Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East

von
Klaas Spronk

1986

Verlag Butzon & Bercker Kevelaer

Neukirchener Verlag Neukirchen-Vluyn

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Theologische Academie
uitgaande van de Johannes Calvijnstichting te Kampen

Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor in de godgeleerdheid,
aan de Theologische Academie
uitgaande van de Johannes Calvijnstichting te Kampen,
op gezag van de rector drs. K.A. Schippers,
hoogleraar in de Praktische Theologie,
in het openbaar te verdedigen
op vrijdag 18 april 1986 des namiddags te 15.00 uur
in de aula van de Theologische Hogeschool,
Oudestraat 6 te Kampen

door

Klaas Spronk

geboren te Zijderveld

1986

Verlag Butzon & Bercker Kevelaer

Neukirchener Verlag Neukirchen-Vluyn

Promotor: Prof. dr. J. C. de Moor
Coreferent: Prof. dr. E. Noort

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Neukirchen-Vluyn
und Verlag Butzon & Bercker Kevelaer
Alle Rechte vorbehalten
Herstellung: Breklumer Druckerei Manfred Siegel
Printed in Germany
ISBN 3-7887-1114-0 Neukirchener Verlag
ISBN 3-7666-9454-5 Verlag Butzon & Bercker

PREFACE

This study is my thesis submitted to the *Theologische Academie* of the *Johannes Calvijnstichting* at Kampen in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Doctor's degree. It was written under the guidance of Professor Dr. J.C. de Moor, to whom I am deeply indebted for his continuous support. I regard it as a privilege to have been his assistant for the last six years.

I wish to convey my thanks to Professor Dr. E. Noort for his friendly and stimulating interest and his valuable criticism.

Thanks are also due to Mr. M.H. van Es (Hoofddorp) and Mr. L.B. Schelhaas (Kampen) for reading the sections on Egyptian and Greek concepts of beatific afterlife. Furthermore, I am very greatful to Mr. F. Spronk (Zaandam) and Dr. J.F. Healey (Durham) for improving my English and to Ms. E.J. de Groot (Kampen) for correcting the final typescript.

Kampen, December 1985 Klaas Spronk

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INTRODUCTION

From the beginning of civilization the question what man can expect after death seems to have occupied human thinking. Being aware of the fact that one day he is going to die distinguishes a human being from other living creatures. It also seems to be human to expect that life will continue after death in one way or another[1], because belief in an afterlife is found in almost all cultures and in all times[2]. Not even the present fading of belief in heaven and its counterpart hell under the influence of secularization seems to lead to a loss of all expectations of a life after death. On the contrary, people seem to be looking for new ways to find security with regard to their afterlife. This could explain the growing interest in experiences of people who were on the brink of death[3] and in spiritualistic phenomena[4], and also the devastating flood of literature discussing the Christian dogmas on this subject[5].

In these books the Old Testament appears to play a very small part when

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(Books and articles listed in the Bibliography are refered to by the name of the author followed by the year of publication.)

[1] Cf. the remark of M. Eliade, in *Religious Encounters with Death*, ed. F.E. Reynolds and E.H. Waugh, London 1977, pp.20-21: "Death is inconceivable if it is not related to a new form of being in some way or another, no matter how this form may be imagined".

[2] According to the famous anthropologist J.G. Frazer the question "whether our conscious personality survives after death has been answered by almost all races of men in the affirmative. On this point sceptical or agnostic peoples are nearly, if not wholly, unknown" (Frazer 1913:I,33). Cf. also F. Heiler, *Unsterblichkeitsglaube und Jenseitshoffnung in der Geschichte der Religionen*, München 1950, p.5; H.W. Obbink, in *Leven en dood*, Haarlem 1961, p.1; R. Cavendish, *Visions of Heaven and Hell*, London 1977, p.7.

[3] Cf. E. Wiesenhütter, *Blick nach drüben: Selbsterfahrungen im Sterben*, Gütersloh 1974; J.C. Hampe, *Sterben ist doch ganz anders: Erfahrungen mit dem eigenen Tod*, Stuttgart 1975; R.A. Moody, *Life After Life*, Covington 1975.

[4] Cf. J. Hick, *Death and Eternal Life*, New York 1976, ch.VII.

[5] E.g., G. Greshake and G. Lohfink, *Naherwartung-Auferstehung - Unsterblichkeit*, Freiburg 1975; P. Badham, *Christian Beliefs about Life after Death*, London 1976; G. Bachl, *Über den Tod und das Leben danach*, Graz 1980; A. Läpple, *Der Glaube an das Jenseits*, Aschaffenburg 1980; H. Küng, *Ewiges Leben?*, München 1982; Dexinger 1983; and Sonnemans 1984.

it comes to defending the hope for beatific afterlife. As Küng states:

> Wer als Christ gewohnt ist, bedenkenlos das Alte Testament in einer angeblich heilsgeschichtlichen Kontinuität mit dem Neuen zu rezipieren, mache sich klar, was das bedeutet: *All die Väter Israels*, Abraham, Isaak und Jakob, Mose und die Richter, die Könige und die Propheten, Jesaja, Jeremia und Ezechiel, gingen für sich wie für alle anderen Menschen von einem solchen Ende in Dunkelheit aus - und doch haben sie aus einem unerschütterlichen Glauben an Gott gelebt und gehandelt. Alle diese Juden - mehr als ein Jahrtausend - *glaubten nicht an eine Auferstehung von den Toten*, glaubten nicht an ein ewiges Leben im positiven Sinn des Wortes, an einen "christlichen" Himmel. In imponierender Konsequenz konzentrierten sie sich auf das Diesseits, ohne sich sehr um dieses - in jedem Fall trübe, dunkle, aussichtslose - Jenseits zu kümmern.[1]

As the following survey of the history of research will show, this view is shared by most Old Testament scholars. Von Rad speaks of a "theological vacuum" in the Old Testament with regard to the afterlife[2]. This would imply that there is a tension in this matter between the Old Testament and the later Jewish and Christian belief in beatific afterlife and probably also between the religion of ancient Israel and the religion of its closest neighbour as it is attested in the ancient city of Ugarit.

The aim of the present study is to shed some light on these problems by giving an overview of the enormous amount of previous research on this topic and by studying the relation between ancient Israelite conceptions of the hereafter and the ideas about beatific afterlife in the ancient Near East, especially in Ugarit.

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[1] Küng, *Ewiges Leben?*, pp.111-112.

[2] G. von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, II, 3rd ed., München 1960, p.372; cf. also Gese 1982:173.

1. THE HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION

1.1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The last relatively complete survey of the history of research on this subject was written in 1877[1]. More recent surveys only deal with parts of the problem[2]. This situation may be due to the opinion that the results of previous research are well-known[3], but it might also have been the "bewildering and sometimes contradictory array of approaches, emphases, and conclusions"[4] that kept scholars from starting new investigations by giving an outline of the results of the studies of their predecessors[5].

In order to get a clear picture of the history of interpretation it is necessary to go back to the very beginning of Old Testament exegesis. The most ancient interpretation of the Old Testament is often neglected, but it can be of great help to find the original meaning of the text. Vermes is certainly right when he states about the ancient Jewish way of exegesis (Midrash) that "beyond any immediate exegetical assistance, midrash is by nature apt to provide the closest historical link with Old Testament tradition itself. Scholars not misled by the analytical tendency of the literary-critical school will fully appreciate the importance of primitive midrash to a proper understanding of the spirit in which scripture was compiled."[6] By studying these early interpretations we can get a better understanding of the text. Dimensions that remain covered in the text itself may have become explicit in later traditions.

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[1] Spiess 1877:409-416. Nötscher 1926:6-9 and Scharbert 1970:349-360.380-397 only give annotated bibliographies.

[2] E.g., König 1964:8-39 on the issue of Persian influence upon the Israelite belief in beatific afterlife and Wied 1967:7-18 on the origin of the belief in the resurrection of the dead.

[3] Cf. Tromp 1969:1.

[4] Bailey 1979:25.

[5] Cf. Brichto 1973:1, n.1: "Nothing short of a full monograph would do justice to the history of interpretation of this concept."

[6] G. Vermes, in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans, I, Cambridge 1970, pp.228-229.

We also have to realize that the way we read the text is influenced by the interpretation of former generations. Our viewpoint is often not as objective as we think it is. In the history of interpreting certain texts we may find the roots of obscurities and conflicts in the present discussion of these texts.

1.2. THE OLD TESTAMENT AND BEATIFIC AFTERLIFE IN EARLY JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS

Among the Jews of the last few centuries B.C. there did not exist a uniform and clear-cut concept of the afterlife. We meet a lot of different conceptions, which sometimes even exclude each other. Only the most important of them are mentioned here[1]. The belief in the resurrection of the body was dominant in Judaism, but in the book of Wisdom of Solomon the conceptions of life after death are based on the fundamentally different idea of the immortality of the soul. It is usually assumed that with regard to this element Judaism was influenced by Greek philosophy[2]. A third approach can be found in the writings of the community of Qumran. It can be called a "two-way theology"[3], because it teaches that there are only two ways of life in this world: the life of the righteous according to the principles of pure religion and the life of the sinners who act against God and his commandments. It is suggested that life on the way of the righteous will continue after death, whereas the sinners are already dead although they seem to be living[4]. Other important elements of the

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[1] Surveys of the Jewish conceptions of the afterlife in this period can be found with Moore 1927:277-395; Bückers 1938:10-47.86-135; Wied 1967: 53-109; Nickelsburg 1972; Wahle 1972; Stemberger 1973; Cavallin 1974 and 1979; Fischer 1978; and Martin-Achard 1981A:472-487.

[2] Cf. Bückers 1938:181; J.M. Reese, *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and its Consequences*, Rome 1970; Kellermann 1976:278-281. Against this some scholars emphasize the Hebrew background of this conception; cf. Cox 1982:13-17 and De Savignac 1983:198.

[3] Cf. Nickelsburg 1972:144-169.

[4] Cf. Nickelsburg 1972:165 and G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective*, 2nd ed., London 1982, pp.186-187.

Jewish conceptions of afterlife are the belief in a heavenly ascent of human beings[1] and the hope that the faithful may obtain beatific afterlife through the suffering of the righteous[2]. There was also scepticism with regard to the hope for beatific afterlife. It is noteworthy that in the book of Wisdom of Jesus Sirach, which was written in the same period as the book of Daniel, the idea of resurrection or any other element of a positive belief in life after death is not explicitly mentioned[3]. According to some scholars Koheleth criticized the contemporaneous belief in the immortality of the soul by stating that men and beasts are alike, because both have to die and "who knows whether the spirit of man goes upwards and the spirit of the beast goes down to the earth?"(Eccles 3:21). This can be regarded as a rhetorical question indicating that there is no difference[4]. From the New Testament we know that the Sadducees rejected the belief in the resurrection (cf. Mark 12:18 and Acts 23:8)[5] and in the Rabbinic literature the Samaritans are several times condemned for their refusal to accept this dogma[6].

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[1] Cf. A.F. Segal, "Heavenly Ascent in Hellenistic Judaism, Early Christianity and their Environment", ANRW II,23,2, pp.1333-1394.

[2] Cf. L. Ruppert, *Der leidende Gerechte*, Würzburg 1972; A. Goldberg, *Erlösung durch Leiden*, Frankfurt 1978; and De Moor 1978B. According to Nickelsburg 1972:170-171 one of the three main themes in the Jewish conceptions of the afterlife in this period was "the story of the righteous man".

[3] Cf. Nötscher 1926:251; Hamp 1950:95-97; and Collins 1978:179-185. Saracino is of the opinion that the idea of resurrection is mentioned in Sirach 46:12.14; 48:13 and maybe also in 48:11 (cf. Saracino 1982), but direct reference to this belief is lacking.

[4] Cf. Moore 1927:292; Kellermann 1976:280; O. Kaiser, VuF 27(1982),77; and Schoors 1983:156-157.

[5] Cf. J. le Moyne, *Les Sadducéens*, Paris 1972, pp.167-175.

[6] Cf. H.L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Misdrasch*, München 1922-1928, I, pp.551-552. The question whether or not and from what time onwards the Samaritans accepted the belief in the resurrection of the dead is a very complex problem. It was only in the fourth century A.D. that this belief was clearly formulated in the Samaritan writings. It is not easy to find out what their opinion was before that time, because all we know of that period stems from external sources (cf. Bowman 1955:68-69; H.G. Kippenberg, *Garizim und Synagoge*, Berlin 1971, pp.141-142; and S. Lowy, *The Principles of Samaritan Bible Exegesis*, Leiden 1977, p.218). The role of the sect of the Dositheans in this matter is very obscure. According to some scholars only these Dositheans or one of the two parties with that name denied the belief in the resurrection (cf. J.A. Mont-

It is easy to understand that in this situation the different parties were forced to defend themselves by referring to their common tradition, especially the Tora. A few examples may illustrate this.

In the book of Wisdom of Solomon the idea of immortality of the human soul is based on Gen 1:26; for it is stated in Wisdom 2:23 that God "made man in the image of his own immortality". According to II Macc 7:6 the martyrs who were on the brink of death are comforted by Deut 32:36, "The Lord . . . will have compassion on his servants". Apparently they trust to this compassion being continued after death. When consoling them, their mother points to belief in God the creator: "It is the Creator of the universe who moulds man at his birth and plans the origin of all things. Therefore He, in his mercy, will give you back life and breath again, since now you put his laws above all thought of self."(II Macc 7: 23; cf. also v.28). In IV Macc 18:18 and IV Esdras 8:14, both dating from the first century A.D., Deut 32:39, "I kill and I make alive", is used as proof-text.

Texts from the books of the prophets were used as well. Renaud has demonstrated that ch.3-5 of the book of Wisdom of Solomon speaking of the immortal souls being with God are built up after the pattern of Isa 57:1-2[1]. And according to Amir the explanation in this book of the coming of death into this world (cf. esp. 1:16) is based on a midrash-like exegesis of a number of Old Testament texts, viz. Isa 5:18 (cf. Wisdom 1:12); 28: 25; Prov 8:36; and Job 17:4[2]. More direct quotations of prophetic texts as proof-texts can be found in IV Macc 18:14(Isa 43:2).17(Ezek 37:3) and references to the Writings can also be found in IV Macc 18:16(Prov 3:18) and IV Esdras 4:35(Prov 7:27).

When Paul writes about the resurrection of the dead, he points first to the resurrection of Jesus Christ (I Cor 15:12-14), but he also quotes

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gomery, *The Samaritans*, 1907 (rpt. New York 1968), p.263 and MacDonald 1964:376, n.1). According to Parvis, however, "it was undoubtedly due to Dosithean influence that the Samaritans as a whole came in time to embrace this concept" (J.D. Parvis, in *Traditions in Transformation: Turning Points in Biblical Faith*, Fs F.M. Cross, ed. J.D. Levenson and B. Halpern, Winona Lake 1981, p.341).

[1] See Renaud 1977.

[2] Y. Amir, "The Figure of Death in the Book of Wisdom", JJS 30(1979),154-178.

some words of the prophets, viz. Isa 25:8 and Hos 13:14 when he writes in I Cor 15:54b-55, "Then shall come to pass the saying that is written: 'Death is swallowed up in victory.''O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting?'." In the conversation with the Sadducees about the resurrection of the dead (Mark 12:18-27) Jesus[1] uses Exod 3:6 as a proof-text: "as for the dead being raised, have you not read in the book of Moses, in the passage about the bush, how God said to him, 'I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob'? He is not God of the dead, but of the living." (Mark 12:26-27)[2]. This line of argument seems to be related to belief in the prominence of religious heroes, especially the patriarchs, in the life after death, as can be found, e.g., in The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, Judah 25:1; Benjamin 10:6-8; IV Macc 5:37; 7:19; 13:16-17; 18:23; The Assumption of Moses 1:15; 10:14[3]. This is a very interesting phenomenon. Here we have a tradition with no firm roots in the Old Testament which seems, nevertheless, to have been rather widespread (cf. also Luke 16:22-23 and Talmud Sanhedrin 90-91). It may have been part of folk religion existing next to orthodox Yahwism. It can be compared to another ancient Jewish folk custom, viz. the honouring of the graves of holy men[4].

The classical formulation of the Jewish dogma of the resurrection of the dead is Mishna Sanhedrin X,1, "The following have no portion therein (i.e., the world to come): he who maintains there is no resurrection". Some manuscripts add: "according to the Tora", but this is certainly a later addition to the original text[1]. This addition was probably inspired by the controversy in this matter with the Sadducees and maybe also the Samaritans, who would only accept proof-texts which are taken from the books of Moses. The way in which the Rabbis used the Tora to prove that the resurrection of the dead is announced in the Holy Scriptures can be illustrated by the following passage of Talmud Sanhedrin 90b: "It has been taught: R. Simai said: Whence do we learn resurrection from the Torah? - From the verse, And I also have established my covenant with them (sc. the Patriarchs) to give them the land of Canaan (Exod 6:4): '(to give) you' is not said, but 'to give them'(personally); thus resurrection is proved from the Torah."[2]. The Rabbis also used texts from the Prophets and the Writings, because they were convinced of the fact, as Rabbi Simai stated, that "there is no fragment from the Holy Scriptures that does not indicate the resurrection of the dead"(Sifre Deut 306). And so Talmud Sanhedrin 90b continues:

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[1] For the opinion that these words have been spoken by Jesus himself see V. Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, London 1955, pp.480-481; J. Jeremias, *Neutestamentliche Theologie*, I, 2nd ed., Gütersloh 1973, pp.199-200; and R. Pesch, *Das Markus -Evangelium*, II, Freiburg 1977, pp.235ff.; against R. Bultmann, *Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition*, 8th ed., Göttingen 1970, p.25 and E. Haenchen, *Der Weg Jesu*, 2nd ed., Berlin 1969, p.411.

[2] Cf. F. Dreyfus, "L'argument scripturaire de Jésus en faveur de la résurrection des morts (Marc XII,26-27)", RB 66(1959),213-224 and D.M. Cohn-Sherbock, "Jesus' Defense of the Resurrection of the Dead", JSNT 11(1981),64-73.

[3] Cf. Cavallin 1974:206ff.; 1979:324: "Eine besondere Stellung in der Jenseitshoffnung nehmen die Erzväter Israels ein. Die Überzeugung von ihrem unsterblichen Leben war grundlegend."

[4] See on this subject Moore 1927:288-289 and J. Jeremias 1958 who speaks in this connection of folk religion.

> Sectarians[3] asked Rabban Gamaliel: Whence do we know that the Holy One, blessed be He, will resurrect the dead? He answered them from the Torah, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, yet they did not accept it (as conclusive proof). 'From the Torah': for it is written, And the Lord said unto Moses, Behold, thou shalt sleep with thy fathers and rise up (again) (Deut 31:16). 'But perhaps', said they to him, '(the verse reads), and the people will rise up?' 'From the prophets': as it is written, Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust: for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out its dead. (Isa 26:19). But perhaps this refers to the dead whom Ezekiel resurrected? 'From the Hagiographa': as it is written, And the roof of thy

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[1] Cf. Le Moyne, *Les Sadducéens*, pp.169-170 and Cavallin 1974:175-176.

[2] Translated in *Hebrew-English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud: Sanhedrin*, ed. I. Epstein, London 1969. For a survey of the Rabbinical texts within this framework see Strack-Billerbeck, II, pp.893-897.

[3] According to Le Moyne, p.172 and Strack-Billerbeck, p.893 these "sectarians" are Sadducees. In a note to this text in the edition of Epstein it is stated that this term is used as a designation of Judeo-Christians. The importance of the debate would lay "in the fact the Christians maintained that the resurrection of the dead was consequent upon the resurrection of Christ; this doctrine of course would be weakened if it could be shown that resurrection was already taught in the Torah". This, however, is not very likely, because Paul and also Jesus himself already referred to the Law and the Prophets to prove the resurrection. The way in which the texts are interpreted according to Talmud Sanhedrin by these "sectarians" shows that they were probably Sadducees, who prefer a literal interpretation of the texts.

> mouth, like the best wine of my beloved, that goeth down sweetly, causing the lips of those that are asleep to speak (Cant 7:9). But perhaps it means merely that their lips will move, even as R. Jochanan said: If a halachah is said in any person's name in this world, his lips speak in the grave, as it is written, causing the lips of those that are asleep to speak? (Thus he did not satisfy them) until he quoted this verse, which the Lord sware unto your fathers to give them (Deut 11:21); not to you, but to them is said; hence resurrection is derived from the Torah.

It appears that this last text is considered as decisive. It was used also by Rabbi Simai and the saying of Jesus according to Mark 12:26-27 is related to it as well.

In the early church the use of the Old Testament in connection with the belief in afterlife[1] was not very different. The same methods of exegesis were used. In defending the belief in the resurrection of the dead Christian theologians referred in the first place to the New Testament and especially, like Paul in I Cor 15, to the resurrection of Christ. There are some instructive passages for this in the first letter of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (96 A.D.):

> Let us consider, beloved, how that the Lord is continually proving to us the resurrection that is to be, the firstfruits of which he constituted by raising the Lord Jesus Christ from the dead. Let us look, beloved, at the resurrection which takes place regularly. Day and night show us a resurrection: the night goes to rest, the day arises; the day departs, night comes on. Let us take the crops. How and in what manner does the sowing take place? 'The sower went forth' and cast each of the seeds into the ground. These fall on the ground dry and bare, and decay. Then the greatness of the Lord's providence raises them up from the decay, and from the one many grow up and bear fruit. (I Clement 24)[2]

This proof derived from the comparison with the cycle of nature as part of God's creation appears to be very popular (cf. already I Cor 15:35-44).

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[1] See on the belief in beatific afterlife in the early church amongst others W. Haller, "Die Lehre von der Auferstehung des Fleisches", ZThK 2(1892),274-342; *La résurrection de la chair*, Paris 1962, pp.165-282; H.A. Wolfson, "Immortality and Resurrection in the Philosophy of the Church Fathers", in *Immortality and Resurrection*, ed. K. Stendahl, New York 1965, pp.54-96; H. Mertens, "De relativiteit van traditionele beelden", TTh 10(1970),382-404; J.J. Thierry, *Opstandingsgeloof in de vroeg-christelijke kerk*, Amsterdam 1978; and P. Stockmeier, "Patristische Literatur und kirchliche Lehrdokumente als Zeugen der historischen Entwicklung der Lehre von Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer und Jüngstem Gericht", in Dexinger 1983:41-56.

[2] For the translation of this and the following texts of I Clement see W.K. Lowther Clarke, *The First Epistle of Clement*, London 1937.

It can also be found in the Acts of Paul 8:III,24ff. and with Tertullian (*Apol.* 48,8f.) and Augustine (*De quantitate animae* 33,76). Related to this is the comparison with the growing of a child out of the seed of a man in the mother's womb(cf. Justinus, *Apol.* 1,19 and Theophilus, *Ad Autolycum* L.8, 13). The same metaphor was used in II Macc 7:22 and IV Esdras 4:40ff. and also in the later Rabbinical literature (cf. Talmud Sanhedrin 90b-91a).

The first letter of Clement also gives some examples of the use of the Old Testament in the first century A.D. with regard to the defence of the belief in the resurrection of the dead: "For it says somewhere: 'And thou shalt raise me up and I will confess to thee.' And 'I laid me down and slept. I rose up, for thou art with me.' And again Job says: 'And thou shalt raise up the flesh of mine which hath borne all these things'." (I Clement 26:2-3). The first quotation seems to be a combination of Ps 27:7b (according to the LXX); 88:11b; and 139:18b or 23:4. The second is from Ps 3:6 and the last from Job 19:26[1]. In a second fragment of I Clement we find quotations of Isa 26:20; Ezek 37:12 and maybe also of Ps 118:24a: "All the generations from Adam unto this day have passed away, but those who have been perfected in love according to the grace of God live in the abode of the godly; who will be made manifest at the visitation of the Kingdom of God. For it is written: 'Enter into thy chambers a little while, until my wrath and anger pass, and I remember the good day and raise you from your tombs'."(I Clement 50:3-4).

With regard to the afterlife the Old Testament was usually cited only to prove that Jesus Christ had to die and then be resurrected again. Relevant texts were collected in so-called *Testimonia*. Such lists of proof-texts on certain subjects were already used in the first century A.D.[2] Very clear examples can be found in the third century in Cyprian's *Ad Quirinius*, II,24-26. Jesus Christ's victory over death is proved by Ps 3:6; 16:10 and 30; his resurrection after three days is proved by Hos 6:2; and Exod 19:10-11; that the resurrected Christ acquired everlasting dominion was foretold according to Cyprian in Dan 7:13-14; Isa 33:10-11[3];

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[1] Cf. Thierry, *Opstandingsgeloof*, p.185.

[2] Cf. J. Daniélou, *Études d'exégèse judéo-chrétienne*, Paris 1966, p.10.

[3] The text according to MPL IV, col.717 gives Isa 30:10-11, but probably this has to be corrected into 33:10-11.

and Ps 110:1-3[1]. For the general resurrection Cyprian refers to Gen 5:24; Ezek 37:11-14; Wisdom of Solomon 4:11.14 and Ps 84:2-3 (III,58[2]).

A very interesting Christian defence of the belief in the resurrection is found in the Acts of Paul (second century A.D.) 8:III,24-32[3]. As in Mishna Sanhedrin X,1 those who do not believe in the resurrection of the dead are condemned. The resurrection is compared to the dying and rising of the seed and the writer also makes a connection with the story of Jonah, who was raised by God "from the deepest of the netherworld" and who had lost "not even a hair or an eyelid" (cf. Matt 12:39-40). Finally, he mentions the story of the revivification of a dead person after contact with the bones of Elisha (II Kgs 13:21): "Thus you, who are thrown on the body and the bones and the spirit of Christ, will be raised on that day with an undamaged body".

In later centuries things did not change much. Generally speaking, there was not the least doubt about the Old Testament teaching the resurrection of the dead. As long as exegesis remained purely practical and only had to support the dogmas of the church[4], this view was not likely to be criticized. On the other hand there have always been students of the Holy Scriptures who contested the validity of the proof derived from the Old Testament. The Sadducees had their successors. Marcion (second century A.D.) wanted to distinguish between the god who sent Jesus Christ and who will give heavenly bliss after death to the faithful,and the distant god who created the world, but whose blessings are restricted to this life. According to Marcion the Old Testament knows of the latter god only. Inspired by gnosticism he also refuted the resurrection of the body. Heavenly life can only have a spiritual form. Next to Marcion we can mention the Manichaeans (third century A.D.) who maintained that the patriarchs knew nothing of beatific afterlife.

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[1] Cf. MPL IV, cols.716-718; the numbers of the texts are given according to the numbering of the MT.

[2] Cf. MPL IV, cols.762-763.

[3] Cf. *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, ed. E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, II, Tübingen 1963, p.260 and A. Hilhorst, in *Apokriefen van het Nieuwe Testament*, ed. A.F.J. Klein, I, Kampen 1984, pp.185-186.

[4] Cf. E. Flesseman-van Leer, *Tradition and Scripture in the Early Church*, Assen 1957 and R.P.C. Hanson, "Biblical Exegesis in the Early Church", in *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, I, pp.412-453; esp. p.453.

The official church regarded such opinions as heresies. One of the scholars who defended the dogmas of the church against the attack by Marcion was Tertullian. In his *De resurrectione mortuorum* he states that the resurrection of the flesh can be proved from the proverbs, the deeds of the prophets, and also from the miracle of the hand of Moses which was made leprous and then healthy again (Exod 4:4-7)(ch.28,1). He also refers to Deut 32:39(ch.28,5); Isa 25:8(ch.47,13 and 54,5); 26:19(ch.31,16); 26:20(ch.17,4); and Ezek 37(ch.29-30). Ezek 37 is regarded as one of the most important proof-texts. He admits that it is a metaphor, but this would have no sense if it did not point to a certain reality.

We can conclude that most Christian scholars of the first centuries did not have the least doubt about the Old Testament teaching the resurrection of the dead and beatific afterlife. They found proof for this not only in well-known texts like I Sam 28[1]; Isa 26:19; Ezek 37[2]; Ps 16[3]; 49; 73; and Dan 12, but also in many other texts, which are often quoted more or less *ad sensum*. Such re-interpretations giving a new meaning to the text are based on the occurrence of words like "to live", "to rise", "to awake", which could easily be connected with belief in resurrection and beatific afterlife. This phenomenon has been described by Sawyer[4], who mentions twenty passages in the MT that could have been understood as referring to the resurrection of the dead[5].

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[1] Cf. K.A.D. Smelik, "The Witch of Endor: I Samuel 28 in Rabbinic and Christian Exegesis Till 800 AD", *Vigiliae Christianae* 33(1979),160-179. The reality of the appearing of Samuel after his death is taken to be important for the belief in the reality of the resurrection of Christ.

[2] Cf. Daniélou, *Études d'exégèse judéo-chrétienne*, pp.111-121.

[3] Cf. H. auf der Mauer, "Zur Deutung von Ps 15(16) in der alten Kirche", *Bijdragen* 41(1980),401-418.

[4] Sawyer 1973; cf. also Chmiel 1979; Füglister 1983:39-40 and Koenig 1983:177f. According to the canonical approach to the Old Testament, as propagated especially by B.S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, London 1979, this new meaning is of prime importance to the proper understanding of the text; cf. also Sawyer 1973:229.

[5] Sawyer 1973:230, n.2: Deut 32:39; I Sam 2:6; I Kgs 17:22; Isa 26:14.19; 53:11; 66:24; Ezek 37:10; Hos 6:2; Ps 1:5; 16:19(read 16:10!); 17:15; 49:16; 72:16; 73:24; 88:11; Job 14:12; 19:25-27; and Dan 12:2. See with regard to the interpretation in Rabbinical literature of the word "life" in biblical texts also D.J. van Uden, "'Als je leven zoekt': De interpretatie van het woord 'leven' in Ps 16,11 in de rabbijnse literatuur", *Bijdragen* 41(1980),386-400.

1.3. REVISIONS OF OLD TESTAMENT TEXTS

There is reason to assume that the emphasis on the belief in the resurrection of the dead and the hope for beatific afterlife led not only to re-interpretations of many texts in the Old Testament, but also to alterations to the texts themselves in order to clarify the assumed reference to resurrection or beatific afterlife. We can expect to find this phenomenon in translations of the Old Testament, but it can also be observed in the MT itself.

1.3.1 THE TARGUMIM

Alterations to the text of the Old Testament are most likely to be found in free translations of the Old Testament. For this reason it seems to be justified to start this investigation with the Targumim. These Aramaic translations have their origin in the Jewish public worship in the last centuries B.C. The oldest written Targumim we know date from the first century B.C. Because most Jews did not understand biblical Hebrew anymore, the Holy Scriptures had to be translated for them into Aramaic, which was the current language in this period. Often the opportunity was used to explain or paraphrase the original text. The Targumim can be devided into two groups; first the Palestinian Targumim, which are known for their free rendering of the Hebrew text, then the so-called Babylonian Targumim with a more literal translation.

As could be expected, most alterations to the text influenced by the belief in the resurrection of the dead can be found in the Palestinian Targumim[1]. Sometimes these revisions concern casual remarks added to the original text, as in Gen 19:26 where it is said that Lot's wife changed into a pillar of salt. The Targum adds here: "until the day of the resurrection of the dead". In Gen 25:34 we find a kind of explanation of the rejection of Esau: "Thus Esau despised his birthright and concerning the resurrection of the dead he despised the life in the world to come"[1]. In Exod 20:18 it is said of the sound of the trumpet as it was heard during the theophany of Sinai that this will revive the dead. Gen 3:19, "you are dust and to dust you shall return", is connected with resurrection and postmortal judgement by adding "but from the dust you will rise to account for the things you have done"[2]. A good example of Targumic paraphrasing is the rendering of the famous text Deut 32:39, "I kill and I make alive". This is explained in the Targum by "translating" it as "I kill the living in this world and make alive the dead in the world to come". In the same way Deut 33:6a, "May Reuben live and not die", has been adapted to the belief of the translator; *for here we read in the Targum:* "May Reuben live in this world, and not die in the second (death) in which the wicked die in the world to come".

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[1] Cf. Cavallin 1974:186-192; Rodriguez Carmona 1978 and 1983; references are cited here from the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch called Targum Neofiti I (cf. *Neophyti I: Targum Palestinense Ms de la Biblioteca Vaticana*, ed. A. Díez Macho, Madrid 1968-1979).

With regard to the date of these Aramaic translations in the Palestinian Targumim, Rodriguez Carmona remarks that texts like Gen 25:34 were probably directed against the Sadducees. This would imply that these texts belong to the period before the belief in the resurrection had been established. And because the way in which the resurrection is described in the Targum does not contradict the early Jewish writings on this subject, Rodriguez Carmona thinks of a date before the destruction of the second temple[3].

Traces of the belief in the resurrection can be found in the translations in the Babylonian Targumim as well. The Targum Jonathan of the prophets contains a number of revisions and additions referring to resurrection and beatific afterlife[1]. The translator made clear that I Sam 2:6, "YHWH kills and brings to life; He brings down to Sheol and raises up", refers to the afterlife by adding to the last words "to eternal life". For the same reason the last words of Isa 58:11, "YHWH will guide you continually and satisfy your desire with good things and make your bones strong", were changed into "and thy body will enjoy everlasting life". We can also mention here the paraphrase of Hos 14:8, "They shall return and dwell beneath my shadow". According to the Targum this shadow is the shadow of the Messiah: "they shall live in the shade of their Messiah, and the dead shall live". As in the Palestinian Targum of Deut 33:6a, the idea of the second death, which is irrevocable, has been added in Isa 65:15. The original text, "your name shall be used as an oath by my chosen, and the Lord YHWH shall give you over to death; but his servants he shall call by another name", has been revised into "you shall leave your name for a curse unto my chosen, and the Lord Elohim shall kill you with the second death; but his servants, the righteous, shall he call by another name". The combination of the giving of a new name opposed to the second death also occurs in Rev 2:11.17; 3:12. This may be an indication of the age of this Targumic tradition[2].

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[1] According to Rodriguez Carmona 1978:30-51 Esau is portrayed here as a Sadducean; cf. also the Targum of Gen 4:8 on Cain.

[2] Gen 3:19 was the most important proof-text used by the Samaritans after they had accepted the dogma of the resurrection of the dead in the fourth century A.D. (see on the Samaritan conceptions of afterlife Bowman 1955; MacDonald 1964:372-376; R.J. Coggins, *Samaritans and Jews*, Oxford 1975, pp.144-145). Just as in the Palestinian Targum the original text has been adapted in the Samaritan Pentateuch; for here we read: "to *your* dust you shall return". This text was interpreted as a promise of a life in the hereafter in the same physical state and form as before death; cf. M. Gaster, *The Samaritans*, London 1925, p.88 and Bowman 1955:66-67.

[3] Rodriguez Carmona 1978:168-169.

Hos 6:2, "After two days He will revive us; on the third day He will raise us up, that we may live before Him", is clarified in the Targum: "He will revive us in the days of the consolation, which shall come in the future; on the day of the resurrection of the dead He will raise us up, that we may live before Him". The revision of the original text probably has to be seen against the background of the discussion with Christians. By leaving out the reference to the third day a connection with the resurrection of Jesus Christ is no longer possible[3].

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[1] Cf. Rodriguez Carmona 1978:140-153; for the text of this Targum see *The Bible in Aramaic*, ed. A. Sperber, II-III, Leiden 1959-1962.

[2] Cf. P.-M. Bogaert, "La 'seconde mort' à l'époque des *tannaïm*", in Théodoridès 1983:199-207; esp. pp.205-206. Bogaert mentions in this connection also the Targum of Isa 22:14; 65:6; and Jer 51:39.57.

[3] Cf. G. Delling, ThWNT II, p.952; the same phenomenon can be observed in Targumic translations of texts which were interpreted as referring to the Messiah (cf. De Moor 1978B). This probably started in the second century A.D. (Cf. De Moor, Ibid., p.109).

1.3.2. THE SEPTUAGINT VERSION

It is quite obvious that interpretative readings in the light of the belief in the resurrection can be expected in the LXX as well, because this translation can be regarded as a document of Jewish thinking and Jewish exegesis in the last centuries B.C.[1]. Also the belief in afterlife as it was common in this period left its traces in the translation[2]. This is very clear in the addition to Ps 66(=LXX 65):1. In the heading according to the LXX this Psalm is called "a Psalm of resurrection", whereas the MT only speaks of "a Psalm". This addition in the Greek translation may have been inspired by v.9a, "who quickens my soul in life"[3]. To the last words of the book of Job, "And Job died, an old man, and full of days"(Job 42:17), the LXX adds: "It is written that he will rise again with those whom the Lord raises up".

