the dead it is written, 'Let the inhabitants of Sela exult.' (Isa. 42:11), and of the fall of rain, 'They shout for joy, yea they sing.' (Ps. 65:14)." 28

A very similar passage in another Midrash uses the same rabbinic method of reasoning and utilizes much of the same Biblical material. "Rabbi Chiya ben Abba said: (Rain) is as important as resurrection. R. Abba, son of R. Chiya said: The sages too inserted it (the prayer for rain) in the blessing for the resurrection of the dead, for 'hand' and 'opening' are used in connection with both. 'Hand' in connection with one (resurrection) 'The hand of the Lord was upon me' (Ezek. 37:1) and 'hand' in connection with the other (rain) 'Thou openest Thy

hand and satisfieth every living thing with Thy favour' (Ps. 145:16) 'Opening' in connection with one (rain) 'The Lord will open unto thee His treasure to give the rain of thy land' (Deut. 28:12); 'opening' in connection with the other (resurrection) 'Behold I will open your graves' (Ezek. 37:12). R. Judan said in R. Eleazar's name: 'Song is mentioned in connection with both.' Song in connection with the one, 'Let those who dwell in the rock sing.' (Isa. 42:11); 'song' in connection with the other. 'Thou hast remembered the earth and covered her ... the valleys also are covered over with corn; they shout for joy, yea they sing.' (Ps. 65:10,14).²⁹

The mention of the prayer for rain and the blessing is significant. "The Prayer" - the Amidah's second benediction called Shema "Powers" deals with the two manifestations of God's might, the rain and the resurrection. Berakhot 33a explicitly reminds us that "one mentions the power of the rain with the resurrection of the dead." We learn from another passage in the Babylonian Talmud that "Just as one makes mention of the revival of the dead all the year round (in the second benediction of the Amidah) although it will take place only at the appointed time, so too should mention be made of the Power of the Rain all the year round although it comes only in its due season."^{30**}

Herbert Loewe points out that the mention of the rain and its power had a credal level of significance that is not immediately apparent. "The connection between the rain and the resurrection goes back to the Amidah, or even earlier, since the Amidah gives expression

^{**}It should be noted that the rain was mentioned during the second benediction of the Amidah for some considerable part of the Rabbinic period throughout the entire year.

to an idea, which is much older than itself.... The (second) blessing was the first of three 'tests.' The synagogue being free to all, it might well happen that the reader of the prayers held heretical views, and so if the Amidah was being recited by a Sadducee, he would be forced to avow his belief in the resurrection. The reference to rain would also be in the nature of a test to him."³¹

An idea of the importance of this "test" is demonstrated by the following text which precludes all possibility of error and emphasises the importance of the mentioning of the resurrection and its link with God-given rain. "If he erred and did not mention the power of the rain with the resurrection of the dead they make him repeat it (the prayer)."³² Elbogen notes that the repeated declaration of the dogma of the resurrection is too marked to be accidental.³³ In his opinion the introduction of the "test" took place during or after the time of John Hyrcanus. Marmorstein comments that the allusion in the New Testament to Exodus 3:6 when Jesus proves the doctrine of the resurrection to some doubting Sadducees not only shows the connection between the doctrine and the prayer that mentions the power of God but proves "that in and before the first century C.E. there was a party among the Jews which did not believe in a resurrection."³⁴ Jesus said, 'I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob.' God is not the God of the dead but of the living." Marmorstein remarks: "It is not impossible that the allusion to Exodus 3:6 in the answer of Jesus was chosen purposely with the intention of recalling the beginning of the daily prayer (Shemoneh Esreh) which commences thus: 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord our God, and God of our fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God

of Jacob,' meaning that He is a God of the living ones. Then we find another form of the benediction 'Blessed be He who knoweth the number of you all and will hereafter judge you. He will in the future restore you to life. Blessed be He who is trustworthy in His word (promise), the quickener of the dead.' This prayer was said by visitors to the cemetery."³⁶

There is one further source of textual material within the liturgy that gives us an insight into the connection between the dew and the resurrection of the dead. The poetry of Eleazer ben Jacob Kallir belongs to the eighth century of the common era and so falls within the province of this study and it is in a number of his poems that we find references to the "reviving power" of the dew and the rain. We find the first of these references within the special prayers for the dew that are inserted during the festival of Passover during the Mussaf service on the first day of the festival. The stress on the miracle of the resurrection may perhaps remind us of other festivals in other religious traditions which occur at the same time of the year as Passover and which are also very much concerned with the resurrection of the dead. We should note too that the prophetic reading in the synagogue during Passover is the narrative of the revival of the dead in Ezekiel 37. The most notable prayer in the T'filat Tal section is probably one by Kallir commencing with the words יְהוָה יְבִרֵנוּ. Within this piyut we read not only of the power of rain and dew within nature but also of its connection with Messianic times and its power to "renew our days," to "rebuild Jerusalem and to be as a sign of life and not death." A similar insertion is made in the Musaf of the eighth day of Succoth for "Rain." In another piyut composed by Kallir (וְיָרֵד מַלְאָכָא) we find the name of the "Prince of Dew" who brings the rain and the

cloud upon those who pray for rain. The rain shall refresh those who live and breathe "resurrecting those who make mention of the powers of rain."

CHAPTER EIGHT

HERESIES, POLEMICS AND THE RESURRECTION

1. Within the Jewish World

It is obvious that the resurrection of the dead was one of the most difficult beliefs to "put across" to the pagan world. In passage after passage the topic of the future of mankind after death appears bound up with controversy. It is interesting to note for example that the earliest of the Apostolic writings that has survived deals with this very question of the resurrection of the dead. Dating probably from the first century we read in the First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians "Day and night show us the resurrection. Night falls asleep and the day arises; day departs and night comes on. Observe the fruits of the earth...the sower goes forth and casts his seeds onto the earth and they are dry and decayed. Then the Lord's providence raises them up and they increase many times and bear fruit."¹ An almost parallel passage from the Midrash illustrates quite dramatically how both religions faced the same problems of elucidation and how they used practically the same methods to explain and to justify their belief. "And he said: Let me go, for the day breaketh! (Gen. 32:27). It is written 'They are new every morning; great is Thy faithfulness.' (Lamentations 3:23). R. Simon ben Abba interpreted this: Because Thou renewest us every morning, we know that great is Thy faithfulness to redeem us. R. Alexandri interpreted it: From the fact that Thou renewest us every morning we know that great is Thy faithfulness to resurrect the dead."²

Josephus expounds at some length upon the disagreements that

existed between the different groups. "The Pharisees also believe that souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards and punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but the former shall have the power to revive and to live again ... But the doctrine of the Sadducees is this, that the souls die with the bodies; nor do they regard the observation of anything besides that which the Law enjoins them to observe."³ We shall return to Josephus later, however. His account is significant in that it is the only explicit non-Rabbinic discussion of the issues that divided the two sects. Whilst the accuracy of Josephus is often to be doubted the gist of these remarks do seem to be borne out in that the controversy regarding the resurrection was an important and an ever-present factor in the reported debates between the two groups. Echoes of this debate regarding this difference in doctrinal belief can be detected in many passages. "If a man should ask how the Holy One Blessed be He shall revive the dead, say to him that it has already been done by Elijah, Elisha and Ezekiel."⁴ Evidently this kind of answer brought forth the retort that if this was the case these men must be considered as Divine. The Pharisaic mind had to find an answer to this serious charge which imputed to belief in the resurrection of the dead a kind of blasphemy. "Said the Holy One Blessed be He, 'I will resurrect the dead and Elijah resurrected the dead but Elijah resurrected the dead and he did not say 'I am God.'"⁵ It is evident that the Sadducees did not believe in the Biblical origin of the belief ... "The Sadducees asked R. Gamliel: From whence do we learn of the resurrection of

the dead? He said: From the Torah, from the Prophets and from the Writings."**⁶

Among the accounts of religious controversy that are in our possession there are many indications that a significant body of Jewish opinion, Sadducean or sectarian, believed that life after death would completely cease. "A heretic said to Gebiha ben Pesisa, 'Woe to you wicked person who maintain that the dead will relive; if even the living die, shall the dead live?' He replied: 'Woe to you wicked person who maintains that the dead will not relive, if what was not lives now surely that which has lived will live again.'"⁷

On the other hand it seems wrong to assert that the Sadducees, as reported in our texts, disbelieved altogether in some_{form} of life after death - some form of immortality. There was certainly even within Pharisaic Judaism a form of life after death envisaged which did not need to entail resurrection. "After twelve months the sinners of Israel that transgressed the Torah and the commandments are made into dust, both soul and body, and Gehinnom is the refuge and the winds scatter them under the souls of the feet of the righteous men 'and ye shall tread down the wicked' (Malachi 3:21). But he who

**It should be noted that there is a possibility that some of the arguments reported here as having been with heretics who denied the Biblical origin of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead could have been with Christians. The resurrection was a most important and controversial point of issue between the two religions just as it was between Jew and Christian together as opposed to the Pagan. As Travers Hereford points out: "The Christian position was that the resurrection of the dead was consequent on the resurrection of Christ (John 14:19 and I Corinthians 15:20 ff). That position could be weakened if a valid proof of the doctrine could be produced from the Old Testament; because in that case, the resurrection of Christ would be shown to be unnecessary at all events as an argument of the resurrection in general."⁸

separated from the paths of the community, the Sadducees and the traitor, the adulterer and the unbeliever that are permitted to live in the land of the living but who deny the resurrection of the dead and say that the Torah is not divinely inspired and who mock at the words of the sages, Gehinnom will be brought up before them and they shall be condemned in its midst forever and ever."⁹ The extent of the denial of the resurrection is a fascinating problem. We shall discuss in a later chapter the beliefs of those Jews who did not subscribe to either "rabbinic" party but who appear to be more influenced by the outlook of the Hellenistic world. Ignoring even this large portion of the ancient Jewish world we still find ourselves confronted with a mass of contradictory textual material which forbids to come to any hard and fast conclusions about the extent of the Sadducean denial, or the Pharasaic espousal, of the subtleties inherent in the doctrine of the revival of those who have died. In the following passage we may note that whilst Job is made to deny the resurrection it is still understood that something "goeth down to Sheol." His crime is still heresy even though the possibility of the continued existence of the spirit - albeit a rather shadowy existence - is not removed. "As the cloud is consumed and vanished away, so he that goeth down to Sheol shall come up no more." Raba said: "This showed that Job denied the resurrection of the dead. 'For he breaketh me with a tempest and multiplieth my wounds without cause.' (Job 9:17) Rabbah said: Job blasphemed with mention of a tempest, and with a tempest he was answered."¹⁰ However there were Jews who believed that there was no life after death just as there were some who had absorbed the idea of a shadowy after-life from the Bible or from the Hellenistic environ-

ment of the time. We read that the Samaritans, for one, had no concept of the after-life, much less the resurrection. "That soul shall be surely cut off;" (Exodus 31:14) From here one can see the falsity of the Book of the Samaritans for they used to say that the dead do not live."¹¹ The finality of death in the view of certain heretics was probably the source of the conclusive and damning retort of Esau in this Midrash. "Jacob was sitting and cooking herbs. Esau came to him and said: 'Why are you cooking herbs?' He said to him, 'Because my grandfather has died and I sit and mourn so that he shall know how sorry I am about his death and when the dead shall live again in the world to come then he will love me.' Esau said to him, 'Fool! Do you think thus that after a man is dead and finished in the grave that he is destined to live.' In this way Esau denied the resurrection of the dead."^{**12}

This section has been concerned with other opinions reported in Tanaaitic literature about the resurrection that impinge upon the period that we are studying. As most of our source material is itself pharisaic it is difficult to get a clear picture of exactly what the opposition was saying. Certainly we do come to understand that there were those who argued logically against both the Christian and the "normative" Jewish belief and that the answer for both religions was based upon God's creativity. If He can create something out of nothing it is very little to expect Him to create something out of that which has already existed. Secondly there were parallels of birth and re-birth within nature. Thirdly there were proof texts in

^{**}In another passage we learn that Esau denied the resurrection of the dead because he said, "Behold I am on my way to die." (GEN. 26:32)

the Holy Writings which might or might not be accepted. Fourthly there were those who whilst they denied the resurrection still believed in a form of life in Sheol...in the shadows of a half life. Fifthly there were those who denied all forms of life after death. The end of the Temple and the disappearance of the Sadducean Party meant that as early as the second century Celsus, an informed writer knew nothing about the Sadducean denial of the resurrection of the dead and simply stated that the Jews shared with Christians the belief in the ultimate resurrection. That controversy and speculation continued cannot be doubted but the internecine element of the debate was undoubtedly removed. There were still non-Jews to convince. "There are two things which the idolatrous nations deny. That the Holy One Blessed be He created the world in six days and that he resurrects the dead."¹³

2. Beyond the Rabbinic Texts

Here our passages become even more difficult to deal with and to differentiate. It is hard to know how "hellenized" were the Jews of the Diaspora in contrast to the Jews of Palestine and whether there was an appreciable difference in religious emphasis between the two groups. Our existing texts from the obviously hellenized Jews of this time are rare and the references within them to the resurrection are even more uncommon.

We may surmise that the trend of Greek thought had a corroborative effect upon Jewish thinking about the revival of the dead. The two-fold notion of an immortal soul in a mortal body - which was Greek - would have fitted in well with a Jewish understanding of immortality and resurrection. Moore is of the opinion that once the fundamental

belief in the reality of the spirit as contrasted with the existence of the body is established the Jewish religious development of this theme was natural and obvious. "Jewish eschatology is the ultimate step in the individualization of religion, as the messianic age is the culmination of the national conception. Every man is judged individually, and saved or damned by his own deeds."¹⁴ Another scholar makes a similar and more explicit reference. "Doubtless Greek dualism made it easier for the Jews to understand the hope of immortality and tended to confirm them in that belief, and also helped them towards a doctrine of resurrection. But the significant point is that the Greek view of the immortality of the soul only did not satisfy the Jews. In loyalty to Old Testament anthropology they insisted that the soul had to be restored to the body; (Isaiah 26:19; Daniel 12:2) i.e., Judaism modified Greek dualism by insisting on the resurrection of the body."¹⁵

The most notable exponent of Hellenistic Judaism whose works we possess today was Philo of Alexandria. As he lived in the years between 50 B.C. - 50 C.E., his writings and his opinions are of interest to us in this study. The closest Philo appears to have come to any sort of statement of life after death would appear to be contained in the following brief quotation: "This is the noblest definition of an immortal life, to be possessed by a fleshless and bodiless love and friendship for God."¹⁶ One of the foremost authorities on Philo writes, The Sadducees denied the resurrection of the body, an idea which does not appear in Philo. He does not go so far as they in saying that souls perish with their bodies, but his Greek notion of immortality and all his ethical teaching, are quite without sanction of rewards

and punishments at a divine tribunal after death."¹⁷ Another scholar, Harry Austin Wolfson, is of the opinion that Philo took all references to resurrection as being only a figurative way of discussing immortality. "Throughout his writings Philo speaks of the immortality of the soul rather than that of the resurrection of the body. No direct or indirect reference is ever made by him, though the belief in resurrection was common among the Egyptians of his native country and though it is also mentioned in the Sibylline oracles. But it is quite evident that all reference to resurrection found in the traditional literature of his time was understood by him as being only a figurative way of referring to immortality."¹⁸

The other non-Tannaitic Jewish writer of the period whose works have survived is the historian and apologist, Flavius Josephus. He differentiates between the main sects in the various opinions held regarding life after death. In the first place there are the Pharisees who "believe that souls have an immortal vigour in them and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments accordingly as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life. The latter are to be detained forever in an everlasting prison and the former shall have the power to revive and live again."¹⁹ "The Pharisees say that all souls are incorruptible but that the souls of good men only are removed into other bodies but that the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment."²⁰ Josephus is of the opinion that the Sadducees deny all

**There are a number of curious features in these accounts of Pharisaic doctrine. In the first place this appears to be the only reference to the souls of the dead being rewarded in the Underworld. In the second place Josephus's rejection of the return of the wicked into the world to come is only for reasons of subsequent judgement is not affirmed by our texts. It even contradicts St. Paul's account of Pharisaic belief, namely "that they themselves allowed that there should be a resurrection of the dead both of the just and of the unjust." (Acts 24:15).