A special study of the way in which the concept of the future life according to the belief of the Greek translators has influenced the text of the book of Job in the LXX, was made by Gard[4]. It may be worthwhile to evaluate his conclusions. According to Gard future life has been stated as fact in the LXX of Job 5:11; 14:14; and 42:17; it would have been implied in 3:21-22; 4:20; and 7:9-10; and conditions in the future life would have been described in 3:13-14; 6:10; 14:22; and 40:13. Of the texts of the first category we already mentioned the LXX of Job 42:17 which is a clear case of a pious revision of the original text. Job 5:11b, "Those who mourn are lifted to safety", is rendered in the LXX as

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[1] Cf. the remark of Wevers, who is one of the experts in this field: "Es kommt also darauf an, dass man die Bücher der Septuaginta als alten Zeugnisse jüdischer Exegese untersucht und sie als solche auffasst." (J.W. Wevers, *Theologische Rundschau* NF 22(1954),182).

[2] See on this particular subject G. Bertram, ThWNT II, pp.835-856; Bückers 1938:107-108; L. Prijs, *Jüdische Tradition in der Septuaginta*, Leiden 1948, pp.67-75; Cavallin 1974:108; and in general also I.L. Seeligmann, "Indications of Editorial Alteration and Adaptation in the Massoretic Text and the Septuagint", VT 11(1961),201-221.

[3] Cf. *Septuaginta*, ed. A. Ralphs, II, Stuttgart 1935, p.66. In a note to this text Ralphs speaks of a Christian interpolation.

[4] Gard 1954; cf. the critical remarks by H.M. Orlinsky, HUCA 28(1957),71.

"He raises them that are lost". Compared to the LXX text of 42:17 the reference to the hope in God after death is less clear, but it is certainly possible to connect the Greek text of Job 5:11, unlike the original Hebrew text, with the belief in the resurrection of the dead. This holds also true for the LXX of Job 14:14. The translator has changed the question in the original text, "If a man should die, shall he live again? All the days of my service I would wait till my release should come", into a positive statement: "If a man should die, he shall live again, having accomplished the days of his life. I will wait till I exist again."[1].

It is remarkable that Gard did not mention in this connection Job 19: 25-26. The MT does not clearly speak of hopes with regard to the afterlife:

I know my avenger lives:
  afterwards he shall stand upon the dust.
After my skin has thus been flayed
  and without my flesh I shall see God.[2]

The LXX, however, is more explicit in this regard[3]:

For I know that He is eternal
  who is about to deliver me upon the earth;
to raise my skin that has endured these things.
For these things have been accomplished to me of the Lord.

In some important codices we even read at the beginning of v.26: "He shall raise up my body". In the Greek translation the original text appears to have been clarified by taking the last word of v.25 (יקום) with the following verse, thus connecting it with "my skin". As the variant reading shows, this could only be interpreted as a reference to the resurrection of the body. According to the Greek translator the second part of v.26 runs from נקפו until אלוה. As in 1:5 the verb נקף is translated with "to accomplish". The difficult מבשרי was interpreted as a *pars pro toto* and translated with "me". The dropping of the verb אחזה may have been furthered by the fact that this word also occurs in v.27. All this shows that the Hebrew text used by the Greek translator was the same as the MT.

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[1] Cf. also Prijs, *Jüdische Tradition*, pp.71-73 who points to an interesting parallel in the Syriac version of Ps 88:11a. Instead of the question in the MT, "Dost Thou work wonders for the dead?", to which the answer can only be "no!", the Syriac version reads "For the dead Thou workst wonders".

[2] See on this translation section 3.5.2.2. below.

[3] Cf. G. Bertram, ThWNT II, pp.855-856; Bückers 1938:107; Tournay 1962: 493; and Cavallin 1974:106.

Gard concludes that there appears to be a "tendency on the part of the Greek translator to introduce a theological point of view"[1]. According to Orlinsky he disregards the fact that clear statements rejecting the idea of a beatific afterlife have not been corrected[2]. We have to take into account, however, that the Greek translator probably could not just correct or adapt the text of the Holy Scripture whenever it pleased him. It is more plausible to assume that only when the text lends itself to be explained as pointing to the resurrection of the dead and beatific afterlife, someone might have felt free and justified in changing it a little to make its meaning clearer to the readers.

It was noted above that also a literal translation may have a meaning different from the original text, because of the different "associative fields" of the words used[3]. This applies to most texts of the second and third category mentioned by Gard and probably also to Gen 6:3[4]; Deut 32:39; I Sam 25:29; Ezek 37:1-14; Ps 1:5; 21(=LXX 20):7; 22(=LXX 21):30[5]; 49(=LXX 48):10.16; 139(=LXX 138):18; 140(=LXX 139):14[6]; Job 33:30; Prov 3:18; 12:28; and 15:24; and furthermore to all texts that contain in one way or another the promise of life[7].

The LXX of the book of Isaiah is known as a free translation which tends to be interpretative[8]. This can be illustrated by the rendering of Isa 26:

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[1] Gard 1954:143; cf. also G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob*, KAT XVI, Gütersloh 1963, p.56: "Der Übersetzer . . . geht von der Gewissheit eines zukünftigen Lebens aus und begrüsst den Tod, weil der Glaube an eine Auferstehung besteht, die Gott dem Hiob und den Auserwählten gewährt." He mentions in this connection the same texts as Gard (except 3:13-14).

[2] H.M. Orlinsky, HUCA 32(1961),421-429; cf. also JQR 28(1937-1938),67.

[3] Cf. Sawyer 1973:219.

[4] Cf. Prijs, *Jüdische Tradition*, pp.74-75.

[5] Cf. Tournay 1962:501-502.

[6] With regard to Ps 21:7; 139:18; and 140:14 Grundmann remarks: "Eine Reihe von Psalmaussagen, die im Hebräischen Text von der Kultgemeinschaft zwischen Gott und Mensch reden, haben möglicherweise in der Septuaginta einen über sie hinaus führenden Sinne und meinen die Gemeinschaft des ewigen Lebens mit Gott." (W. Grundmann, ThWNT VII, p.780).

[7] Cf. G. Bertram, ThWNT II, pp.853-856 and ZAW 54(1936),165.

[8] Cf. I.L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of its Problems*, Leiden 1948; Van der Kooij 1981:33-34; and H. Wildberger, *Jesaja*, BK X/3, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1982, pp.1519-1520.

19. In the MT we read:

> Thy dead shall live again;
> my bodies shall rise.
> Awake and shout with joy,
> o dwellers in the dust!
> For thy dew is honey-dew
> and the earth shall bring forth the shades.[1]

The Greek translator seems to have wanted to give a clearer picture of the resurrection to which the Hebrew text is referring:

> The dead shall rise
> and those who are in the tombs shall be raised,
> and those who are in the earth shall rejoice.
> For thy dew heals them,
> but the land of the ungodly shall perish.

By changing "thy dead" into "the dead" in the first line the text has become a more general statement. The change of meaning in the last sentence is also remarkable. Perhaps the translator did not understand the rare תַּפִּיל and connected it with the "fall" *of the wicked (from the verb* נפל, "to fall"). Thus he could interpret this verse as referring to the double judgement after death. For this reason he then translated רפאים negatively as "ungodly", whereas it was translated in v.14 positively as "physicians".

Another interpretative rendering which might point to the translator's belief in beatific afterlife can be found in Isa 53:11. In the MT we read: "After the travail of his soul he shall see. He shall be satisfied with his knowledge", whereas the LXX renders: "And the Lord wills to deliver him from the travail of his soul, to show him light, to form (him) with understanding". Compared with the MT the LXX has changed the subject and added an object to the verb "to see", viz. "the light". The same addition is found in the Qumran scrolls 1QIs^a and 1QIs^b. Because of this strong textual support many scholars take this to be the original text[2]. It is, however, easier to explain why this object was added than why it would have been left out. Moreover, the use of this verb in the text according to the MT is totally in accordance with the way it is used in the rest of Deutero-Isaiah (cf. Isa 49:7)[3]. Furthermore, "to see" is explained in the text according to the MT by the following line: the Servant shall understand the meaning of his suffering. In the LXX this passage contains a quite different message. It states that after the Lord has put his servant to death He will show him the light, that is, bring him to life again.

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[1] See on this translation section 3.5.1.4. below.

[2] Cf. W.H. Brownlee, *The Meaning of the Qumrān Scrolls for the Bible with Special Attention to the Book of Isaiah*, New York 1964, pp.226-227.

[3] Cf. W.A.M. Beuken, *Jesaja*, IIB, POT, Nijkerk 1983, pp.191.230-231.

We can, finally, mention here the LXX of Isa 65:22, which clarifies the original text, "Like the days of a tree shall the days of my people be", by identifying this tree with the tree of life. This is clearly a reminiscence of Gen 2:9 and points to a time when death shall be no more.

The LXX of the book of Proverbs, which is known to be a rather free translation[1], probably also contains some alterations to the original text based on the belief of the translator in beatific afterlife. The following texts can be mentioned here[2]. In Prov 9:6, "Leave folly, and you will live", the last words are changed into "you will live forever". This seems to be a quotation of Wisdom of Solomon 3:8 and 6:21 and may, therefore, be regarded as a reference to the same concept of afterlife as it is described in Wisdom of Solomon. The second line of Prov 10:25, "When the storm passes, the wicked is no more, but the righteous is established", appears to have been interpreted as a reference to eternal life: "the righteous turnes aside and escapes forever"[3].

1.3.3. THE MASSORETIC TEXT

As the difference between the MT and the Qumran scrolls with regard to the text of Isa 53:11 shows, it is possible that new conceptions of the future life have influenced the textual tradition in a time when the text of the Holy Scriptures was not yet fixed[4]. A clear example of this is the way in which the Massoretes have punctuated Eccl 3:21. They appear to have replaced the original interrogative particles by articles. In this way they changed the text into a firm statement about the difference in destiny between man and beast: the spirit of man goes upward (after death), whereas the spirit of the beast goes down to the earth[1].

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[1] Cf. W. McKane, *Proverbs: A New Approach*, OTL, London 1970, pp.33-47 who speaks of "the possibility that the reasons for the difference between MT and LXX are non-textual in character" (Ibid., p.35); cf. also O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, BK XVII, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1984, pp. XXIX-XXX.

[2] Cf. G. Bertram, ZAW 54(1936),164-166.

[3] Cf. Tournay 1962:499 and in general also Nicacci 1983:14.

[4] See in general on this phenomenon the article of Seeligmann mentioned on p.16, n.2 above and Fishbane 1985:65-77 who speaks of pious revisions and theological addenda.

In some cases the consonant-text seems to have been adapted as well. As a rule such alterations have to be dated before the end of the first century A.D. It is more difficult to find a *terminus post quem*. The comparison with the versions may be of some help here, but usually we have to rely on the date of the belief expressed by the assumed alteration to the text. However, the precise date of an idea is often difficult to determine. This implies that there is a great danger of circular reasoning: if one is not certain about the date of the origin of a certain belief, the assumed date cannot be used as a criterion.

A pioneer in the field of the study of ancient revisions of the MT influenced by the belief in resurrection and beatific afterlife is Tournay. In an important article on the subject of "relectures bibliques concernants la vie future" he states as a kind of working hypothesis: "Ne serait-il pas normal que plusieurs passages des Écritures aient été remaniés, 'relus', dans la perspective nouvelle d'une survie individuelle, prévalant progressivement au sein du judaïsme tardif?"[2]. He assumes that such alterations to the Hebrew text can be recognized by the fact that they may have caused uncommon grammatical structures[3]. So the most promising texts in this regard are difficult texts about death and afterlife. The first text he mentions in this connection is Isa 38:16a: אֲדֹנָי עֲלֵיהֶם יִחְיוּ וּלְכָל-בָּהֶן חַיֵּי רוּחִי, " O Lord, by these things men live and in all these is the life of my spirit". According to Tournay this text, which lends itself to be interpreted as a reference to the hope for eternal life is a "relecture" of אֲדֹנָי עָלֶיהָ מוֹהִיל לְךָ לִבִּ הֵן חַיֵּי רוּחִי, "O Lord, therefore my hart hopes for you. Lo, it is the life of my spirit"[4]. Of course, as with most assumed alterations in the MT the original text can not be reconstructed with certainty. With regard to Tournay's solution of the text-critical problems of Isa 38:16 it can also be remarked that it is not clear why somebody would have wanted to change the proposed original text; for just as in the text according to the MT the expression "the life of my spirit" might have been associated with the hope for eternal life.

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[1] Cf. Tournay 1962:497-498; W. Zimmerli, *Prediger*, ATD 16/1, 3rd ed., Göttingen 1980, p.170, n.6; A. Lauha, *Kohelet*, BK XIX, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1978, pp.73.77; and Schoors 1983:155.

[2] Tournay 1962:481.

[3] Cf. also Fishbane 1985:81.

[4] Tournay 1962:482-489.

According to Tournay the present text of Job 19:26 seems to contradict other sayings in the book of Job in which the hope for postmortal retribution is clearly rejected: וְאַחַר עוֹרִי נִקְּפוּ-זֹאת וּמִבְּשָׂרִי אֶחֱזֶה אֱלוֹהַּ, "And after my skin has thus been flayed and without my flesh I shall see God". By rearranging the words of the Hebrew text Tournay creates a text which is more in line with the rest of the book, in which the hope for retribution seems to be restricted to this life: וּמִבְּשָׂרִי נִקְּפוּ עוֹרִי וְאַחַר זֹאת אֶחֱזֶה אֱלוֹהַּ, "And if my skin was cut of my flesh, even then I shall look at God"[1]. We can mention here also another attempt to reconstruct the original text of Job 19:26: according to De Wilde we have to read וְאַחַר זֹאת יִקְרָא שַׁדַּי מִבְּשָׂרִי, "and then Shaddaj shall call me 'bei lebendigem Leibe'"[2]. A decisive argument against these reconstructions is that it appears to be possible to keep to the MT as fitting the context very well (see section 3.5.2.2. below).

Tournay assumes that the MT of Job 14:12 is also the result of a deliberate adaption to the belief in the resurrection of the dead. The original בְּלֹת of the verb בלה, "to disappear" would have been changed to בִּלְתִּי. This resulted in a hopeful message: "Until the heavens are no more, he will not wake", whereas the proposed original text denied the idea of a possible resurrection: "Even when the heavens would disappear, man will not awake"[3]. Also the famous verse about life and death Prov 12:28, "On the path of justice there is life and the way of the path is non-death", does not represent in the opinion of Tournay the original text. The second part of this verse, וְדֶרֶךְ נְתִיבָה אַל-מָוֶת, would have to be corrected according to the reading of the Versions and some of the Hebrew manuscripts. The original text would have been וְדֶרֶךְ פְּתִי בָּא אֶל-מָוֶת, "but the way of folly leads to death[1]. It could be assumed that the original text was changed to make the second part of the verse parallel to the first part, in which "life" was interpreted as "eternal life". On the other hand "non-death" is a perfect synonym of "life" and is also attested in other languages[2], whereas the obscure expression דרך נתיבה can be interpreted as a pleonasm. It is, therefore, not necessary to change the MT.

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[1] Ibid., pp.489-494.

[2] A. de Wilde, *Das Buch Hiob* , OTS 22 , Leiden 1981, p.215. The text would have been changed "um der Exegese, dass Hiob . . . in einem *post-mortem* Zustand Gott sehen würde, Vorschub zu leisten.

[3] Tournay 1962:494.

In the second part of Prov 14:32, "The wicked is overthrown through his evil-doing, but the righteous finds refuge in his death", Tournay wants to change the last two words בְּמוֹתוֹ צַדִּיק into בְּתוּמּוֹ צַדִּיק[3]. So the original text would have been: "the righteous seeks refuge through his integrity". The Massoretes would have deliberately changed the *mem* and *taw* of the second word to associate this verse with the hope for retribution after death. The reconstructed text offers an antithetical parallel to the first part of the verse as in the previous proverbs. It is also grammatically more plausible, because now the verb חסה, which is never used absolutely, has an object. It is also possible, however, to defend the MT[4]. Instead of antithetic parallelism as in the previous proverbs we can assume that as in the following proverb the second part of this proverb gives additional information about the subject of the first part. "His death" would refer then to the death of the wicked as described in v.32a. This assumption is supported by Prov 11:19b, "he who pursues evil will die", indicating that death is the result of evil-doing. So במותו is the object of חסה: the righteous is helped by the death of the wicked, because now he can harm him no more[5].

As a kind of conclusion we end this survey of possible deliberate alterations to the original Hebrew text with one of the best examples of this

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[1] Ibid., p.497; cf. also McKane, *Proverbs*, p.451.

[2] Cf. Ugaritic *blmt*, "non-death" and Akkadian *mê lā balāṭi*, "water of non-life", which is a synonym of *mê mūti*, "water of death"; cf. Steiner 1982:243.247.

[3] Tournay 1962:498; cf. also BHS.

[4] Cf. Van der Weiden 1970 who wants to interpret this verse as a reference to the afterlife.

[5] Cf. J. van der Ploeg, *Spreuken*, BOT VIII, Roermond 1952, p.55; G. Bertram, ZAW 54(1936), 165 interprets מותו in the same way, but he does not connect it with חסה: "während er (der Böse) stirbt, findet der Gerechte eine Zuflucht".

phenomenon, viz. the MT of Prov 15:24:
ארח חיים למעלה למשכיל למען סור משאול מטה, "For the wise man the path of life leads upwards, that he may avoid Sheol below". This text can be associated easily with the hope for beatific afterlife. Now Tournay rightly maintains that למעלה and מטה may have been added to support such an interpretation[1]. The proposed original text, which is supported by the LXX, would have been: "A path of life (is reserved) for the wise man that he may avoid Sheol". The original text could also be interpreted as speaking of beatific afterlife, because as we saw "life" was often regarded as an indication of "eternal life". So the additions to the text can be seen as clarifying and not as correcting the meaning of this part of the Holy Scriptures.

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[1] Tournay 1962:497; cf. also McKane, *Proverbs*, pp.479-480. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos*, p.184 explains למעלה as an indication of the "Stetigkeit des Lebensweges", but as the use of the same wordpair in Isa 7:11 and Eccl 3:21 shows this is very unlikely.

1.4. MODERN RESEARCH

"Das Problem des Todes im Alten Testament hört nicht auf immer neue Generationen von Gelehrten zu beschäftigen", Barth seems to sigh when he begins to review another study on this topic[1]. To give a survey by enumerating the many studies of the Old Testament conceptions of afterlife chronologically together with a description of the content, would not contribute to a better overview of the history of interpretation. To handle the flood of information it will be divided, therefore, as much as possible into different streams.

1.4.1. THE BEGINNING OF MODERN RESEARCH

A survey of the research on our subject in the period until the nineteenth century can be found with Spiess[2]. It appears that things did not change much compared to what was said about these matters in the first centuries A.D. (see section 1.2. above). It was usually assumed that there is no difference between the Old Testament and the teachings of the church with regard to life after death. A very good example of the arguments used to prove this can be found in Calvin's *Institution*. In the tenth chapter of the second book he pays much attention to the question whether the Old Testament contains the promise of a "spiritual and eternal life" and to the question whether this promise "was pressed in the hearts of all who agreed in truth to the covenant". In answering these questions he uses the same line of argument as we found in early Jewish and Christian traditions: the patriarchs must have known that God would not fulfil his promise in their life before death and according to Gen 49:18 and Num 23:10 the patriarchs appear to have believed in beatific afterlife. The same holds true for David (cf. Ps 102:26-29; 103:17), because he sings about heavenly bliss (cf. Ps 17:15; 34:23; 49; 52:10; 55:23-24; 92:13-15; 97:10; 112:4.6.9; 140:14)[1]. Also Job, who was a "teacher of the people appointed by the Holy Ghost", was familiar with this hope for afterlife (cf. Job 13:15; 19:25). Calvin admits that the "grace of the future life" is not yet fully revealed in the Old Testament. The emphasis of the Old Testament is on this life. He explains this as a pedagogical measure indicating that the common people of this period were not prepared yet for the revelation of beatific afterlife (ch.11,1).

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[1] C. Barth, NedThT 25(1971),83.

[2] Spiess 1877:409-416.

On the other hand there have always been people who challenged this view; e.g., the Socinians in the sixteenth century and two centuries later the so-called Deists[2], but they did not use new arguments either.

A new approach to our subject was initiated by the important change in biblical scholarship at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century as the study of the Bible was detached from dogmatics. Also the Old Testament and the New Testament were now studied separately[3]. As a result of this development which is connected with the names of Gabler, Bauer and De Wette, the Old Testament was regarded no more as a summing up of proof-texts. It was studied as a source of historical information about the religion of ancient Israel. Many scholars stressed that this particular religion had to be studied in the same way as any other religion. This development also affected the study of the Old Testament conceptions of afterlife. In 1877 a study by Spiess was published on this issue as part of the *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem Tode auf Grund vergleichender Religionsforschung*. We might call this the beginning of modern research on this subject.

According to Spiess it is absolutely necessary to take as a starting-point, "dass wir ohne Rücksicht auf die verschiedenartige dogmengeschichtliche Auffassung der alttestamentliche Eschatologie das Material über die Fragen vom Jenseits nach denselben Grundsätzen betrachten und darstellen müssen, nach welchen wir auch bei den anderen verfahren sind"(pp.417-418). This implies that the religion of Israel can be compared with other religions in order to clarify certain conceptions. For this reason Spiess gives an extensive survey of the conceptions found with the "uncivilized or wild" peoples, Egyptians, Chinese, Buddhists, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Celts, ancient Germans, Slavs, Jews, and Muslims. He concludes: "Die Annahme einer Fortdauer des geistigen unkörperlichen Theils des Menschen und einer Verschiedenheit des Zustandes, in welchen die Seele eingeht je nach dem Verhalten der Person während des irdischen Lebens, ist gemeinschaftliches Eigenthum aller Eschatologieen"(p.510).

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[1] With regard to Psalm texts about life and death Calvin appears to be surprisingly reserved; cf. Kraus 1972.

[2] Cf. W. Warburton, *The Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated on the principles of a religious deist from the omission of the doctrine of a future state of reward and punishment in the Jewish dispensation*, London 1738-1741; see on Warburton's theories in this matter also Moore 1927: 318-319.

[3] See on this development of biblical scholarship H.-J. Kraus, *Die Biblische Theologie*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970, pp.15-84; O. Merk, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments in ihrer Anfangszeit*, Marburger Theologische Studien 9, Marburg 1972; and the survey by W. Zimmerli, TRE VI, pp.426-438.

In evaluating the results of his reasearch, Spiess is clearly influenced by the theories of evolution, which were current in his days. All conceptions can be classified as stadia on the way to the highest insight, which is in his opinion the belief in a last judgement and eternal heavenly bliss: "Wir müssen constatieren, dass kein Volk ohne den Besitz von irgendwelchen Erwartungen über ein Jenseits gefunden worden ist . . . wir erkennen darin trotz der sie verdeckenden Hüllen Lichtstrahlen der ewigen Wahrheit"(p.172).

According to Spiess the religion of Israel had not yet reached the highest level. The Old Testament shows, "dass das jüdische Volk auf einer noch primitiven Stufe seiner religiösen Entwicklung stand, welche wir in derselben oder in ähnlicher Weise auch bei anderen Völker beobachtet haben"(p.433). The religion of Israel is concentrated on this life. The Israelites hoped for justice before death. Only Isa 24:22; 26:19; and Dan 12:1-3 point to positive expectations concerning life after death. The development which led to this insight may have been furthered by the contact with the religion of the Persians, but according to Spiess there are also "rays of light"[1] to be found in the period before these contacts, viz. in Isa 24-27; Ps 73:23ff.; 49:16; and 17:15.

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[1] "Zuweilen schimmert wie ein Lichtstrahl eine freundliche Ahnung von einem ewigen Leben in ihre Seele, in solchen Augenblicken erhebt sich ihr Geist, und ihre Gedanken übersteigen die Höhe des Mosaismus"(p.464).

1.4.2. LOOKING FOR WORSHIP OF THE DEAD

The impact of the prevalent general anthropological theories of this period on the study of the religion of ancient Israel necessarily resulted in a tendency among Old Testament scholars to look in the Old Testament for traces of worship of the dead. This can be illustrated by the following statement of Frazer, which represents the common scholarly view on the beginnings of religion:

> the worship of the human dead has been one of the commonest and most influential forms of natural religion, perhaps indeed the most commonest and most influential of all. Obviously it rests on the supposition that the human personality in some form, whether we call it a soul, a spirit, a ghost, or what not, can survive death and thereafter continue for a longer or shorter time to exercise great power for good or evil over the destinies of the living, who are therefore compelled to propitiate the shades of the dead out of a regard for their own safety and well-being. This belief in the survival of the human spirit after death is world-wide; it is found among men in all stages of culture from the lowest to the highest; we need not wonder therefore that the custom of propitiating the ghosts or souls of the departed should be world-wide also.[1]

This theory was developed at the end of the nineteenth century by Tylor and Spencer[2]. According to them religion has begun with the discovery by the "savage philosopher" of the vital force as an independant entity they called "soul". This soul seems to survive death, because it appears as the image of the deceased in dreams. At first, religion was no more than the veneration of these souls as superhuman powers. Spencer even maintains that ancestor-worship is the root of every religion[3]. From here it is only one step to the theory of Euhemerism, viz. that the gods were once mortal men[4].

It was supposed to be only natural to find traces in the Old Testament of the same development[1]. One of the first and also one of the most extreme attempts to prove the validity of the theory of the so-called animism for the study of the religion of ancient Israel was made by Lippert[2]. He not only defended the existence of a worship of the dead, but he also regarded the designation of the god of Israel as אלהים as a reminiscence of former animism. This plural form would refer to the many spirits that had been venerated at an earlier stage[3]. Less extreme, but more influential were the studies by Oort, Stade, and Schwally[4]. The arguments which were used by these scholars and by the scholars following them can be divided into five categories, viz. arguments concerning the idea of the "soul", mourning customs, funerary material, the family, and ritual laws and practices. In the following survey these will be dealt with separately. It will be necessary sometimes to describe later developments in Old Testament research in order to get a clear view on the validity of the arguments used.

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[1] Frazer 1913:I,23-24.

[2] E.B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Language, Art and Custom*, London 1871; H. Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology*, 1877; cf. also A.C. Kruyt, *Het animisme in den Indischen archipel*, 's Gravenhage 1906.

[3] Spencer, I, p.411.

[4] Cf. Frazer 1913:I,24-25 and II,69-70.97-98.

1.4.2.1. CONCEPTIONS OF THE "SOUL" AND THE AFTERLIFE[5]

The theory of animism takes as a starting-point a general belief in the soul which survives the death of the body: "Looking at the religion of the lower races as a whole, we shall at least not be ill-advised in taking as one of its general and principal elements the doctrine of the soul's future life"[6]. This could easily be adopted in the study of early Israelite religion, because the belief in the immortal soul was usually taken for granted in the older studies of the Old Testament conceptions of afterlife as well[1]. The animistic "soul" was identified by most scholars with the Old Testament נפש. Even Frey, who challenged the theory of a worship of the dead in Israel, states: "Da nun die נפש nicht das Leben an sich, sondern das individuell existierende Leben ist, so ergibt sich hieraus die Vorstellung von einer individuellen Fortexistenz des Menschen nach dem Tode, richtiger seiner נפש, eine Vorstellung, die allen Völkern gemeinsam ist, selbst auf der primitiven Stufe der Erkenntnis"[2]. Apparently this belief in the lasting existence of the soul was not a matter of dispute. In this period around the turn of the century only Grüneisen was of a different opinion on this point. According to him the being of the נפש after death cannot be seen as a form of existence anymore: "Die Nephes verlässt den Körper im Tode. Dann aber ist es aus mit ihr. Es ist überhaupt kein Teil des lebendigen Menschen, der nach dem Tode der Scheol verfallen wäre"[3]. All that remains are the shadowy רפאים, who have no power and were not worshipped. On this point Grüneisen met with much criticism. The most important argument used against his theory was that it would indicate a difference between the Israelite conceptions of the soul and the general conceptions in other "primitive" cultures: "(es wird) ein Bild von dem Seelenglauben Israels konstruiert, das in diametralem Gegensatz zu den Ansichten der Naturvölker steht . . . Einen solchen Unterschied zwischen den ältesten und primitivsten Anschauungen der Nationen auf niedersten Kulturstufe anzunehmen, ist von vornherein höchst bedenklich und lässt sich nur durchführen, wenn man in mechanischer Weise Israel in allen Stücken eine Sonderstellung zuspricht"[4].

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[1] Cf. Lods 1906:I,5: "il était naturel d'examiner à nouveau s'il était vrai que les Israélites et en général les Sémites, n'eussent pas passés par le même stade que le commun de l'humanité".

[2] Lippert 1881. The first scholar who publised on this subject was probably J. Halévy; cf. his *Mélanges d'épigraphie et d'archéologie*, Paris 1874, pp.7.9.30-32.146-168; cf. Lods 1906:I,6.

[3] Lippert 1881:126-133.

[4] Oort 1881; B. Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 2nd ed., Berlin 1889 (first published in 1887), I, pp.387-427; Schwally 1897; see also the surveys by Margoliouth 1908:444-450 and Aalders 1914:19-37.

[5] For a survey of the discussion on this subject between 1877 and 1906 see Obbink 1907.

[6] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, p.21.

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[1] Cf. J.A. Stelling, *Dissertatio theologica de argumentis pro animae immortalitae in Vetero Testamento*, Halle 1758; J.D. Michaelis, "Argumenta immortalitatis animorum humanorum et futuri seculi ex Mose collata", *Syntagma commentationum*, 1759, pp.80-120; C.F. Lütgert, *Ueber die Erkenntnis der Lehre von der Unsterblichkeit der Seele im Alten Testament*, Duisburg 1796; A. Wiessner, *Lehre und Glaube der vorchristlichen Welt an Seelenfortdauer und Unsterblichkeit mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das Alte Testament*, Leipzig 1821; M.A. Becherer, *Ueber den Glauben der Juden an Unsterblichkeit der menschlichen Seele vor der babylonischen Gefangenschaft*, München 1829.

[2] Frey 1898:20.

[3] Grüneisen 1900:41.

[4] Torge 1909:31-32; cf. also Matthes 1901:327.

Although most scholars agreed with the opinion that the Israelites knew of an immortal, spiritual part of the human being, which leaves the body with death, it was not easy to get a clear picture of this from the Old Testament texts. It is difficult to find texts speaking about the existence of the נפש[1] in the world of the dead. To some the term נפש מת (Lev 21:11; Num 6:6) is a reference to the spirit of the dead[2]. Matthes points to the texts describing the liberation of the נפש from the netherworld (e.g., Ps 16:10; 30:4; 86:13; 89:49; Prov 23:14)[3]. And he thinks that the description of the revivification of a dead person as the return of the נפש (I Kgs 17:21-22) indicates that the נפש was believed to exist somewhere separated from the body of the deceased[4].

The term רפאים is usually regarded as just another name for the souls of the dead[5]. According to Lods it denotes a distinct class of the dead; he speaks of the "aristocratie du séjour des morts"[6]. This distinction was not due to a judgement after death; it was merely the continuation of the situation before death[7].

It could not be denied that the dead are described in the Old Testament as weak[8]. This does not fit within the theory of a cult of the dead: why would the living have worshipped beings without the power to influence their lives? The description of the dead as weaklings had to be explained as due to Yahwistic criticism on the worship of the dead as it was practised in earlier periods and probably still persisted in folk religion[9].

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[1] Halévy prefers to identify the "soul" with the רוח (*Mélanges*, p.148). Lods takes an intermediate position: "nous croyons que les Israélites ont eu, non pas une, mais plusieurs notions sensiblement divergentes de la *nefeš* et de la *rouaḥ*, et que la conception qui prédominait dans les temps anciens s'accordait entièrement avec l'idée du double" (Lods 1906:I,51).

[2] Cf. Schwally 1892:7 and Matthes 1901:335-336 who is, however, more reserved in this matter.

[3] Matthes 1901:333-334.

[4] Ibid., pp.331-332.

[5] Cf. Obbink 1907:248-250.

[6] Lods 1906:I,214; cf. also Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I, pp. 425-426 and Karge 1917:623-624.

[7] Lods 1906:I,215.

[8] Cf. Schwally 1892:7-8.

[9] Cf. Schwally 1892:92-96 and Lods 1906:I,214.

According to Charles this development has influenced the conceptions of the soul. In the pre-Yahwistic stage the Israelites kept to a dichotomy: a human being consists of a body and a soul or spirit. This was the common view shared with other peoples, which "attributes to the departed a certain degree of knowledge and power in reference to the living and their affairs"[1]. In this situation a worship of the dead seems to be a matter of course. Yahwism, however, furthered the idea of a trichotomy by distinguishing between the soul (נפש) and the spirit (רוח). According to this view the life-giving spirit leaves in death not only the body but also the soul, which now becomes a "dead soul"(נפש מת) and does not "exist" anymore[2]. This means that there is "neither knowledge, nor wisdom, nor life in the grave"[3]. We can compare this theory to what according to Pedersen has been the common view in Israel. He states that there "can be no doubt that it is the soul which dies"[4]. Pedersen has come to this conclusion, however, from another point of view. According to him Israelite thinking did not separate the soul from the body. He proposes a monistic view: "The dead is still a soul, but a soul that has lost its substance and strength: it is as a misty vapour or a shadow." "Even after death the soul still maintains its intimate relation with the body. The dead body is still the soul."[5] This rules out the possibility of the נפש being venerated after death. Already Obbink criticized Matthes on this point: according to the Old Testament "the inhabitants of the netherworld are not souls or spirits, but *men*"[6].

This monistic view, which has become prevalent among Old Testament scholars[7], questions the assumed correlation between conceptions of afterlife and the conceptions of man and soul. This old dogma of Old Testament scholarship[1], however, was not easily dismissed. E.g., Schilling still speaks of a "notwendige Zusammenhang zwischen der Psychologie und der Unsterblichkeitslehre": "Die Seelenlehre des Alten Testaments bringt eine Fasslichkeit mit, die es ermöglichte, sich einzupassen, sobald der Unsterblichkeitsglaube sich deutlicher entfaltete. Die Unkörperlichkeit der רוח, vor allem aber die Individualität und Substantialität der נפש sind Tatsachen, die die Seelenvorstellung allmählich in die Unsterblichkeitsvorstellung einmünden lassen konnten"[2]. In this way Schilling tries to save for the Old Testament in a moderate form the old view of the immortal soul. However, nowadays it is usually assumed that the idea of an immortal soul appears for the first time in the writings in the second century B.C., especially in the book of Wisdom[3], and that it has its origin in Greek philosophy[4].

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[1] Charles 1913:39.

[2] Ibid., p.43; according to Charles the "dead soul" only "subsists".

[3] Ibid., p.39.

[4] Pedersen 1926:179.

[5] Ibid., p.180.

[6] "'t Zijn geen zielen of geesten, maar *menschen* daar in de Scheol" (Obbink 1907:257).

[7] Cf. Nötscher 1926:209; J.H. Scheepers, *Die Gees van God en die gees van die mens in die Ou Testament*, Kampen 1960, p.83; W.H. Schmidt, EvTh 24 (1960),381; Wolff 1977:40; Füglister 1980:143; and Sonnemans 1984:316-325.

Some scholars assume that the monistic conception of man, because of its high valuation of physical life, called forth the belief in the resurrection of the body in the afterlife: beatific afterlife without a body would be unthinkable to an Israelite[5].

1.4.2.2. MOURNING CUSTOMS

The interpretation of mourning customs plays an important part in the theories about animism[6], because it may be assumed that belief in a powerful soul leaving the body after death influenced the reactions to death. All mouring customs are explained out of the fear for the mighty dead who can harm the living[1]. They would have been intended to drive away the hostile spirits of the dead[2]. According to Schwally the Israelites did not want to defend themselves against the spirits of the dead, but instead submitted themselves to them[3]. He thinks that it is possible to explain all mourning customs this way. Related to this is the attempt by Matthes to explain them as references to a cult of the dead[4]. E.g., the custom of cutting the hair was understood as an offering to the dead of life-power, which was supposed to be in the hair[5].

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[1] Cf. Touzard 1898:209: "Il existe une corrélation intime et nécessaire entre les idées eschatologiques des Juifs et leurs conceptions psychologiques." Cf. against this Obbink 1907:240.

[2] Schilling 1951:24.

[3] Cf. Bückers 1938.