forms of life after death. "The doctrine of the Sadducees is this: that souls die with the bodies nor do they regard the observation of any thing besides what the Law enjoins upon them."²¹ The last category of beliefs about immortality dealt with by the historian belong to the Essenes. Josephus compares their opinions to that of Greek philosophy emphasizing perhaps the intellectual environment about which we have already commented and which saw the general Jewish belief in the resurrection of the dead grow in importance and in sophistication. "The Essene doctrine is this: That bodies are corruptible and that the matter they are made of is not permanent; but that the souls are immortal, and continue forever...that when they are set free from the bonds of the flesh they then, as released from long bondage, rejoice and mount upward. And this is like the opinions of the Greeks..."²²

It is of interest to note that whether Josephus was correct or not in his ascription of a denial of the resurrection to the Sadducees the New Testament appears to be of the same mind.²³ In Matthew 22:23 we read, "The same day Sadducees came to him, who say that there is no resurrection, and they asked of him a question." In Acts 4:1-2 we read, "And as they were speaking to the people, the priests and the captain of the Temple and the Sadducees came upon them annoyed because they were teaching the people and proclaiming in Jesus the resurrection of the dead." If the Sadducees reject the resurrection, the Pharisees are made to accept it, and quite characteristically we read of a full-fledged debate between the two groups and how the Apostle Paul took advantage of the dissension. "But when Paul perceived that one part were Sadducees and the other Pharisees he cried out in the council, 'Brethren, I am a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees; with respect to the

hope and the resurrection of the dead I am on trial.' And when he had said this, a dissension arose between the Pharisees and the Sadducees and the assembly was divided. For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, nor angel, nor spirit; but the Pharisees acknowledge them all. Then a great clamour arose..." (Acts 23.1ff).

Solomon Zeitlin comments on the sentences in Josephus concerning the Pharisees, viz. "They say that all souls are incorruptible but that the souls of the good only are removed into other bodies but the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment." Zeitlin comments, "The Pharisees did not believe in bodily resurrection; they believed in the immortality of the soul; in this they differ from the Sadducees who denied the immortality of the soul."²⁴ Whilst this judgement would accord perfectly with the reply of Jesus in Matthew 22:30, "For in the resurrection they neither marry nor are given in marriage but are like the angels in heaven," which implies a spiritual type of immortality and rebirth, it hardly accords with the many other passages from both Midrash and Talmud regarding the physical implications of the resurrection from the indestructibility of the base of the spinal column to the reconstitution of physical deformities. Perhaps we are confronted with a definite historical development in the concept of the belief. It may be suggested, and it shall be discussed later, that the earlier Sadducean and Pharisaic belief rejected and accepted respectively a spiritual after-life with no physical restrictions or implications. The late rabbinic attitude had echoes of the shadow world, for it existed within the context of the Hellenistic world, but at the same time it may be surmised that the authoritative attitude involved a physical revival.

CHAPTER NINE

THE EVIDENCE OF ARCHEOLOGY

There is a vast amount of material from inscriptions, writings, carvings and paintings available that gives to us an indication of the religious beliefs of a substantial portion of the Jewish people from whom we have no other literary evidence and yet whose religious life falls within the period that we are studying. From archeological remains gathered from communities as far apart as Rome, Palestine, North Africa and Mesopotamia we find an amazing similarity evident from the symbols and inscriptions of both synagogues and gravestones. According to Goodenough¹ these Jewish communities had accepted quite unconsciously (as did Christianity) the basic elements of "mystery" and of Gnosticism culminating in what was the basic goal of paganism, "to go up into the richness of divine experience, to appropriate God's life to oneself." Life was gained through death. "The experience could be depicted in terms of the zodiac, the planets, the cosmos, with which man unites himself as he becomes the microcosm, or as he is borne by the solar eagle to the top of the universe - indeed outside it altogether, to that Sun and Ideal World of which the material sun and universe are only imperfect copies."

"Or the old identification of one's being with the life of the fields could survive in the Seasons, depicted in synagogue and tomb with their fruits, to represent the great cycle of death and resurrection in nature, the cycle in which men first, perhaps, saw definite promise of their own immortality. These ideas have as little place in normative rabbinic Judaism as do the pictures and symbols of gods that

Jews borrowed to suggest them...The most difficult point of all to believe is the point about which there can be no dispute whatever, namely, that these Jews were so hellenized that they could borrow for their amulets, charms, graves and synagogues the mystic symbols of paganism and even the forms of the pagan gods."

Whether the whole thesis of Goodenough is correct and we are dealing here with a very different and alien kind of Judaism, or whether we are here concerned with the normal manifestations of rabbinic Judaism, as we know it from the Tannaitic sources, albeit in its more Hellenized form, is not within the province of this paper. All that we may observe in reference to our specific topic is by way of a well-intentioned guess. The symbols and inscriptions that we find in their many strange and apparently alien forms are not in accord with the picture of Jewish society, either in Palestine or in the Diaspora, drawn for us by the Mishna, the Midrash or the Talmud. (It may be added that this is hardly surprising for these books were written by men who wished to keep their community far from the danger of assimilation. The tendency is evident in such statements from the Mishna as: "During the war of Titus they forbade the crowns of the brides and that a man should teach his son Greek." (Sotah 9:14)). So it is that, in the course of time and the victory of the more austere rabbinic tendency, the paintings and carvings of recognisable objects disappeared from the walls of the synagogues and the tombs of the dead. The victory of this party, aided by the harshness of an oppressive majority, ensured the victory of the "cultural isolationists" and brought about the conscious withdrawal from the world not only of heretical but now of hostile and intolerant views.

That the members of the Sanhedrin could consent to be buried in a necropolis in Galilee redolant with symbols and images of paganism and gnosticism is as significant as the existence of the symbols in the first place. That Jews, and "good normative" Jews of Palestine at that, could use these images as symbols, or not object to their presence, is proof that there was little danger in their eyes that anyone would invest them with their literal or original meaning. The symbols were only symbols, otherwise they could not have been used by these Jews. Whether they were understood allegorically, in the same manner that Philo understood the Bible and the symbols of Judaism, or whether they were used as mere conventions put there for the sake of appearance is beside the domain of this study. The fact remains that the symbols appear in Palestine and throughout the ancient world. Some of the symbols are Jewish, some are not. Very often there are parallels between the Jewish use of an image or expression and non-Jewish practice. That the symbols are used at all will tell us something of Jewish belief at that time. Whether we are dealing with convention or habit or allegory is beside the primary fact that there were Jews who took the trouble to write or carve or paint certain objects and scenes on walls, on graves and on synagogues to remind the viewer that there was hope even beyond the grave.

Evidence in favour of a widespread belief in the resurrection is certainly not overwhelming within the material at hand. Belief in a form of immortality can be certainly deduced but the physical revival of the dead is by and large ignored. This is particularly true when speaking of the catacombs of Rome and North Africa where

pagan influence is most marked. Whether this in itself is proof of the existence of a separate "non rabbinic" Jewish world is a subject worthy of considerable study and serious conjecture. We may, however, safely conclude that for some Jews, whether through hellenization or not, the resurrection was not an important belief and, even though it may have been present, it had little influence upon their world. The persistence of life after death in a more spiritual form is another matter and here our study of symbols will be illuminating. Only the paintings on the walls of the synagogue at Dura Europos from the third century corroborate, in a direct manner, the writings of Rabbinic Judaism.

The Menorah

The first symbol that we shall discuss was the most popular and the most widespread among the Jews of the ancient world, both inside Palestine and throughout the Diaspora. The Menorah, according to Goodenough, had become almost "de rigeur" by the third century on gravestones throughout the Roman world.² There are few, if any, representations of any Menorahs which can be dated from the years before the destruction of the Temple. Apparently the rise of a hellenistic interpretation of Judaism saw the growth of popularity of the symbol. From Josephus and Philo and the Midrash Goodenough deduces, with considerable ingenuity and persuasiveness, that the seven lights of the seven-branched candlestick came to represent the seven planets of the Universe and its structure. The ordered Universe, "the harmony of the spheres," had spiritual meaning for the Greek world. The spheres symbolized the perfection of the cosmos. For the Hellenistic Jews the Menorah was the symbol of God. Rabbinic literature would forbid the

use or reproduction of the Temple Menorah outside the Temple in Jerusalem yet we are confronted with a mass of material in which there is no more frequent symbol than this very symbol. The rabbis knew of the meaning that the Menorah had evidently come to hold for Jews throughout the world and they very naturally disapproved of any symbol of God.

That the reproduction of the Menorah on the innumerable synagogue ruins and tombs of the period was a symbol and not a representation of the Menorah in the Temple seems to be proven conclusively by the wide variation of design that we are able to see. In the preliminary report of the excavations at Beth Shearim we find twenty-nine representations of the Menorah, each one being different in design from the other. These Menorahs are not copies of any original candlestick. They are symbols in their own right. There is no discernable "master copy" towards which they all tend.³ They stand for a greater hope than mere historical reminiscence or expectation of a Temple in Jerusalem. The seven-branched candelabra appears again and again in the catacombs, on the sarcophagi and upon the walls of Jewish tombs and on Jewish places of worship in much the same way as the many other symbols of immortality and hope and life that accompany the candelabra. Light itself is the function of the lamp and hence the whole symbol is the perfect "image of God" reflecting not only the structure and order of the cosmos but also "the divine light"...the tree of life.⁴

Lulav and Ethrog

The strange repetition and emphasis of the palm branch and the citron on many of the graves of Jews in this period can be understood by examining the significance of the Sukkot festival and its symbols.

Goodenough explains that there are many different elements within Sukkot, namely "God's greatness, His forgiveness, His life-giving powers." We know that the lulav and the palm branch were familiar symbols of power and strength. The following Midrash clearly joins the symbols that are repeated on the graves with our knowledge of the belief in immortality and the nature of life after death in Rabbinic thought. "What is the meaning of the verse: 'In Thy right hand bliss forever more! (Psalm 17:11)'? This refers to him who takes the lulav in his right hand, just as the victorious athletes take the palm tree as a sign of their victory, so the victorious (Jew) carries the lulav." Goodenough comments, "Here the palm tree in its pagan association with victory is explicitly made parallel to the Jewish lulav. It is a symbol of 'Bliss forever more.' Marmorstein quotes this as an explanation of the appearance of the lulav on Jewish tombstones and he is undoubtedly right."⁵

The lulav is, as we know, connected with Sukkot and the Sukkot Festival is associated with the Festival of the Water Drawing and the commencement of the prayers for rain. The old theme of life and water and rebirth and strength may therefore be said to re-assert itself very strongly in this symbol.

The Shofar

The third symbol which occurs with some frequency upon Jewish tombs is the ram's horn. We have mentioned the Midrash in which Isaac is brought back to life on the altar at the time of the Akeda and of course a memorial to the Lord of the binding of Isaac is the sounding of the Shofar. We have also read of the huge ram's horn to be blown by God at the end of days. The symbol has many different layers of

significance. We may mention the Temple, the call to Penitence of the Day of Atonement, the scene at Sinai, the Messiah and his coming and the day of the resurrection when the graves were to open. If there was to be a symbol of "the latter days" and the advent of the Kingdom of God the Shofar would be the finest kind of symbol and as such we might expect to find it repeated frequently on graves and synagogue mosaics as indeed we do.⁶

Other Symbols

In several Jewish tombs off the Via Appia Antica, Goodenough describes elaborate ceiling paintings "common to both pagan and Christian, a plan which has been conclusively demonstrated to represent heaven." The paintings have the typical circular design with various mythological symbols from quail to palm branches, peacocks to winged Victories. Other symbols to be found in various tombs and which would appear to have significance in our search for Jewish belief in the resurrection include the fish,⁷ wine,⁸ the grape,⁹ bread,¹⁰ cupid¹¹ and the dolphin.¹²

The symbol of Jonah in the belly of the fish and being cast out and onto dry land was such a common Christian way of representing the resurrection that Goodenough is sure that the idea comes from a Jewish prototype. To prove his contention he quotes a rather late passage from the Zohar which reads, "For the fish that swallowed him is in fact the grave."¹³ There is, however, other evidence for this opinion. There are amulets¹⁴ and wall paintings.¹⁵ There is also the fish meal which evidently was part of Jewish festival celebration and is carried over into Islam and Christianity.

One child's sarcophagus in the catacombs of Randanini "repre-

sents a child lying on the length of the cover but with his head raised. Two birds, at the child's head and feet, eat grapes or hold a bunch in their beaks, a Bacchic motif familiar in Jewish sepulchral art ... The child holds another bunch of grapes in one hand and with his right he caresses a tiny dog. This type of reclining figure with raised head has been shown by Cumont to represent a person not asleep but on the banqueting couch... The figure was a stock pattern to symbolize the happiness of heaven in terms of what was originally the Dionysiac eschatological banquet, one which was carried over, as we shall see, into both Judaism and Christianity."¹⁶ There is such a wealth of pagan symbolism and decoration within the catacomb of Randinini that it has been suggested that the tombs were originally designed for non-Jews. Goodenough rejects this theory, pointing out that the mass of "Jewish material" - the Menorah, the Lulav, a painting of Moses striking the rock, the ethrog, the circumcision knife - which is incorporated within the paintings precludes this theory. There is also the provision within the catacombs for some kind of meeting room, possibly banqueting rooms, with provision for washing as part of the ceremonies. Goodenough concludes, "We should suppose from this catacomb and its contents that at least one group of Jews had a quite mystic approach to death and the problem of life beyond the grave that they took over the current symbols of immortality..."¹⁷

Writings

Inscriptions on ancient synagogues tell us very little. On one mosaic synagogue floor in Apamea, Spain (dating from the fourth century) we find a list of donors of various parts of the decoration and we read (in Greek) that the gifts were made "for the salvation" of

themselves and their families. This may be a reference to the life to come and perhaps it involves a developed eschatological belief. In another synagogue unearthed at Hamman Lifi (Tunis) we read of the Latin inscription "Thy servant Julian P.(?) at her own expense paved with mosaic the holy synagogue at Naro for her salvation" (pro salutem suam).¹⁸ In the synagogue excavated at Jericho we find a long Aramaic inscription which whilst indicating some form of divine account keeping does not tell us anything about life after death. "May they be well remembered, may their memory be for good, all (the) holy community, its elders and its youth, whom (the) King of the World helped and who exerted themselves and made the mosaic. He who knows their names and (the names) of their children and of the people of their household, shall write them in the Book of Life (together with) the Just. They are associates with all Israel. Peace. Amen. Selah."¹⁹

In the Jewish catacombs at Venosa the inscriptions are standard, the majority reading "Peace," "Peace to Israel," "Peace to his couch." One inscription in Hebrew alone (a rarity among the inscriptions, which are usually in Latin or Greek) reads: "Bier of Vitus son of Faustinus, Rest to his soul. May his spirit have eternal life." One other Hebrew inscription in the same catacomb refers to "eternal life." There is no written reference to resurrection among any of the inscriptions.²⁰ In the necropolis of Beth Shearim in Galilee are to be found the graves of men like Rabbi Judah Hannassi, yet the inscriptions on the graves are hardly more rabbinic in character than they are in pagan Rome. True, there is more Hebrew and Aramaic to be found among the writings on the tombs but the wording of these epitaphs are brief and unrewarding from our point of view.²¹ The word pile (peace) predominates here as in

Rome and in North Africa. There are a number of inscriptions which include the word ²² (soul) but there is no explicit reference to the resurrection or to an immortal life though there are a large number of Menorahs to be found carved in the walls of the necropolis which may indicate a Hellenised hope for eternity and union with God. The only lengthy inscription at the site is to be found on a mausoleum attached to one of the tomb caves which after describing how one Justus has "relinquished the light" of life he has "gone to the underworld... because such was the wish of the powerful ~~States~~." Hardly an epitaph redolent of the spirit of rabbinic Judaism!²²

Goodenough discusses the meaning of the persistent hope for "peace" or "peace on Israel." He points out that the Jewish catacombs existed for the express purpose of protecting the bodies of the dead from being disturbed. There are texts in existence which curse those that would interfere with the bodies of the deceased. We read on one inscription from Italy, "If any disturb him, the God of Israel will avenge him to all eternity." Goodenough remarks that "the hope of undisturbed bones was obviously important to Jews of many centuries when they so elaborately sealed and locked their burial places."²³ Anyone who has seen the huge stone doors and barriers on the tombs at Beth Shearim will be impressed by the accuracy of this observation. We may perhaps guess that the rest of the physical remains in tranquility made it possible for the soul to remain undisturbed in the future life by any reminder of that separate and inferior "matter" that was called the body.