[4] Cf. Kellermann 1976:281: "Platon hilft dem alttestamentlichen Weisen, seine todesdurchbrechende Erkenntnis in die Vorstellung und auf dem Begriff zu bringen."

[5] Cf. already Schwally 1892:18, n.2 with regard to the later Jewish conceptions; cf. also Sellin 1919:235; Nötscher 1926:120.209; Schubert 1962: 120. 183-184; Greenspoon 1981:252; and Füglister 1983:34.

[6] Cf. J.G. Frazer, "On Certain Burial Custom as Illustrative of the Primitive Theory of the Soul", *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 15(1886),64-101. Frazer calls them "pieces of spiritual armour, defences against ghosts or demons" (Ibid., p.99).

Very soon scholars realized that not all mourning customs can be explained as based on one and the same principle[6]. Apart from the fear for the dead and for death, there must have been other motives for acting this way in the confrontation with death, such as the desire for a continuation of the communion with the beloved deceased[7]. The dead may have been venerated as powerful spirits, at the same time they appear to need help. This second element was stressed by scholars who maintain that the Israelites never practised a worship of the dead[8]. These scholars usually prefer an interpretation of the mourning customs as humiliating oneself before God, because the encounter with death reminds man of his limitations[9]. In this way the survivors would try to cope with death. According to Pedersen this has nothing to do with rites aimed at the dead: "The mourning-rites express the humiliation and pain at having got into close touch with death. . . . All attempts to explain the origin of the . . .

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[1] Cf. Oort 1881:356; see the surveys by Margoliouth 1908:447-448; Aalders 1914·24-30; Heinisch 1931:3-5; and Kutsch 1965:32-33.

[2] Cf. Beer 1902:16 and Morgenstern 1966:105-106.145.

[3] Schwally 1892:11.

[4] Matthes 1900:210.214.

[5] Cf. also Oort 1881:356; Wensinck 1917:96-97; and Morgenstern 1966:105-106.

[6] Cf. Bertholet 1914:III.10 and Heinisch 1931:4.

[7] Cf. Lods 1906:I,183; Torge 1909:178; Bertholet 1914:1ff.; and Jahnow 1923:34.42.48.

[8] Cf. Frey 1898:229 and H.J. Elhorst, "Die Israelischen Trauerriten", BZAW 27 (Fs J. Wellhausen)(1914),115-128.

[9] Cf. Frey 1898:229 and Aalders 1914:30.

mourning-rites by roundabout ways and through external means are vain, because they are not merely used as death-rites, but make themselves felt in all cases when people are brought face to face with unhappiness and sorrow. Sorrows and misfortunes have a humbling effect"[1].

This view is shared by Kutsch, who maintains against those who try to explain the mourning customs as remains from a former cult of the dead: "So ist von vorneherein jede Deutung, die diese Riten unmittelbar mit den Toten in Verbindung setzt, ausgeschlossen. Keiner dieser Riten zielt auf den Toten, d.h. auf sein Ergehen oder auf das Verhältnis zu ihm; sie alle haben vielmehr Bezug auf denjenigen, der sie vollzieht. . . . Wer sie vollzieht, gibt damit zum Ausdruck, dass er gebeugt ist, eine Minderung erfahren hat"[2].

Old Testament scholars became also more careful with regard to the comparison with mourning customs of other peoples. E.g., Heinisch states: "So sehr es aber gerechtfertigt ist, dieselben bei der Erklärung der Bräuche Israels zu berücksichtigen, so ist es doch nicht statthaft, ohne weiteres die Vorstellungen, welche die Naturvölker mit ihren Riten verbanden, einfach auf Israel zu übertragen"[3]. Heinisch represents the prevalent scholarly opinion when he states that the Israelite mourning customs primarily functioned as a *memento mori* and in this way expressed man's humility before death and before God[4]. He admits that many mourning customs may have arisen out of the belief in the mighty dead and can be explained as a disguise for, defence against, or even offering to the spirits of the dead[5]. Under the influence of Yahwism, however, they lost their original meaning: "Nahmen die Israeliten beim Tode gleiche oder ähnliche Handlungen vor wie andere Völker - der Unterschied bestand: Sie ehrten die Toten, aber die Eigenart ihrer Religion bewahrte sie davor, die Toten zu verehren"[6].

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[1] Pedersen 1926:494-495.

[2] Kutsch 1965:33-34.

[3] Heinisch 1931B:5.

[4] Ibid., p.99; cf. also Torge 1909:203-204 and De Ward 1972:152.

[5] See for a similar interpretation Widengren 1969:401-408 and G. Fohrer, *Geschichte der Israelitischen Religion*, Berlin 1969, p.18.

[6] Heinisch 1931B:100; cf. also R. de Vaux, *Les institutions de l'Ancient Testament*, I, Paris 1958, p.100 and F. Stolz, THAT, col.30.

1.4.2.3. FUNERARY MATERIAL

Although Schwally called the tombs "temples of ancestor-worship"[1], it appeared to be very difficult to derive sound arguments for the existence of an ancient Israelite cult of the dead from the funerary material. In the first studies on the Israelite worship of the dead usually only the custom of throwing stones upon the grave is mentioned in this connection. This custom was interpreted as an action out of fear for the dead. In this way people would have tried to prevent the spirit of the dead from leaving the grave[2]. On the other hand grave-goods could be interpreted as offerings to the dead[3]. According to Sukenik traces of repeated offerings to the dead can be found in a tomb in Samaria. In this tomb there are two pits, which are interpreted by Sukenik as "receptables of offerings connected with the cult of the dead as regularly practised in ancient Israel in spite of the attacks of the prophets"[4]. We can, finally, mention here the theory of Karge on the role which the numerous megalithic monuments that can be found especially in Transjordan may have played in the religion of ancient Israel. According to Karge the Israelites regarded these so-called dolmens as the tombs of the mighty Rephaim[5]. For this reason the dolmens had become centres of hero-cult[6].

The validity of most of these arguments with regard to the funerary material has been contested. The heap of stones above the grave may also have been meant as a memorial of the dead person buried there. Grave-goods not necessarily point to veneration of the dead; one can also regard them as an indication to the belief that the dead were totally dependant on the living to make "life" in the netherworld bearable[1]. Sukenik's interpretation of the tomb in Samaria could be questioned for the same reason, whereas it may also be doubted whether he is right in calling it an Israelite tomb[2]. According to Galling the anonymity of the Palestinian graves implies that there was no cult of the dead, at least not near the graves. Otherwise one would expect an identification of the person buried there, e.g., in an inscription[3].

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[1] Schwally 1892:57.

[2] Cf. Oort 1881:356; Lods 1906:I,83-84; Bertholet 1914:29; and Morgenstern 1966:285-286.

[3] Cf. Schwally 1892:24.

[4] E.L. Sukenik, in J.W. Crawfood, K.M. Kenyon, E.L. Sukenik, *The Buildings of Samaria: Samaria-Sebaste*, I, London 1942, pp.21-22; cf. also Sukenik 1940 and his article in *Qedem* 2(1945),42-47.

[5] Karge 1917:644.

[6] Ibid., pp.528-556; Cf. also C. Epstein, RB 79(1972),406-407 and RB 80 (1973),562.

Nowadays most scholars agree that from the material remains no certain evidence can be given for a worship of the dead. The only thing that can be derived from the facts revealed by archaeology seems to be that the inhabitants of Palestine believed in some form of continued existence of the deceased[4].

1.4.2.4. THE WORSHIP OF THE DEAD AND THE FAMILY

In a study published in 1864 Fustel de Coulanges tries to show that the worship of dead ancestors not only marks the beginning of religion, but also was the constituent principle of the family in "primitive" societies[5]. Characteristic of this "domestic religion" is the emphasis on progeny and the possession of land, because both are necessary for the cult of the dead. According to Fustel de Coulanges this implies that in cultures where the longing for progeny and for landed property take a prominent place, we may also expect ancestor-worship.

This theory could be easily applied to the Old Testament, because this longing for progeny and landed property is expressed in many texts; especially the institution of the so-called levirate marriage is very interesting in this regard. It is supposed that its original object was to provide the man who died childless with a son to take care of his cult[1]. This assumed background was used to explain the contradictory statements about the levirate in the Old Testament. The oldest text was supposed to be Deut 25:5-10. Here the levirate marriage is mentioned without objection, whereas it is forbidden in the later priestly texts Lev 18:16 and 20:21. The reason for this would have been the connection with the ancestor-cult, which was forbidden by Yahwism. This would also explain why the levirate marriage appears to be unknown in the book of Ruth and also why it plays no part in the history of the daughters of Zelophehad (Num 27:1-11).

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[1] Cf. Frey 1898:24.

[2] Cf. H.J. Franken and C.A. Franken-Battershil, *A Primer of Old Testament Archaeology*, Leiden 1963, pp.163-167 and Lapp 1968:145.

[3] K. Galling, BRL, 1st ed., col.240; cf. also L. Rost, BHH, s.v. "Grab"; and L.Y. Rahmani, BA 44(1981),234.

[4] Cf. Shofield 1951:29; J. Simons, *Opgravingen in Palestina tot aan de ballingschap*, Roermond 1935, p.385; and Cazelles 1961:111.

[5] N.D. Fustel de Coulanges, *La cité antique*, 1864 (English translation *The Ancient City*, 1873, rpt. with a Foreword by S.C. Humphreys and A.D. Momigliano, Baltimore 1980).

Special study of the relation between the family and the cult of the dead was made by Lods[2]. According to him the cult of the dead was not exclusively a matter of the family. This cult is the answer to the fear for the dead and not only the dead within one's family are feared. Consequently he cannot agree with Fustel de Coulanges' model: "Ce n'est pas le culte des ancêtres qui a créé la famille israélite"[3]. Another important reason for Lods to assume that the cult of the dead was not restricted to the ancestors is the existence of cults honouring dead heroes, viz. the patriarchs. These were venerated at their graves by the whole nation or at least part of it. In this the Israelites were probably influenced by the Canaanites: while taking possession of the land, they may have also adopted Canaanite heroes as their ancestors[4].

Also the given interpretation of the levirate marriage as part of the model of Fustel de Coulanges met with serious criticism. The proposed connection with ancestor-worship was questioned[5]. The reason for this institution which is given in Deut 25:6, "so that the name may not be blotted out of Israel", is acceptable to many scholars[6]. From another point of view levirate marriage can also be regarded as a measure to protect the widow[1]. Finally, it is not at all certain that Lev 18:16 and 20:21 exclude levirate marriage. These laws may have been meant to restrict the sexual contact within a relation that tends to incest[2] and not as measures against ancestor-worship.

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[1] Cf. Schwally 1892:28-31; Matthes 1900:214-219; Charles 1913:27-28; Margoliouth 1908:448-449; and Torge 1909:131-132.

[2] Lods 1906:II "Les rapports du culte des morts avec l'organisation familiale et sociale des anciens Israélites. Le culte des ancêtres".

[3] Lods 1906:II,52.

[4] Ibid., pp.89-106; cf. also Torge 1909:168.

[5] Cf. Frey 1898:57-80.

[6] Cf. Nötscher 1926:203 and De Vaux, *Institutions*, I, pp.72-74.

1.4.2.5. RITUAL LAWS AND PRACTICES

A clear reference to the offering of food to the dead during a funeral repast was found in Deut 26:14. The tithe-giver has to declare: "I have not eaten any of the tithe while in mourning, nor have I rid myself of it for unclean purposes, nor have I offered any of it to the dead" (cf. also II Sam 3:35; Jer 16:7-8; Ezek 24:17.22; and Hos 9:4). It is a matter of dispute whether this funeral repast had something to do with a worship of the dead. According to Schwally there is no difference between this offering of food to the dead and the sacrifices to the gods: "Der Tote bekam ebenso seinen Anteil vom Leichenschmaus, wie Jahve von den Opfermahlzeiten, die an der Cultstätte verzehrt wurden"[3]. In defending this interpretation against the criticism of Frey, Matthes distinguishes between a funeral repast directly following the funeral and one for the deceased offered to him at his grave some days after the burial. In Deut 26:14 both repasts would have been mentioned; first the funeral repast, then the repast for the dead. Because the dead were believed to be powerful spirits, not only the repast for the dead, but also the funeral repast was interpreted by Matthes as a form of venerating the dead[4]. Other scholars are more reserved in this matter. Deut 26:14 probably only indicates the provision of sustenance to the dead[5]. To Frey even this goes too far; according to him the funeral repast is no more than a way of expressing the communion of the survivors with the deceased: "Einerseits wird der Verstorbene dadurch, dass man die Pietät gegen ihn nicht verletzt, sondern anlässlich seines Verscheidens ein Mahl hält, durch solches Thun geehrt, anderseits wird den Hinterbliebenen durch ein solches um des Toten willen geschehendes Mahl die Tröstung zu teil, dass trotz des Todes die Zusammengehörigkeit nicht aufgehoben ist"[1].

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[1] Cf. E.W. Davies, "Inheritance Rights and the Hebrew Levirate Marriage (Part I)", VT 31(1981),138-144 and also D.A. Leggett, *The Levirate and Goel Institution in the Old Testament*, Cherry Hill 1974 who concludes that "the levirate in Israel functioned to 'preserve the name' . . . this involved the preservation of the family property within the immediate family. Through this procedure the protection and support of the widow was also ensured."

[2] Cf. Th. and D. Thompson, VT 18(1968),95-96.

[3] Schwally 1892:23; cf. also Oort 1881:354-355 and Charles 1913:23-24.

[4] Matthes 1900:198-207.

[5] Cf. Margoliouth 1908:446.

Jer 34:5; II Chron 16:14; and 21:19 mention kindling of fires and burning of spices in order to honour the deceased king. Some scholars regard this as an offering to the spirit of the dead[2]. Others deny this[3] or take it as some kind of provision for the dead king's need. Everything depends here on whether or not the dead are believed to be powerful.

From the clearly attested practice of necromancy (cf. I Sam 28; Isa 8:19; 65:4) can be inferred that the spirits of the dead were supposed to know more than the living. Whether this implies that the dead were also venerated is a matter of dispute. To prove the religious character of necromancy, scholars usually refer to the spirit of Samuel being called אלהים (I Sam 28:13). Furthermore, they point to the fact that necromancy is forbidden according to the Old Testament (cf. Deut 18:11; Lev 20:6-7). This would imply that the contact with the spirits of the dead was a serious threat to Yahwism; for it shows that the dead were venerated as gods[4].

We know from other cultures that the cult of the dead was often practised before images representing the dead. According to Schwally the Israelites had also been familiar with this kind of cult objects: "Wie Jahve, so werden im alten Israel auch die Ahnen ihre Bilder gehabt haben. Und es spricht manches dafür, dass Teraphim ein Name für solche Ahnenbilder gewesen ist"[5]. He assumes a lexical relation between תרפים and the Hebrew word for the dead in the netherworld, רפאים. Another name for these images of the deceased ancestors might have been אלהים[6]. This interpretation of the תרפים could not be easily refuted because of the many uncertainties with regard to origin and meaning of this word and the object it denotes, but it did not meet with much approval[1]. Nevertheless, it still finds its advocates[2].

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[1] Frey 1898:122; cf. Heinisch 1931B:89; De Vaux, *Institutions*, I, pp.98f.

[2] Cf. Schwally 1892:24; Matthes 1900:198; and Margoliouth 1908:446.

[3] Cf. Frey 1898:87-88 and Aalders 1914:33-34.

[4] Cf. Lods 1906:I,257-262; and against this Frey 1898:111-112.

[5] Schwally 1892:35; cf. also Lods 1906:I,231-236 and Charles 1913:21-23.

[6] Schwally 1892:37; cf. also Lods 1906:I,236-238.

Schwally also made an attempt to reconstruct a festival in honour of the dead. He supposes Purim to be a "verkapptes Totenfest". His main arguments for this are the absence of the name of YHWH in the book of Esther, in which the origin of Purim is described, and the fact that Purim takes place in the month of Adar, which is connected in Judaism with the commemoration of Moses, Elijah, and Mirjam and in which all graves were whitewashed[3]. This hypothesis was criticized amongst others[4] by Morgenstern. In his opinion not Purim but Passover was originally a yearly festival celebrated in honour of the dead[5]. Of course, this origin was covered in Yahwistic traditions wherever possible, but some elements still remind us of it. E.g., the offering at night and the use of blood to keep away the "destroyer"(Exod 12:23). This "destroyer" was originally a malign spirit of the dead. With this supposed origin of Passover, Morgenstern can also explain the connection of the resurrection of Jesus Christ with this ancient feast. Until now, Morgenstern found no support for this daring theory.

1.4.2.6. WORSHIP OF THE DEAD AND YAHWISM

The relation between Yahwism and the assumed worship of the dead in the period before the exile is described by Schwally as follows: "Man wird sich in den kleinen Angelegenheiten des privaten Lebens an die Ahnen, für die gemeinsamen Interessen der Geschlechter und Stämme an Jahve Sabaot gewandt haben. Wie diese Interessen für Beduienen hauptsächlich in Familien- und Stammesfehden aufgehen, so ist Jahve von Haus aus Kriegsgott"[6].

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[1] Cf. Margoliouth 1908:445-446.

[2] Cf. J. Lust, VT.S 26(1974),138.

[3] Schwally 1892:42-45; cf. also Pope 1977:165.

[4] Cf. Grüneisen 1900:187-191 and Lods 1906:I,228.

[5] Morgenstern 1966:166-179.

[6] Schwally 1892:75; cf. also Quell 1925:34.

In the course of time the monopolizing Yahwism gained control over the whole field of religion and left no room for ancestor-worship, although it could not be destroyed entirely. This may be due to the special character of ancestor-worship: "Der Kampf wurde dadurch erleichtert, dass der Ahnendienst entsetzlich wenig entwicklungsfähig ist. Gerade deshalb konnte er sich andererseits in seinem Bannkreise mit um so grosserer Zähigkeit halten"[1]. With this "Bannkreis" of the ancestor-worship Schwally points to certain areas in religious life which were, so to speak, left open by Yahwism. One of these areas concerns the conceptions of afterlife: "Jene Vorstellungen musste er vorläufig auf sich beruhen lassen, da er nichts Besseres an die Stelle zu setzen hatte. *Denn die Jahvereligion besass von Hause aus keine Eschatologie*. Sie acceptirte diejenige der Naturreligion und bildete dieselbe nach ihren höheren Zwecken und Zielen entsprechend aus"[2]. As in Yahwism the belief in the power of YHWH over death and the belief in retribution of the individual after death became prevalent, this belief was worked out with the help of the ancient animistic views. With regard to the relation between Yahwism and the worship of the dead Charles is of a different opinion. According to him there is a clear break in the development of the conceptions of afterlife, which can be traced in the change in Hebrew anthropology from a trichotomy to a dichotomy (see p.32 above). In no way could the former conception of afterlife have influenced Yahwism in this matter: "Yahwism annihilates all existence in Sheol, since the nature of this existence was heathen and nonmoral, and could in no sense form a basis on which to found an ethical and spiritual doctrine of the future life"[3].

Most scholars who proceed on the proposition that the Israelites may have practised a cult of the dead tend to accept the opinion ventured by Schwally. The old animistic views must have lived on in popular ideas and eventually obtained a new meaning as they were incorporated in the Yahwistic conceptions. Some scholars maintain that this influence has been even greater than that; consider, e.g., the following statement by Lods: "Après avoir essayé d'extirper la vénération des esprits trépassés

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[1] Schwally 1892:76.

[2] Ibid., p.86; cf. also p.132 and Beer 1902:25

[3] Charles 1913:53; he admits, however, that traces of ancestor-worship can still be found in the second century B.C. (Ibid., p.19).

. . . , le yahvisme finit par adopter certains éléments de la vieille religion des morts: sous la forme de l'espérance de la résurrection et de l'immortalité, il s'appropria la croyance à la survie; et le culte même des trépassés se glisse dans la doctrine officielle sous les espèces de la prière des vivants pour les morts et de l'intercession des morts, spécialement des pères, pour les vivants"[1]. People expected most from the spirits of the dead of those persons who had been very important in life. For this reason Lods wants to distinguish the veneration of heroes from the normal worship of the ancestors[2]. Margoliouth appears to be of the same opinion, because he maintains: "It is also true that in a certain modified form the exaltation of departed heroes, more especially of the spiritual type, was from the first quite compatible with the religion of Jahweh; and the final monotheistic development of Mosaism left still more room for the glorification of great human personalities in one form or another"[3]. This assumption has been further developed by Torge. He assumes that Yahwism could not eliminate the various hero-cults all together and for this reason was forced to accept some of them, be it in an adjusted form: "Der Jahwismus konnte die Heroenverehrung nicht kurzer Hand beseitigen, er musste mit ihr paktieren. Die kleine Stadtheroen freilich verschwanden, aber die Ahnherren des Volkes entgingen diesem Schicksal. . . . auf einige zusammengeschrumpft, unterdessen die Erzväter den Vorrang hatten. Diese einst gewaltigen Gestalten der starker, urwüchsiger Volksphantasie werden umgewandelt zu ruhigen, milden Vertretern des neuen Glaubens, der ihnen in der fernen Vergangenheit in demselben Licht erstrahlt ist wie den späteren Geschlechtern"[4].

1.4.2.7. REVIVAL OF THE OLD THEORIES

It may have become clear that from the beginning the use of the anthropological theory of animism to reconstruct the ancient Israelite religion met with serious criticism[1]. The main argument against the hypothesis put forward by Schwally and others was that it cannot be proved that the spirits of the dead were venerated as if they were gods. And also the assumed influence of an ancient Israelite cult of the dead upon Yahwism was questioned; e.g., by Kautzsch: "If Ancestor Worship ever prevailed in the pre-Mosaic period - and it is psychologically quite conceivable that respect for the dead bodies and the tombs of parents inspired at least tendencies to a kind of Ancestor Worship, - no consciousness of this survived to historical times, and the whole question . . . has at best an interest from the point of view of Archaeology but not of Biblical Theology"[2].

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[1] Lods 1906:II,128.

[2] Ibid., pp.89-106.

[3] Margoliouth 1908: 449.

[4] Torge 1909:168. An indication of the supposed original state of the patriarchs in the ancient religion of Israel was found in Isa 63:15-16 that would mention prayers of Israelites to Abraham (cf. Ibid., p.169; and also Oort 1881:359 and Margoliouth 1908:445).

With regard to the concept of afterlife as described by Spencer and Tylor it has been remarked that the "savage philosopher" looks remarkably like a Greek philosopher in his way of defining the spiritual part of the human being. According to other anthropologists, especially in Germany, the belief in the continuation of life after death was originally not attached to some sort of soul, but to the body of the dead. The dead were believed to live on as long as their body was not decomposed; one can speak here of "*living corpses*"[3].

In the course of time the theory of an ancient Israelite cult of the dead as it is described above lost much of its former influence in Old Testament scholarship. The prevalent opinion was that Yahwism could not possibly have allowed the existence of any kind of cult of the dead. This does not exclude popular conceptions of the survival of the dead in one way or another, but these had no influence upon the Yahwistic religion[4].

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[1] Cf. Frey 1898; Grüneisen 1900; Aalders 1914; and Bertholet 1914:35.

[2] E. Kautzsch, *Dictionary of the Bible*, ed. J. Hastings, V, Edinburgh 1904, p.615.

[3] See for the controversy in this matter between Anglo-American and German scholars O.G. Oexle, in *Death in the Middle Ages*, ed. H. Braet and W. Verbeke, Mediaevalia Lovaniensia, Series I, Studia IX, Leuven 1983, pp.59-60.

[4] Cf. Nötscher 1926:202-204; Sutcliffe 1946:190-191; Rost 1951:61; Schilling 1951:72-74; Martin-Achard 1956:21-23; Snaith 1964:309-311; Wächter 1967:192-193; Lapp 1968; Bailey 1979:32-36; and also the remarks on this subject by E.Jacob, *Théologie de l'Ancient Testament*, Neuchatel 1955, pp.245-247; P. van Imschoot, *Théologie de l'Ancient Testament*, II, Paris 1956, pp.75-82; G. von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*,

In the last few decades, however, we see a remarkable revival of the old theories. A number of scholars try to show, again, that some Israelite conceptions of afterlife cannot be understood without the influence of a cult of the dead. Unfortunately, these scholars not always use new arguments; so there is the risk of repeating the discussion of many years ago. This can be seen, e.g., in the articles on this subject by Lorenz, which were published in 1982. He associates the care for the dead and the importance of the mourning rites according to the Old Testament with an ancient Israelite "Totenkult", which might have had a religious meaning. The use of the term "Totenkult" by Lorenz is confusing. It is used to denote the sum of burial practices and mourning rites and not, as might have been expected, a veneration of the dead. Be this as it may, Lorenz cannot take us further than the dilemma already formulated by Frey between "Seelenglaube" and "Seelenkult".

A more serious effort to revive in some form the theory of an Israelite cult of the dead was undertaken by Albright in a lecture about the Hebrew במה in 1956[1]. He suggests a connection between this term, which he translates as "high place", and a hero-cult comparable to the Greek cult of heroes. His theory bears a close resemblance to assumptions of Lods and Torge (see p.43 above). Albright appears to be familiar with the study of Lods[2]; his approach to these matters, however, is unprecedented.

Albright finds evidence for an Israelite hero-cult in a number of texts in the Old Testament, but he has to emend all the passages he quotes. This suggests an intentional corruption of the texts involved. On his part, however, Albright gives no explanation of this remarkable phenomenon. The texts he refers to are given here in his translation: Isa 53:9, "His grave was put with the wicked and his funerary installation (בּוֹמָתוֹ) with demons"; Job 27:15, "His survivors will be buried in pagan graves (בָּמוֹת) and his widows shall not bewail (them)."; Ezek 43:7b, "and the house of Israel, they and their kings, shall no longer profane my holy name by their idolatry and the funerary stelae (פִּגְרֵי) of their kings in

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II, 3rd ed. München 1960, pp.289-290; and W. Eichrodt, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, II, III, 4th ed., Stuttgart 1961, pp.147-150.

[1] Albright 1957; cf. also his *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, London 1968, pp.177-178.

[2] Albright 1957:257, n.1.

their *bâmôt*."; and finally Isa 6:13, which is in his opinion "classical for the description of a biblical *bâmāh*"[1], "like the terebinth goddess and the oak of Asherah cast out with the stelae of the high place"[2].

The archaeological evidence for his theory is based on the identification of several heaps of stones found in Palestine as cairns, some of which were built to commemorate deceased heroes. These cairns do not necessarily contain the graves of these heroes. They are in the first place memorial structures, which could be erected far from the grave, like the מצבה of Absalom (II Sam 18:17-18). According to Albright the במה is related to the מצבה, both denoting memorial stelae. This makes it possible for him to translate בית במות (I Kgs 12:31) with "temple of stelae"[3]. Albright finds examples of such temples functioning as funerary shrines in Byblos (the so-called "Temple des Obélisques") and Hazor[4].

Albright also proposes an etymology of the word במה, which connects it with the hero-cult. He refers to Arabic *buhmatum* with the double meaning of "mass of rock" and "brave man", "hero". This tallies with the "double use of *bâmāh* as 'cairn' and 'hero's shrine'"[5].

Albright comes to the following conclusion: "it is now evident that the hitherto scattered biblical references to veneration of heroic shrines (e.g. Rachel and Deborah), cult of departed spirits or divination with their aid, and high places in general add up to a much greater significance for popular Israelite belief in life after death and the cult of the dead than has hitherto appeared prudent to admit"[6]. If we look at the history of research, it would have been better to speak in the last sentence of the "last fifty years", because this conclusion is very similar to what has been said in this matter by, e.g., Torge and Margoliouth (see p.43 above).

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[1] Ibid., p.254.

[2] Ibid., pp.244-248.254-255.

[3] Ibid., p.248.

[4] Ibid., p.252; cf. also BASOR 184(1966),26-27.

[5] Albright 1957:256-257.

[6] Ibid., p.257; cf. already his remark in an article published in 1926: "The popular eschatological beliefs, though rigidly suppressed by adherents of puritanical Mosaism, finally succeeded in emerging from the obscurity of folk superstition" (Albright 1926:154). However, in this article he did not yet refer to a cult of the dead.

Albright is very positive about the way in which this hero-cult, which must have been objectionable to orthodox Yahwism, may have influenced the Yahwistic conceptions of the afterlife: "we must be careful in future not to explain away passages in the Psalms and other poetic literature which suggest a more positive approach. After all, it was precisely this positive approach which was later to win a complete victory in Judaism over the negative attitude of the Sadducees"[1]. It is important to note that Albright appears to think of a more or less smooth development of the belief in the resurrection of the dead out of the positive approach to afterlife in the ancient hero-cult. In his opinion there would have been no break in the development of the Israelite belief with regard to the hereafter, as was assumed by Charles.

The new approach of Albright to the old problem of the cult of the dead in ancient Israel is primarily based on his interpretation of the במה. This interpretation got much adverse criticism[2] rather than support[3], because too much remains hypothetical. An attempt to support Albright's theory with more relevant facts from archaeology was undertaken by Ribar in his dissertation published in 1973. It is to be welcomed that Ribar gives the discussion the right setting by starting with a short survey of the studies on this subject by Schwally, Lods and others (pp.4-8). To find evidence which might support Albright's theory directly, Ribar looks for burial data suggesting repeated offerings for the dead (pp.45-71). Like Sukenik (see p.36 above) he finds these in ceiling holes in the tombs and vases which could be filled from outside the tombs. Most of the evidence comes from the Bronze Age, but Ribar also found some traces of it in the Iron Age. According to Ribar this use of burial sites as cultic installations and Albright's theory of cultic sites of a cult of the dead are "mutually supportive"(p.74). Ribar gives a - as he admits - "highly speculative" socio-political explanation of the development of the Israelite conceptions of the afterlife. The practice of the cult of the dead apparently almost disappeared in the period of the rise of the state of Israel. This might be regarded as "a deliberate disvaluation or suppression of local death cults in the interest of the wider community of Israel"(p.82). With the decline of the political and religious unity the Israelites would have returned to the old practices of ancestor-worship in order to find there security for themselves and their families. Despite this interruption Ribar assumes like Albright a continuity between the cult of the dead and the later positive beliefs with regard to the hereafter. Finally, it must be noted that Ribar appears to confuse - like Lorenz - care for the dead and veneration of the dead. His definition of death-cult as "periodically conducted offerings oriented toward the dead at sites especially associated with the dead" points to care for the dead, the connection with the theory of Albright, however, to the veneration of the dead.

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[1] Albright 1957:257.

[2] Cf. P.H. Vaughan, *The Meaning of 'bamâ' in the Old Testament*, Cambridge 1974; W. Boyd Barrick, "The Funerary Character of 'High-Places' in Ancient Palestine: A Reassessment", VT 25(1975),564-595; M.D. Fowler, "The Israelite *bāmâ*", ZAW 94(1982),203-213.

[3] Cf. De Vaux, *Institutions*, II, p.112; J. Gray, Ug. 6(1969),300; Lapp 1968:144.151; K.-D. Schunck, ThWAT I, col.667.

The elaborate study of Brichto about the "biblical complex" of "kin, cult and afterlife" published in 1973 is perhaps the best example of a revivification of the old theories of ancestor-worship. This is apparent already in the fact that Brichto takes as a starting-point the pattern discerned by Fustel de Coulanges (see p.37 above): "in regard to elements of Coulanges' pattern which appear in the Bible, we have a basis for approximating the extent to which these elements were still meaningful to most Israelites throughout the span of time which we call the biblical period" (p.6). This statement indicates that Brichto expects to find evidence for the existence of conceptions of afterlife according to the pattern described by Fustel de Coulanges in the ancient religion of Israel before the biblical period. And - what is more important - it is also assumed that these old conceptions remained influential for a long time.

Brichto distinguishes between worship and veneration of the ancestors in the same way as this was done before by Heinisch ("Totenehrung" or "Totenverehrung"; see p.35). The model of Fustel de Coulanges is about worshipping the dead. Although Brichto accepts this model for Israel, he assumes that the relation between the living and the dead was different there, because otherwise it would not have been accepted by Yahwism. Brichto does not explicitly mention this adaptation of Fustel de Coulanges' model; nevertheless, it appears to be of prime importance. It can be found in the following statement (the italics are mine): "Whatever disturbances may have been occasioned in an *ancestral cult-worship* - if such ever existed - by its transition to a recognizable *YHWH worship*, it is clear that the *veneration of the ancestors* . . . must have been accomodated by and integrated with what became normative Israelite *worship*" (p. 11). The importance of the change of "ancestral cult-worship" into "veneration of the ancestors" becomes clear when Brichto states that "veneration is not worship" (p.47). Worship of YHWH does not exclude veneration of other superhuman beings.

Because of his starting-point it is not surprising to find that most arguments used by Brichto to prove the existence of a veneration of the ancestors in Israel have been used before:

The way in which the world of the dead is described in, e.g., Isa 14 and I Sam 28 indicates that "the afterlife was an unchallenged reality for biblical Israel" (pp.6-8).

The story of Abraham's purchase of the field of Machpelah (Gen 23) is taken as an account of "the all-important tie between sepulture and ownership of land". The land "belongs to the dead ancestors and to their unborn descendants - it is a *sine qua non* of their stake in immortality" (pp.8-10).

The original aim of the levirate institution was to secure the lasting care of the dead ancestors, as can be seen in the book of Ruth (pp.11-22).

The biblical view that the condition of the dead is connected with proper burial and the care of the progeny gives the deeper meaning of, e.g., Gen 22. According to Brichto Abraham was asked here to hazard his immortality by sacrificing his son (pp.27.44-46).

There are references to ancestral cults of foreign families (cf. Ps 106:28) and also to comparable rites within the families of Israel. Deut 26:14 even "attests that normative biblical religion accorded them the sanction of toleration" (p.29); for apparently providing the dead was only forbidden in the situation mentioned there.

The fifth commandment is regarded as the "primary reference to the respect to be shown for parents after their death" (pp.29-35).

The longing for a proper burial and the attachment to one's own land are explained within the framework of the cult of the dead (pp.35-40).

A new element mentioned by Brichto is "the symmetry between the crime of disrespect for parents (i.e. neglect of their needs after death) and the punishment visited, in fulfilment of poetic justice upon such trespasses" (p.40): who violates the rules of the proper care of the dead will lack this care after his own death as well (cf. Deut 21:18-21; Prov 20:20; 30: 11.17; I Kgs 21:19ff.; Exod 1:15-21).

Finally, Brichto states that the physical representation of the household gods are taken to be designated by the word תרפים. It is not clear, however, whether these so-called household gods are the same as the venerated ancestors.

Brichto concludes: "the evidence deduced from earliest Israelite sources through texts as late as the exilic prophets testifies overwhelmingly to a belief on the part of biblical Israel in an afterlife, an afterlife in which the dead, though apparently deprived of material substance, retain such personality characteristics as form, memory, consciousness and even knowledge of what happens to their descendants in the land of the living. They remain very much concerned about the fortunes of their descendants, for they are dependant on them, on their continued existence on the family land, on their performance of memorial rites, for a felicitous condition in the afterlife" (p.48).

Just as Albright he is of the opinion that the concepts of immortality and reward and punishment after death are much older than hitherto assumed. According to Brichto they can even be found in the book of Deuteronomy. Brichto's judgement of previous scholarship with regard to this matter is not very flattering: "a millenium and more of good Bible scholarship failed to discern the basic view of afterlife permeating Scripture" (p.53). Apparently he is not familiar with the last century of this millenium of scholarship.

What has been proved by Brichto and by many other scholars before him is that like other peoples the Israelites knew the practices of a continued care of the dead. Without further comment Brichto takes this as an indication of a "concept of immortality and/of reward and punishment after death" and associates it with the hope "for a felicitous condition in the afterlife". Although he admits that it may not be called paradise (pp.48.53), he simply assumes that the belief in the resurrection of the dead developed out of these old conceptions: "afterlife gave way to resurrection, and tacit assumption to explicit prescription" (p.53).

It may be doubted whether it was wise to take the famous but now obsolete theory of Fustel de Coulanges as a starting-point. The main problem remains: could ancestor-worship be incorporated in Yahwism as easily as assumed? It is not fair when Brichto discredits in a lengthy footnote the study of Charles about ancestor-worship (pp.47-48). As we saw above, Charles maintains that Yahwism eventually wiped out ancestor-worship. Brichto accuses him of apologetical motives and even calls his work "a monumental disservice to scholarship". It may be asked, however, whether there is much difference between the approach of Charles and the one of Brichto, because Brichto is also forced to accomodate ancestor-worship to Yahwism. Maybe Brichto has overlooked the problems which were still seen by Charles. Whereas Charles made a clear statement, Brichto appears to have confused different concepts. Nevertheless, Brichto is absolutely right when he states at the end of his comment on Charles' study: "if former generations must be called to account, the present one should profit by the example and look to itself" (p.48).