One extraordinary and almost inexplicable fact confronts us as the tombstones of the Jews of Rome are examined. Again and again the initials D.M appear at the head of the inscription.²⁴ The inscriptions

on pagan tombstones mean "Dis Manibus," "to the ghost gods," or as Mueller translates it, "to the gods of the underworld." That at least a good proportion of the inscriptions are Jewish (apart from the basic fact of their presence in a Jewish catacomb) is certain through symbols and expressions carved on the stones. One tomb from North Africa reads quite decisively and apparently incongruously, "D.M. To Julia Victoria the Jewess..." It became a custom among Christians to use this prefix also. Perhaps it was re-interpreted to mean "Deo Magno." Perhaps, as Goodenough suggests, it was merely a good luck symbol or a conventional sign (such as R.I.P.) that simply denoted that here was a tomb.²⁵

Goodenough concludes, and we are forced to agree with him, that the archeological evidence of the period we are discussing presents a hitherto suppressed and non-rabbinic side of Judaism in the Roman world. ^{We see} ~~A~~ Judaism which had much in common with non-Jewish mysticism and contemporary philosophic thought. "Just as the pagans put the mythological and cult emblems of their religions, especially of the mystic cults, on their tombs to show their hope of the world to come, the Jews put the emblems of their own cult and hopes in much the same way on their graves. It is clear that a person buried with a Dionysiac symbol of the eternal banquet was hoping to get to a heaven where he himself would eternally drink at such a banquet. Catholic statements about the significance of the Eucharist still make it clear that the Eucharist on earth will eventuate in an even greater experience in the eternal communion of heaven. The Jewish cult objects on graves similarly seem to indicate that the Jew hoped also to come into the blissful experience of an eternal culmination of

Jewish worship in heaven. This hope we found much in Jewish literature to confirm."²⁶

One significant point emerges from all this study of Jewish necrology from an archeological point of view that corresponds to what we know of more orthodox rabbinic belief. We see that even among the Hellenistic non-rabbinic Jews of the ancient world cremation was not practised. The body needed proper burial and protection. The bones of the dead should lie "in peace." It is difficult to understand why this should have been if there was no form of belief current concerning an existence beyond the grave and perhaps even a reconstitution of the body. The latter conclusion does not, it must be admitted, follow logically from the premise that all Jews buried instead of burned their dead, but it is, at least, a logical possibility admissible from the given facts.

The Dura Synagogue

The most outstanding archeological discovery that has direct bearing upon Jewish life within the period that we are studying was the unearthing of the third century synagogue at Dura Europas in Syria. By a fantastic chance the synagogue had been buried in the course of fortifying a defensive wall at a time just prior to the capture and destruction of the city.²⁷ Consequently the earth "fill" covered the walls of most of the synagogue and preserved a series of important and impressive frescoes and murals that tell us a great deal about the religious and cultural life of the Jews of Syria in the third century of the present era. The paintings are skillfully executed and obviously carefully planned.²⁸ The most significant portion of the paintings is concerned with Biblical events and scenes

whilst the remainder are either purely decorative ornamentation or have some connection with worship in the ancient Temple.

There are several panels among the paintings that have a direct bearing on the subject of the resurrection of the dead.²⁹ "The largest and most ambitious painting among the known paintings of the Dura Synagogue" is a panel consisting of several scenes showing the raising of the dead by the prophet Ezekiel.³⁰ There has been considerable controversy concerning the meaning of all the figures within the complex composition; however, there are certain features which, from even a cursory glimpse at the painting, are quite clear. Disregarding the problem of whether the resurrection as depicted here is meant to serve as a symbol of national revival or of personal salvation, the panels reveal a certain process and order within the course of resurrection. The hand of God is present in every scene and in every panel. The process commences with the earth splitting open and the limbs and bodies of the dead being brought to light. The dead are raised up and "reconstructed." The hand of God reaches out from Heaven and touches the hand of the corpse, transmitting to it the gift of life. Winged "psyches" (or angels or souls) come down from the heights to participate in the miracle. The people live and talk and breathe once more, though in the last panel it is worth while to note that not all the limbs of the dead have been reconstituted into new bodies. Adjacent to this last scene there is a rather badly damaged panel in which some form of judgement or destruction is occurring. Whether this is a picture of personal judgement or a national calamity or of a completely unrelated subject is impossible to tell. There are two dominant figures in the larger paintings that have been

identified as being either the Messiah or Ezekiel or both. Again it is difficult to determine positive identification and the solution must wait until the theme of the whole panel can be definitely ascertained.

Second in importance among the existing paintings to be seen on the walls of the Dura synagogue is the series depicting the life of Elijah the prophet. Kraeling has identified no less than five panels as part of the "Elijah cycle," being designed to demonstrate and strengthen the Messianic hope of redemption and of the speedy destruction of the wicked.³¹ The panel depicting Elijah reviving the widow's child has three sections within it.³² In the first we see the widow and the dead child. The woman is in mourning. In the centre of the panel there is a picture of a man stretched out on a couch and holding in his arms the same naked baby. The hand of God is extended towards them in the same manner as in the scenes of revival in the Ezekiel panel. The third section shows the widow dressed in gay clothes and holding her child who is now dressed and very obviously alive.³³

Above the Ark are some of the sacred symbols of Judaism. Pictures of the Menorah, the Lulav and the Ethrog and the Holy of Holies occupy pride of place in the Synagogue.³⁴ Within the same panel and in a place of parallel importance with the Menorah is the scene, a painting, of the Akedah. We have mentioned briefly the connection between the sacrifice of Isaac and the doctrine of the resurrection. The link in turn of the Akedah with the Shofar and its connection with the "last days" may not be too far-fetched.

Beyond all speculation, however, are the following conclusions

that may be drawn from the material to be found within the ancient synagogue. The theme of the resurrection is abundantly evident upon the walls of the synagogue. There is no doubt that it was a belief which was important to the Jews who prayed within the synagogue. Two of the most important scenes depicted on the mural decorations have a direct relation to the theme of hope in the resurrection of the dead. God is shown to be directly involved in the events. His hands stretch down from Heaven to work the miracle of the revival just as His hands are present in the picture of the closing of the Red Sea over the heads of the pursuing Egyptians.³⁵ Interesting, too, is the fact that among all the pictures upon the walls of the synagogue the resurrection is the only indication of any kind of life after death. There is no picture of the "olam haba" - the World to Come -, no illustration of the delights that await the righteous after death. Noteworthy, too, is the fact that of the very few stories about the resurrection that are to be found in the Bible, at least two and perhaps three, were found to be important enough to be used as themes for the murals by the unknown painter of the Jewish community of Dura Europas.

On the famous mosaic floor of the Synagogue at Beth Alpha it should be noted that the two most important features of the decoration are the signs of the Zodiac and the portrayal of the Akedah.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS

Claude Montefiore has commented that the dogmatic references to the resurrection are "curiously casual" and he adds the following puzzled comment regarding those who the rabbis thought would or would not live again. "We may wonder whether they made these amazing assertions seriously. And yet why should they have made them in jest? One never seems to get to the bottom of the oddity of the rabbis."¹ Montefiore's judgement of the importance of the implications present in the various passages is corroborated by at least one Tannaitic statement. that concludes contemptuously, "It is as insignificant as when a man says to another, 'Until the dead revive and the Messiah, the son of David comes!'"²

Yet this study has touched upon something very significant. The idea of life after death is a step forward in the history of Hebraic thought. The ancient Deuteronomic pattern of reward and punishment meted out in an automatic manner by a Divine hand was challenged even in Biblical times. The world to come became the place where the meritorious would be rewarded and where the pain of serving God in this world would be turned into unending ages of joy. Martyrdom and disappointments created the need for a place of heavenly consolation. For the people of Israel the division of the body and soul involved no value judgement on the worth of one part of man's being at the expense of the other. The rabbis remembered "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground and breathed

into his nostrils the breath of life and man became a living soul." (Genesis 2:7). God had created body and soul at one and the same time and so the future life after death would continue to involve both parts of man's being. For the Jew all elements of his personality were precious and worthwhile to his Creator. Here was no denigration of the flesh but rather a hope that the body as well as the soul would be purified and put to higher use in a new world that lay beyond the grave.