Another attempt to revive the theory of an Israelite cult of the dead was made by Loretz in 1978. He brings new arguments in comparing the Canaanite cult of the dead which is described in the Ugaritic literature. Loretz cannot agree to the current opinion that Yahwism has always excluded the worship of the dead. This is probably only true for the period after the exile. He assumes that in the period before the exile the worship of the dead was tolerated by Yahwism. Just like Schwally (see pp. 41-42 above) Loretz thinks that Yahwism and worship of the dead had their own place in the religion of Israel: "das Thema der Lobpreisung Gottes durch seinen Verehrer im Alten Orient (ist) nicht mit dem der Totenverehrung zu verwechseln. . . . Das Verhältnis zwischen der Gottheit und dem ihr dienenden Menschen hängt wenigstens zum einen Teil vom Leben des Beters ab. . . . Dagegen regelt die Totenverehrung das Verhältnis zwischen den verstorbenen und lebenden Gliedern einer Familie" (p.153).

According to Loretz it is very difficult to get a clear view of the nature of the cult of the dead in Israel, because most traces of this cult have been purged away by orthodox Yahwism after the exile. We know more about the Canaanite cult of the dead, especially from texts found in the ancient city of Ugarit. By comparison with the practices mentioned there the assumed Israelite cult of the dead is reconstructed (pp.168-171). The venerated dead have the same name as in Ugarit, viz. רפאים/*rpʾum*, which means "Heilenden". For dogmatical reasons this word is connected in the Old Testament with the verb רפה, "to be weak". The spirits of the dead were also called אלהים (I Sam 28:13; cf. Ugaritic *'il* and *'ilny*) and the technical term for invoking the dead is in Hebrew as well as in Ugaritic קרא/*qr'* (cf. I Sam 28:15). In a later article Loretz refers also to the institution of the so-called Marzeah (Jer 16:5; Amos 6:7), which was in his opinion closely connected with the cult of the dead, both in Israel and in Ugarit[1].

From the Ugaritic evidence of the cult of the dead can also be deduced why and when this cult was forbidden in Israel. The cult of the dead appears to be related to the fertility cult of the Canaanite god Baal. For this reason it could no longer be tolerated after Yahwism had become a monotheistic religion in the period after the exile(pp.171-172). The old customs and beliefs connected with the cult of the dead were adapted to this new situation. With regard to the commandment to honour one's parents Loretz remarks: "Die Verbindung mit dem Totenkult wird jetzt ersetzt durch den Hinweis auf den Besitz des Landes und ein langes Leben in ihm" (pp.174-175). Following De Moor, he supposes that the description in the Old Testament of the Rephaim as the inhabitants of Canaan in prehistoric times might be explained as a "Historisierung" of ancient traditions about ancestor-worship (p.176)[2]. Loretz now wants to extend this theory by explaining the origin of the stories of the patriarchs in the same way: "die jüdische Verehrung der Väter Israels, allen voran die Abrahams,(ist)in exilischer und nachexilischer Zeit an die Stelle der kanaanäisch-israelitischen Totenverehrung getreten" (p.178). He regards the patriarchs as they are described in the Old Testament "als Ersatz und Kompensation für eine frühere Verehrung der Ahnen in Kanaan und Israel" (p.178). This way of compensating the loss of an important religious tradition would be comprehensible from a psychological point of view: "Die Verehrung der vergöttlichten Ahnen wird verdrängt, und an ihre Stelle tritt jetzt die Verehrung der Väter, die als Gründer des jüdischen Volkes angesehen werden. Postulierte historische Vorgänge können wir so durch einen Prozess ersetzen, der geschichtlich fassbar und tiefenpsychologisch erklärbar ist" (p.185).

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[1] Loretz 1982B.

[2] Cf. De Moor 1976:337-340.

According to Loretz his theory offers the solution to the still unsolved problem of the place in history of the patriarchs and it also explains why the tombs of the patriarchs and their wives were so important to the Israelites. To this can be added that the religion of the patriarchs as it is described in the Old Testament still contains references to the former cult of the dead; especially the fact of their god being named "god of the fathers" should be mentioned here.

Loretz sees a clear relation between the ancient Israelite cult of the dead and the Yahwistic belief in beatific afterlife: "Das Verbot der Totenverehrung wurde im Judentum der nachexilischen Zeit zur Keimzelle einer neuen Hoffnung, die sich einerseits auf Abraham stützen konnte und die andererseits dazu führte, dass der fromme Jude erwartete, auch nach dem Tode weiterhin in der Gemeinschaft mit Jahwe zu verbleiben" (p.191). Apparently the transition of the venerated ancestors to earthly patriarchs raised the quality of life before death from a religious point of view by emphasizing the possibility of living in this life in communion with God. This probably has its consequences for the hopes with regard to the afterlife; for it may be assumed that this communion with God will not end at death.

Loretz is aware of the fact that his theory about the ancient Israelite cult of the dead is not new (pp.195.198). We may note the striking resemblance in this matter with the theories of Schwally, Lods, Margoliouth, and Torge[1]. His study can be seen as an attempt to provide these old theories with a new and better foundation.

We can, finally, mention in this connection an article by Xella which was published in 1982[2]. Xella wants to distinguish between funerary rites in general and the veneration of the dead and also between the mythic ancestors (e.g., the Ugaritic *rpʾum*) and the common ancestors (pp.654-655). In his opinion the cult of Baal Peor (Num 25:1-5; Ps 106:28) is a clear example of a cult of the dead. It appears to be quite similar to the Canaanite practices we know from Ugarit. The cult of Baal Peor, who is the same as the god of the dead Mot (p.664), was strictly forbidden by Yahwism (pp.657-664). According to Xella there was, however, next to the official religion with its negative conceptions of afterlife and its prohibition of veneration of the dead, also a popular religion which was not satisfied with the renunciation of all hopes for afterlife. In popular religion the living wanted to stay in contact with the dead, because they hoped to receive their help as healers. Despite texts like Ps 106:28 this popular cult of the dead was probably tolerated by Yahwism as being less dangerous to the belief in YHWH than, e.g., the cult of the Canaanite god Baal (pp.665-666). For this reason Xella assumes that the cult of the dead existed next to the official religion (p.656). In this respect his conclusions can be compared to those of Schwally (see pp.41-42 above).

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[1] Cf. Schwally 1892:75-76; Lods 1906:II,89-106; Margoliouth 1908:445; Torge 1909:168; see also pp.41-43 above. The opinion that originally the Israelite patriarchs were Canaanite heroes can also be found with R. Weill, RHR 87(1923),69 (cf. H.H. Rowley, *From Joseph to Joshua*, London 1950, p.126). According to E.M. Yamauchi, JBL 84(1965),283 Joseph can be compared to the Mesopotamian dying and rising god Tammuz and we can also mention in this connection the theory of G.R.H. Wright, "Joseph's Grave under the Tree by the Omphalos at Shechem", VT 22(1972), 476-486 that the story of Joseph is related to the concept of the young "dying-god" Dionysus.

[2] Xella 1982A. The author did me the kindness of sending me an offprint of his article .

1.4.3. LOOKING FOR FOREIGN INFLUENCE

Justinus Martyr and Clement of Alexandria saw a resemblance between the Old Testament teachings and the writings of Plato with regard to the positive conceptions of afterlife, which proves that Plato was influenced by the Old Testament[1]. In modern research the positions are usually reversed, because nowadays most scholars assume that the positive belief in afterlife appeared relatively late in the religion of Israel. For this reason it is often supposed that the Israelites were influenced by existing beliefs of the peoples they were in contact with. Also Schwally, who sees a link between the former Israelite cult of the dead and the later belief in the resurrection of the dead, assumes that there may have been some foreign, viz. Persian influence as well[2]. Most scholars agree that the borrowing of elements from foreign religions must have been prepared by a certain development within the Israelite religion itself. It is unlikely that the whole Israelite conception of afterlife would have simply been taken over from another religion. The following statement of Moore can be regarded as representing the common view in modern research: "Borrowings in religion . . ., at least in the field of ideas, are usually in the nature of the appropriation of things in the possession of another which the borrower recognizes in all good faith as belonging to himself, ideas which, when once they become known to him, are seen to be necessary implications or complements of his own"[1].

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[1] Cf. Justinus, *Cohortatio ad Graecos*, ch.27 and Clement's *Stromateis*, I, 19; cf. also Spiess 1877:409.

[2] Schwally 1892:149.

It is not necessary to give an elaborate description of the research on this subject, because contrary to the study of the Israelite cult of the dead, its results are well-known. There are excellent surveys by Wied and, with regard to Persian influence, by König[2].

1.4.3.1. EGYPT

In the conclusion of his discussion of the possibility of Egyptian influence upon the Israelite belief in the resurrection of the dead Nötscher represents the common scholarly opinion of his days when he states: "Eine ägyptische Beeinflussung des israelitischen Auferstehungsglaubens ist höchst unwahrscheinlich, die kann, wenn wirklich vorhanden, nur unbedeutend gewesen sein und lässt sich für uns nicht mehr greifen"[3]. Recently, however, we may note a tendency in Old Testament scholarship to emphasize the resemblance between Egyptian and Israelite conceptions of afterlife:

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[1] Moore 1927:395-396; cf. also Spiess 1877:449; Touzard 1898:230; Beer 1902:29; Sellin 1919:287; Nötscher 1926:195; Baumgärtel 1932:20; Birkeland 1949:69; Rost 1951:63; Martin-Achard 1956:162.175; Wächter 1967:195; Kaiser 1977:80; Greenspoon 1981:248; and Füglister 1983:35.39.

[2] Wied 1967:7-18; König 1964:8-39; cf. also Nötscher 1926:173-202 and Scharbert 1970:360-380.

[3] Nötscher 1926:185 against, e.g., D.G.C. von Cölln, *Biblische Theologie*, ed. D. Schulz, Leipzig 1836, I, p.211 (cf. Spiess 1877:415) and W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, 2nd ed., Berlin 1906, pp.552-553. The differences between the Israelite and Egyptian conceptions of afterlife were also emphasized by Leipoldt (1942).

Kellermann connects Ps 22:30 which speaks of the people "going down to the dust" and bowing before God with the Egyptian belief that the dead worship the sun-god on his nightly journey through the netherworld[1].

Koenig sees Egyptian influence in Ezekiel's vision of the revivification of the bones (Ezek 37:1-10), because this resembles the recomposition of the body of Osiris according to the myth of Isis and Osiris[2]. Although Ezekiel only thought of the return of Israel from the exile, this vision was certainly of great importance for the growth of the belief in the resurrection of the body after death. Also the Egyptologist Morenz compares the faith in Osiris with the Jewish belief in the resurrection of the flesh[3].

On the other hand the Old Testament's reticence with regard to the afterlife is explained by Nicacci as a reaction to the Egyptian hope for resurrection being associated with the dying and rising of Osiris[4]. A similar reaction can be found according to Nicacci in the religion of Egypt itself, viz. in the period of Akhenaten, whereas the negative conceptions of the netherworld have parallels in the common death literature of Egypt as well[5].

Griffiths is able to demonstrate that the Egyptian ideas of posthumous judgement were known to the writer of the book of Job (cf. Job 16:19-22; 19:25-27; 31). These ideas, however, were modified to fit into a system which does not include a belief in beatific afterlife[6].

According to De Savignac the belief in the glorification of the resurrected (Dan 12:3) may have been influenced by the Egyptian identification of the beatific dead with the stars. Also the expression "dew of light" (Isa 26:19) may have an Egyptian background[7].

Strange maintains that among the decoration of the walls and doors inside the first temple were reliefs of lotus flowers (cf. I Kgs 6:18.29.

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[1] Kellermann 1976:274.

[2] Koenig 1983:171-172.177-178.

[3] Morenz 1960:222-223.

[4] Nicacci 1983:8.

[5] Ibid., pp.9-11.

[6] Griffiths 1983:196-204; cf. also R.J. Williams, in *The Legacy of Egypt*, ed. J.R. Harris, 2nd ed. London 1971, p.289.

[7] De Savignac 1983:193-195.

32.34-35) and he regards this as an indication that the Israelites were familiar with the fact that in Egypt the lotus was used as a symbol of afterlife and resurrection. This would imply that the origin of the Israelite belief in the resurrection of the dead is to be found in Egypt[1].

Strange does not pay attention to the question how this Egyptian symbol had come to Palestine. He simply states that the Egyptian ideas about afterlife were spread throughout the Levant at the end of the Bronze Age and in the Iron Age[2]. Other scholars assume that these ideas were transmitted by the Phoenicians who had close contacts with the Egyptians. The Phoenician city of Byblos even had a flourishing cult of Osiris[3].

1.4.3.2. PERSIA

As soon as the ancient religious texts of the Persians became available in the last century, the link was made between the Persian conceptions of afterlife and the Old Testament belief in the resurrection of the dead. This assumption was modified from time to time, but it never really disappeared. In the beginning of our century many scholars followed Bousset in his opinion that a lot of elements of the Jewish apocalyptic had been derived from the religion of Iran[4]. Other scholars were more careful in this, because it is difficult to prove that the belief in the resurrection of the dead was known in Persia earlier than in Israel. Baudissin also points to some differences between the Israelite and the Persian conceptions. In the Old Testament the dead are described as sleeping and their resurrection as arising. This belief is connected with the burial of the body in graves. The Persians, however, treat the corpses in a very different way. They leave it in the open field to be eaten by carrion birds and other animals. So the Persian belief in resurrection is in fact a belief in a new creation[5].

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[1] Strange 1985:38-39.

[2] Ibid., p.38.

[3] Cf. Albright 1926:153; Koenig 1983:172; and also Baudissin 1911:411 and H.H. Rowley, *The Faith of Israel*, London 1956, pp.161-162.

[4] Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*, p.581; cf. already Spiess 1877: 252.476-477 and Schwally 1892:149.

[5] Baudissin 1911:418-423. See against this Mayer 1965:198-200.

Nötscher assumes some Persian influence on certain elements in Jewish eschatology, but he found no conclusive proof for Persian influence in more fundamental matters[1]. Also the result of the elaborate study on this subject by König is rather negative: "Alles in allem bleiben die behaupteten Fremdeinflüsse des Iran auf Israel unbewiesene Hypothesen für den Bereich der Jenseitsvorstellungen, weil die notwendige chronologische Basis fehlt, weil keinem wesentlichen Element der israelitischen Jenseitsvorstellung der organischen Zusammenhang fehlt und weil schliesslich ein Vergleich der einzelnen Elemente mehr Verschiedenheiten als Ähnlichkeiten aufweist"[2]. The first argument for this rebuttal is that it is not clear at what time the belief in the resurrection of the dead became prevalent in the Persian religion. There is only the external evidence of a remark by the Greek Theopomp in the fourth century B.C. In the Persian literature of that period no explicit reference to such a belief can be found[3]. Moreover, König is of the opinion that the belief in the resurrection of the dead was known in Israel before the contacts with the Persians. It can be found already in Ezek 37. This means that the Israelites did not need the help from the Persian to come to a belief in beatific afterlife. In addition to this König notes some basic differences between the Old Testament and the Persian conceptions of afterlife[4]. In the Old Testament life before death takes a prominent place, whereas in the Persian literature almost all attention is paid to the afterlife. The Old Testament does not know a separation of body and soul as is taught in Persian literature. Instead of a judgement immediately following death the Old Testament knows only of the shadowy existence in שאול ; the last judgement will follow at the end of times. Finally, with regard to this judgement itself König observes that the Persian religion knows nothing of reconciliation and the remission of sins.

König's study affirms a tendency in Old Testament scholarship to stress the factors within Israelite religion itself leading to positive conceptions of afterlife. Persian influence is not regarded anymore as a crucial factor in this development[1]. It probably was restricted to the influence of some elements of the Persian conceptions upon the way in which the Jewish eschatology was formulated[2].

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[1] Nötscher 1926:185-195.

[2] König 1964:285.

[3] Ibid., pp.124-125.

[4] Ibid., pp.271-283.

1.4.3.3. MESOPOTAMIA

About one century ago the prominent Assyriologist Jensen thought he had found traces in the literature of ancient Assyria and Babylonia of the belief in resurrection[3]. He assumed that this belief was based on the revival of the sun-god in spring and on the belief in the power of the god Marduk to revive the dead. The ancient inhabitants of Mesopotamia would have hoped to be resurrected after death to become a star and to be like the gods. A reference to the idea of the resurrection of the dead was found in the Gilgamesh Epic. In the last tablet we are told how Enkidu's spirit has come up from the netherworld to tell Gilgamesh about the realm of the dead. According to Jensen this would indicate that the people of Mesopotamia hoped to be freed from the netherworld as well and to acquire a beatific afterlife. Although many scholars contested Jensen's theory[4], it was used by others to explain the growth of the positive conceptions of afterlife in the Old Testament. Beer assumes that it was at least one of the factors, next to Persian influence, which led to the later positive Jewish thoughts on afterlife[5].

Very soon Jensen's theory appeared to be unfounded. According to Sellin the ancient religion of Mesopotamia may have influenced the Israelite belief in beatific afterlife in a different way, viz. through the "altorientalische Astralreligion". He found traces of this in Num 24:17; Isa 14 and in the story of the assumption of Enoch (Gen 5:21-24), which may have been connected with the sun-myth. All this was probably known in Israel before the contact with the Assyrians and Babylonians, but this contact certainly promoted its use[1].

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[1] Cf. Kaiser 1977:80 and Bailey 1979:76.

[2] The theory of a close relationship is still defended by G. Widengren, *Numen* 2(1955),130-131 and in *Historia Religionum*, ed. C.J. Bleeker and G. Widengren, I, Leiden 1969, pp.311-312; cf. also A. Hultgård, ANRW II,19, pp.516-517.

[3] P. Jensen, ThLZ (1891),2 and (1901),34.

[4] Cf. Jeremias 1903:34-35 and H. Gunkel, *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments*, Göttingen 1903, pp.33-34.

[5] Beer 1902:24-25.

Other scholars are of the opinion that a Mesopotamian cult of the dying and rising god Tammuz has helped the Israelites to come to the belief that death can be overcome[2]. According to Albright it is even possible to connect the Hebrew name of the netherworld, שאול, with the Akkadian name of the abode of Tammuz in the netherworld, *šuʾāra*, which is according to him a "subterranean paradise"[3]. The nature of the Tammuz cult, however, is still a matter of dispute. And there are no clear references to a belief in the resurrection of human beings connected with this cult.

With the growing knowledge of Mesopotamian religion its conceptions of afterlife appeared to be very different from the later Jewish hopes for a beatific afterlife[4]. The only clear point of similarity between the Old Testament and the Mesopotamian conceptions of afterlife seems to be the idea of a gloomy state of the dead in the netherworld[5].

1.4.3.4. GREECE

Greek philosophy has had a great influence upon Jewish and Christian thinking, to which it offered, e.g., the concept of the immortal soul[6]. Whether the influence of Greek thought reaches further back to Old Testament times, remains doubtful. Leipoldt has pointed to basic differences between ancient Israelite and Greek thought in this matter. He even tried to demonstrate that the Christian belief in resurrection is closer related to the latter than to the former[7]. On the other hand Glasson found many examples of Greek influence upon Jewish eschatology, especially in the Jewish apocalyptic literature of the period after the Old Testament. He even supposes that there has been Greek influence upon the belief in the resurrection of the dead, viz. through the Orphic teachings of reincarnation[1]. Other scholars also make mention of Greek influence upon the later Jewish conceptions of the state of the soul in the period directly following death[2]. With regard to ancient Israelite conceptions of afterlife it has been remarked that Hellas and Israel agree in the miserable state of the dead[3].

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[1] Sellin 1919:262-263.

[2] Cf. Jeremias 1903:34-35 and also the theory of Wright (see p.53, n.1).

[3] Albright 1926:151-152.

[4] Cf. Nötscher 1926:10-32.176-177; Heidel 1946; and Scharbert 1970:365f.

[5] Cf. Jeremias 1903:4.18; Bertholet 1926; and Wächter 1969.

[6] Cf. Sonnemans 1984.

[7] Leipoldt 1942; it must be noted, however, that Leipoldt was biased towards the relation between Jews and Christians as can be deduced from the subtitle of his book and the situation in which it was written (also noted by O. Jager, *Het eeuwige leven*, Kampen 1962, p.474, n.76).

It may be concluded that the comparison with the Greek conceptions of afterlife does not seem to be very fruitful when it comes to the study of the ancient Israelite conceptions of beatific afterlife. Only for those scholars who assume the existence of an ancient Israelite cult of the dead it may be interesting to look at the well-known Greek hero-cult[4].

1.4.3.5. CANAAN AND ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN PATTERNS

Canaan is regarded by many scholars as the gate through which the Israelites came into contact with the common ancient Near Eastern world of ideas. The Israelites would have adopted the burial practices of their neighbours and apparently also their respectful care for the dead[5]. Through the Canaanites the Israelites were assumed to have good acquaintance with the concept of dying and rising gods of fertility, like Osiris, Tammuz, Adonis, and Dionysus. In an elaborate study published in 1911 Baudissin tried to prove that the belief in the "Auferstehungsgötter" and "Heilsgötter" Adonis and Esmun influenced the Israelite concept of their god and also the Israelite belief in resurrection. Traces of the former are found in YHWH being called the one who saves from disease and distress (pp.385-402); traces of the latter in Hos 6:2 and Ezek 37 (pp.403-416). The metaphor of resurrection used in these texts would refer to the myths of rising gods of nature like Osiris and Attis. The belief in a real resurrection is likely to have originated also from the perception of dying and rising in nature: "Im Anschluss daran, dass die Vegetation alljährlich in den alten Formen neu wird, scheint bei den Israeliten der Gedanke aufgekommen zu sein an eine Erneuung des erstorbenen Menschenlebens in den alten körperlichen Formen. Die Naturreligion glaubte in der Vegetation das Sterben und Wiederaufleben eines individuellen Wesens, eines Gottes, zu beobachten. Diese Auffassung legte es nahe, nach einer Erneuung auch der menschlichen Persönlichkeit in ihrer irdischen Erscheinung zu fragen" (p.432). According to Baudissin this does not imply that in this matter Israel was wholly dependent on Canaanite belief. Only the way in which this belief that was based on the trust in and communion with YHWH was expressed appears to be influenced by the Canaanite religion of nature (pp.439-449). Sellin, who is of the same opinion as Baudissin, describes the relation to the Canaanite religion as follows: "Die Naturreligion ist überwunden, aber hat sterbend die sittliche Erlösungsreligion bereichert"[1].

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[1] T.F. Glasson, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology*, London 1961, p.30.

[2] Cf. Moore 1927:292; Kellermann 1976:278; Kaiser 1977:77-80; and A. Hultgård, ANRW II,19, p.566.

[3] J.P. Brown, ZAW 93(1981),394.

[4] Cf. Albright 1957:253-254; Lods 1906:II,92; and Loretz 1978:176, n.74.

[5] Cf. Quell 1925:14; S.M. Paul and W.G. Dever, *Biblical Archaeology*, Jerusalem 1973, p.117; and Jaroš 1978:224.

This theory was criticized by Nötscher, because in his view too much remains uncertain with regard to the concept of the dying and rising gods. It is not clear that human beings would have been believed to share the fate of the gods of nature[2].

Despite this criticism Baudissin's theory assuming Canaanite influence upon the Israelite belief in the resurrection of the dead was very influential. Consider, e.g., the following statement by Stemberger in 1979: "Einzig ziemlich sicherer Fremdeinfluss ist der Kanaanäische Vegetationsglaube, der sich lange gehalten und in Texte wie Hos.6 und Jes.26 weitergewirkt hat"[3].

The theory of Baudissin has been modernized by Greenspoon who relates the idea of resurrection to the belief in YHWH as "Divine Warrior" whose victory over the powers of chaos brings forth new life in nature. In this way Greenspoon comes to almost exactly the same conclusion as Baudissin: "The evidence strongly suggests that some Biblical writers . . . draw from the larger picture of the quickening of all nature the conclusion that man, as a created being, would participate in this life-producing response"[1]. Greenspoon finds the concept of bodily resurrection connected with the concept of YHWH as "Divine Warrior" already expressed in Old Testament texts from the ninth century B.C. on; e.g., in Deut 32:39 and I Sam 2:6.

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[1] Sellin 1919:266; cf. Bertholet 1916B:1-11 and Baumgartner 1959:213-214.

[2] Nötscher 1926:195-202. Baumgartner tried to solve this problem by assuming something like the initiation in mystery cults which brings the initiated to the level of the gods (cf. Baumgartner 1959:201-202 and ThR 13(1941),172).

[3] G. Stemberger, TRE IV, p.444.

Related to the concept of the dying and rising gods is also the theory of divine kingship[2]. In the middle of this century a number of scholars of the so-called Myth and Ritual School defended the existence of this pattern, of which they found traces in the whole ancient Near East. An important element of this pattern is the king taking the place of the dying and rising god of nature in a ritual drama at the New Year Festival. This was supposed to provide the link between the belief in the rising god of nature and the belief in the general resurrection of the dead. Thus it would solve the problem arising from the theory of Baudissin. Riesenfeld describes how one thing led to the other: "that which was enacted annually in the ritual drama was to take place in the future in a more marked or final way. Thus the thought of the people's revivification could be freed from the absolute confinement of the yearly ritual and become a more general idea. The New Year Festival and the exuberant religious experience connected with it seem to be the soil out of which has grown the belief in conquering death and in resurrection also for the individual"[3]. Riesenfeld refers in this connection to Hos 6:2; Micah 7:8; Ps 17:15; Ezek 37; Isa 26:19; and 53:8-12[4].

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[1] Greenspoon 1981:276.

[2] For a survey of the discussions on this theory see Scharbert 1970:376-378; W. Schlisske, *Gottersöhne und Gottessohn im Alten Testament*, BWANT 97, Stuttgart 1973, pp.78-115; W. Zimmerli, in *Tradition and Interpretation*, ed. G.W. Anderson, Oxford 1979, pp.352-359; and K. Seybold, ThWAT IV, cols.946-947.

[3] Riesenfeld 1948:6.

[4] For a similar interpretation of Isa 53:8-12 see I. Engnell, BJRL 31 (1948),54ff. and Widengren 1969:416.

Birkeland reproached his fellow-countryman for not having distinguished between the resurrection at the end of time and life after death of the individual. Furthermore, Riesenfeld would have neglected the true nature of the Israelite belief, viz. "Yahweh's historical character", from which has sprouted the eschatological belief. According to Birkeland myth could not simply become eschatology[1].

In the course of time the assumption of a common ancient Near Eastern concept of divine kingship proved to be untenable[2] and nowadays most scholars agree with Birkeland that the belief in the resurrection of the dead cannot be deduced from such a pattern[3]. We may note, however, that in a restricted form the theory of the concept of divine kingship returns in a number of recently published studies:

Wifall wants to place the idea of individual resurrection "within the framework of the old pre-exilic tribal and royal traditions"[4]. These traditions would have formed a "consistent mythological pattern" related to the concept of the "Divine Warrior". According to this pattern deceased leaders obtain a place in the heavenly court, whereas they also have a "symbiotic relation" with their living successors. Because of this relation the living leaders can already have "heavenly" titles like "star" or "god". Wifall found evidence for this in Num 24:17; I Sam 29:9; II Sam 14:17-20; and Dan 12:3[5]. The belief in the general resurrection of the dead can be regarded as a "democratization" of this pattern.

The assumption of a relation between the idea of beatific afterlife and an ancient Near Eastern concept of divine kingship can also be found with Healey[6] and Strange[7].

Besides these common Near Eastern concepts there were also some elements in the Canaanite or - to be more precisely - the Ugaritic religion itself, which were thought to be of interest in the explanation of the development of the Israelite belief in the afterlife:

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[1] Birkeland 1949:62-63.68.73.

[2] Very influential was the refutation of this theory by Frankfort in his *Kingship and the Gods*, Chicago 1948.

[3] Cf. Rowley 1955:122-123 and *The Faith of Israel*, London 1956, pp.162-163; Martin-Achard 1956:84-85.158-159; Lapp 1968:148; and Greenspoon 1981:258-259.

[4] Wifall 1978:383-384.

[5] According to Wifall Dan 12:3 does not describe the end of time; with Collins 1974 he prefers to speak here of the "transcendence of death".

[6] Healey 1984:250.253. See also p.81 below.

[7] Strange 1985:38.

The proposed ancient Israelite hero-cult has been related to the Ugaritic cult of the *rpʾum*[1].

According to Gibson the dualism of later Jewish apocalyptic is related to the ancient stories about the struggle between Baal and the god of death, Mot, as we know them from Ugaritic mythology. Isa 25:8, speaking of death as the last enemy who shall in the end be defeated by YHWH, would have to be seen against this background[2].

1.4.4. YAHWISTIC PERSPECTIVES ON AFTERLIFE

The previous survey of theories on external factors in the development of Israelite thoughts on afterlife might suggest that the advocates of these theories support the view of Gunkel, who stated: "Wir sehen den Auferstehungsglauben nirgends, weder im Alten Testament, noch im nachkanonischen Judentum *entstehen*; sondern wir beobachten ihn nur da, wo er vollständig fertig und sicher ist. Sicherlich ist er nicht aus 'Ahnungen' hervorgegangen; denn so entsteht überhaupt kein Glaube. Sicher ist auch, dass er nicht religiöser Reflexion entstammt"[3]. There are, however, only few of the scholars mentioned above who share Gunkel's extreme point of view. To mention only two of the most influential of them: Schwally maintains that the belief in the resurrection was too important in later Judaism to be a borrowing from another religion. He regards the messianic hope as the crucial factor[4]. Also Baudissin thinks of roots within Judaism itself, especially in the belief in the power of YHWH[5].

When it comes to describing the genuine Yahwistic perspectives on afterlife, there appears to be much agreement among the different generations of Old Testament scholars. The view of Spiess (see p.27 above) does not differ much from that of most modern scholars. The main problem remains when and how positive conceptions of the afterlife were accepted within Yahwism. On this point we still find diverging opinions, even among scholars who maintain that we have to think of an internal development within the Israelite religion.

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[1] Cf. Loretz 1978.

[2] Gibson 1979:166.

[3] H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen 1 und Ap Joh 12*, Göttingen 1895, p.291,n.2.

[4] Schwally 1892:150.

[5] Baudissin 1911:510.

1.4.4.1. THE NEGATIVE CONCEPTIONS OF AFTERLIFE

As soon as the Old Testament was not regarded anymore as a collection of proof-texts to be used in support of the traditions of the church, it appeared to contain very few references to a happy afterlife and to speak rather negatively about the world of the dead[1]. In the Old Testament the netherworld is called שְׁאוֹל. The etymology of this word is still a matter of dispute. Köhler gained much support in connecting it with the verb שׁאה, "to lie desolate"[2], but it has also been connected with the verbs שׁאל, "to ask"[3]; שׁעל<שׁאל, "to hollow out", "to be hollow"; שׁול, "to be wide"; and with a verb שׁלא, "to be quiet"[4]. Wächter regards the *shin* at the beginning of שאול as an indication of the causative, which leaves אֲל<אוֹל, "nothing". שאול would have to be translated then as "Zunichtemachung"[5]. Margalit thinks of a *shaphel*-form of the verb א(ו)ל, "to be strong" (cf. Cant 8:6, "strong as death")[6]. Rössler connects שאול with proto-Semitic **šuwāl* and Hebrew שׁול, "hem of skirt", and Arabic *sawla*, "hanging down". Thus שאול would mean "the lowest part (of the world)"[1].

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[1] Cf. Beer 1902; Bertholet 1926; De Bondt 1938:40-129; Tromp 1969; Wächter 1969; L.I.J. Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Conception of the World*, AnBib 39, Rome 1970, pp.165-176; and Görg 1982. The dissertation of R.Rosenberg, *The Concept of Biblical Sheol within the Context of Ancient Near Eastern Belief*, Cambridge 1981 was not available to me.

[2] L. Köhler, "Alttestamentliche Wortforschung: *sch*^{e}*'ōl*", ThZ 2(1946),71-74 and JSSt 1(1956),9.19-20; cf. also G. Gerleman, THAT II, col.838.

[3] According to E. Glasser, *Altjemenische Nachrichten*, I, 1906, p.75 this verb has to be translated here as "to judge", "to punish"; cf. also W.F. Albright, JBL 75(1956),257 who maintains that שאול originally meant "examination", "ordeal" and that this developed to the meaning "underworld".

[4] Proposed respectively by F. Boettcher, H. Hupfeld, and J.L. Saalschütz; see the surveys by De Bondt 1938:56-57 and Gerleman, THAT II, col.837.

[5] Wächter 1969:335.

[6] Margalit 1980A:203, n.1.

Other scholars have tried to find a plausible etymology with the help of Akkadian words. The proposed connection with Akkadian *šuʾalû*[2] proved to be wrong, because this word does not exist in Akkadian[3]. We already noted that Albright assumes a link with Akkadian *šuʾâra* (see p.60 above)[4]. Haupt proposes a relation to Akkadian *šalû*, "to descend" and translates שאול as "pit"[5]. Vollers proposes a similar translation on the basis of Arabic *sahâl*, "depth"[6]. According to Jensen שאול might be deduced from Akkadian *šil(l)ān*, "the West"[7]. Later he retracted this view and supposed a connection with Akkadian *šīlu*, "some kind of room"[8].

Finally, some attempts to explain the meaning of the word שאול with the help of the Egyptian language can be mentioned. Devaud has proposed a connection with Egyptian *š-j3rw*, "the Earu-field", the name of the habitation of the blessed in afterlife[9]. This proposal has been defended recently by Görg[10], who criticizes the attempt of Wifall to explain שאול as "lake of El" by analogy of Egyptian *Shi-hor*, "lake of Horus"[11].

It also appeared to be very difficult to determine what the word שאול denotes precisely. The traditional view is that it can be put on a level with the Greek Hades as it is translated in the LXX. However, there is reason to assume that it denotes more than just the netherworld. In his study published in 1857 Engelbert describes שאול as "die Todesgefahr für den lebens- und thatkräftigen Mann, der personificirte frühzeitige Tod, auch Grab in seiner einfachen Bedeutung, oder als Collectivausdruck eine

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[1] Mentioned by Stadelmann, *The Hebrew Concept of the World*, p.166.

[2] See the literature mentioned by De Bondt 1938:57-59 and Tromp 1969:21.

[3] Cf. W. von Soden, UF 1(1969),331-332: "Das 'Wort' sollte endgültig aus der Literatur verschwinden!".

[4] Cf. also W. Baumgartner,"Zur Etymologie von *sch^{e}'ōl*",ThZ 2(1946),233-235.

[5] P. Haupt, JBL 36(1917),258 and 40(1921),171.

[6] K. Vollers, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*, 1906, p.97.

[7] P. Jensen, ZA 15(1900),243.

[8] Cf. Beer 1902:15, n.1.

[9] E. Devaud, "Sur l'étymologie de שְׁאוֹל", *Sphinx* 13(1910),120-121.

[10] Görg 1982:31-33.

[11] Wifall 1980:329.

Sammlung von Gräbern"[1]. So he assumes some kind of identification of שאול with the grave. In the theory of an ancient Israelite cult of the dead this would be problematical, because such a cult is connected with one particular grave as the habitation of the venerated dead person. This leaves no room for a general conception in which the grave is an insignificant part of the shadowy realm of the weak dead. Torge tried to solve this problem by taking the conception of שאול as a later development: "Die Wertschätzung des Grabes deutet auf eine Zeit zurück, in der man noch keine Unterwelt kannte und darin auch nicht an den Seelen der Verstorbenen ein bewusstloses Dämmerleben in der Scheol zuschrieb, sondern in der man sich von einem festen, geschützten Grabe nach dem Tode einen bestimmten Vorteil und Genuss versprach"[2]. Stade defines שאול as the "Mythologisierende Vereinigung" of family graves[3].

Pedersen has developed and modified the ideas of שאול as the collection of individual graves and of שאול as a power within the framework of his theory of the Israelite sense of totality: "the individual grave is not an isolated world; it forms a whole with the graves of the kinsmen who make a common world and are closely united. Nor does the thought stop at this totality. Viewed from the world of light, all the deceased form a common realm, because they are essentially subjected to the same conditions. This common realm the Israelites call *šh*^{e}*ʾōl* or the nether world"[4]. Against the attempt of Stade and others to take שאול as a later and fundamentally different conception Pedersen has demonstrated that the ideas of grave and שאול cannot be separated. The relation of שאול and grave cannot be described simply as the former being a summing up of the latter: "Sheol is the entirety into which all graves are merged . . . All graves have certain common characteristics constituting the nature of the grave, and that is Sheol. The 'Ur'-grave we might call Sheol; it belongs deep down under the earth, but it manifests itself in every single grave . . . Where there is grave, there is Sheol, and where there is Sheol, there is grave"[1].

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[1] H. Engelbert, *Das negative Verdienst des Alten Testaments um die Unsterblichkeitslehre*, Berlin 1857, p.78; cf. De Bondt 1938:95.

[2] Torge 1909:109; cf. also Charles 1913:63; and for the opposite view Beer 1902:7-19 who maintains: "Der Scheolglaube ist ein Rest chthonischen Kultes" (Ibid., p.7).

[3] Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I, p.420; cf. also Schwally 1892:59.62; Matthes 1901:345-348; Charles 1913:33; Bertholet 1914:43; Tromp 1969:139-140; Jaroš 1978:226; and against this theory Frey 1898:204-215; Quell 1925:38; Nötscher 1926:209-212; De Bondt 1938:114; Ridderbos 1948; and Eichrodt, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, II, III, p.145 and Fohrer, *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion*, p.218.

[4] Pedersen 1926:460.

It was noted by Engelbert that in Israelite thinking שאול is not only the place where people go after death. It was also believed that the living can be confronted with שאול, viz. when their lives are in danger. Already Calvin deduced from texts like Ps 30:4 and 116:8 this use of שאול as a metaphor[2]. According to Pedersen this idea is based on the Israelite sense of totality: "He who is struck by evil, by unhappiness, disease or other trouble *is* in Sheol, and when he escapes from the misery and "beholds the light", then he has escaped from Sheol. The thought is so obvious to the Israelite, because he is always governed by the totality. If he has any of the nature of Sheol within him, then he feels it entirely"[3]. Many scholars assented to this view[4] which was worked out by Barth with the help of extra-biblical material[5]. The aim of the study of Barth is to find out what is the essence of life and what is the essence of death, and at what point man passes from life to death. This point is not necessarily physical death, because in the Psalms also loneliness, lacking food, weakness, illness, poverty, sadness, and darkness are regarded as a way of being in the world of death. If one is rescued from this, it may therefore be called a "rescue from שאול". As a result Barth denies that this expression could indicate in any Psalm text a hope for eternal life after death, not even in Ps 16:9-11; 17:15; 49:16; and 73:24-26[6].

The results of Barth's study have been widely accepted among modern scholars[7]. The criticism concerns Barth's interpretation of Ps 16, 17,

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[1] Ibid., p.462.

[2] Cf. Kraus 1972:274.

[3] Pedersen 1926:466.

[4] E.g., Baumgartner 1959:94 and Nikolainen 1944:118.

[5] Barth 1947; the Mesopotamian parallels are also discussed by Bertholet 1926:9; Nötscher 1926:17-24; Hirsch 1968; and Steiner 1982:246.

[6] Barth 1947:152-166.

[7] Cf. A.R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel*, Cardiff 1949; Tournay 1949; Birkeland 1949:70; Martin-Achard 1956:41; Coppens 1957:21; Campbell 1971:109-110; and K. Seybold,

49, and 73[1] and his opinion with regard to the spatiality of שאול. With regard to the latter Tromp maintains that we have to distinguish between the feeling to be in the domain of death and actually being there as one of the shades[2].

Most scholars agree that being in the netherworld can hardly be called "living"[3]. There are, however, some texts which seem to indicate that earthly conditions were perpetuated there. For this many scholars refer to I Sam 28:14; Isa 14:9; and Ezek 32:17-32. These texts would indicate that not all the dead share the same fate[4].

According to the common scholarly opinion the Israelites only hoped for a good and long life and for a son to keep their memory alive[5]. It is usually assumed this living on in the name would have taken the place of the hopes for an individual afterlife, whereas survival of the family or the group is supposed to have been more important in Israelite thought than the loss of one of its members[6].

All this may have made the event of death more bearable to the ancient Israelites[7]. According to a number of scholars, however, this was not the

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Das Gebet des Kranken im Alten Testament, BWANT 99, Stuttgart 1973, pp. 34-38.

[1] Cf. Coppens 1957; Von Rad 1971:238.245; and Nicacci 1983:12.

[2] Tromp 1969:129-140; esp. p.137; cf. also Wächter 1967:50.

[3] Cf. Campbell 1971:107; Burns 1973:338: "existence in Sheol is in no sense an 'afterlife' but death". See in general on the state of the inhabitants of the netherworld Tromp 1969:187-196.

[4] Cf. Charles 1913:40-41; Nötscher 1926:208; O. Eissfeldt, "Schwertererschlagenen bei Hesekiel", in *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy*, Fs T.H. Robinson, ed. H.H. Rowley, Edinburgh 1950, pp.73-81; Wächter 1967:176; and Tromp 1969:181-182.193. König even relates these texts to the idea of a divine retribution after death (cf. König 1964:177-213; esp. p. 205); cf. also Heidel 1946:222-223.

[5] Cf. Bailey 1979:47-52; A. Malamat, "Longevity: Biblical Concepts and some Ancient Near Eastern Parallels", AfO, Beiheft 19(1982),215-224. See also Frost 1972 on the attempt of childless people to keep their memory alive. According to Brichto they did not just hope to live on in the name; he assumes that שם, "name", means "family-line" here (cf. Brichto 1973:22).

[6] Cf. Rost 1951:64; Wächter 1967:158; Bailey 1979:58; S. Talmon, in *Zukunft*, ed. R. Schnackenburg, Düsseldorf 1980, p.46; and Martin-Achard 1981A:441-442.

[7] See on the ancient Israelite attitude towards death Wächter 1967 and Herrmann 1970.

only reason for the lack of hope for the afterlife. It is assumed that it might have been caused by the wish to defend Yahwism against the influence of heathen conceptions of afterlife[1]. Maag points in this connection to the difference between what he thinks to be the original nomadic Israelite religion and the religion of the Canaanite sedentary culture, in which a cult of the dead is customary[2]. Such a cult and indeed the entire concept of afterlife just did not fit within the ancient Israelite nomadic religion. After the Israelites had settled in Palestine, they remained sceptical towards associating their god with the dead and their world. According to Maag the reason for this was the aversion to the Canaanite cult of Shalim in Jerusalem, which was practised there until long after the conquest of the city by David. The Canaanites would have sacrificed their children to this chthonic deity in the valley of Hinnom[3]. The theory of a cult of Shalim, however, remains hypothetical[4] and also the statement about nomadic religion is not at all certain; for nomads appear to have their family graves as well, which they visit from time to time to bury those who died on the way[5].

It can, finally, be noted that the negative conceptions of afterlife have often been regarded as a positive element of Yahwistic belief. According to Warburton the "divine legation of Moses" can be demonstrated "from the omission of the doctrine of a future state of reward and punishment" (see p.26 above). Spiess[6] and Von Rad[7] speak in this connection of the absolute trust in YHWH.

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[1] Cf. Charles (see p.42 above); Baumgartner 1959:144; Nikolainen 1944:97; Shofield 1951:46; Ridderbos 1968:11; Kellermann 1976:260-261; Schreiner 1979:124; and Nicacci 1983:8.

[2] Maag 1980.

[3] Ibid., pp.183-184. Apparently Maag follows the theory of J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan*, Leiden 1957, pp.136-137; 2nd ed., 1965, pp.170-172 and IntDB IV, pp.301-302.

[4] Cf. Preuss 1974:73-75 who follows Maag except in this matter. For a different view on the god Shalim see Gese 1970:139 and R.A. Rosenberg, IntDB Suppl., pp.820-821 correcting the article of Gray in IntDB IV.

[5] Cf. K.M. Kenyon, in *Archaeology and Old Testament Study*, ed. D.W. Thomas, Oxford 1967, p.268 and ADAJ 16(1971),14; and also Hrouda 1957: 598 and Yassine 1983:32.

[6] Spiess 1877:425.

[7] Von Rad 1974:266.

1.4.4.2. THE RISE OF HOPE FOR BEATIFIC AFTERLIFE

The factors within Yahwism which are usually supposed to have ultimately led to the belief in beatific afterlife can be summarized as a growing sense of individuality next to the belief in YHWH being powerful and just and the hope for a lasting communion with YHWH. These elements are mentioned in practically all studies on this subject[1].

Deut 32:39; I Sam 2:6; Amos 9:2; and Ps 139:18 are interpreted by most scholars as early indications of the conviction that the power of YHWH also extends to the dead and the netherworld[2]. This belief would have led to the hope that one day death shall be overcome (Isa 25:8)[3]. With regard to the stories about the revivification of dead persons in I Kgs 17:17-24; II Kgs 4:18-37[4]; and 13:20-21 most scholars emphasize the difference from the difinitive resurrection of the dead as described in Dan 12:1-3. This revivification of recently deceased persons is more akin to the care of the very ill than to the final resurrection[5]. The stories about the assumption of Enoch (Gen 5:24) and Elijah (II Kgs 2:1-18) are usually regarded as exceptions to the rule[6]; the connection with the later belief in the resurrection of the dead is found only in YHWH being able and willing to rescue these devoted men from death.

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[1] Cf. Schwally 1892:75-130; Touzard 1898:218-230; Beer 1902:23-29; Torge 1909:216-246; Charles 1913:51-166; Bertholet 1914:49-57; Quell 1925:38-43; Nötscher 1926:202-261; De Bondt 1938:130-221; Nikolainen 1944:113-147; Heidel 1946:210-222; Sutcliffe 1946:81-108; Rost 1951; Schilling 1951:69-101; Rowley 1955:121-132; Martin-Achard 1956:47-143.163-175; Botterweck 1957:8; Hooke 1964; König 1964:213-253; Maag 1980:188-193; Snaith 1964:313-318; Wächter 1967:193-198; Ridderbos 1968:6-12; Dubarle 1970; Nelis 1970:370-376; Stemberger 1972:290; Gese 1977:38-53; Kaiser 1977:68-76; Jaroš 1978:226-229; Schreiner 1979:129-137; Ellison 1980; Martin-Achard 1981B:310-315; Cox 1982:8-13; Füglister 1983:29-35; Moore 1983:24-29; Sisti 1983; and most manuals of Old Testament theology and of Israelite religion.

[2] Cf. Herrmann 1979.

[3] See on this text Delcor 1979; Welten 1982; and Martin-Achard 1985.

[4] Cf. Schmitt 1975 and 1977.

[5] Cf. E. Jacob, IntDB II, p.689; and also Nötscher 1926:129-138; Martin-Achard 1956:51-53 and 1981A:443-444. A more direct relation with the belief in the resurrection of the dead is assumed by Greenspoon 1981: 299-300.306.

[6] Cf. Nötscher 1926:126 and Martin-Achard 1956:215.

Sellin saw a parallel between the assumption of Enoch and Elijah and the resurrected wise leaders shining like stars mentioned in Dan 12:3. He connects them with a special concept of beatific afterlife, which has to be distinguished from the common belief in the resurrection of the dead: "diese von der Astralreligion herkommende Entrückungserwartung als aristokratisches Reservat für wenige Auserwählte(dürfte) schon früher neben der Auferstehungserwartung hergelaufen, ja sogar weit älter noch als diese sein, bis beide durch Daniel verbunden und mit dem Endheil des allmächtigen und gerechten Gottes Israels innigst verknüpft wurden"[1].

One of the things which make life without positive expectations of the afterlife bearable was supposed to be the feeling that the community is more important than the individual (see p.70 above). Divine retribution for evil suffered or done may not always come in the life of the person involved, but it could also follow in later generations. Most scholars notice a break in this thinking in Jer 31:29-30 and Ezek 18:1-4 stating that a man shall die for his own wrong doing. As a consequence the fact that divine retribution apparently not always comes to the persons involved would have become a problem to the pious Israelite (cf. Job and Koheleth). It is usually assumed that this problem reached its climax in the persecution of pious Jews by the Seleucid government under Antiochus IV Epiphanes, which would have led to the break-through of the belief in a divine retribution after death (cf. Dan 12:1-3 and II Macc 7)[2].

Against the assumption that Jeremiah and Ezekiel were the first to recognize the importance and worth of the individual some scholars argue that one cannot separate a period of collectivism from a period of individualism in Israelite thinking; there was always a combination of both[3]. For this reason May denies a direct relation of the belief in the resurrection and a growing sense of individuality. If there had been such a relation, it would have left its traces in the period of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Belief in the resurrection of the dead appears, however, only centuries later[1]. The assumed relation was also questioned by Wied. In his opinion it reverses the original Israelite way of reasoning in this matter: "die Hoffnung auf die Totenauferweckung (kann) kaum als Erzeugnis eines individuellen Vergeltungsgedanken angesehen werden . . . Nach unserer Ansicht motivierte nämlich nicht das irdische Leiden der Frommen die Erwartung der Auferstehung, sondern jenes geduldige Ausharren der Apokalyptiker, das in Notzeiten zum Leiden und Martyrium werden konnte, wurde gerade durch die Hoffnung auf eine Wiedererweckung begründet"[2].

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[1] Sellin 1919:263.

[2] Cf. Moore 1927:318-319; Nötscher 1926:215; Cox 1982:9; Dexinger 1983:14.

[3] Cf. H. Bückers, "Kollektiv- und Individualvergeltung im Alten Testament", *Theologie und Glaube* 25(1933),273-287; Rowley, *The Faith of Israel*, pp.99-123; J. de Fraine, *Adam et son lignage:Études sur la notion de "personalité corporative" dans la Bible*, Louvain 1959, pp.14-15.219-220; and Füglister 1983:29.

A third element which is mentioned as a factor in the rise of the belief in beatific afterlife is the hope for a continuation of the communion with YHWH. Texts speaking of this communion like Ps 16:10-11; 49:16; 73:23-24; and Job 19:25-27 are regarded by many scholars as a preparation for the later belief in the resurrection of the dead[3], being the counterpart of the view expressed in texts like Isa 38:18; Ps 30:10; and 115:17 that the dead cannot praise YHWH. The conviction that the praise of YHWH must never end would have contributed to the hope for resurrection after death[1].

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[1] H.G. May, "Individual Responsibility and Retribution", HUCA 32(1961), 107-120; esp. pp.109-110. Füglister, who shares the opinion of individualism being not as late as the period of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, holds to the connection of the belief in retribution after death with a growing sense of individualism: "Doch konnte es nicht ausbleiben, dass eine derart intensive Zuwendung zum Einzelnen Folgen hatte für jene Zukunftsschau, aus der sich stufenweise die individuelle Eschatologie entwickelte" (Füglister 1983:30).

[2] Wied 1967:242.

[3] Cf. Torge 1909:245-246; Bertholet 1916B:21-23; Baumgärtel 1932:103-115; De Bondt 1938:192; Nikolainen 1944:121-128; Grelot 1971:118-122; Woudstra 1973:9-11; Gese 1977:52; Cox 1982:13; and Ramorosan 1984. See on the Psalm texts the survey by Scharbert 1970:388-389; to this can be added with regard to Ps 16:10-11: Quintens 1979; Beuken 1980; and Kaiser 1980 interpreting it as a reference to the afterlife; and for the opposite opinion K. Seybold, ThZ 40(1984),129; see with regard to Ps 49:16 now also Casetti 1982:209-212 who denies a reference to the afterlife; for a "transcendent" interpretation of Ps 73:23f. see Schmitt 1973:284-285 and Irsigler 1984:47-50.266-272. Ps 17:15 is connected with hopes for afterlife by Nötscher 1924:165-167; De Bondt 1938:187; Nikolainen 1944:123; and Miller 1977:55. For the interpretation of Job 19:25-27 as referring to the afterlife see the surveys by Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob*, pp. 318-321 and Scharbert 1970:389-390; to this can be added Gese 1977:44-45; Miller 1977:63-68; Ellison 1980;180; and N.C. Habel, *The Book of Job*, OTL, London 1985, pp.307-308.

Not all scholars think of this conception of the lasting communion with YHWH as of a stage in the development in the religious thinking in Israel which is followed by the belief in the final resurrection of the dead[2]. Sellin wants to distinguish between two separate developments, which are usually confused in biblical scholarship; one leading to the belief in the eschatological individual resurrection (cf. Dan 12:1-2) and the other with a more mystical conception of the afterlife: "Es war verkehrt, wenn man diese früher stellenweise als eine Vorstufe zu jener aufgefasst hat. Wir finden die mystische auch bei Frommen, die die eschatologische sehr wohl kennen und doch ignorieren (vgl. Hiob); sie können sich natürlich mit einander verbinden, laufen aber noch im späteren Judentum vielfach ganz unverbunden nebeneinander her, wenn sie sich nicht gar auch weiter gegensätzlich verhalten"[3]. This twofold form of the development towards positive expectations of afterlife has been noted by other scholars as well[4]. According to Kellermann this mystical development was influenced by Greek thinking, viz. the concept of the immortal soul[5].

In his thesis Miller has tried to explain the existence of different positive conceptions of afterlife in a new way. According to him Ps 16; 17; 49; 73; Job 19; Prov 12:28; 14:32; the stories of the assumption of Enoch and Elijah; and indirectly also Eccles 12:7 belong to the common ancient Near Eastern concept of immortality. This concept, however, was suppressed by Yahwism. He finds examples of this suppression in the Old Testament account of the flood, in which the original blessing of immortality granted to the survivors (cf. the Mesopotamian flood stories) has been replaced by a covenant, and in the story of the Garden of Eden. The later belief in immortality (cf. Dan 12) was based on the theology of the covenant: "Immortality emerged in the context of an eschatology which was based on the Kingdom of God motif, The Kingdom of God motif had its roots in the eternal kingdom of David and the suzerainty vassal treaty between

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[1] Cf. Preuss 1974:70.

[2] Cf. H.J. Franken, *The Mystical Communion with YHWH in the Book of Psalms*, Leiden 1954 who pays no attention to this aspect.

[3] Sellin 1919:266-267.

[4] Cf. Rowley 1955:123; E. Jacob, IntDB II, p.689; and Moore 1983.

[5] Kellermann 1976:274.

Yahweh and Israel"[1]. There were other scholars before Miller who discussed the covenant texts that use the metaphor of resurrection[2], but Miller seems to be the *first* to connect it with the eschatological resurrection of the dead.

The opinion that the Israelite belief in beatific afterlife is much older than Dan 12 can also be found with scholars who emphasize the harmony between the Old Testament and the New Testament in this matter. Of course, it cannot be denied that the Old Testament is less clear with regard to the hope for afterlife than the New Testament, but this phenomenon can be explained as a well considered measure of God to give this revelation at the moment mankind is prepared for it[3]. According to Atzberger the harmony of the Old and New Testament also implies that there cannot have been a development from a negative to a positive view on the hereafter. Already in the Pentateuch he finds "wurzelhaft und keimartig die ganze christliche Eschatologie und die Fundamente aller weiteren eschatologischen Offenbarungen"[4]. Also Heidel maintains that "there is no conflict between the earlier and later writings of the Old Testament, correctly interpreted, in the matter of death and the afterlife"[5]. He assumes that the idea of divine retribution after death was known throughout the Old Testament period; for Ps 49 and 73 show that "already according to the Old Testament, there was 'a great gulf fixed' (Luke 16:26) between the souls of the blessed and those of the damned"[6]. Logan goes even further by stating that "Nothing less than resurrection was in the mind of Abraham and all the faithful after him"[7]. He derives this from John 8:

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[1] Miller 1977:208-209.

[2] Cf. J. Wijngaards, "Death and Resurrection in Covenantal Context (Hos VI 2)", VT 17(1967),226-239; C. Barth, "Theophanie, Bundschliessung und neuer Anfang am dritten Tage", EvTh 28(1968),521-533; and Campbell 1971:110-111.

[3] Cf. De Bondt 1938:224-225; Ridderbos 1968:10-11; and Woudstra 1973:17.

[4] L. Atzberger, *Die Christliche Eschatologie in den Stadien ihrer Offenbarung im Alten und Neuen Testament*, 1891, rpt. 1977, p.35 (cf. Nötscher 1926:118); cf. also T.W. Lancester, *The Harmony of the Law and the Gospel with Regard to the Doctrine of a Future State*, Oxford 1825.

[5] Heidel 1946:222; the reference to Sellin 1919:234 in n.255 is misleading, because Sellin does not speak of positive expectations there.

[6] Heidel 1946:191.

[7] Logan 1953:169.

56; Acts 7:5; 26:6-7; Rom 4:13; Gal 3:29; and Hebr 11:8-16 pointing to the patriarchs having died without having received what was promised to them by God. This old argument (see also pp.8-9 above) is used by Brodie as well[1]. He assumes that Moses and the Patriarchs expected to stay alive after death, but "said it softly" in "respect for the sense of mystery".

The suggestion of the high age of the hopes for a beatific afterlife in the Old Testament is supported by the studies of Albright (see pp.45-47 above) and Dahood, who in his turn mentions the work of Albright on this subject with approval[2]. Brodie welcomes the "drastic revision" by Dahood of the common scholarly opinion with regard to the Old Testament conceptions of afterlife[3].

Dahood mentions a great number of texts, especially in the books of Proverbs and Psalms, which testify in his opinion to the belief in resurrection and immortality[4]. His new approach, which leads to this surprising conclusion, is based on the comparison of the Hebrew language with the old Canaanite language in which the literature of the ancient city of Ugarit was written. Biblical Hebrew shares many words with Ugaritic and among these words there are a few which in Ugaritic literature refer - according to the interpretation of Dahood - to beatific afterlife. An important text in this connection is KTU 1.16:I.14f.:"In your life, our father, we rejoice; in your not dying we exult" (translation of Dahood). The word used for the expression "not dying", Ugaritic *blmt*, is according to Dahood comparable to Hebrew אל מות in Prov 12:28. For this reason he translates Prov 12:28 as follows: "In the way of justice is life and the treading of her path is immortality".

The most important Ugaritic text in Dahood's theory is a passage of the epic of Aqhat, which describes an argument between the hero Aqhat and the goddess Anat:

> And the virgin Anat replied: Ask for life, o youthful Aqhat,
> Ask for life and I will give it to you,
> Immortality and I will bestow it upon you.
> I will make you count years with Baal,

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[1] Brodie 1980.

[2] Cf. Dahood 1960:181, n.1.

[3] Brodie 1980:258; cf. also Smick 1968:12.

[4] Dahood 1960 and *Psalms*, AncB 17, Garden City 1965-1970; esp. I(1965), p. XXXVI; II(1968), pp.XXVI-XXVII; and III(1970), pp.XLI-LII.

> You shall number months with the sons of El.
> For Baal, when he gives life, invites to a banquet;
> He invites the life-given to a banquet and bids him drink,
> And in his presence, sweetly chants and sings.
> (KTU 1.17:VI.25-32; translation of Dahood)

Although Aqhat scournfully rejects this offer, Dahood deduces from the proposal of the goddess a "Canaanite belief in an unending blissful existence which the gods reserved at least for some mortals"[1]. Because of the Canaanite-Hebrew interrelationships Dahood supposes that Hebrew חיים (cf. Ugaritic *ḥym* in the first line of the text above) denotes eternal life in Ps 16:11; 21:5; 27:13; 30:6; 36:10; 56:14; 69:29; 116:8-9; 133:3; 142:6; Prov 8:35-36; 12:28; and 15:24.

The negative answer is also of significance in this matter: "Man - what will he receive as his future life, what will man receive as afterlife" (KTU 1.17:VI.35-36; translation of Dahood). According to Dahood Ugaritic *ʾuḫryt*, "future life", and *ʾaṯryt*, "afterlife", are paralleled by Hebrew אחרית also with regard to the reference to the afterlife, viz. in Num 23:10; Ps 37:37-38; 109:13; Prov 23:18; 24:14.20; and Sirach 7:36.

The element of the festive banquet mentioned in KTU 1.17:VI.30-31 is found by Dahood in the following texts: Ps 23:4-6; 43:3-4; and 91:15-16.

The existence of an Old Testament belief in beatific afterlife being firmly grounded on the comparison with Ugaritic literature, Dahood now also assumes that we can find the idea of the beatific vision in the hereafter in the Old Testament, viz. in Ps 17:15; 21:7; 27:4.13; 41:13; 51:8; 61:8; 63:3; and 140:14. He also found traces of the concept of paradise-like "Elysian Fields" as the habitation of the blessed dead in Ps 5:9; 36:10; 56:14; 97:11; 116:9; Job 33:30 and many other texts.

The verb נחה, "to lead", would mean "to lead into paradise" in Ps 5:9; 23:3; 61:3; 73:24; 139:24; 143:10. The verb קיץ, "to awake", is interpreted as a reference to the resurrection of the dead in Isa 26:19; Ps 139:18; Prov 6:22; and Dan 12:2 and the verb לקח, "to take" means "to take to heaven in Gen 5:24; II Kgs 2:3.5.9; Ps 49:16; and 73:24.

To this can be added a more general observation. Dahood identifies a large number of perfect tense verbs as precative verbs, thus interpreting them as a wish for the future instead of referring to an action in the past.

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[1] Dahood 1960:180.

This theory of Dahood found some support[1], but most reactions are reserved[2] or rejecting[3]. One of Dahood's most important opponents in this matter is Vawter. His criticism concerns in the first place the method of reasoning. He rebukes Dahood for the "sort of mistake in reading a passage according to the philologically possible rather than according to the theologically probable"[4]. Another serious reproach made by Vawter and also by other scholars is that Dahood has confused different conceptions by his failing to distinguish between immortality and resurrection. All positive expectations are taken as one without any clear definition[5]. The use of the Ugaritic material has been criticized as well. It is doubtful whether KTU 1.17:VI.25ff. can be used as proof of a belief in beatific afterlife[6] and also whether a belief in beatific afterlife can be deduced from its negation by Aqhat[7]. The interpretation of *ᵓuḫryt* was questioned too[8].

It was remarked by Dorn that חיים only means "eternal life" when this is clearly indicated by the context, as in Dan 12:2[9]. The texts mentioned by Dahood do not satisfy this condition.

Dahood's theory with regard to the beatific vision in the hereafter can be regarded as an extension of an earlier carefully made suggestion by

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[1] Cf. next to Smick 1968 and Brodie 1980 mentioned above, L. Bronner, *Beth Mikra* 25(1980),202-221.

[2] Cf. E. Jacob, UF 11(1979),405; M.J. Mulder, in *Loven en geloven*, Fs N.H. Ridderbos, Amsterdam 1975, p.120; and A. Lacocque, *Le livre de Daniel*, CAT XVb, Paris 1976, pp.174-175.

[3] Cf. Campbell 1971:112-118; Vawter 1972; G. Stemberger, TRE IV, p.444; Dorn 1980:22-25; Martin-Achard 1981B:307-308; H. Ringgren, *Israelitische Religion*, 2nd ed., Stuttgart 1982, p.334; and M. Granot, *Beth Mikra* 27(1981),87 (reacting to Bronner; see n.1 above).

[4] Vawter 1972:161-162.

[5] Ibid., pp.168-169; cf. also Campbell 1971:117; M. Greenberg, *Encyclopaedia Judaica* XIV, p.78; Brichto 1973:2; and Bailey 1979:123, n.17.

[6] Cf. O. Loretz, *Die Psalmen*, II, AOAT 207/2, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1979, pp. 466-467 and Dorn 1980:63-73.

[7] Cf. M.H. Pope, JBL 85(1966),462-463; Campbell 1971:115; Loretz, *Die Psalmen*, pp.467-468; and Dorn 1980:68.

[8] Cf. Vawter 1972:165; Loretz, p.467; actually, it means "future", cf. S. Gevirtz, VT 11(1961),147-148 and P. van der Lugt and J.C. de Moor, BiOr 31(1974),8.

[9] Dorn 1980:181-182; cf. also H. Ringgren, ThWAT II, col.895 who states that the only Old Testament text which speaks "klar und unzweideutig" of eternal life is Dan 12:2.

Nötscher: "bei Hiob und in den Psalmen offenbart sich der Glaube, dass dem Gerechten wegen seiner Rechtschaffenheit aller Erfahrung zum Trotz, doch ein höheres Gut zuteil wird, als es das glücklichste Leben der Gottlosen sein kann: dieses Gut besteht in der Gnadenverbindung mit Gott, die als ein Schauen Gottes oder als ein Sein oder Sichfreuen bei Gott bezeichnet wird. Das Glück dieser Gottesgemeinschaft vermag kein Tod zu hindern oder zu zerstören"[1]. He refers in this connection to Job 19:26-27; Ps 11:4ff.; 16:11; 73:23ff.; 49:16; and 17:15. Dahood does not mention Nötscher, nor has he - if we may believe Dorn - taken over his carefulness; for in his exegesis of the texts mentioned by Dahood Dorn comes to completely different results[2].

It was noted by some scholars that Dahood's reasoning does not differ much from the way in which the early church tried to prove its dogmas concerning the hereafter from the Old Testament; in other words: it looks like dogmatical exegesis[3].

Alongside these reproaches there appears to be a growing tendency among Old Testament scholars to support Dahood's theory on at least one point: the Israelites may have believed in eternal life after death for the king. The wish "the king may live forever" is usually interpreted as an extravagant expression of the royal court referring to the "eternal life" of the king's dynasty[4]. According to some scholars, however, it may also have been meant literally as a reference to the personal afterlife of the king.

Eaton, who clearly shows sympathy with Dahood's views[5], mentions a number of Psalms "where the king claims 'life' not only as happiness in his present existence and in the continuance of his children, but also as a blissful communion with God that he himself will enjoy for ever"[6]. The same view can be found with Quintens, who is a student of Dahood, in his exegesis of Ps 21:5[1]. Quintens also refers to the observations of Brichto, who in his opinion rightly questioned the current opinion about the age of the positive belief in afterlife (see pp.48-51 below).

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[1] Nötscher 1924:167.

[2] Dorn 1980:152-344; cf. also A. Hilary Armstrong, RAC XI, pp.1-21 who states that there are no references to the concept of beatific vision in the Old Testament.

[3] Cf. M. Greenberg, *Encyclopaedia Judaica* XIV, p.98; Sawyer 1973:230; and Loretz, *Die Psalmen*, II, p.465.

[4] Cf. Jenni 1953:57-62 and THAT II, cols.237-238 and also Dorn 1980:148-150 and Steiner 1980:248.

[5] Cf. Eaton 1976:38.67 with regard to Dahood's interpretation of Ps 16; 23.

[6] Ibid., p.163.

An important contribution to this discussion was offered recently by Healey. Like Vawter and others he criticizes Dahood's methods[2], but he does not question the discovered concept itself. He merely wants to provide it with "a more coherent and nuanced perspective within ancient Near Eastern studies"[3]. He does so by adding a number of Ugaritic and Eblaite texts, which prove in his opinion the existence of a belief in the immortality and even the deification of deceased kings. Traces of this "established tradition of royal immortality" are found by Healey in Ps 21:3-5 and other Psalms with royal elements and possible references to afterlife, viz. Ps 16; 23; 30(?); 36; 49; 56; 61; 91; 116; and 142. So there is ample evidence for the existence of this concept in Israel. Healey regards this "as a reflexion of royal ideology, an ideology derived in a partly demythologized form from Canaanite tradition. The eternity of the king arises from his relation with God"[4]. He assumes that later "the notion of blessed eternal life was extended to all the righteous", a development which can be called "a democratization of what was formerly a royal prerogative"[5].

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[1] Quintens 1978:530-531.541; cf. also Quintens 1979:240.

[2] Cf. Healey 1977A:295.

[3] Healey 1984:246.

[4] Ibid., p.253.

[5] Ibid., p.254.

1.5. SUMMARY

Our survey of the history of interpretation has confirmed Bailey's remark quoted in the introduction about the nature of the secondary literature on the Old Testament conceptions of afterlife. It is not easy to get a clear overview of all that has been written on this subject. Nevertheless, it may have become clear that on some points there is a remarkable continuity. We have noted that arguments which were used in the early church sometimes reappear with modern scholars and theories from the beginning of historical-critical research have found new advocates in our days.

Until the beginning of modern critical research of the Old Testament most Jews and Christians had no problem in relating their belief in the resurrection of the dead with the Old Testament. For it was taken for granted that the God who promises eternal bliss in the New Testament is no other than the God of the Old Testament. References to the expectation of beatific afterlife were found in Old Testament texts containing words and expressions which were also used in the dogmas of the church about the afterlife. One could also refer to texts expressing the belief in God as creator and to the unfulfilled promises to the patriarchs.

There is reason to assume that the belief of the editors and translators of the Old Testament in resurrection and beatific afterlife left its traces in the MT and the versions. A number of texts that could be more or less associated with this belief appear to have been revised or supplemented in order to support this interpretation.

Although the methods of the ancient Jewish and Christian scholars were questioned by the modern critical research arising in the nineteenth century, many of the proof-texts can still be found with modern scholars; especially with those who emphasize the harmony of Old and New Testament. They do not come, however, to these results by the use of the same associative method. A scholar like Dahood derives his arguments from the comparison with Ugaritic, and Greenspoon, who refers like many Fathers of the Church to the cycle of nature in connection with the hope for resurrection of the dead, works with the assumption of an ancient Near Eastern pattern of the "Divine Warrior".

About one century ago an important impulse to the study of the Old Testament conceptions of afterlife was given by the anthropological theory of animism. Many scholars tried to prove the validity of this general theory about the origin of religion for the religion of Israel and started looking for traces of worship of the dead in ancient Israel. Scholars like Schwally and Lods were convinced of the existence of such a cult before the rise of Yahwism and as part of a folk religion next to Yahwism. This ancient Israelite cult of the dead would have influenced the later beliefs in resurrection and beatific afterlife as they are recorded in the Old Testament. Especially the assumed veneration of heroes has been regarded as the background of the later Yahwistic belief in beatific afterlife. This view can be found with Lods and Torge in the beginning of our century and more recently with Albright and Loretz. We also find the opinion that the Israelites of the Old Testament period were familiar with the belief in a beatific afterlife of the king. It has even been supposed that this was accepted in certain Israelite circles (cf. the theories of Wifall and Healey).

It is still a matter of dispute whether and, if so, in what way the contact with other religions has influenced the Israelite conceptions of afterlife. Nowadays most scholars tend to assume Canaanite influence in the period before the exile and Persian and Greek influence after the exile. Especially the relation to the religion of ancient Ugarit has received much attention in recent studies. It is usually taken for granted that this religion represents the religion of the inhabitants of Canaan before the rise of Israel as a nation and before the rise of Yahwism and that it may have been closely related to the Israelite folk religion. With the help of the comparison with the Ugaritic conceptions of afterlife Dahood, Loretz, Xella, Healey and others have come to new insights in ancient Israelite beliefs with regard to the afterlife[1]. The fact, however, that they did not come to unanimous conclusions shows that this approach is not without problems. Evidently further study is necessary.

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[1] Cf. also E. Jacob, UF 11(1979),495 who states with regard to the influence of the discovery of ancient Ugarit upon the study of the Old Testament: "Il faudra donc nuancer, et en tout cas revoir, tout ce que l'Ancient Testament dit du sujet de la mort".

1.6. CONSEQUENCES FOR FURTHER STUDY

From the history of research we learn that the comparative study of Old Testament ideas and ancient Near Eastern religions has many pitfalls[1]. It appears to be absolutely necessary to study elements from different cultures within their own context before comparing them. And in this comparison we have to reckon with many different aspects. Before relating similar ideas occurring in different cultures it has to be asked whether these ideas are found in the same time and wether they were used in the same situation. It can be asked whether they were taken over by one from the other of by both from a third source, but it is also possible, especially when we are dealing with such a general topic as the ideas about life and death, that we have to do with more common human ideas that can be found with many other peoples.

Our survey of modern research showed that there appear to be many similarities between Old Testament conceptions of afterlife and ideas about this recorded in the literature of ancient Ugarit. We even noticed a tendency of simply describing Yahwism or else the ancient Israelite folk religion as a kind of pseudo-Ugaritic belief with regard to this matter, but this was rightly criticized; for we have to keep in mind the distance in time and place between Ugarit and Israel[2]. In order to get some insight into what is characteristic of ancient Israel compared to its closest neighbour it is necessary to gain a view of the ideas about the afterlife in the whole region of the Near East, including Egypt. It would be superfluous to describe here comparable phenomena of the cultures outside this area. We can restrict ourselves to noting very remarkable parallels that may be helpful with regard to the interpretation of the phenomena involved[1]. Within this framework it should also be taken into account that when ideas are borrowed from other religions this practically always implies that these ideas fit in with a development within the borrowing religion itself (see p.55 above).