In a recent survey of the development of Existential philosophy there is a valid and valuable distinction drawn between the Hebraic and the Greek approach to the world which has a bearing upon our study. "Hebraism contained no eternal realm of essences, which Greek philosophy was to fabricate, through Plato, as affording the intellectual deliverance from the evil of time. Such a realm of eternal essences is possible only for a detached intellect, one who in Plato's phrase, becomes a spectator of all time and all existence.... Detachment was for the Hebrew mind an impermissible state of mind."³ This involvement of the human personality in the ultimate drama upon earth and in a real life beyond the grave was behind much of rabbinic thought. Here was a people bound to the Divine for all eternity. They were not the toys of the gods but rather the partners of God. They shared a measure of immortality.

It has been pointed out by Moore that "any attempt to systematize the Jewish notions of the hereafter imposes upon them an order and a consistency which does not exist in them."⁴ Max Kadushin has observed that this is true of rabbinic thought in general and explains the nature of the material that we have studied by classifying it as

being typical of "organic" thinking rather than "conceptual." He writes: "Organic thinking is conceptual; the complex, the constituents of which are demonstrably organically inter-related with each other is always, certainly in civilized groups, a complex of concepts. It is this conceptual character of every complex of organic thinking that renders it an organismic form on the mental level. Now each organic complex has an individuality of its own. The concepts of each complex differ from those of other complexes. The number of concepts differ with each complex, the larger complex carving out a world beyond grasp of the smaller."⁵

So it is that we have not met any uniformity of belief regarding the resurrection of the dead. We have traced the variety of opinions about the background, the reasons, the nature and the times of the resurrection. We have noted that within every aspect of the belief there was ample room for conflict and independent credal formulation. It is in recognition of this variety implicit amongst most of rabbinic thought that has caused us to refrain from attempting to find with all the reported manifestations of the miracle any measure of consistency regarding the time, the place, the manner or the extent of the revival. Whilst we recognize that the resurrection was the general hope of the rabbis we must also admit, with Kadushin, that the nature of their belief and the method behind the creation of the material with which we have dealt does not lend itself to distillation in the form of coherent and systematic dogma.

What, then, was the significance of the Jewish belief in the resurrection of the dead? We have seen that the origins of the idea of life after death were not purely Hebraic. Its roots lay in Egypt

and in Mesopotamia whilst the symbolism of Greece was transferred without difficulty to the tombs and the inscriptions of the Jewish world. Perhaps the main rabbinic contribution to these ideas of immortality was the hope in the survival of the body, the unique personality - the unique individuality - present in life. Certainly Judaism, and later Christianity, were united to a certain extent by a belief in a form of physical survival after death, a belief that pagans usually rejected and often ridiculed. St. Augustine sadly comments that there was "no doctrine of the Christian faith so vehemently and so obstinately opposed as the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh."⁶ In Acts 17:18 and 32 we read how "Epicurean and Stoic philosophers" mocked Paul when they heard him "speak of the resurrection of the dead." In the Midrash we read that there were "two things which the idolatrous nations deny. That the Holy One Blessed be He created the world in six days and that He resurrects the dead."⁷

Perhaps one of the most significant forces that drew the rabbis together was a unity of disbelief and protest toward the basic religious approach of their neighbours. Kadushin comments upon the rabbinic ideas concerning the resurrection and the world to come and declares that in his opinion "It is quite likely that the very crystallization of the rabbinic dogmas was primarily due to the sectarian conflicts of those times."⁸ Evidence from the material that we have examined would appear to corroborate this opinion. We have seen how the idea of the resurrection developed and even altered considerably during the period that we have studied. The Biblical attitude to life after death changed in the course of

its development and this in turn was refined by the writers of the Apocrypha. The teachers and writers of the Tannaitic and the later Amoraic period spoke and thought out of circumstances and from backgrounds that differed considerably from their predecessors and so they gave to their teachings new, more subtle and often more abstruse ideas and concepts. Words changed their meaning and the idea of the resurrection was bandied about by those who were determined to draw the lines between the Jewish world and the world of heresy and unbelief. Those who were not to be resurrected were named and the reasons for their exclusion were given. The nature of the world to come and the type of existence that could be foreseen became ever more important during the rabbinic period. As belief in the resurrection became more general and more elaborate the room for difference of opinion regarding the details of a rather sweeping conception grew at a correspondingly rapid rate.

Christianity and Judaism are linked in a special way by the doctrine of the resurrection for a central place in Christian theology is occupied by the resurrection of Jesus. The Jewish conception of the resurrection of the body after three days in the tomb and the idea of the continued existence of the individual in a life that had more reality than the ancient half-world of Sheol or Hades made possible the birth of the belief in the reality of the risen Christ. It is true that scholars like Sir James Frazer⁹ have discussed the parallels that existed in the pagan world to a god that was reborn in the spring, whose blood redeemed the believers and whose suffering made vicarious atonement for the world, but the central place given to the resurrection by the early Church is both important and

significant in relation to the corresponding and contemporary Jewish belief in the reality of the eventual rebirth of the dead. Interesting, too, is a comparison between the two differing paths of religious development and belief regarding the resurrection. The Church had that which the Synagogue lacked, namely, authoritative and canonical proof texts regarding the reality and the nature of the resurrection. The testimony of the empty tomb that told of the resurrection of Jesus from the dead determined the separate path along which the Church walked in the later development of what was to become specifically Christian doctrine.

It is of interest to note that of all the "Thirteen Principles of Faith" listed by Maimonides only the last one, the declaration of faith in the coming of a revival of the dead, has been subjected to a continual history of discussion and controversy and internal religious disagreement. True, it is possible to set limits upon the emergence of a belief in the coming of a Messiah or upon the doctrine of Divine Revelation of the Biblical word but these beliefs were all held to be true and clearly understood for a definite period of time within the history of the Jewish people. The story of the belief in the resurrection of the dead did not develop along any such well defined paths. The resurrection was the hope of the rabbis but the precise nature of their belief differed with almost every individual. So it is, as we have remarked, that there does not seem to have been a period within the span of Jewish history when the people were united by any measure of agreement about the revival of the dead.

It might be said with some justice that an emphasis on the

resurrection was the only way that the nascent Church could survive the death of its Messiah. Even if this was not so, the fact that the doctrine was an understandable and evidently effective way of explaining what had happened to the Messiah and his mission is significant enough.

It was not only the later Church that drew strength and inspiration from its belief in the resurrection. The development of eschatological thought within Israel paralleled the many centuries of disappointment, persecution in the centuries that followed the destruction of the Temple. We have had occasion to quote many times from the *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* which is dated by Friedlander as belonging to the eighth century and which devoted several chapters to the subject of the resurrection of the dead.¹⁰ Similarly the advanced eschatological thought of the later Midrashic material bears witness to the development of the vision that sustained a people faced with the overwhelming victory of her two "daughter religions." By the time the philosophical fashion had had its effect upon Jewish thought following the rise of Islam and the neo-Aristotelian movement of the Middle Ages, we find that the doctrine is important enough to be discussed thoroughly again and again by the Jewish philosophers of the time. Saadia Gaon (882-942), for example, attempted to systematize the belief in the resurrection in his books on "Belief and Opinions."¹¹ For Saadia resurrection was still a physical matter that would take place at the hour of the redemption of the world, but for later philosophers the doctrine was changing.