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[1] Cf. H. Frankfort, *The Problem of Similarity in Ancient Near Eastern Religions*, Oxford 1951; C. Westermann, "Sinn und Grenze religionsgeschichtlicher Parallelen", ThLZ 90(1965),489-496; H. Ringgren, "Remarks on the Method of Comparative Mythology", in *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, ed. H. Goedicke, Baltimore 1971, pp. 407-411; and Bartelmus 1979:31-34.

[2] Cf. the cautious remarks on this topic by P.C. Craigie, "Ugarit, Canaan and Israel", *Tyndale Bulletin* 34(1983),145-167.

Finally, the survey of modern research draws our attention to two more matters which have to be mentioned before further study. First there is the problem of the assumed existence of an ancient Israelite folk religion next to the official religion as it is described in the Old Testament. Because our information on this part of the religion of ancient Israel is scarce, there is a danger of circular reasoning by working with hypotheses derived from the study of other religions but for which no factual proof can be given with regard to the religion of Israel.

Secondly, it appears to be very important to be precise and consistent in the use of terminology denoting different aspects of the afterlife[2]. This can be illustrated by the fact that the term "immortality" appears to take different meanings with different scholars. Some use it in its literal meaning as denoting life without end, that is, life without death; according to others it denotes eternal life after death and it has been used also as a term for everlasting beatific afterlife. To avoid confusion it is best to take each term literally and distinguish between terms denoting the transition from this life to the afterlife or from one situation in the hereafter to another and terms describing the afterlife itself. With regard to the latter it should be remarked that belief in life after death is certainly not always the same as the hope for beatific afterlife. We could define beatific afterlife as being forever with God (or the gods) in heaven (cf. I Thess 4:17).

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[1] See in general Widengren 1969:394-426.

[2] Cf. Healey 1977A:274-275; Bailey 1979:27-28; Dorn 1980:35-36; and Casetti 1982:226-227.

2. CONCEPTIONS OF BEATIFIC AFTERLIFE IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

The attempt to give a survey of the many different conceptions of afterlife that can be found with the peoples of the ancient Near East[1] is rightly called "hazardous"[2]. No scholar will entertain the illusion of being a specialist in the study of all religions and languages involved. Also the present writer has to admit that he has a limited knowledge of just the Mesopotamian and Canaanite sources. Fortunately, the comparative study of the history of religion with regard to the conceptions of death and afterlife is greatly furthered by the fact that we have many authoritative studies on this topic at our disposal. So in most cases we can confine ourselves in this chapter to brief outlines. Only apparent parallels may need some further discussion.

2.1. EGYPT

To give even a short survey of the development of the Egyptian conceptions of afterlife during almost four millennia of ancient Egyptian religion would go beyond the limits of this study, but it is necessary to describe at least some of the characteristics of beatific afterlife as it is portrayed in Egyptian death literature[3]; for not only did the ancient Egyptians pay very much attention to this subject, there is also reason to assume Egyptian influence upon the Israelite conceptions of beatific afterlife (see pp.55-57 above).

A basic element of the ancient Egyptian conceptions of afterlife is the belief that life after death is a continuation of life as it was before death[1]. This belief explains the custom of supplying the dead with everyday objects in the Predynastic cultures and the fact that servants were buried around the tombs of their masters or even together with them in the period of the First Dynasty[2] and also the attempt to preserve the body by mummification[3]. The idea that the dead need their body and sustenance like the living[4] was not abandoned and was connected with different ideas about the way to beatific afterlife[5].

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[1] Cf. the surveys by Nötscher 1926:10-116; Nikolainen 1944:1-95; Baumgartner 1959; Hartmann 1968; Schmitt 1973:4-45; Bailey 1979:5-21; Dorn 1980:37-103; Croatto 1970; and Steiner 1982.

[2] Bailey 1979:5.

[3] Cf. the surveys by Kees 1956; Morenz 1960 and 1975; Brandon 1964; Bleeker 1979; Hornung 1982; Spencer 1982; Brunner 1983; and the various articles on this topic in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* .

The fact that few peoples have speculated more about the hereafter than the Egyptians shows that they feared the chaos of death very much[6]. It was very important to them to be sure that the king, who represents the divine order in this world, is not just swallowed up by death, but is stronger than the threatening dangers after death and is able to take his place with the gods after he has left this world[7]. During the Old Kingdom and probably also before that period we find this hope for a beatific afterlife expressed with regard to the deceased king only. In the Pyramid Texts[8] the deceased king is called "the one who does not go down", viz. to the netherworld[1], and he is often identified with a star, especially with one of the circumpolar stars, that "never disappear" behind the horizon into the netherworld, and with the morning star, because it "leaves" the world of the dead just before the sun comes up from there[2]. In later spells of the Pyramid Texts we also find a solar concept of beatific afterlife: the king is said to join Re, the sun-god, when he crosses the sky by day and also when he goes through the netherworld by night. In this way the king can always see the light. The stellar and the solar concepts of beatific afterlife seem to exclude each other. Nevertheless, they can be mentioned in one and the same text describing the situation of the king in the hereafter:

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[1] Cf. Kees 1956:205.218; Morenz 1975:177; and Brunner 1983:133.

[2] Cf. Gadd 1960; H. Altenmüller, LÄ I, col.745; and J.G. Griffiths, LÄ IV, cols. 64-65.

[3] Cf. Spencer 1982:29-44.112-138 and Hornung 1983.

[4] Cf. Morenz 1960:208 and Brunner 1983:122.

[5] Cf. Brunner 1983:126. See on the development of the Egyptian conceptions of afterlife also J. Vergote, in Théodoridès 1983:67-69, who maintains that in the Middle Kingdom belief in the immortal soul became more important than the conservation of the body.

[6] See on the Egyptian thoughts of death as an enemy Zandee 1960 and also Morenz 1960:196; Brunner, LÄ II, cols.479-483; W. Westendorf, LÄ III, col.951; and Bleeker 1979:9.

[7] The hope to be forever with the gods is the basic element of the Egyptian conceptions of afterlife; cf. Brunner, LÄ II, col.819: "Im Grunde geht es im gesamten Totenglauben um das Problem, wie man allen Widerständen und Widersächern zum Trotz, in die Nähe der Gottheit gelangen kann, da die Gottesnähe, und nur diese, Leben und Seligkeit bedeutet". This also guarantees the pious dead a share in the sacrifices brought to the gods, as can be derived, e.g., from the following prayer of Ramesses III to Ptah (in the translation of G. Roeder, *Die ägyptische Religion in Texten und Bildern*, I, Zürich 1959, p.51): "Gib, dass ich Speisen esse von deinen Gottesopfern an Brot, Weihrauch, Bier, Most und Wein. Gib . . . dass ich das Leben wiederhole in dem 'Prächtigen Lande'."; cf. also Roeder, *Die ägyptische Religion*, II, 1960, pp.339.342.

[8] When not indicated otherwise, we use the translation by R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Oxford 1969.

> Be pure; occupy your seat in the bark of Re.
> may you row over the sky and ascend to the distant ones;
> row within the Imperishable Stars,
> receive the freight of the Night-Bark. (PyrT.513).

Next to these two concepts, of which the solar concept became prevalent[3], we find in this early period the idea of the identification of the dead king with Osiris, who is the ruler of the dead. Strictly speaking, this cannot be called a form of beatific afterlife, because it does not offer the deceased the possibility to leave the world of the dead. In an Egyptian funerary text we find the opinion that "one moment of seeing the rays of the sun is worth more than eternity as ruler of the netherworld"[4]. This explains why it is said in PyrT.245 in a reply of the sky-goddess to the king who is about to join the stars:

> Make your seat in heaven
> among the stars of heaven,
> for you are the Lone Star, the comrade of Hu.
> You shall look down on Osiris
> as he commands the spirits,
> while you stand far from him.
> You are not among them;
> you shall not be among them.

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[1] Cf. E. Otto, LÄ I, col.49.

[2] Cf. R.O. Faulkner, "The King and the Star-Religion in the Pyramid Texts", JNES 25(1966),153-161 and W. Barta, "Funktion und Lokalisierung der Zirkumpolarsterne in den Pyramidentexte", ZÄS 107(1980),1-4.

[3] Cf. Spencer 1982:141 and Brunner 1983:128.

[4] Cf. Assmann 1975:17-18.

In the "Conversation between Osiris and Atum"[1] Osiris complains that he will never see the face of Atum again, because he has to live in the netherworld. In the course of time, however, the solar and Osirian concept of afterlife were associated. Now Osiris was placed in heaven like Re[2] and connected with the stars, especially Orion[3], and with the moon as the nightly counterpart of Re[4]. On his part the sun-god was now believed to be effectively dead during the night like Osiris and the dead identified with him[5]. This made it possible to formulate the hope for beatific afterlife by saying: "I am Osiris and reversed I am the *Ba* of Re, when he enters him"[6]. Also the concept of the *Earu*-fields as the habitation of the blessed dead can be explained out of this compromise between Osirian and solar beliefs. This paradisiac island is situated in the east and is connected with the morning star. It is the place where heaven and netherworld meet, the place also from where every day the sun rises[7]. In this way the idea of the dead being like Osiris, who stays in one place, is merged with the hope of being with the sun-god[8].

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[1] Cf. Wirz 1982:55-72.

[2] Cf. S. Cauville, *La théologie d'Osiris à Edfou*, Cairo 1983, pp.187-189.

[3] Cf. H. Behlmer, LÄ IV, cols.609-610.

[4] Cf. Kees 1956:145; R.O. Faulkner, JNES 25(1966),160-161; Griffiths 1980: 223-224; and Cauville, *La théologie d'Osiris*, pp.189-190.

[5] Cf. J. Assmann, *Re und Amun*, Göttingen 1983, p.83: "Mit seinem descensus ad inferos erweckt er nicht nur die Toten aus dem Todesschlaf, sondern lebt ihnen die Überwindung des Todes vor."; cf. also Hornung 1971:85-87. 148 and 1982:183-185; Altner 1981:31-37; Barta 1981:149; Spencer 1982: 152; and Griffiths, LÄ IV, col.629.

[6] Cf. E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen*, II, Aegyptica Helvetica 3, 1984, p.86. The *Ba* and also the *Ka* and *Ach* are terms denoting different aspects of the person in the hereafter. Good and comprehensive definitions of these terms are offered by Brunner: "Als 'Lebenskraft' können . . . diese drei Erscheinungen oder Gestalten des Verstorbenen bezeichnet werden, doch erschliesst sich das Wesen dieser drei Aspekte erst bei einer Differenzierung: Der Ka ist ein starres Prinzip, eng gebunden an Grab, Statue und Totenopfer; der Ba verkörpert die Sehnsucht nach Beweglichkeit, nach Verwandlung in andere Gestalten, besonders nach dem den Menschen unzugänglichen Bereich der Luft, nach der Möglichkeit, das Grab zu verlassen und erfreulichere Gegenden aufzusuchen; der Ach schiesslich bringt dem Verstorbenen die ihm zunächst fehlenden Lebenskräfte"(Brunner 1983:143).

[7] Cf. J. Leclant, LÄ I, cols.1156-1160.

[8] Cf. Kees 1956:193-195 and Spencer 1982:148-149.

It is not easy to determine what part the body plays in these conceptions. The continuation of burial practices connected with the idea of the "*living corpse*" *implies that the Egyptians never accepted a dualistic view* which distinguishes between body and soul and preserves beatific afterlife for the latter[1]. Even the body itself can be glorified in the hereafter to become a *Sah*[2]. And in the Osirian concept of afterlife the body takes a prominent place[3]. PyrT.373 clearly shows that even though the king was supposed to go to heaven and live among the stars, his body and his bodily needs were not forgotten:

> Rise up, o Teti.
> Take your head,
> collect your bones,
> gather your limbs,
> shake the earth from your flesh.
> Take your bread that rots not,
> your beer that sours not.
> Stand at the gates that bar the common people.
> The gatekeeper comes out to you;
> he grasps your hand,
> takes you into heaven, to your father Geb.

The custom of wrapping up the mummified body in many bandages could not easily be reconciled with belief in the posthumous journey to heaven. Although the king could be pictured as a mummy in the hereafter, the lack of the ability of a mummy to move was also regarded as an important obstacle to the deceased obtaining beatific afterlife. In PyrT.264 the hope is expressed that Re will take away the bandages so that the dead king will not be left with Osiris in the netherworld and in later death literature we find the description of the rising of the body, whereas the bandages and masks are laid aside[4].

Mummification was not only intended to enable the dead to live on as a "living corpse", it also had to protect the deceased on the dangerous journey to the world of the dead and in the period after the sun-god had left the netherworld for his daily journey through heaven[5]. As a *Ba* the deceased can follow the sun-god and leave the netherworld by day, but as a mummy the deceased has to wait for the sun-god to return and to call his name and in this way resurrect his body. This cyclical concept of beatific afterlife is clearly expressed in the titles of later death literature, viz. "going out by day" and "returning by night in your grave" and also in the idea of life in the hereafter being an unending process of passing through all phases of life[1].

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[1] Cf. Brandon 1964:219 and Brunner 1983:143.

[2] Cf. L.V. Žabkar, JNES 22(1963),61.

[3] Cf. Griffiths 1980:66-67.

[4] Cf. Kees 1956:142; Hornung 1982:137.146 and 1983:169-171.

[5] Cf. Hornung 1983 and 1984:10.34-35.

In the later death literature beatific afterlife is clearly no longer restricted to the king. In the period after the Old Kingdom the Pyramid Texts had been taken over and adapted in the Coffin Texts of prominent people and they had become even more widespread in the Book of the Dead, which is the great funerary work of the New Kingdom. This so-called democratization of beatific afterlife is part of a complex development which took place after the breaking-down of the Old Kingdom, in the first Intermediate Period. The expectation of a common private person in the period of the Old Kingdom was certainly restricted to the belief in the continuation of the conditions in this life in the hereafter. Poor people even had to fear that it would be hell, because they could not afford any provision for the dead[2]. It may be assumed, however, that the deceased king, who was identified with Osiris and therefore also lord of the dead, was able to include his people in the favours granted to him[3].

The democratization of the hope for beatific afterlife implies that now everyone has the possibility to be identified with Osiris after death. This can be regarded as an illogical development, because the idea of the identification of the deceased with Osiris was based on the belief in the continuation of the situation of this life in the hereafter: the earthly king became one with the king of the dead. According to Lichtheim this "attempt to overcome the fear of death by usurping the royal claims to immortality resulted in delusions of grandeur which accorded so little with the observed facts of life as to appear paranoid"[4].

The identification of the dead, be it king or commoner, with Osiris does not place them on a par with the great gods. It is no more than a "magical fiction"[1] to help the deceased on the way to beatific afterlife. The blessed dead who are called Osiris NN remain subordinate to the god of the dead[2]. We can also refer here to a text in which the identification of the deceased with Re is immediately followed by a prayer to Re to help him to let his *Ba* leave the earth[3]. Beatific afterlife is always regarded as a gift of the gods.

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[1] Cf. P. Munro, GM 75(1984),75-76 who notes that for this reason the deceased is sometimes pictured as a child.

[2] Cf. Brunner 1983:139.

[3] Cf. Griffiths 1980:230 and LÄ IV, col.629.

[4] M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I, Berkeley 1973, p.131.

With regard to the relation of the dead to the living it can be noted that the dead were believed to have the power to work as a spirit, whether beneficently or maleficently, in the world of the living[4]. For this reason "letters to the dead" were written in order to ask the dead for help or to beg them to stop their harmful acts[5]. And in the house-cult offerings were brought to the deceased relatives in order to appease them or to be able to invoke them and ask them to intervene when necessary[6]. Famous dead heroes like Imhotep and Amenhotep were venerated as healer gods, to whom people could pray to be cured from illness. People also prayed to them for children and to act as intermediaries between men and the great gods, whereas people also hoped to be united with them in the hereafter[7].

From the point of view of the dead it was important to live on after death in the memory of the living and also to live on by a continuing line of descendants[8]; for this is a condition of the ongoing provision of things they need in the hereafter[9], but it is meaningful in itself as well as a means of defeating death[10]. This could also offer an answer to the scepticism that had arisen in some circles[1] with regard to the possibility of attaining beatific afterlife because of the fact that no funerary monument or cult lasts forever.

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[1] H. Bonnet, RÄRG, p.858; cf. also Hornung 1971:87: "Hier ist an keine wirkliche Identität mit dem Totenherrscher zu denken; eher gilt die Definition, dass der Mensch durch sein Sterben in eine vorgeprägte Rolle eintritt, die den Namen des Osiris trägt".

[2] Cf. Morenz 1975:197-198.

[3] Cf. F. Abitz, *Gott und König*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 40, Wiesbaden 1980, p.197 and in general on the relation between the dead king and the gods ibid., pp.195ff.; Bleeker 1979:91-96; and Barta 1981:119-136.

[4] Cf. Brunner 1983:142-143 and Demarée 1983:198-278.

[5] Cf. R. Grieshammer, LÄ I, cols.864-870.

[6] Cf. Demarée 1983:287-290.

[7] Cf. D. Wildung, *Egyptian Saints: Deification in Pharaonic Egypt*, New York 1977 and in general on Egyptian hero-cult Schottroff 1982:199-210.

[8] Cf. Book of the Dead ch.25 and 90.

[9] Cf. Spencer 1982:72 and Brunner 1983:124.

[10] Cf. Hornung 1971:81; Spencer 1982:70-71; and Wirz 1982:17-47.

This scepticism never took a prominent place in ancient Egypt[2]. The attempt to help the dead with material means and ritual practices to reach beatific afterlife never stopped. It is not necessary to give here an extensive survey of all Egyptian tomb forms[3]; some remarks on their function may suffice. The tombs were intended in the first place to secure the well-being of its owner in the hereafter. The things he needed there were preserved in the grave. Originally everything the dead supposedly needed in the hereafter was brought to the graves[4]. Food and drink were regularly supplied after the burial. Instead of the original grave-goods we also find more and more models and pictures of objects and activities of everyday life, which were supposed to call forth in some magical way the things they represented and thus provide the dead with them. From this it was only one step to leave only a list of things needed, which had to be read aloud to become real[5]. Even the written word itself was supposed to possess this power. All this was necessary to make the deceased self-sufficient[6]. One could not put all his hopes on the funerary cult, because experience showed that this cannot last forever and that nothing was safe from grave-robbers. It must have been a great comfort, therefore, that the world of the blessed dead was also pictured as a fruitful land, in which the dead can get their own food. The blessed dead, of course, do not have to work there; they have their servants in the afterlife as well, the so-called *Shabtis* or *Ushabtis*, who had been given to them in the grave[7].

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[1] Cf. W. Barta, "Die erste Zwischenzeit im Spiegel der pessimistischen Literatur", JEOL 24(1975-6),50-61; esp. pp.58-59; Assmann, LÄ I, cols.975f.

[2] Cf. Assmann 1975:17-18 who points to the fact that the sceptical literature is always found in a context which is positive with regard to the afterlife. Only in the last centuries B.C. this scepticism became rather widespread; cf. U. Köhler, LÄ III, col.264.

[3] See for this Spencer 1982:45-111 and D. Arnold, LÄ III, cols.826ff.845ff.

[4] Cf. H. Altenmüller, LÄ II, cols.837-845.

[5] Cf. Spencer 1982:63-70; Brunner 1983:123-124; and also J. Zandee, "Sargtexte um über Wasser zu verfügen", JEOL 24(1975-6),1-47.

[6] Cf. Morenz 1960:219.

[7] Cf. Hornung 1982:196 and Spencer 1982:68-69.

The tombs also had a function as a memorial. This is apparent in monumental structures like the ancient mastabas and pyramids and in stelae which were erected as a commemoration of common people[1]. The circumstance that after the Old Kingdom the subterranean tombs became predominant, even for kings, may indicate that this was not the most important function. There were also other means to provide the deceased with a funerary monument. From the end of the Middle Kingdom on we find the custom of erecting so-called *kenotaphs* (Greek for "empty tombs") in Abydos, which was the center of the worship of Osiris. In this way the deceased was represented at this holy place, so that he was able to partake in the mysteries of Osiris[2].

The Egyptians knew many rites by which the dead were helped to reach beatific afterlife. Originally these rites were supposed to be performed by priests. However, out of fear that the necessary cult would not last forever, the text of these rites was also written down in the graves. In this way the dead were provided with the arcane knowledge they needed to cope with all threats they encountered in the hereafter[3]. We have to take into account that beatific afterlife was not thought of as of a state of being which could be attained once and for all. Just like the sun-god, the dead have to struggle with the hostile forces of the netherworld every day to be able to "go out by day". The texts given to the dead describe these ever recurring events through which the dead obtain heavenly bliss. The dead person who has these texts with him is sure that he will never miss it[4]. They can also help the dead to pass the judgement of the dead[5]. A judgement of the dead is already mentioned in the Pyramid Texts. There was, however, hardly a chance that the deceased king would be condemned to the "second death", that is, the final death which cannot be overcome. The king who in this world represents the divine order would surely pass the judgement based on this order[6]. The judgement of the dead became more important after the democratization of the hope for beatific afterlife. The decline of royal power and wealth made it clear that beatific afterlife could not be secured forever with material means. With the king losing control, the divine order he represented was also shattered. All this may have led to the belief in a compensating judgement after death, which reckons with justice and not with might and wealth[1]. In this way the gates to beatific afterlife were in principle opened to all just people[2]. However, the judgement could be influenced with the help of magical texts like Book of the Dead ch.30B preventing the heart to speak unfavourably of the deceased and Book of the Dead ch.125 declaring with the right words that there is no reason to condemn the deceased to the second death. This should not lead us to reproach the ancient Egyptians for having exchanged justice for magical power, because Hornung is probably right when he states: "Hier ist die Macht des Wortes, hier ist die Magie mit im Spiele, aber nicht als Ersatz für Ethik und richtiges Handeln, sondern als zusätzliche Kraft, die dem Menschen gegen Bedrohungen gegeben ist"[3]. At the fearful moment of death man just needs every help he can get.

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[1] Cf. Demarée 1983.

[2] Cf. D. Arnold, LÄ II, col.833 and W.K. Simpson, LÄ III, cols.387-391.

[3] Cf. Brunner 1983:135.

[4] Cf. Barta 1981:150 and Brunner, in Stephenson 1982:226.

[5] Cf. Bleeker 1979:97-106; Spencer 1982:144ff.; C. Seeber, LÄ III, cols.249ff.

[6] Cf. J. Yoyotte, in *Le jugement des morts*, Sources Orientales 4, Paris 1961, p.26.

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[1] Cf. H. Stock, *Die erste Zwischenzeit Ägyptens: Studia Aegyptiaca II*, AnOr 31, Rome 1949, p.25 and C. Seeber, LÄ III, col.249.

[2] Cf. Morenz 1975:194; Hornung 1982:50; and U. Köhler, LÄ III, col.263.

[3] Hornung 1982:150; cf. also Morenz 1960:220; E. Otto, HO 8.1.1., p.75; Brandon 1964:220; Spencer 1982:145; and Brunner 1983:136: "seit der frühesten Bezeugung des Totengerichts ist der Ägypter gewiss, dass beim Urteil über das Schicksal im Jenseits die Taten im Leben entscheiden".

2.2. MESOPOTAMIA

In this section we have to deal with an enormous amount of literature and material remains produced by the cultures of Sumer, Babylon, Assur and Persia, covering a period of about two thousand years. With regard to conceptions of afterlife there appears to be no basic difference between the Sumerian-speaking population and their Akkadian-speaking successors[1]; Persian culture, however, needs a separate treatment (see section 2.2.3. below).

2.2.1. THE DEAD AND THEIR WORLD

We can use the famous Gilgamesh Epic as a starting-point for getting a view of the Mesopotamian conceptions of death, the netherworld and its denizens[2], because this epic "exemplifies, through a single legendary figure, the various attitudes to death that humans tend to adopt"[3].

The reason for human mortality was not much debated. It is very simple: man is created mortal; death belongs to human nature. Apparently this was never questioned[4]. To die can be called "to go to one's destiny" or "to go to the destiny of mankind"[5]. It is said to Gilgamesh who is searching for life without death:

> Gilgamesh, whither rovest thou?
> The life thou persuest thou shalt not find.

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[1] Cf. Scharbert 1970:364 and Stola 1972:258-259.

[2] See the surveys by Heidel 1946:137-223; Kramer 1960; Stola 1972; Schützinger 1978; and Bottéro 1980.

[3] G.S. Kirk, *Myth: Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures*, Cambridge 1970, pp.144-145; cf. also Bailey 1976 and De Liagre Böhl 1977. If not indicated otherwise, we use the translation of the Gilgamesh Epic in ANET by E.A. Speiser.

[4] Cf. Heidel 1946:138 and Bottéro 1980:27.

[5] Cf. Steiner 1982:242; P. Naster, "*šimtu*, lotsbestemming", in Théodoridès 1983:27-37. See for the same idea in Egypt Sander-Hansen 1942:8-9 and in Israel Josh 23:14 and I Kgs 2:2.

When the gods created mankind,
Death for mankind they set aside
Life in their own hands retaining.
(Gilg.X.iii.1-5)

This does not mean that death is the total annihilation of man. Death is seen as a transition to the opposite side of life[1]. What remains after this interruption is, next to the bones, only the shadow of the former living being, a breath of wind[2]. It is the spirit of the dead, which can become active in the world of the living. Especially in this latter case the spirit of the dead is called *eṭemmu*. In a much debated passage in the epic of Atrahasis the origin of the *eṭemmu* is explained:

Wê-ila, who had personality (Akkadian *ṭemu*)
They slaughtered in their assembly.
From his flesh and blood
Nintu mixed clay.
For the rest of [time they heard the drum],
From the flesh of the god [there was] a spirit (Akkadian *eṭemmu*).
It proclaimed living (man) as its sign,
And so that this was not forgotten [there was] a spirit.
(Atrahasis I.223-230)[3]

So in life and death man is a memorial to the slain god[4]. Apparently this state of the dead was consciously created by the gods[5].

This and other texts seem to suggest that the dead person as *eṭemmu* is like the gods. Consider also the following text: "I honoured the gods and revered the spirits of the dead"[6]. Sometimes the spirits of the dead are even designated as divine beings[7]. It must be noted, however, that this qualification refers in the first place to their superhuman power by which they can influence life in this world. The Akkadian title "god" is used for practically all superhuman powers and cannot be regarded as an indication of belief in beatific afterlife. These spirits have their habitation in the netherworld, which is portrayed in an ominous dream of Enkidu, the companion of Gilgamesh, as follows:

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[1] Cf. Foster 1981:619.

[2] Cf. Bottéro 1980:28-29 and Kramer 1960:68, n.25.

[3] Translation by W.G. Lambert and A.R. Millard, *Atra-ḫasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood*, Oxford 1969, pp.58-59. It must be noted that W. von Soden, in *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae*, Fs F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl, ed. M.A. Beek, Leiden 1973, pp.349ff. wants to read in 1.228: *Edimmu*, "Wildmensch", the name of the first human being.

[4] Lambert, Millard, p.22; cf. also W.L. Moran, "The Creation of Man in Atrahasis I 192-248", BASOR 200(1970),48-56. According to Moran "the drum is to be sounded as a memorial of his death and the story behind it. Then, the god's ghost is to remain to see that the token - the sound and its meaning - is not forgotten" (Ibid., p.56).

[5] Cf. Bottéro 1980:29.

[6] Cf. CAD "E", p.397.

[7] Cf. Bottéro 1980:28; W.G. Lambert, RLA III, p.543; and D.O. Edzard, WM I/1, p.47.

> [Then into a dove he totally] transformed me
> So that my arms were [feathered] like those of a bird.
> Looking at me, he leads me to the House of Darkness, the abode of Irkalla,
> To the house which none leave who have entered it,
> On the road from which there is no way back;
> To the house wherein the dwellers are bereft of light,
> Where dust is their fare and clay their food.
> They are clothed like birds, with wings for garments
> *And see no light, residing in darkness.*
> In the House of Dust, which I entered,
> I looked at [rulers], their crowns put away;
> I [saw princes], those (born to) the crown, who had ruled the land from the days of yore.
> [These doubl]es of Anu and Enlil were serving meat roasts;
> They were serving bake[meats] and pouring cool water from the waterskin.
> (Gilg.VII.iv.31-44)[1]

Enkidu's vision reflects the common Mesopotamian conception of the dead and their world[2]. It is called the "House of Darkness", because the sun cannot reach it. On the other hand the sun-god is often mentioned in connection with the dead[3]. Sumerian texts mention something like a nightly journey of the sun-god Utu through the netherworld: "the son of Utu verily will give them light in the netherworld, the place of darkness"[4] and in another text: "Utu, the great lord(?), of Hades, after turning the dark places to light, will judge your case (favourably). May Nanna decree your fate (favourably) on the 'Day of Sleep'."[5] So together with the moon-god Nanna the sun-god was believed to judge the dead on the day of death[1]. The Akkadian sun-god Shamash is regarded as the "lord of the upper and nether worlds, lord of the *Anunnaki, lord of the spirits of the* dead who drink polluted water and drink not pure water"[2] and the god "who takes care of the pipe through which the offerings to the dead are made"[3]. These ideas about the sun-god were probably based on the belief that his power reaches to the extremes of the universe, from the extreme east (in the morning) to the extreme west (in the evening), from the highest point (at noon) to the deepest (in the middle of the night). It is also very likely that the sun-god was believed to travel through the netherworld[4]. The idea, however, that he gives light to the dead on this nightly journey was not widespread in ancient Mesopotamia. Apart from the Sumerian texts quoted above, we can only refer to a late text (Seleucid period), in which Shamash is called "the light of below", who helps the dead that have to roam about because they have no resting place[5]. It is also quite clear that these beliefs about the sun-god cannot be regarded as contradicting the common negative conception of the netherworld. The sun-god can help the dead to make their existence in the netherworld bearable by helping them to get fresh water, but in doing this he does not really change the character of life there. It would certainly be going too far to connect it with a belief in beatific afterlife in the netherworld, because according to Mesopotamian thinking afterlife can be called beatific only when the deceased is able to live forever with the sun (cf. Gilg.III.iv.4-7). This would require the possibility for the dead to leave the netherworld. But there is no way mentioned to "go out by day" as in the Egyptian texts. For the people of Mesopotamia the world of the dead is a "land of no return" (cf. Gilg. VII.iii. 34-35). For this reason it is described as a city with many walls[1]. Not even the gods can simply travel from heaven to the netherworld and then backwards. And once a heavenly god is associated with the netherworld, e.g. by sexual intercourse with a chthonic deity as in the case of Nergal and Ereshkigal, he has to remain there forever (cf. "Nergal and Ereshkigal", I.31-34; VI.48-51).

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[1] Cf. also the translation by W. von Soden, in A. Schott and W. von Soden, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, Stuttgart 1980, p.63. The lines 33-39 are paralleled by "The Descent of Ishtar", 11.4-10 (cf. ANET, p.107) and "Nergal and Ereshkigal", III.1-5 (cf. ANET 509; when not indicated otherwise, we cite the Sultanatepe version); see on the relation of this and other parallel passages in these myths Hutter 1985:60-63.

[2] See on the ancient Mesopotamian conceptions of the netherworld Wächter 1969; Bottéro 1980:29-32; and Hutter 1985:156-165.

[3] Cf. Stola 1972:271; Healey 1980; and Bottéro 1983:201-203.

[4] Cf. ANET, p.50.

[5] Kramer 1960:62.

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[1] The "Day of Sleep" can only denote the moment of death; for sleep is a well-known euphemism for death. E.g., the grave of Sanherib was called "Palace of Sleep"(KAH 47:1) and in the Gilgamesh Epic Utnapishtim says: "The resting and the dead, how alike they are. Do they not compose a picture of death, the commoner and the noble, once they are near to their fate" (Gilg.X.vi.33-35). Because Gilgamesh can be overpowered by sleep it is also clear that he cannot overcome his mortality: "Behold this hero who seeks life! Sleep fans him like a mist" (Gilg.XI.203-204). See on this metaphor also Sander-Hansen 1942:12-14; Morenz 1960:200; Mayer 1965:200; De Liagre Böhl 1977: 263-264; and H. Wildberger, *Jesaja*, BK X/2, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1978, p.966. A clear parallel to Gilg.X.vi.33-35 is found in Job 3:13ff.

[2] *Anatolian Studies* 5, 98:26; cf. CAD "E", p.398.

[3] Cf. CAD "A", II, p.324 and A.W. Sjöberg, *Assyriological Studies* 16(1965),65.

[4] Cf. B. Alster, in *Cuneiform Studies in Honor of S.N. Kramer*, ed. B.L. Eichler, AOAT 25, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976, p.16.

[5] W 18828; cf. Bottéro 1983:201-202.

The idea of the world of the dead as a place no one can leave seems to be contradicted by the many texts speaking of malign spirits of the dead causing distress to the living, because this implies that it was possible for these spirits to leave the netherworld[2]. Also the fact that the spirits of the dead are described as birds (Gilg. VII.iv.31.38) may have to do with their ability to leave the netherworld[3]. However, we should not put too much stress on this manner of speaking, because a spirit of a dead person roaming about in the world of the living still belongs to the world of the dead. Just as in Israelite thought (see p.69 above) the world of the dead not only denoted a place, but also the power of death. Someone who is on the brink of death was believed to be in the world of the dead already. And when the world of the dead is called a land of no return this means also that, once dead, a person can never return to the state of life again, because the power of death is too great for him. This does not exclude, however, the possibility that spirits of the dead can make contact with the living. We can compare this, again, to the fate of Nergal. After he had made love to Ereshkigal the netherworld had become his eternal home. His escape from there was only temporarily, because he was forced to return to Ereshkigal[1].

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[1] Cf. Bottéro 1980:33-34; cf. "Descent of Ishtar", obv.12.37-62; rev.39-45 and "Nergal and Ereshkigal", III.41-47; VI.19-28.

[2] Cf. Bottéro 1980:43: "Le Pays-sans-retour qui ne cesse de laisser 'retourner' ses inhabitants"; cf. also Bottéro 1983:203.

[3] Cf. Bottéro 1980: 34 . This comparison of the dead with birds is widespread in the ancient Near East. In Egypt the transformation of the dead in birds like the falcon and the swallow played an important part in the belief of the deceased king going to heaven (cf. Kees 1956:68). The *Ba* of a dead person was represented as a bird to indicate his freedom to move from and back to the body (cf. Spencer 1982:59). Also Homer compares the dead with birds (cf. Od.11,207.222; 24,6-9) and in the Greek funerary art the spirits of the dead are depicted as birds fluttering round the offerings brought to the graves (cf. Burkert 1977:302). We can also note in this connection the Mesopotamian representations of demons as winged beings, e.g. Pazuzu, Shedu, and Lamassu (cf. D.O. Edzard, WM I/1, p.49 and ANEP, pl.659). Winged demons were also known in Canaan (cf. De Moor 1981:108-109.114 and De Moor, Spronk 1984:246). Among the Arabs we find the idea of hostile spirits of the dead as birds or flies (cf. Morgenstern 1966:121-122 and Scheftelowitz 1925:12-14.175-176). We can also mention here the Ugaritic *rpʾum* and Persian Fravashis being represented as helpful winged beings (cf. De Moor 1981:117-118 and Boyce 1975:118.126). See on Arabic conceptions of deceased children as "paradise birds" T. Canaan, ZDPV 75(1959),98 and on the dead as owls Homerin 1985.

The negative description of the situation of the dead in the netherworld in Enkidu's nightmare can be compared to the fearful vision of the netherworld by an Assyrian prince called Kumma[2]. The Assyrian text describing this vision dates from the seventh century B.C. It gives a terrifying picture of the netherworld and its inhabitants, showing the bitter fate of former kings who lived in wealth on earth but who forgot their divine benefactors. This vision is said to be granted to Kumma as a warning: "May this word be laid on your hearts like a thorn"(1.28). Enkidu's dream can likewise be interpreted as a warning against him and Gilgamesh, because they had opposed the gods in killing Huwawa and the bull of heaven. They can expect to be condemned in the hereafter to hunger and thirst and to the loss of their royal status, that is, to share the fate of those who are deprived of a grave, grave-goods and funerary offerings.

A second description of the netherworld by Enkidu is less negative. We are told how the spirit of Enkidu is allowed to leave the netherworld to tell Gilgamesh "the ways of the netherworld". In the following passage, which is restored from the Sumerian poem "Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld"[3], Gilgamesh is informed about the fate of a number of persons:

"*[Him who had]* one *[son]*, hast thou seen?" "I have seen:

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[1] Cf. Hutter 1985:108.112.

[2] ANET, pp.109-110. According to F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl, *Het Gilgamesj epos*, 5th ed., Brussel 1958, p.154 this Assyrian text is derived from Gilg.VII.iv.31-44 quoted above.
It has been assumed that the vision of Kumma also contains a reference to beatific afterlife, viz. for those who honoured the god Assur (rev. ll.24-25) (cf. Ebeling 1931:2.7-8 and Baumgartner 1959:140), but this is based on a translation which is now superseded.

[3] Cf. Heidel 1946:100-101. Speiser admits that Heidel's restorations from the Sumerian are probable (ANET, p.99).

> he lies prostrate at [the foot] of the wall (and) weeps bitterly [ov]er (it)."
> "Him who had two sons, hast thou seen?" "I have seen:
> he dwells in a brick-structure (and) eats bread."
> "Him who had three sons, hast thou seen?" "I have seen:
> he drinks water out of the waterskins of the deep."
> "Him who had four sons, hast thou seen?" "I have seen:
> like [ ] his heart rejoices."
> "Him who had five sons, hast thou seen?" "I have seen:
> [ ] he enters the palace."
> . . .
> "Him who had [eight sons], hast thou seen?" "I have seen:
> like a beautiful standard [ ]."
> . . .
> "Him [who died] a sud[den] death, hast thou seen?" "[I have seen]:
> he lies upon the night couch and drinks pure water."
> "Him who was killed in battle, hast thou seen?" "I have seen:
> his father and his mother raise up his head and his wife [weeps] over him."
> "Him whose corpse was cast out upon the steppe, hast thou seen?" "I have seen:
> lees of the pot, crumbs of bread, offals of the street he eats."
> (Gilg.XII.102-153)

This text makes it abundantly clear that the dead were thought to be totally dependent on the living for their well-being in the hereafter, especially on their descendants[1]. If someone who had only one son is said to be weeping bitterly, someone who had remained childless must have been much more pitiable: he will have nothing to eat and drink. Perhaps the more fortunate dead leave him something; otherwise he has to eat dust and clay[2].

In death man loses all power he had during his life. This idea is beautifully expressed in the myth of Ishtar's descent into the netherworld. She has to pass seven gates and at every of these gates she has to leave some of her clothes and signs of power. Finally, she stands naked, deprived of all power, before the queen of the netherworld. This is doubtless a reflection of what was believed to be the fate of all dead going to the netherworld. Although they have power to influence life on earth, there is nothing the dead can do for themselves.

It is noteworthy that Gilg.XII does not contain a single indication of the idea of some kind of retribution after death[3]. The text quoted from tablet VII and the related "Vision of the Netherworld" might give the impression that moral conduct in this life, especially in religious matters, is of some influence to the state in the hereafter, but in tablet XII and its Sumerian counterpart the proper care for the body and its eternal resting place appears to be decisive. Nevertheless, there are several references to judges of the netherworld. We already mentioned the moon-god and the sun-god. Next to them also the Anunnaki were known in that function. Their judgment, however, is not a decision on moral grounds about the future state of the dead. It is merely the definitive sentence of death[1].

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[1] Cf. Bottéro 1980:35-39.

[2] See on the common ancient Near Eastern idea of dead being forced to eat their own dung and to drink their own urine Xella 1980.

[3] Cf. Bottéro 1980:35

According to Gilg.XII the first condition of a bearable afterlife is a decent burial[2], which guarantees that the bones and the grave are left untroubled. These remains function as a sign for the living. A name can disappear without leaving a trace, but the indissoluble part of a human being can keep the memory alive[3] and enable the dead to profit from the funerary offerings[4]. Burning the dead was unusual in ancient Mesopotamia[5], because to molest the body of a dead person "increases his being dead"[6]. For this reason Assurbanipal could punish his enemies even after their death by destroying their tombs. In this way he also cut them off from food offerings[7]. The punishment of the dead governor of Nippur is even worse. His bones were taken from his grave to Nineveh, where his sons, who were responsible for his well-being in the hereafter, were forced to destroy them[8]. The spirit of such an unfortunate dead person is now forced to roam about, because he has no place to rest. He shares the fate of all those who were not buried. It is a terrible curse when somebody says: "May his ghost not be buried in the earth, may his ghost not join the ghosts of his relatives"[1]. The longing for eternal rest, but also the immense fear of grave-robbers and enemies trying to disturb the grave, is expressed in the inscriptions on and in the graves[2]. The grave of Sanherib was called "Palace of rest, eternal residence, immovable house of the family"[3]. Very often we find the request to those who visit the grave not to disturb it, but eventually restore it to order[4].

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[1] Cf. D.O. Edzard, WM I/1, p.131 and Bottéro 1980:34. In the Sumerian hymn to Nungal (cf. A.W. Sjöberg, "Nungal in the Ekur", AfO 24(1973),19-41) the judgement on the righteous and evil by the goddess of the netherworld refers to life on earth. The evil persons are sentenced to death, whereas the righteous and "cleaned" sinners are blessed in this life.

[2] For a description of the different kinds of burial practices in ancient Mesopotamia see Heidel 1946:157-165; Haller 1954; Strommenger 1957:581-593; and with regard to the method of describing and interpreting these material remains Barrelet 1980.

[3] Cf. Bottéro 1980:28 and Cassin 1982.

[4] Cf. Bayliss 1973:125.

[5] Cf. Strommenger 1957:592.

[6] Asb 62 VII 46; quoted by Hirsch 1968:50 who translates "Ich vergrösserte den Zustand seines Totseins gegenüber vorher (indem ich den Leichen den Kopf abschlug)".

[7] Cf. Heidel 1946:156.

[8] Cf. Cassin 1982:358-359.

The grave, which is also the entrance to the netherworld[5], is the proper place to bring the food- and libation-offerings to the dead. There were probably special rooms connected with the grave which were used for this purpose. Such a room is the so-called "House of the Family" (*bīt kimti(m)*)[6] and it is very likely that *bīt kispi*, "House of the funerary-offering" denotes the same building. The offerings brought to the grave after the burial have to be distinguished from the grave-goods interred together with the body[7]. Usually these grave-goods were the personal belongings of the deceased. As well as these, people gave the dead special things they were supposed to need in their life in the netherworld, especially food and drink. This had to be supplied regularly. In many texts we read of monthly offerings to the dead[8] and the month of Ab appears to have been regarded as the appropriate time for a yearly offering or even a festival of the dead[9].

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[1] Cf. CAD "E", p.398.

[2] See on these inscriptions Bottéro 1982.

[3] Cf. Bottéro 1982:382.

[4] Cf. Foster 1981:620 and Bottéro 1982:384ff.

[5] Cf. Bottéro 1980:31-32.

[6] Cf. W.L. Moran, Bib.50(1969),42.

[7] For surveys of the various kinds of grave-goods see B. Hrouda, in Haller 1954:183 and Strommenger 1957:605-606.

[8] Cf. Heidel 1946:151-153.

[9] Ibid., pp.151-152; cf. also S. Langdon, *Babylonian Menologies and the Semitic Calendar*, The Schweich Lectures 1933, London 1935, p.20 and R. Labat, *Un calendrier babylonien des travaux des signes et des mois*, Paris 1965, pp.65.67.153.

One of the things the people of Mesopotamia feared most with regard to the afterlife, was thirst in the dry and dusty netherworld. For this reason the provision of fresh water through libation installations connected with the graves was very important to them[1].

Spirits lacking a place to rest and regular sustenance would become hostile to the living who neglected their task towards the dead. They would leave their world in order to revenge themselves on the living. This was felt as a great threat to the order of the world of the living. The world of the dead and the world of the living are each other's counterparts. They are in perfect balance. This balance is lost, however, when inhabitants of one world invade the other[2]. For this reason nobody can leave the netherworld without a substitute. This is an important element in the story of Ishtar's descent into the netherworld and in the myth of Enlil and Ninlil. Consider also the following menacing words of Ishtar: "I will smash the doors of the netherworld, I will place those above below, I will raise up the dead eating the living[3], so that the dead shall outnumber the living" (Gilg.VI.96-100; "Descent of Ishtar", obv.17-20; "Nergal and Ereshkigal", V.11-12.26-27).

All kinds of human diseases were ascribed to the malign influence of hostile spirits of the dead. So the sick had to be cured with the help of exorcism. Many texts describing such rituals were found[4].

The hostile relation between the unsatisfied dead and the living is the negative side of the feeling of a lasting communion of the living with the deceased. This close relation between the living and the dead is also apparent in a more positive way in the much attested custom of burying the dead beneath the floor of houses and palaces[5] and in the so-called *kispu-*

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[1] Cf. Parrot 1937:1-53; CAD, s.v. *arūtu*, "(clay)pipe (through which libations are made)"; Ebeling 1931:21.68.69.126; P. Michalowski, Or.46(1977), 221, n.4. See on Sumerian *ki-a-nagga* as the place of libation offerings to the dead A. Falkenstein, *Die Inschriften Gudeas von Lagaš*, AnOr 30, Rome 1966, pp.138-139.

[2] Cf. Afanasieva 1981 and Hutter 1985:111.

[3] Cf. the translation by Von Soden.

[4] See the survey by Bottéro 1983.

[5] Cf. Heidel 1946:164 and B. Hrouda, in Haller 1954:184-185. Barrelet criticizes the common view that the houses under which the graves were found were still inhabited at the moment they were used as burial ground (cf. Barrelet 1980:8-13).

offerings to the dead[1], which were basically communal meals of the living with the dead ancestors. Like other funerary offerings the *kispu* was held periodically, usually once or twice a month, especially at new moon[2], but also on special occasions like a burial or the appearance of an evil spirit. Like the usual funerary offerings it could take place near the grave, but there was also a special room for this, called the *bīt kispi*. In taking part in this meal the dead were able to continue the way of "life" they were used to before death; consider, e.g., the following text: "As long as I am alive, they will give me food; when I am dead, they will bring me the *kispum*"[3].

If the well-being of the dead depends on burial and funerary offerings, it might be assumed that wealthy families had not much to fear with regard to the hereafter. Enkidu's description of the netherworld in Gilg.XII already shows a certain hierarchy in the world of the dead, which reflects the situation of life on earth[4]. Belonging to the top of this hierarchy, however, can hardly be called beatific afterlife, because it is still life in the netherworld. Even if some dead, as they are described by Enkidu, seem to be better off, the remark introducing his description of the world of the dead is never taken back: "If I must tell thee the ways of the netherworld, which I have seen, sit down and weep" (Gilg.XII.90-91). The many grave-goods and repeated offerings to deceased rich and powerful people like kings could offer more comfort, but certainly no release from death; nor do they imply that these dead were venerated. The way in which kings and other important people were buried does not differ basically from the burials of ordinary people. The royal graves were just bigger and

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[1] Cf. Finkelstein 1966:115-116; Ribar 1973:88-135; W.T. Pitard, BASOR 232 (1978),67; Bottéro 1980:38; Tsukimoto 1980 (the book of A. Tsukimoto, *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (kispum) im alten Mesopotamien*, AOAT 216, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1985 was not available to me); C. Wilcke, ZA 73(1983), 50-53. Many texts on the *kispu*-offerings were found in Mari (cf. Talon 1978 and Birot 1980). For a reference from the beginning of the first millennium B.C. from Elam see E. Reiner, "Inscriptions from a Royal Elamite Tomb", AfO 24(1973),87-102.

[2] Cf. Talon 1978:61. One text concerning the *kispu* begins with a prayer to the moon-god to release the dead in order to let them eat and drink (cf. C. Wilcke, ZA 73(1983),50-53).

[3] MDP 23,285,15; cf. Hirsch 1968:41: "solange ich am Leben bin, wird sie mir Speise geben, wenn ich tot bin, wird sie mir das Totenopfer darbringen."

[4] Cf. Kramer 1960:65 and Bottéro 1980:35.

and contained some grave-goods[1]. Even the co-interment of a human retinue, which was discovered at Ur, Kish and Susa[2] and which is also attested in Egypt (see p.87 above) and in other cultures[3], can hardly be regarded as a deviation from this principle. It can be compared to the giving of servants in the form of statues to the dead, like the Egyptian *Ushabtis* and the six thousand terra cotta warriors in the mausoleum of the first emperor of China. Surrounded by servants the king remained king after his death[4]. He is not dependent on the living remembering his name and providing him with funerary offerings, because he has his own servants in afterlife to attend him.

The royal and wealthy families could also use their might to make the memory of each of its members last as long as possible. This could be achieved, e.g., by representing the dead ancestors by statues[5] or inscribed stelae[6]. Because the royal dead were remembered much longer than deceased common people, they were also believed to profit longer from offerings to the dead[1]. The offerings to non-royal dead usually included only one to five former generations, the offerings to the royal dead the entire dynasty. This is illustrated by two recently published texts, one connected with private funerary offerings to the dead[2], the other with royal funerary offerings, the so-called "Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty"[3]. The former mentions five generations, in the latter the whole genealogy of the dynasty is summed up, together with the names of contemporary dynasties and with all spirits of the dead that are considered important to the well-being of the living king: the royal dead, the heroes and also the spirits that might become hostile: "(Any) dynasty which is not recorded on this tablet, and (any) soldier who fell while on his lord's service, princes, princesses, all humanity, from the east to the west, who have no one to care for them or to call their names, come, eat this, drink this, (and) bless Ammi-ṣaduqa, son of Ammiditana, king of Babylon"[4]. These last lines clearly indicate the goal of these *kispu*-offerings. Through them the mighty spirits of the dead have to be propitiated in order to get their support[5] or to avert any hostility from the netherworld. Because of the great responsibility of the king, who represents the whole country, every possible evil spirit is included[6]. On the other hand this impressive genealogy also legitimizes the ruling dynasty[7]. Another clear example of this is offered by a royal *kispu*-

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[1] Cf. Strommenger 1957:592-593. An elaborate description of the remains of the royal tombs of Assur is given by Haller 1954:170-181. He concludes: "Diese Königsgrüfte zeigen, dass die Herrscher in gleicher Weise beigesetzt wurden wie ihre Untertanen. Der Unterschied bestand nur in der Grösse und der reicheren Ausgestaltung der Grüfte und Sarkophagen"(Ibid., p.180)

[2] Cf. Strommenger 1957:608 (with more literature) and A.R. Green, *The Role of Human sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*, Missoula 1975, pp.46-53. A literary indication of this custom seems to be offered by the Sumerian text "The Death of Gilgamesh" (cf. ANET, pp.50-52; Jestin 1956; Kramer 1960:59-60; K. Oberhuber, in *Das Gilgamesch-Epos*, ed. K. Oberhuber, Darmstadt 1977, p.12; and (hesitatingly) H.W.F. Saggs, *The Greatness that was Babylon*, London 1962, p.375).

[3] Cf. Rolle 1979:88-96.144-145 on the Skythians and G. Malmqvist, TRE VII, p.763 on the Chinese Shing-dynasty (2nd millennium B.C.).

[4] Cf. Heidel 1946:159.192 and Bottéro 1980:35.

[5] Cf. Bauer 1969:110-111; Bayliss 1973:124; Birot 1980:147; and Cassin 1982:365-366. This phenomenon is quite common in the ancient Near East; see on Egypt K. Kuhlmann, LÄ III, cols.661-663; Kees 1956:56; Spencer 1982:54-55; and Brunner 1983:126; see on the Hittites Otten 1958:14ff. 110-112 and HO 8.1.1., pp.109-113; and Hawkins 1980; see on Syria KAI 214:15ff.; 225; 226; and the temples with memorial stelae in Byblos and Tell Halaf.

[6] Cf. P.A. Miglus, "Another Look at the 'Stelenreihe' in Assur", ZA 74 (1984),133-140 who discusses the older literature on this subject. In his opinion these stelae of kings and high state officials were originally set up in the temple and functioned as adorants representing the persons named on the stelae before the gods. He rejects among others the theory that these stelae would have been posthumous monuments (proposed, e.g., by Albright 1957:243 and Healey 1977B:47-48). However, in favour

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of this interpretation it can be advanced that, if Miglus is right in regarding these stelae as originally connected with a different place than where the excavators found them, a funerary context cannot be excluded. As a matter of fact we know that statues and stelae representing the dead played an important part in the *kispu*-ritual.

[1] Cf. Bayliss 1973:123.

[2] CBS 473; cf. C. Wilcke, ZA 73(1983),50-53.

[3] Cf. Finkelstein 1966 and Lambert 1968.

[4] ll.32-43; cf. Lambert 1968:1.

[5] See on this often neglected benevolent aspect of the spirits of the dead members of the family A. Skaist, "The Ancestor Cult and Succession in Mesopotamia" in Alster 1980:123-128; esp. pp.126-127; cf. also Jacobsen 1976:209 and Bottéro 1983:173-174. See on the scarce but clear traces of necromancy in ancient Mesopotamia also Finkel 1983.

[6] Cf. Lambert 1968:2 and Bayliss 1973:124-125.

[7] Cf. W.G. Lambert, in *Le palais et la royauté*, CRRAI 19, ed. P. Garelli, Paris 1974, p.430.

text from Mari mentioning the famous kings Sargon and Naram-Sin of Akkad, thus linking up the dynasty of the king of Mari with the ancient dynasty of Akkad[1].

A text like the "Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty" makes it clear that the prime function of the funerary offerings was to safeguard the living against the menace of the neglected dead. If the situation of the dead is considered in itself, as in Gilg.VII and XII, we can also conclude that the living could do much for the dead. Rich and powerful families like the royal family had the opportunity to save the ancestors from oblivion and to provide for their needs for a long time. The threat, however, of these funerary offerings being stopped for some reason could never be taken away; not even by the gods mentioned in connection with the offerings to the dead, like the sun-god and the moon-god helping to give food and drink to the dead and Hendursaga who protects the graves against grave-robbers[2]. Together with the grave and the funerary offerings the confidence in such divine support will disappear.

We hardly find indications of total trust in one's (personal) god with regard to one's fate in the world of the dead. We can mention in this connection only a number of funerary inscriptions dating from the second half of the second millennium B.C. They were found far from the most important centres of Mesopotamian civilization, viz. in Susa, the capital of Elam. For this reason they cannot be regarded as representative for the rest of Mesopotamia. The first and best preserved of these texts[3] contains the following prayer:

> Come, I shall go, my god, my lord
> before the Anunnaki.
> I shall pass the road,
> I shall take thy hand before the Great Gods,
> I shall listen to the judgement and take thy feet.
> Receive my prayer, my god.
> After you have let me cross a pool of privation and sufferings
> in a land of misery, you shall find me,
> you shall provide me with water and herbs in a field of thirst.

The other texts speak of the gods guiding the dead in the netherworld and apparently also of a good and bad fate for the dead. Ebeling suggests that these texts contain elements of a concept of beatific afterlife[1], but these texts show no way out of the netherworld and it has to be doubted whether life in the netherworld could ever be called blissful[2]. The belief expressed in the text quoted above only offers a solution to the problem of dependence on unreliable funerary offerings.

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[1] Cf. Birot 1980:149.

[2] Cf. H. Sauren, "Hendursaga, Genius des Saturn, Gott des Todes", OLoP 10 (1979),75-95; esp. p.90.

[3] Cf. Ebeling 1931:19-22 (no.3) and Bottéro 1982:393-402.

2.2.2. HOPES FOR BEATIFIC AFTERLIFE

In the following passage of the Gilgamesh Epic we find a definition of beatific (after)life together with the observation that this is reserved for the gods:

> Who, my friend, is the tall one
> who could hold on to the sky?
> Only gods dwell forever with the sun-god.
> Mere man, his days are numbered.
> (Gilg.III.iv.4-7) [3]

We can compare this to the last lines of the so-called "Pessimistic Dialogue between Master and Servant"[4]: "Who is tall enough to ascend to heaven? Who is broad enough to embrace the earth?". The lines want to express the idea that a human being cannot expect ever to comprehend the mysteries of life and death, because they transcend what is human[5]. One of the few persons who was said to have obtained divine wisdom during his life is Adapa. When Anu is told that Ea has given divine wisdom to Adapa he says:

> Why did Ea to a worthless human of the heaven
> And the earth the plan disclose,
> Rendering him distinguished and making a name for him?

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[1] Ebeling 1931:20; cf. Bottéro 1982:402 who wants to compare these texts on how to behave in the hereafter with Greek Orphic literature.

[2] Cf. Bottéro 1980:42 who distinguishes two, both negative conceptions of the netherworld: "l'une simplement négative et plutôt pitoyable, l'autre carrément hostile et terrible". Hutter 1985:169-171 maintains that the myth of Nergal and Ereshkigal shows sympathy for the goddess of the netherworld and interprets this as some kind of comfort to the dead, but he has to admit that this is but a poor consolation.

[3] Cf. Jacobsen 1980:21.

[4] Cf. W.G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature*, Oxford 1960, pp.139-149 and J. Bottéro, "Le 'dialogue pessimiste' et la transcendance", RThPh 99(1966),7-24.

[5] "C'est là une manière de dire: personne au monde ne saurait répondre à la question formulée, sur le sens de la vie humaine" (Bottéro, p.19).

> As for us, what shall we do about him? Bread of life
> Fetch for him and he shall eat (it).
> (Adapa B, 57-61)[1]

Apparently it is only one step from being wise like the gods to enjoying eternal life like the gods[2]. But even to Adapa death is inescapable: misled by Ea he loses the chance of becoming immortal like the gods. So also the story of Adapa shows that finally all humans must go to their fate. This holds true for the great Gilgamesh as well. With the plant of life in his possession as a result of a long and hard search he had the chance of escaping death[3], but he simply lost it in a moment of bad luck.

Stories like these, about the possibilities and impossibilities of transcending the borders of human life[4], teach the listeners to accept at least physical death and not to protest against it[5]. In different ways the people of ancient Mesopotamia tried to find a form of compensation for being mortal. Gilgamesh is advised to stop looking for immortality and at least to enjoy the things he can obtain as mortal man:

> Thou, Gilgamesh, let full be thy belly,
> Make thou merry by day and by night.
> Of each day make thou a feast of rejoicing.
> Day and night dance thou and play.
> Let thy garments be sparkling fresh,

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[1] ANET, p.102. It is interesting to note in this connection that one of the names of the Mesopotamian hero of the flood, who received eternal life from the gods, is Atrahasis, which means "exeedingly wise" (cf. Tigay 1982:217, n.11.229-230). The name Adapa also means "wise" (cf. AHw, p.1542 and Borger 1974:186).

[2] J.D. Bing, "Adapa and Immortality", UF 16(1984),53-56 rightly maintains against G. Buccellati, UF 5(1973),61-66 that the gift offered by Anu to Adapa is everlasting life.

[3] According to R.A. Veenker, "Gilgamesh and the Magic Plant", BA 44(1981), 199-205 "the tale of the magic plant, removed from its context in the Gilgamesh Epic, is a myth which offers an explanation for the extraordinary longevity of the antediluvians". This is unlikely, however, because the possession of the plant of life implies that one has the opportunity to live forever and not just very long (cf. De Liagre Böhl, *Het Gilgamesj Epos*, pp.176-177). In this regard the criticism of Veenker's speculative theory by W.G. Lambert, BA 45(1982),69 may have missed the point as well, because Lambert speaks of obtaining only a second life, whereas there is no reason to assume that he could be rejuvenated only once.

[4] Cf. B. Alster, RA 68(1974),60.

[5] Cf. Jacobsen 1980 and Hutter 1985:171. According to H.N. Wolff, "Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Heroic Life", JAOS 89(1969),392-398 the Gilgamesh Epic shows a development from innocence via knowledge to acceptance of death.

> Thy head be washed; bath thou in water.
> Pay heed to the little one that holds on to thy hand,
> Let thy spouse delight in thy bosom.
> For this is the task of *[mankind]*.
> (Gilg.X.iii.6-14)

The same attitude can be found in some of the Egyptian Harper's Songs and in Eccl 9:7-10 [1]. Death is certainly felt to be acceptable when it comes naturally after a full life, when it is not violent or premature[2].

Another way of making seem death acceptable is mentioned by Gilgamesh after his remark about living forever with the sun-god (see p.110 above):

> As for mankind, numbered are their days;
> Whatever they achieve is but the wind.
> Even here thou art afraid of death.
> What of thy heroic might?
> Let me go then before thee,
> Let thy mouth call to me, "Advance, fear not!"
> Should I fall, I shall have made me a name:
> "Gilgamesh" - they will say - "against fierce Huwawa has fallen!"
> (Gilg.III.iv.7-15) [3]

This hope to defeat death by obtaining an immortal name, which can be found in many cultures[4], could not satisfy Gilgamesh, who had started fearing physical death after having seen his companion Enkidu die. Only after he had failed to obtain immortal life he seemed to accept the consolation of immortal fame as the builder of the magnificent walls of Uruk. This is indicated by the framework of the epic describing the great walls of the city of Uruk built by Gilgamesh[5]. Despite his heroic efforts, Gilgamesh did not come further than what he himself already had said before the battle with Huwawa. The only difference is that now the immortality of his name is taken to be ensured by the famous walls of Uruk being a lasting token of his might. The same consolation was offered to the deceased king Ur-Nammu in a Sumerian text called "The Death of Ur-Nammu and his Descent to the Netherworld"[6]. In the last lines of this text the goddess Inanna promises the king that his name shall be mentioned forever[1]. We can also compare the inscription of king Hammurapi celebrating the reconstruction of the walls of Sippar. He writes that he has made himself a name that will never be forgotten[2].

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[1] Cf. W. Zimmerli, in H. Ringgren, W. Zimmerli, *Sprüche, Prediger*, ATD 16/1, 3rd ed., Göttingen 1980, p.222.

[2] Cf. Schützinger 1978:60; Lambert 1980:65; and Steiner 1982:248.

[3] Cf. also the Sumerian tale of "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living", ll.28-32 (cf. ANET, p.48).

[4] Cf. Bailey 1979:27-28 and pp.92-93 above.

[5] Cf. A.L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, Chicago 1964, p.257.

[6] Cf. Kramer 1967.

According to De Liagre Böhl the original ending of the Gilgamesh Epic may have been the Sumerian tale "Gilgamesh and Agga", in which the heroic battle is praised and which probably ended with a description of the heroic death of Gilgamesh. This would be totally in line with Gilgamesh's words about the immortal fame according to Gilg.III.iv.14-15[3]. This proposal, however, remains hypothetical and found few supporters. Be this as it may, it is clear that by adding the Sumerian tale of "Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld" as the last tablet of the epic, a solution to the problem of human mortality is given, which is not prepared in the preceding tablets. Gilg.XII offers a third way of trying to find some compensation for being mortal, next to the solutions of pleasant life before death and immortal fame. Now the possibility of an acceptable afterlife in the netherworld is put forward. This is all the more interesting, if one takes into account the fact that Gilgamesh was also known as a ruler of the netherworld[4] and that this kingship of the netherworld seems to be interpreted in the Sumerian text "The Death of Gilgamesh" as a consolation for his failure to obtain immortality[5]. By adding tablet XII the redactor may have intended to connect the two traditions about Gilgamesh: by informing him about the laws of the netherworld Enkidu prepares Gilgamesh for his future function[6].

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[1] Cf. C. Wilcke, "Eine Schicksalsentscheidung für den toten Urnammu", in CRRAI 17, ed. A. Finet, Ham-sur-Heure 1970, pp.81-92; esp. p.91.

[2] Cf. H. Klengel, JCS 28(1976),156.

[3] De Liagre Böhl 1977:272.

[4] Cf. D.O. Edzard, WM I/1, pp.69.131; Lambert 1960; and Bottéro 1980:200f.

[5] Cf. Lambert 1960:51.

[6] Cf. Tigay 1982:105-107.235. An example of this future task is given in "Death of Ur-Nammu", 11.142-143: "His beloved brother Gilgamesh propounds to him the judgement of the Netherworld, sets forth the decisions of the Netherworld" (cf. Kramer 1967:119). The connection between Gilgamesh as he is pictured in the Gilgamesh Epic and Gilgamesh as the lord of the netherworld can also be found in a collection of omen texts that refer to both traditions, e.g., "Gilgamesh (who slew) Huwawa" is mentioned next to "Gilgamesh the mighty king, . . . judge of the netherworld" (cf. Lambert 1960:44-45).

What interests us here most is the position of Gilgamesh as a king of the netherworld. Is he "a Babylonian Osiris"[1]? According to the Sumerian King list Gilgamesh is a famous king who once lived in Uruk[2] and who was deified together with Lugalbanda and Dumuzi[3]. Of them at least Gilgamesh and Dumuzi were supposed to have become gods of the netherworld after their death[4]. According to "Death of Ur-Nammu", ll.94 and 103 the deceased king brings sacrifices to a number of gods in the netherworld among whom are Gilgamesh and Dumuzi. Lugalbanda is never explicitly mentioned as a king of the netherworld, although there are indications of a prominent place offered to him there[5]. The relation of Gilgamesh to Dumuzi, "the beloved spouse of Ishtar", is very important with regard to the interpretation of the Gilgamesh Epic, because we are told that Gilgamesh had scornfully rejected a proposal by Ishtar to marry her. One of his arguments was that "she has ordained wailing year after year for Dumuzi, the lover of her youth" (Gilg.VI.46-47)[6]. So Gilgamesh apparently means to say that he does not want to be a god in the netherworld; he prefers life without death[7]. For this reason the promise of a prominent place in the netherworld, to which the added tablet XII refers, would probably not have been accepted by Gilgamesh as a consolation for the bitter fate of death either. Even the highest position in the netherworld cannot compensate for life. As we noticed above, the same idea is found in the Egyptian literature: Osiris is described as complaining that he cannot see the sun (see p.89 above). And in Greek mythology Achilles takes the same point of view: he declares that he prefers being a humble farm worker rather than being a king of all the dead (Od.11,489-491). A parallel to Gilgamesh's refusal of the offer of Ishtar can also be found in the Ugaritic epic of Aqhat. Here we are told that Aqhat does not accept an offer of the goddess Anat to give him immortality, because he knows that even with this offer he cannot escape death (KTU 1.17:VI.25-38; see the discussion of this text in section 2.5. 2.2.1. below).

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[1] Lambert 1960:39.

[2] See on the historicity of Gilgamesh Lambert 1960:48-52 and Tigay 1982: 13-16.

[3] Cf. ANET, p.266. See on the deification of Lugalbanda C. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos*, Wiesbaden 1969, pp.51-52.

[4] Cf. Schottroff 1982:161.163-167.

[5] Cf. Wilcke, *Das Lugalbandaepos*, p.54.

[6] The conception of Dumuzi as a dying god of fertility is very complex and cannot be discussed here. An excellent survey is offered by Jacobsen 1976:23-73; cf. also S.N. Kramer, *The Sacred Marriage Rite*, London 1969 and O.R. Gurney, "Tammuz Reconsidered", JSSt 2(1962),147-160.
The traditions about Dumuzi seem to be concerned with the same problem as the Gilgamesh Epic: the limits set to a person who is almost like the gods. In the Dumuzi texts as well as in the Gilgamesh Epic "the contradiction that the king was deified, but remained mortal" is reflected; cf. Alster 1972:14 and M.-J. Seux, RLA VI, pp.171-172.
For a new text describing the death and burial of Dumuzi see Kramer 1980.

[7] Cf. De Liagre Böhl 1977:248.

In this connection we have to pay some attention to the occurrence in ancient Mesopotamia of deification of kings, especially in the ancient dynasty of Akkad and in the third dynasty of Ur[1]. The traditions about posthumous deification of ancient kings probably contributed to the tendency to regard the king as a god already during his lifetime[2]. Without pretending to solve the many problems connected with the theory of a concept of divine kingship (see also pp.63-64 above) or even to put forward new arguments, it may be assumed that the reason for deification of the king during his lifetime was primarily political[3]. The deification of a king was usually based on the belief that he had divine parents. This made him the legitimate king[4] representing the divine order. The person of the king himself is of less importance in this matter. For this reason the people of Mesopotamia seem to have paid relatively little attention to posthumous veneration of the divine king. Only from the period of the Ur III culture, where this deification of the king received much attention[5], do we have clear information of the continuation of the cult of the divine king after his death[1].

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[1] Cf. Frankfort 1948:224-226.295-312; W.G. Lambert, RLA III, p.544; D.O. Edzard, WM I/1, pp.134-135; H. Klengel, JCS 28(1976),156ff.; J. Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns*, Ramat-Gan 1981, pp.30ff.; Schottroff 1982:172-178; W. Farber, Or.52(1983),67-72; M.-J. Seux, RLA VI, pp.170-172; and W. von Soden, *Einführung in die Altorientalistik*, Wiesbaden 1985, pp.63-64.

[2] Cf. C. Wilcke, in *Le palais et la royauté*, CRRAI 19, ed., P. Garelli, Paris 1974, p.179.

[3] Cf. Frankfort 1948:301-302 and F.R. Kraus, in CRRAI 19, p.247.

[4] Cf. W.G. Lambert, "The Seed of Kingship", in CRRAI 19, pp.427-440.

[5] Cf. Schottroff 1982:173-174. The first Mesopotamian king who was deified already during his life was probably Naram-Sin of Akkad, a few centuries before the Ur III-period; cf. W. Farber, "Die Vergöttlichung Narām-Sins", Or.52(1983),67-72; esp. pp.67-68.

In the hereafter the deified king becomes a king of the netherworld, just like the former king of Uruk, Gilgamesh. Ur-Nammu was called "brother of Gilgamesh" during his life[2], but also after his death (cf. "Death of Ur-Nammu, l.142). So this deification does not imply a hope for beatific afterlife[3]. We are told in "Death of Ur-Nammu" that the best thing this king of the Ur III-period could achieve is immortal fame. The same opinion is ventured by Hammurapi, whose name was often used in personal names as the name of a god[4]: "I made myself a good name, which will be pronounced forever like (the name of) a god and which will never be forgotten"[5]. What makes Hammurapi like a god is his immortal fame.

A very interesting text within this framework is an inscription of Samsu-Iluna, who lived in the beginning of the eighteenth century B.C. It tells us how this king was inspired by the gods to make the foundations of the city of Kish "firm as a mountain" and to heighten the walls of the city. The inscription ends as follows: "Therefore, may Zababa and Ishtar give to Samsu-Iluna, the prince, their twin-brother, the gift and grant of health and life as eternal as Sin and Shamash"[6]. As with Gilgamesh, Ur-Nammu and Hammurapi, the walls he had built contributed to his fame as a king. This text does not mention, however, the idea of the immortality of his name as the builder of these everlasting walls. It speaks of physical immortality represented by the moon-god and the sun-god. On the other hand we have to take into account that what is asked for is a continuation of this life, not beatific afterlife. We should not take this inscription more seriously, therefore, than the prayer for "millions" of years for the king of Egypt, or a pious wish like "may my lord king David live forever" (I Kgs 1:31).

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[1] Cf. G. Wilhelm, "Eine Neu Sumerische Urkunde zum Beopferung Verstorbener Könige", JCS 24(1972),83; H. Limet, "Les temples des rois sumériens divinisés", in *Le temple et le culte*, CRRAI 20, Istanbul 1975, pp.80-94; esp. p.82; and Jacobsen 1976:71.

[2] Cf. Lambert, in CRRAI 19, p.428.

[3] See for this opinion esp. Moortgat 1949:53-79 who sees a direct connection with the royal tombs of Ur; cf. also De Liagre Böhl 1977:247 and against this Scharbert 1970:365-366.

[4] Cf. H. Klengel, "Ḫammurapi und seine Nachfolger im altbabylonischen Onomastikon", JCS 28(1976),156-160.

[5] Cf. Ibid., p.156.

[6] Cf. E. Sollberger, RA 63(1969),40 and Schützinger, pp.57-58.

Such wishes belong to the standard formulae used at the royal court[1].

In the Mesopotamian literature only two persons are mentioned who escaped the "fate of all mankind" and acquired blissful and immortal life. We know most of Ziusudra or, as he is called in the Gilgamesh Epic, Utnapishtim[2]. To him the gods gave a life of eternal bliss similar to what the gods themselves enjoy. This was their reward to him for continuing the sacrifices to the gods after the flood, which destroyed nearly all people. Enlil declared:

> Hitherto Utnapishtim has been but human.
> Henceforth Utnapishtim and his wife shall be like unto us gods.
> Utnapishtim shall reside far away, at the mouth of the rivers!
> (Gilg.XI.193-195)

Compare the last lines of the Sumerian flood story:

> The king Ziusudra prostrated himself before An (and) Enlil
> (Who) gave him life, like a god,
> Elevated him to eternal life, like a god.
> At that time, the king Ziusudra
> Who protected the seed of mankind at the time of destruction,
> They settled in an overseas country, in the orient, in Dilmun.[3]

This life like the gods offered to Utnapishtim has to be distinguished from a state of life like that of Gilgamesh in the netherworld. The most important difference is that Utnapishtim has escaped death and for that reason did not have to go to the realm of the dead. Another important difference is that Utnapishtim has no connection anymore with the world of common humans: he does not need their support, nor does he act among the living like the spirits of the dead. He lives in the east, literally: "at the place where the sun rises", and according to the Sumerian text in an overseas country called Dilmun.