Maimonides, as we have remarked, concludes his Articles of Faith with a declaration of belief in the eventual resurrection of

the dead, but explains elsewhere that it is a belief that may be taken as only a figurative way of describing the immortality of the soul.¹² Judah HaLevi in the "Kuzari" would seem to agree with this broader interpretation of the meaning of resurrection as implying a symbolic immortality of the spirit.¹³ At a slightly later date Joseph Albo (c.1400) in his book on the "Principles of Religion" (עיקרי דת) discusses at some length the belief in the resurrection of the dead.¹⁴ (His answer is of some interest to us for he confesses that there is such variety of opinion within tradition that no exact dogmatic formulae can be exacted from the believer.) Albo declares that belief in the resurrection is not required as an article of faith as coming from the Law of Moses but that it should be accepted because "it is according to the tradition of the people." He concludes that the purpose of the resurrection "is not in order to reward the body but either to give the individual the opportunity to acquire greater perfection than he acquired before...or to make known the great power of God."¹⁵

Belief in the resurrection has remained as part of the creed of Orthodox Judaism to this day though the seeds of the decline of the importance of the belief were implicit in the confusion and the disagreement evident in the story of its birth; formulation and development. Beyond the inevitable conflict with the canons of rational thought that determined the diminishing role that the belief was to play in the history of the religious development of Israel there were other factors, some of which we have discussed and some of which can only remain part of speculation, that contributed to its derogation...There was the lack of clear and decisive proof

texts that could have determined the exact course of the development of the belief, there was the conflict with the philosophies and cultural trends of Israel's neighbours and even of different parts of the Jewish people and there was perhaps the enthusiastic espousal of a form of the doctrine by the Church that all helped to bring about the process of decline. It may be said that in the long run Judaism followed the advice of its Medieval philosophers and took the belief in the physical resurrection of the body as a symbol of the immortality of the soul (and in doing so accepted the Greek division between the higher essence and soul and the lower world of mere physical existence). Despite this tendency in later Judaism there can be no doubt that the original form of the doctrine, with all its many variations, left a significant mark upon the course of the development of Jewish religious consciousness. From the vision of an indestructible and precious soul existing forever and of a future holier and very real life came that traditional Jewish reverence for the integrity of each individual and fostered that belief, so characteristic of our people's religious quest, in the inextinguishable spark of the Divine and of the Infinite that is to be found within each human being and that pervades the Universe.

NOTES

CHAPTER ONE

BIBLE AND APOCRYPHA

1. Jastrow: Hebrew and Babylonian Tradition, p. 196.
2. Blank: Prophetic Faith in Isaiah, p. 169.

The passage from Isaiah has incorporated certain textual emendations following the suggestion of S. Blank by which one word is omitted and the verbal forms of the passages are taken as being of the future.

3. Moore: Judaism, Volume II, p. 296.
4. Klausner: The Messianic Idea in Israel, p. 125.
5. Jubilees, 23:31. (ed. Charles)
6. Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews, Volume II, p. 38.
7. Wicks: The Doctrine of God, p. 143, and Oesterly: The Doctrine of the Last Things, p. 118.
8. Charles: The Ethiopian Enoch, p. 96.

NOTES

CHAPTER TWO

THE TIME THAT IS DESTINED TO COME

1. Klausner: The Messianic Idea in Israel, p. 408.
2. Maimonides: Mishneh Torah. Sefer Hamadda Hilcot Teshuvah 9:2.
3. Moore: Judaism, Volume II, p. 379.
4. Schurer: The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ, Volume II, Part II, p. 179.
5. Berakhot, 34b.
6. Sanhedrin, 107b - 108a.
7. Sanhedrin, 92a.
8. Aggadat Shir (Hashirim) 7 p. 44.
9. Othiot de Rabbi Akiba "Tet" in Eisenstein's Otzar Midrashim, Volume II, p. 416.
10. Midrash Esther 9:2, and Othiot De Rabbi Akiba "Tet," op. cit.
11. Levertoff: Midrash Sifre on Numbers, p. 103.
12. Levertoff: Ibid.
13. Midrash, Song of Songs 1:9.
14. Strack and Billerbeck: Kommentar Zum Neuen Testament Aus Talmud und Midrasch, Volume IV, Part 2, p. 819ff.

NOTES

CHAPTER THREE

THAT REVIVEST THE DEAD

1. Leviticus Rabbah 27:4.
2. Numbers Rabbah 14:1, Tanchuma "Bereshit" (ed. Vilna) 7, p. 11a.
3. Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer 33:5.
4. Yerushalmi Shekalim 3:3, 47c.
5. Sanhedrin 92b. ר' יודן ד' ארזא ד' ארזא ד' ארזא ד' ארזא ד' ארזא
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6. Ibid.
7. Zohar Bereshit 114b.
8. Pesachim 68a.
9. Midrash Hagadol (ed. Schechter) I. 240.
10. Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer, 31:3-11.
11. Pesachim 68a.
12. Sanhedrin 92b.
13. Pesikta Rabati (ed. Friedmann) 21. 99b-100a. Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer, 41:17. Exodus Rabbah 28:6.
14. Leviticus Rabbah 10:4.
15. Tanchuma "Chukat" (ed. Vilna) 1. p. 378a.

NOTES

CHAPTER FOUR

THE BIBLICAL PRECEDENT

1. Leviticus Rabbah 27:4.
2. Sifre "Ha'azinu" (ed. Friedmann) 306, p. 132a.
3. Sanhedrin 91b.
4. Ibid., 90b.
5. Ibid.
6. Genesis Rabbah 20:10.
7. Sifre "Shalach" (ed. Friedmann) 112, p. 33b.
8. Pesachim 68a.
9. Baba Bathra, 16b.
10. Genesis Rabbah 63:13.
11. Midrash Hagadol (ed. Schechter I:323), Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer 31:3.
12. Sanhedrin 90b.
13. Sifre "V'zot Haberachah" (ed. Friedmann) 357, p. 149a.
14. Genesis Rabbah 78:1.
15. Cf. Chapter Three, "That Revivest the Dead."
16. Kiddushin, 39b.
17. Levertoff: Sifre on Numbers, p. 103.
18. Sanhedrin, 90b.
19. Ibid.
20. Pesachim 118a.
21. Midrash Esther 9:2.
22. Sanhedrin 92b.

NOTES

CHAPTER FIVE

A PORTION IN THE WORLD TO COME

1. Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer 34:1.
2. Ibid.
3. Erubin 19a.
4. Ketuvot 111b.
5. Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer 33:29.
6. Sanhedrin 10:1. (The wife of Korach is specifically excluded by the Yalkut Ezekiel, 375.)
7. Baba Metzia 58b.
8. Sotah 5a.
9. Those who die outside the Land of Israel will not live again, according to Ketuvot 11a.
10. Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer 33:34, Pesikta Rabati 192b (ed. Friedmann), Ketuvot 11a, Genesis Rabbah 13:6 (ed. Soncino).
- 11a. Rosh Hashanah 17a.
- 11b. Baba Metziah 58b.
12. Sanhedrin 103b.
13. Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer 33:30. It should be noted that this belief that the resurrection could only happen once is contradicted by God, in the continuation of the text, when He quotes the text from Ezekiel 12:14, "Behold I will open up your graves ... and you shall live."
14. Ibid., 34:4.
15. Moore: Judaism, Volume II, p. 380.
16. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 385.
17. Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer 38:33. The term for those who are banned is א"נ"ז. It is possible that this word had a much wider meaning at the time of the writing of this passage, vide Friedlander: "Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer," p. 301.

18. Genesis Rabbah 13:16.
19. Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer 34:1.
20. Tosefta Sanhedrin 13:2 (ed. Zuckermann) p. 434.
21. Sanhedrin 92b.
22. Sanhedrin 90a.
23. Sanhedrin 99a.
24. Ibid.
25. Sanhedrin 90a.
26. Ibid.
27. cf. Herford: Christianity in Talmud and Midrash, Lauterbach: "Jesus in the Talmud," Rabbinic Essays.
28. Genesis Rabbah 13:6. (Contrast this passage with Ta'anith 7a).
29. Ketuvot 111a.
30. Pesikta Rabbati 192b (ed. Friedmann).
31. Genesis Rabbah 34:14.
32. Rosh Hashanah 17a.
33. Marmorstein: Studies in Jewish Theology, p. 219.
34. Ibid., p. 179. (The references in the passage quoted are Chagigah 27a and Erubin 19a.)
35. Ibid., p. 184.
36. Midrash Psalms I:20 (ed. Buber) p. 11a.
37. Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer 34:12.
38. Midrash Psalms IX:15 (ed. Buber) p. 45b. Sanhedrin 105a.
39. Ta'anith 2a.
40. Midrash Psalms CIV:23 (ed. Buber) p. 224a.
41. Ethics of the Fathers, IV, 29.
42. Yerushalmi Shevi'it IV, 10:35c.
43. Midrash Psalms LXXV:12 (ed. Buber) p. 170a.

NOTES

CHAPTER SIX

THE PHYSICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESURRECTION

1. Shabbat 152b. The passage states that the remains of the pious, particularly those who were never jealous, will endure in their pious state and will be turned to dust only shortly before their resurrection.
2. Leviticus Rabbah 18:1, Ecclesiastes Rabbah 12:5.
3. Genesis Rabbah 14:5.
4. Ibid., 80:4.
5. Othiot de Rabbi Akiba "Tet" in Eisenstein's Otzar Midrashim, Volume II, p. 416.
6. Ibid. In Ketuvot 111b we learn that Jerusalem alone is the city in which "the dead shall blossom forth like grass."
7. Ketuvot 111a.
8. Genesis Rabbah 96:4.
9. Tanchuma "V'yichi" (ed. Vilna) 3, p. 73b.
10. Zohar Bereshit 114b, Pesachim 68a, Beth Hamidrash (ed. Jellineck), Vol. VI, 64.
11. Yalkut Tehillim, 888.
12. Leviticus Rabbah 18:1, Tanchuma (ed. Vilna), "Miketz" 4, p. 64a.
13. Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer 34:11.
14. Ibid., 51:1.
15. Midrash Esther 9:2.
16. Tanna de be Eliahu (ed. Friedmann), p. 29.
17. Rosh Hashanah 31a.
18. Shabbat 152b.
19. Wolfson: Immortality and Resurrection, p. 7.

NOTES

CHAPTER SEVEN

HOW SHALL THE DEAD RETURN?

1. Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer 33:14.
2. Ibid. The same analogy of the seeds is to be found in Sanhedrin 90b.
3. Othiot de Rabbi Akiba "Tet" in Eisenstein's Otzar Midrashim, Volume II, p. 416.
4. Sanhedrin 90b. As to the view that the dead will rise in the garments in which they were buried, see Genesis Rabbah 95:1.
5. Kohler: "The Immortality of the Soul," Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VI, p. 500.
6. This extract occurs in almost identical form in Tanchuma (ed. Buber), p. 104b and Genesis Rabbah 95:1.
7. Genesis Rabbah 95:1.
8. Roberts and Donaldson: Fragments of the Last Work of Justin on the Resurrection, Vol. I, p. 295.
9. Sanhedrin 108a. Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer 34:1.
10. Midrash Ecclesiastes 5:10.
11. Montefiore and Loewe: A Rabbinic Anthology, p. 369.
12. Gaster: Thespis, p. 33.
13. Goodenough: Jewish Symbols, Vol. V, p. 112.
14. Ibid., p. 146f.
15. Ibid., pp. 150-157.
16. Ibid., pp. 161-196.
17. Ibid., p. 161.
18. Plutarch: On Isis 35:365a, quoted by Goodenough op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 43.
19. Aristotle: Metaphysics, I, 983b.
20. Yerushalmi Berakhot, V, 2, 9a.
21. Ibid.

22. Chagigah 12b.
23. Genesis Rabbah 13:4.
24. Sanhedrin 113a, Ta'anith 2b.
25. Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer 33:34.
26. Shabbat 89a.
27. Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer 34:24.
28. Deuteronomy Rabbah 7:6.
29. Genesis Rabbah 13:6.
30. Ta'anith 2b.
31. Montefiore and Loewe, op. cit., p. 369.
32. Berakhot 33a.
33. Elbogen: Geschichte des Achtzehngebetes, p. 51.
34. Marmorstein, "The Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead in Rabbinic Theology," Studies in Jewish Theology, p. 147.
35. Matthew 22:23-33, Luke 20:37-8, Mark 12:18-27.
36. Marmorstein, op. cit., p. 148.

NOTES

CHAPTER EIGHT

HERESIES, POLEMICS AND THE RESURRECTION

1. Strachey: The Fathers Without Theology, p. 15.
2. Genesis Rabbah 78:11.
3. Josephus: Antiquities, Book 18, Chapter 1.
4. Leviticus Rabbah 27:4.
5. Tanchuma "Bereshit" (ed. Vilna) 7. p. 11a.
6. Sanhedrin 90b.
7. Ibid., 91a.
8. Herford: Christianity in the Talmud and Midrash, p. 233.
9. Seder Olam Rabbah 3.
10. Baba Bathra 16a.
11. Sifre "Shalach" (ed. Friedmann) 112, p. 33b.
12. Pesikta Rabati (ed. Friedmann) 12. p. 48a.
13. Midrash Shocher Tov. Psalm 19, p. 28a.
14. Moore: Judaism, Vol. II, p. 358f.
15. Thomson: Sleep: An Aspect of Jewish Anthropology, Vetus Testamentum, Vol. V, p. 429f.
16. Wolfson: Philo, Vol. I, p. 404.
17. Goodenough, Erwin R: An Introduction to Philo Judaeus, p. 149.
18. Wolfson: Op. cit.
19. Josephus: Antiquities, Book XVIII, Chap. 1.
20. Josephus: Wars, Book II, Chap. 8.
21. Josephus: Antiquities, Book XVIII, Chap. 1.
22. Josephus: Wars, Book II, Chap. 8.

23. It should be noted that Josephus' rejection of the return of the souls of the wicked into their bodies, which he grants to the good, looks somewhat like a contradiction of St. Paul's account of the doctrine of the Jews that they "themselves allowed that there should be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and the unjust." (Acts 24:15).
24. Zeitlin: "The Idolatry of the Dead Sea Scrolls" J.Q.R., 1958, p. 262 f.

CHAPTER NINE

1. Goodenough: Jewish Symbols, Vol. IV, p. 60f.
2. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 77.
3. Mazar לע - מ'ר'r' - מ'ר'ר'ר'ר'r'r' .מ'ר'
4. Goodenough, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 96.
5. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 163.
6. Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 188ff.
7. Ibid., Vol. V, p. 47f.
8. Ibid., Vol. V, p. 99.
9. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 216.
10. Ibid., Vol. V, p. 63.
11. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 143f, 184; Vol. II, p. 19, p. 175.
12. Ibid., Vol. V, p. 4.
13. Ibid., Vol. V, p. 47.
14. Ibid., Vol. V, p. 48.
15. Ibid., Vol. V, p. 54.
16. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 11.
17. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 32.
18. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 91.
19. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 129.
20. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 53f.
21. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 134f.
22. Mazar, op. cit., p. VII.
23. Goodenough, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 132.
24. Müller: Inschriften der Jüdischen Katakombe, pp. 90, 91, 93, 94, 95.

25. Goodenough, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 137 ff.
26. Ibid., Vol. VIII, p. 229.
27. Kraeling: Excavations at Dura Europos, Part I, p. 4.
28. Ibid., p. 5.
29. Ibid., p. 178.
30. Ibid., plates 69-72.
31. Ibid., p. 146 f.
32. Ibid., p. 143.
33. Ibid., plate 63.
34. Ibid., plate 51.
35. Ibid., plate 53.

NOTES

CHAPTER TEN


CONCLUSIONS

1. Montefiore and Loewe: A Rabbinic Anthology, p. 600.
2. Sotah 49a.
3. Barrett: Irrational Man, p. 67.
4. Moore: Judaism, Vol. II, p. 389.
5. Kadushin: Organic Thinking, p. 258.
6. St. Augustine, Ps. 88, Sermon ii, N. 5.
7. Midrash Psalms 18.
8. Kadushin: The Rabbinic Mind, p. 367.
9. Frazer: The Golden Bough, Part 4, Vol. I, pp. 3-30, 223-235.
10. Friedlander: Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer, p. XX.
11. Saadia Gaon: Beliefs and Opinions, Article VII, Chap. 8.
12. Maimonides: Yad Hachazakah, Teshuvah 2, Mishneh Torah, Sefer Hamadda, Hilcot Teshuvah 9:2. 22
13. Halevi: The Kuzari iii, 20-21.
14. Albo Ikkarim, Article IV, Chap. 35.
15. Ibid., Article I, Chap. 23.

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