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[1] Cf. F.R. Kraus, in CRRAI 19, pp.247-248; cf. also Ps 72:5: "(the king) shall continue as long as the sun, and before the moon forever" (cf. the LXX and S.M. Paul, "Psalm 72:5 - A Traditional Blessing for the Long Life of the King", JNES 31(1972),351-355 and H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen*, BK XV/2, 5th ed., Neukirchen-Vluyn 1978, pp.655-656.659) and vv.17.19 speaking of his eternal name; cf. also KAI 26:IV.2-3; V.5-7.

[2] The Sumerian name means "life of long days", the Akkadian name means "he found life". It may be assumed that the latter was used in the Gilgamesh Epic, because it fits better into the story of Gilgamesh having failed to obtain what the hero of the flood had found; cf. Tigay 1982: 229-230.

[3] Translation by M. Civil, in Lambert, Millard, *Atraḫasis*, p.145.

The location of Dilmun and the reason why the blessed remain there are vexing problems[1]. Most likely seems to be the identification of Dilmun, as it is described in historical and mythological texts, with the island of Bahrain in the Persian Gulf[2]. In historical texts Dilmun is a well-known trade-centre. Apparently no distinction was made between really existing places and mythical places. We can compare this with the way the city of Kutha is spoken of. This was the centre of the cult of Nergal, who is a god of the netherworld, but it is also a designation of the netherworld itself. And the city of Enegi is described as the "libation-pipe of Ereshkigal's Underworld"[3].

Another myth connected with Dilmun concerns the story of Enki and Ninhursag[4]. It tells us how the cult of Enki was extended to Dilmun and thus explains the presence of fresh water in Dilmun, because Enki is the god of fresh water[5]. The connection of Enki with Dilmun makes clear why Ziusudra spends his blissful life here. It was Enki who had warned him, so that he he could save himself and his wife from the flood. The presence of fresh water is probably another reason for this location, because this is a prerogative for happy life. It also characterizes Dilmun as the opposite of the netherworld, which has no water for the dead to drink. The blessed Ziusudra does not need something like the funerary offerings for his well-being. On an island like Dilmun he would not have to be afraid of thirst like the inhabitants of the netherworld[6]. Furthermore, one would not have to worry about food there either, because Dilmun was also known for its dates[1].

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[1] Cf. Kramer 1963; Schmitt 1973:9-11; Lamberg-Karlovski 1982; and Alster 1983A who mentions most previous literature on this subject.

[2] Cf. Alster 1983A:39-52; esp. p.52. Alster is certainly right in adding that from the point of view of cultural history Dilmun may have designated a larger area in this region. For a popular account of the excavations on Bahrain see G. Bibby, *Looking for Dilmun*, New York 1969 and for more literature see D. Potts, "Bibliography of Bahraini archaeology", in *Dilmun*, ed. D. Potts, Berlin 1983, pp.197-203.

[3] Cf. Lambert 1980:61.

[4] Cf. ANET, pp.37-41 and B. Alster, "Enki and Ninhursag", UF 10(1978),15-27 and P. Attinger, ZA 74(1984),1-52.

[5] Cf. Alster 1983A:59.

[6] F. Vallet, in *Dilmun*, ed. D. Potts, Berlin 1983, pp.94-95 connects the fresh water of Dilmun with an Elamite funerary inscription speaking of water for the dead and concludes that the conception of Dilmun as paradisiac island was influenced by Elamite belief in the hereafter. However, the common conception of the dead being provided with water cannot be equated with belief in beatific afterlife.

Lamberg-Karlovski assumes a relation between the large cemetery found on Bahrain, consisting of more than 150,000 burial mounds, and the tradition of Dilmun as a place of beatific (after)life. The number of graves, which represent at least 300,000 burials, would indicate that not only the inhabitants of the island, but also people from surrounding countries must have been buried there in the hope to find beatific afterlife. Thus Dilmun would have been a "gateway to immortality" for all people or at least for those who could afford a secondary burial on this remote island[2]. According to Lamberg-Karlovski the mounds were built between 2100 and 1800 B.C. This is questioned, however, by other scholars. This and the fact that no Mesopotamian objects were found in the graves, weakens the assumption of an "import" of dead persons[3]. The most important objection to this theory is that a blissful life like that of Ziusudra can only be obtained if one does not have to die; it is not an afterlife. A grave, no matter where it stands, can never be a gateway to eternal bliss like that offered to the hero of the flood.

Another archaeological find deserves our attention here: in a large building a number of dishes were found containing the skeletons of about fifty snakes. This could be associated with the fact that according to the Gilgamesh Epic the plant of life, which was found by Gilgamesh in deep water near the place where Utnapishtim lives, was taken away by a snake. For this reason Bibby interprets these remains as indication of some kind of snake-cult on the island of Bahrain. These snakes could be regarded as sacrifices in quest of health and long life[4]. The snake is connected in many cultures with death and the power to rescue from death[5]. This healing power may have been meant here as well. It is very interesting in this connection to note that the temple of the healing goddess Nin'insina in the city of Ur was called "Dilmun-house"[1]. It is not unlikely that the snake played a part in her cult as in the cults of the healing god Sataran[2] and the Greek Asklepios. All this remains hypothetical, but a connection of the cult of a healing goddess with Dilmun could easily be explained; for in mythology Dilmun is the place where death is defeated.

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[1] Cf. Alster 1983A:44.

[2] Lamberg-Karlovski 1982; cf. already W.F. Albright, AJSL 35(1919),181-182 who interpreted the thousands of burial tumuli as "witnesses of the hope of a more joyous immortality".

[3] Cf. B. Fröhlich, "The Bahrain Burial Mounds", *Dilmun* 11(1983),4-9 and Alster 1983:52-54.

[4] Bibby, *Looking for Dilmun*, pp.163-165.

[5] See on snakes in the conceptions of afterlife Scheftelowitz 1925:14-18; J. Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, 3rd ed., Berlin 1961, pp.152-153; M.C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, Leiden 1965, pp.225ff.; J. Ozols, in *Tod und Jenseits im Glauben der Völker*, ed. H.J. Klimheit, Wiesbaden

Returning to the two texts describing the blissful life of the hero of the flood, we come to the problem of the different ways his dwelling-place is denoted. The Sumerian text speaks of Dilmun, the Akkadian text of a place "at the mouth of the rivers". These places cannot simply be identified[3]. The expression "at the mouth of the rivers" has been interpreted as the place where the Euphrates and Tigris run into the Persian Gulf, but also as the source of these rivers. Neither of these explanations is satisfactory, because the text says that it lies far away, just as Utnapishtim is called the one who lives far away (Gilg.XI.219). Gilgamesh has to make a long journey from the place where the sun rises (Gilg.IX.iii.8-13; v.45). He leaves the world of common men by travelling through a mountain situated at the end of the world[4]. This long, dark passage marks the transition from mortal to immortal life. It is a road which no man has ever walked before (Gilg.IX.iii.9). In this mountain heaven, earth and netherworld were supposed to meet. At this point the different parts of the cosmos have to be kept apart to protect the order of the universe, which guarantees among other things that the world of the living and the world of the dead are not intermingled. So Marduk posted guards here to control the waters of heaven (*Enuma eliš* IV.139-140) and here the land of the living is separated from the world of the dead by the river of death. According to Gilg.X this

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1978, p.35; M. Lurker, *Götter und Symbole der alten Ägypter*, München 1980, pp.163-164; C. Westermann, *Genesis*, BK I/1, 2nd ed., Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976, pp.322-325. In ancient Greece the snake could represent the dead who are active in the world of the living; cf. W. Pötscher, *Kairos* 7(1965),210-211 and Burkert 1977:300.317.

[1] Cf. D.O. Edzard, WM I/1, p.78.

[2] Cf. Ibid., p.119.

[3] Cf. Schmitt 1973:15-16 and Alster 1983A:54.

[4] Cf. the Ugaritic conception of the entrance of the netherworld between two mountains (KTU 1.4:VIII.1ff.).

river also separates the land of the living from the dwelling-place of the blessed. We can compare this to the place where according to Ugaritic mythology the high god El lives, viz. "at the fountain-head of the two rivers, in the bedding of the two floods". Here he can keep the floods, which were separated in the creation of this world, under control[1]. The use of the parallel pair *nhrm/thmtm*, "rivers/floods" is all the more interesting if we take into account that the abode of Utnapishtim is not only located "at the mouth of the rivers" (Akkadian *narātu*), but that it is also described as surrounded by the sea (Akkadian *tāmtu*) (cf. Gilg.X.iii.35; XI.241). So we actually have the pair *narātu/tāmtu* and *nhrm/thmtm*. It is admittedly hazardous to try to explain a concept from one culture with that from another. However, the striking similarity between the Mesopotamian and the Ugaritic cosmological concepts emboldens us to propose to regard the abode of Utnapishtim "at the mouth of the rivers" as a place similar to the abode of the Ugaritic god El "at the fountain-head of the two rivers". This implies that we can take it literally when it is said of Utnapishtim that he joined the assembly of the gods (Gilg.IX.iii.4; XI.7) and that also the later account by Berossos is right in stating that Xisuthros (=Ziusudra) now dwells with the gods[2]. It can be assumed, therefore, that the dwelling-place of Utnapishtim was thought to be located at the end of the world, just like the Greek Elysium as it is described by Homer and Hesiod[3].

According to some scholars El's abode is similar to that of Enki (=Akkadian Ea), who dwells in the flood underneath the earth[4]. The dwelling-place of Utnapishtim has been located there as well[5]. Against this, however, it can be observed that the central position between the cosmic waters is more according the character of El[6]. And the connection of the home of

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[1] Cf. Dijkstra 1980:295, n.83 and De Moor 1980:183. Cf. also O. Eissfeldt, HO 8.1.1., p.77 who describes El's abode as "eine am Rande der Welt gelegene paradiesartige Residenz".

[2] Cf. Heidel 1946:117; against Schmitt 1973:22.

[3] Cf. D. Wachsmuth, *Der Kleine Pauly*, V, col.1596.

[4] Cf. O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel*, BZAW 78, 2nd ed., Berlin 1962, pp.47-62; E. Lipiński, OLoP 2 (1971),68-69; and R.J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament*, HSM 4, Cambridge 1972, pp.37-38.

[5] Cf. R. du Mesnil du Buisson, *Nouvelles études sur les dieux et les mythes de Canaan*, Leiden 1973, pp.2-3.

[6] Cf. Gese 1970:98-99.

Utnapishtim with that of Enki, who saved him from the flood, may be persuasive at first sight, because this god was also related with Dilmun in the myth of Enki and Ninhursag, it has to be kept in mind, however, that Dilmun is not the residence of Enki. In the myth of Enki and Ninhursag it is only described as a place to which Enki's power extends. Precisely here we can find a link between the different descriptions of the dwelling-place of the hero of the flood. The role of Dilmun in this myth perfectly fits the location of the place "at the mouth of the river" as it is explained above; for it lies on the border of the subterranean flood marking the limit of the power of the lord of this flood, Enki. In this connection we can also refer to a Middle Assyrian tablet of *Utukku lemnutu* mentioning "the incantation of the *Apsu*(=the subterranean flood)" which is recited "in the midst of Shamash and Dumuzi, between [the mouth] of the two rivers" [1]. This incantation recited by servants of Ea is directed to Ea in the netherworld. It is very likely that it was recited on the border of the subterranean ocean, on the place between the world of the sun-god and the world of Dumuzi, king of the netherworld. It can be compared to the Hittite conception of chthonic goddesses who determine the fate of the living being represented as sitting on the seashore, that is, at the border of the flood of the netherworld[2]. Within the same framework belongs the ancient Mesopotamian conception of Enki guarding the entrance to heaven[3].

All this makes it very likely that the expression "at the mouth of the rivers" denotes the same place as Dilmun. According to Bibby[4] we might find a reminiscence of the old traditions about paradise being located there in the name of Bahrain, which means "the two seas": this is the place where the *apsu*, the fresh-water flood, and the salt-water flood (Akkadian *tiamat*) meet. So it was easy for the sun-god to change the springs with salt water on this island into springs with fresh water ("Enki and Ninhursag", 1.60). We can, finally, mention here a historical text in which Dilmun is mentioned as the end of the world: "Assurbanipal, the great king, the legitimate king, the king of the world, king of Assyria, king of (all) the four rivers (of the earth), king of kings, prince without rival, who rules from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea . . . from Tyre which is (an island) in the Upper Sea and Tilmun which is (an island) in the Lower Sea"[1]. It may be assumed that Tyre was also regarded as a place lying on the ultimate border of this world, as the last place before the netherworld. For the extreme west, where the sun sets, is one of the entrances to the netherworld[2].

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[1] Cf. M.J. Geller, *Iraq* 42(1980),23-51.

[2] Cf. Haas 1976:200.

[3] Cf. B. Alster, in *Cuneiform Studies in Honor of S.N. Kramer*, ed. B.L. Eichler, AOAT 25, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976, p.16.

[4] Bibby, *Looking for Dilmun*, pp.255-260.

We may conclude that Utnapishtim, who is forever rescued from death and from a stay in the netherworld, lives in the east on a spot which belongs neither to the world of the dead nor to the world of mortal men. This could be the place Gilgamesh meant when he spoke of dwelling forever with the sun-god (see p.110 above). It can be compared with the Egyptian conception of beatific afterlife as "going out by day", because both positive conceptions are connected with the sun. Dilmun also resembles in many ways the Egyptian *Earu*-fields, which were located in the east and did get their water from the flood of the netherworld, which indicates that here heaven and netherworld were believed to be connected[3].

Next to Utnapishtim, Utuabzu, the seventh of the wise men before the flood, was believed to have escaped death. Unlike Utnapishtim he did this by ascending to heaven[4]. The difference with Utnapishtim's way to beatific immortal life is not so great, if it is true that the place "at the mouth of the rivers" where Utnapishtim went, is also a dwelling-place of the gods. There are more affinities between the traditions of Utnapishtim and Utuabzu. Both men are described as extraordinary wise; both knew of the mysteries of heaven and earth (see also p.111, n.1 above). As one of the wise men before the flood Utuabzu brought something of this divine wisdom to the earth as the beginning of civilization[5]. Just like Utnapishtim, Utuabzu is related to Enki/Ea; his name even means "born in the *apsu*"[6], that is, in the place where Enki was believed to dwell. Finally, there is a clear relation between the Hebrew Enoch and Utuabzu[7], which can be regarded as an indication of a connection of the blessed state of Utuabzu with the sun(-god), because it is said of Enoch that he lived precisely 365 years before God took him away (Gen 5:23-24), which relates him to the solar year.

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[1] ANET, p.297; cf. Ezek 28:2.

[2] Cf. Bottéro 1980:31 and also Ebeling 1931:141.

[3] Cf. Hornung 1982:140.

[4] Cf. Borger 1974 and Schmitt 1982:35-44.

[5] Cf. Schottroff 1982:167.

[6] Cf. Borger 1974:193.

[7] Cf. Ibid., pp.193-194.

There are no indications that common people or even prominent persons like kings could derive any hope for a beatific afterlife for themselves out of these traditions.

Some scholars have tried to prove that in ancient Mesopotamia something like the Greek mysteries would have existed, arcane rituals by which one could be initiated into the mysteries of life and death and in this way be prepared for immortal afterlife with the gods. These mystery-cults would have been connected with the concept of the dying and rising gods Tammuz and Marduk[1]. The existence of such concepts in the religion of ancient Mesopotamia, however, is doubtful and so are the alleged mystery-cults[2].

All this leads to the conclusion that real beatific afterlife was exceptional according to the belief of the people of ancient Mesopotamia. In this regard Jeremias was certainly right when he called their religion "das Gegenstück der ägyptischen Religion"[3]. The only thing one could hope for was a well cared for existence in the netherworld.

More general positive expectations with regard to the afterlife can be found in this region from the sixth century B.C. on, when it was under Persian rule[4]. As a result of the syncretistic religious policy of kings like Cyrus, the ancient Mesopotamian conceptions were intermingled with elements from Persian religion. According to Bottéro the belief in the gods as stars became prevalent in the later Babylonian religion. He assumes that this has influenced Hellenistic conceptions of beatific afterlife, according to which the blessed dead were represented as stars. He has to admit, however, that this theory remains uncertain, because the only sources we have for the Babylonian religion of this late period are

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[1] Cf. Ebeling 1931:49 and Baumgartner 1959:136-141.

[2] Cf. L. Cagni, "Misteri a Babilonia", in *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell' impero romano*, ed. U. Bianchi and M.J. Vermaseren, Leiden 1982, pp.565-613.

[3] Jeremias 1902:3; cf. also Delitzsch 1911:23; Kramer 1960:66; Schützinger 1978:58; BOttéro 1980:43; and Foster 1981:620.

[4] Cf. Hirsch 1968:42 and K. Oberhuber, *Die Kultur des Alten Orients*, Frankfurt am Main 1972, p.160.

Hellenic themselves[1].

2.2.3. PERSIA

The religion of the Persian conquerors of Mesopotamia was strongly influenced by Zarathustra, a prophet who probably lived ca. 600 B.C. Unfortunately, our sources stem from later periods, although they may contain traditions from the time of the prophet himself[2]. One thing is certain: eschatology plays a very important part in Zarathustra's sayings and in later Persian religion[3]. According to Persian belief there shall be at the end of time a general resurrection of the dead followed by the final judgement, which separates the good from the wicked. Those who have passed the judgement obtain a happy and never-ending life in a totally renewed world. The renewal of the present world is one of the basic reasons for the belief in the resurrection of the dead. Because the world after the last judgement is like the present world, its inhabitants need a body, just as they have one now[4].

As in Jewish and Christian belief this clear-cut conception of what will happen to the dead at the end of time predominates over the question what will happen to the deceased in the period directly following the moment of death[5]. Ancient Persian or Iranian religion of the period before Zarathustra was more concerned with these matters[6]. It is very likely that some of these old ideas were taken over by Zarathustra and his followers[7].

The different approaches to the questions concerning afterlife could be harmonized by assuming that in the period between someone's death and the last judgement this person will experience already something of what will happen to him after the final judgement[8]. In the first three days after death the soul will be happy or unhappy depending on his deeds as a living being[1]. After that the soul meets his *daena*[2], which may be called one's *alter ego*. For the just the *daena* is like a beautiful young woman; for the unjust like an ugly, filthy and stinking old bitch[3]. The *daena* leads the just over the bridge of separation, the so-called *cinvat*-bridge, to paradise. This bridge is broad and safe for the just, but narrow as a blade-edge for the unjust. For this reason the unjust and his *daena* cannot cross it and fall down into the gloomy netherworld. In this way the bridge functions as a judge[4]. The existence of the dead in paradise or hell is ended by the general resurrection. In the final judgement the evil powers and their helpers are destroyed and what remains is the renewed world for the resurrected righteous.

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[1] J. Bottéro, *La religion babylonienne*, Paris 1952, pp.137-146; esp. p.143.

[2] See on the sources König 1964:39-46.

[3] Cf. Widengren 1964:365.

[4] Cf. König 1964:121-125 and Mayer 1965.

[5] Cf. Widengren 1964:366.

[6] Cf. Boyce 1975:159ff.

[7] Cf. Widengren 1964:366 and Boyce 1975:236.

[8] Cf. König 1964:51-80; Pavry 1965; and Boyce 1975:235-236.

This concept shows traces of being a compromise. Ancient beliefs of the spirits of the dead going to the netherworld or to paradise are combined with the idea of a general resurrection and a final judgement. The ancient beliefs were adapted on at least two points. First, the state of the dead person as a spirit was now believed to be only temporal. Secondly, the description of the state of the dead being in paradise or hell was influenced by the ideas of what will happen after the final judgement. Originally the ancient beliefs with regard to the destiny of the spirits of the dead had much in common with the ancient Mesopotamian conceptions: the spirits of the dead were believed to be dependent on the living to satisfy their thirst and hunger with funerary offerings[5].

In ancient Persian religion of the period before Zarathustra we also find the hope for a future life in paradise "near the sun". This was not only regarded as an exceptional gift of the gods, as in ancient Mesopotamia; all prominent people seem to have hope for this for themselves[6]. The origin of the positive belief in the hereafter probably lies in India, but whereas the Indians used to burn the body of the deceased to enable the spirit of the dead person to go to heaven, the ancient Persians usually buried their dead, thus bringing them to the netherworld. Actually this practice never stopped. Even after Zarathustra prominent people sometimes preferred interment rather than the common exposing of the body. In this way they hoped to remain close to their descendants in order to help them and to receive their care[1]. This custom represents the original Persian conception of afterlife: the dead were believed to descend into the netherworld and to keep a direct relation to the living. Apparently this ancient belief was influenced first by Indian ideas about the spirit of the dead going to heaven and later by Zarathustrian eschatology. In this matter Indian and Zarathustrian religion appear to have much in common, because the Zarathustrian custom of exposing the dead has to be explained also out of the desire to release the soul as soon as possible from the body after death[2].

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[1] Cf. Pavry 1965:9-27.

[2] See on this difficult term Boyce 1975:238-240.

[3] Cf. Pavry 1965:28-45.

[4] Cf. Boyce 1975:237. For parallels of this conception in Christian and Muslim traditions see R. Cavendish, *Visions of Heaven and Hell*, London 1977, pp.52-56.

[5] Cf. Boyce 1975:120-122.

[6] Cf. Ibid., pp.110-117.

A remnant of the ancient Persian belief of the period before Zarathustra is found in the ongoing practice of funerary offerings[3] and the related concept of the Fravashi[4]. In Zarathustrian religion the latter indicates one aspect of the spiritual state of man, but originally it denoted the spirit of a departed hero. The precise meaning of this word is a matter of dispute; most likely there is a connection with Persian **vṛti*, "valour". The Fravashis were believed to be benefactors to their descendants. They give fertility to the people and to the land. They are represented as birds or horsemen with spear in hand, fighting in armies from the sky. They help in war, but they also bring health to the sick and fortune to those who worship them. They were venerated on special occasions like marriage, but they received also regular worship. Every year, in the last night of the year a festival dedicated to all Fravashis was held. During that night they would visit the earth: "they wander here for the whole night, wanting to experience this help: 'Who will praise us, who worship, who sing, who bless (us)? Who will acknowledge (us) with hands holding meat and clothing . . . Then whichever man worships them . . . him they bless"[5]. Next to this annual festival the Fravashis are commemorated every month and worshipped in private cult, in communal meals of the living with the dead.

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[1] Cf. Boyce 1975:114.

[2] Cf. Ibid., pp.113.325-330.

[3] Cf. G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, Stuttgart 1976, p.22.

[4] Cf. Widengren, pp.20-22.48.323-324 and Boyce 1975:117-129.

[5] Yast 13,49-52; cf. Boyce 1975:123.

Because the relation with the living is the most important aspect of the belief in Fravashis as the spirits of departed heroes, the Fravashis are not associated with paradise, not even in the Zarathustrian religion[1]. For paradise has no connections with the world of the living.

In India a similar hero-cult was practised[2]. This substream cult, which can be regarded as an alternative of folk religion to the belief in reincarnation, probably goes back to the first millennium B.C. It was practised at erected stones representing the venerated dead. The soul of the hero is believed to live with the gods. In order to let him use his power to help and not to harm his descendants he is appeased with rituals and the setting up of a memorial stone. It is very likely that also in this respect there is a connection with the ancient Persian religion of the period before Zarathustra. The cult of the Fravashis reminds us of the Mesopotamian royal *kispu-offerings* as well, but even more similarities can be found in the Greek hero-cult and the Greek belief in spirits of departed heroes helping in battle and giving fertility and health. Finally, as will be demonstrated below, there are also striking parallels with the Ugaritic cult of the *rpʾum*.

In Zarathustrian religion the Fravashi has become the pre-existent spirit which is born into this world in a physical body. After death the Fravashi lives on to be re-united with the body after the resurrection of the dead[3]. The idea of the Fravashi as a pre-existent spirit does not seem to have been fundamental to the ancient hero-cult, but it is very difficult to trace how the former developed out of the latter conception[4]. It may be assumed that in the Zarathustrian reform an old influential concept was put into a new framework. In this way the credibility of the message of the prophet could be enhanced[5] and in the same way this important belief that contradicts Zarathustrian conceptions of the afterlife could be rendered harmless. More important than the relation of the Fravashi with the living has become the relation of the Fravashi with Ahura Mazda: the Fravashi guarantees to the deceased his life after death and only when he is united again with his Fravashi can the resurrected appear before his lord[1]. However, despite this new meaning given to the concept of the Fravashi, the popular veneration of Fravashis as deceased heroes was never totally extinguished.

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[1] Cf. Boyce 1975:119.

[2] Cf. R. Thapar, "Death and the Hero", in Humphreys 1981:293-315.

[3] Cf. Boyce 1975:128.

[4] Cf. Ibid., pp.127-128.

[5] Cf. G. Gnoli, "Le 'fravaši' et l'immortalità", in Gnoli, Vernant 1982: 339-347; esp. p.344.

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[1] Cf. P. Gignaux, in Gnoli, Vernant 1982:353.

2.3. ASIA MINOR: THE HITTITES

In Hittite religion we find different approaches to the problem of death[1]: common people feared death and becoming a helpless spirit in the netherworld; the problem of the mortality of the king was solved by the belief in his apotheosis; and, finally, in the cult the problem of death was reduced to taking care of the dead and exorcising malign spirits[2].

The Hittite conceptions of the dead and the netherworld are basically the same as in ancient Mesopotamia. The world of the dead was believed to be a gloomy place where the dead "lived" like shades. For their well-being the dead are dependent on the living. If these do not provide them regularly with food and drink, they are forced to eat their own excrement. The spirits of the dead who do not receive proper care can become harmful to the living. With special rituals such malign spirits of the dead had to be exorcized[3].

Only the king could hope to escape from the netherworld and live with the gods after his death. When the king dies he is said to have become a god. In many texts the spirit of the deceased king and sometimes also of other prominent people is mentioned as the deity Zawalli[4]. The place where the deified dead are supposed to live resembles the Egyptian *Earu*-fields and Mesopotamian Dilmun[5]. After his death the king hoped to live in green pastures, where he could tend his cattle.

Lengthy funerary rites had to help the deceased king to reach his beatific afterlife. During these rites the king is represented by a statue, whereas his body was burned together with funerary offerings[1]. There are also traces of regular food offerings to the dead kings after they had been buried[2]. The bones of the king were laid to rest in a building called the "Stone House", in which probably also the New Year Festival was held[3]. This indicates that prominent dead were believed to join this annual ceremony.

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[1] See in general on the Hittite conceptions of afterlife Vieyra 1965; Haas 1976; and Lebrun 1983. Our survey is restricted to the period of the New Hittite Empire (ca.1450-ca.1200 B.C.). Some of the Neo-Hittite material will be discussed in section 2.5.3.1. below.

[2] See for this classification D. Silvestri, "Riflessi linguistici della ideologie funerarie nell' Anatolia ittita", in Gnoli, Vernant 1982:407-418.

[3] Cf. Otten 1961 and G. Steiner, UF 3(1971),270-275.

[4] Cf. Archi 1979.

[5] Cf. Vieyra 1965:128 and Gurney 1977:62.

Hittite literature refers to a group of kings of the netherworld, viz. the *karuiles* LUGAL$^{\textit{meš}}$[4]. They are described as judges; so they can be compared to Gilgamesh and the Greek judges of the netherworld and ancient kings Minos and Rhadamanthys[5]. The same seemingly contradictory statements with regard to the state of the deceased Hittite kings were used to indicate the state of Rhadamanthys: he was believed to live in the Elysian fields, but also in the netherworld where he is working as a judge[6].

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[1] See on the Hittite royal funerary rites Otten 1958; Christman-Franck 1973; and Gurney 1977:59-63.

[2] Cf. E. von Schuler, WM I/1, pp.206-207.

[3] Cf. Gurney 1977:61-63.

[4] Cf. Haas 1976:209.

[5] Cf. M. Marazzi, Or.45(1978),214.

[6] Cf. H. von Geisau, *Der Kleine Pauly*, IV, col.1389.

2.4. GREECE

There are two important reasons for giving a survey of the ancient Greek conceptions of beatific afterlife in this study. First, in the last decades of scholarly research it has become clear that ancient Greece had many cultural contacts with the East[1]; secondly, a number of ancient Greek conceptions of afterlife and related matters have parallels in the ancient Near East[2]. So we may hope that the study of Greek culture, which is relatively better known than most ancient Near Eastern cultures, will throw some light on a number of problems of understanding we meet in the discussion of these cultures.

Of the Mycenaean period (ca.1580 to ca. 1120 B.C.)[3] we only have the archaeological evidence from graves. It shows that the deceased was believed to live on and still feel human wants. The descendants tried to satisfy these by burying household objects and personal belongings like jewels and weapons with the body. At the funeral and later in the house of the family there was a meal at which the deceased was believed to be present as well. There are also traces of regular food offerings after the burial, which were brought near the graves. This continued providing for the dead seems to have been a privilege of a restricted number of persons belonging to important families. The dead were buried in family graves. When there was no more room left for new burials the older ones were simply pushed aside. This implies that the belief in the "life" of the dead was connected with the preservation of the body, but also with the remembrance of the deceased. With regard to the latter it has to be noted that we find attempts to preserve the identity of the dead by mask or chest plates on the body. There were even traces of mummification.

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[1] Cf. M.C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, Leiden 1965; E. Masson, *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en grec*, Paris 1967; F. Schachermayer, *Aegeis und Orient: Die überseeischen Kulturbeziehungen von Kreta und Mykenai mit Ägypten, der Levante und Kleinasien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, Wien 1967; J.P. Brown, "Literary Contexts of the Common Hebrew-Greek Vocabulary", JSSt 13(1968), 163-191 (see also his articles in VT 19(1969),146-170; JSSt 24(1979), 159-173; 25(1980),1-21; and ZAW 93(1981),374-400); J.D. Muhly, "Homer and the Phoenicians: The Relation Between Greece and the Near East in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age", *Berytus* 19(1970),19-64; M.C. Astour, "Ugarit and the Aegean", in *Orient and Occident*, Fs C.H. Gordon, ed. H. A. Hoffner, AOAT 22, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973, pp.17-27; M.K. Schretter, *Alter Orient und Hellas*, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Sonderheft 33, Innsbruck 1974; Bartelmus 1979:55-59; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasien zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Darmstadt 1979; H. Haag, "Der gegenwärtige Stand der Erforschung der Beziehungen zwischen Homer und dem Alten Testament", *Das Buch des Bundes*, Düsseldorf 1980, pp.109-118.309-311; and Griffin 1980:XV.

[2] See next to pp.60-61 above G. Steiner, "Die Unterweltsbeschwörung des Odysseus im Lichte Hethitischer Texte", UF 3(1971),265-283; Dijkstra, De Moor 1975:171-172 who compare Od.11 with KTU 1.22:I; and for the comparison of the Greek heroes with the Ugaritic *rpʾum* as mighty dead Gese 1970:91; L'Heureux 1974:273-274, n.28; De Moor 1976:337; and Ribichini, Xella 1979:157.

[3] See on this period Schnaufer 1970:1-33.

After ca. 1200 B.C. there is a clear break in the burial customs. Individual graves appear and the custom of burning the corpse was started[1]. The latter has been ascribed to Hittite influence[2], but it is also possible that it stems from the period before the Mycenaean Age[3]. This new way of treating the dead did not replace the custom of burying the body; in many places we find evidence of both side by side. And it is unlikely that people who burnt the bodies of their deceased relatives had broken with the belief in a survival after death akin to life on earth, because the same objects were still given to the dead, albeit that they were burnt now. Apparently the burning of the body was not meant to destroy the dead forever, because the bones were carefully collected in caskets which were buried and marked with stelae[4].

The custom of representing the dead by stelae, which has its roots in the Mycenaean Age, indicates together with the burning of the body a change in the conceptions of afterlife. The "life" of the dead was no longer believed to depend on the preservation of the body. Nevertheless, food and drink offerings to the dead remained customary. As a rule they were brought at the individual graves in the first 30 days after the burial.

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[1] Cf. Ibid., pp.34-57 and Burkert 1977:294-295.

[2] Cf. Schnaufer 1970:49.

[3] Cf. Burkert 1977:295.

[4] Cf. Ibid., pp.294-295; against E. Rohde, *Seelenkult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*, 1898, rpt. Darmstadt 1980, pp.27-32; cf. also Schnaufer 1970:48-50.

After that period the dead were believed to take part in yearly feasts for all dead, in which the graves and stelae were cleaned and decorated, whereas food and drink offerings were offered to all dead. Then the dead would come up and go through the city[1].

Homer represents the more rational view of the aristocratic society of his time (eighth century B.C.). In his writings the dead appear as peeping bats and fluttering birds[2] and he describes the dead person as a ψυχή[3], which is something like the lowest state of being, without feeling and perception[4], or, as Homer calls it, a shadow. The existence of the ψυχή in the world of the dead, which is called Hades, is probably to be regarded "not a continuation of the personal life but rather a kind of monument to the fact that personal life once existed"[5].

According to the Homeric epics the only way to make death acceptable is to achieve a status of being memorable after death. This consolation, however, is ambivalent as is shown by the words of Achilles to Odysseus, who praised him because of his eternal fame: "I would rather live as the least of the servants of a poor peasant than reign as a king over the innumerable masses of the dead" (Od.11,489-491). These verses, which seem to contradict earlier words of Achilles according to which he seeks the honourable death as a hero (Il.18,90-126), have been explained as a later addition to the work of Homer. It is more likely, however, that this contradiction is a means to describe the state of mind of Achilles. His words are not rational, but a spontaneous reaction, which is characteristic of this hero[6]. On the other hand this double attitude towards death may very well represent a common feeling: the eternal glory gained by a hero-like death cannot give the deceased a happy afterlife. Just like the other dead he is condemned to a shadowy and cheerless existence in Hades. Death belongs to chaos and therefore cannot be influenced positively. So death has two faces. And its good face is turned to life[1].

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[1] Cf. Burkert 1977:298-299 and on funerary offerings Herrmann 1959:53-69.

[2] Schnaufer 1970:65, n.215 tries to prove that Homer did not want to represent the dead as birds or bats; the verb use (τρίζω) would only denote the movement of the dead. However, if we take the many parallels to this conception of the dead into account (see p.100 above) this distinction seems to be too strict.

[3] For a survey of the discussion on the complex problem of the interpretation of this term in the Homeric literature see Sonnemans 1984:59-66.

[4] The inconsistencies in this description of the ψυχή (cf. Burkert 1977: 301, n.11) may be due to the fact that Homer sometimes needed active dead in his epic.

[5] J.M. Redfield, *Nature and Culture of the Iliad*, Chicago 1975, p.181 (quoted and discussed by Griffin 1980:145ff.); cf. also Sonnemans 1984: 66 who states: "Sie hat nicht vorher den Menschen belebt noch besitzt sie selbst Leben. Bei Homer bedeutet εἴδωλον oder ψυχή die Ge-wesenheit des Menschen".

[6] Cf. C.J. Ruijgh, *"Liever dagloner op aarde ..."*, Leiden 1969, pp.7-8.

It is remarkable against the background of this very negative conception of afterlife, that in the Homeric epics care for the body of those who are killed and emphasis on decent burial take an important place. This could be explained as a remnant of ancient Mycenaean beliefs, because as a rule burial customs are not changed easily[2], but these practices also have a clear function within the Homeric line of thinking: as a token for posterity the grave records the existence and significance of the person who is buried there[3].

The conception of the dead person as akin to the living or as ψυχή lacks the hope for a beatific afterlife. According to the Odyssey there was one exception, viz. Menelaus, who did not die, but was taken by the gods to Elysium (Od.4,561-568). Most scholars regard the conception of Elysium, which is identical with "the island of the blessed", as a survival of Minoan religion[4]. It is situated at the western end of the earth. It has a very mild climate, which makes it possible to harvest three times a year. Its inhabitants live a happy and never-ending life. They are god-like, but not divine[5]. According to Homer only a selected group of heroes is taken there before death. In Hesiod's "Works and Days" this group is extended to all heroes who survived the battles of Thebes and Troy (11.167-173). The next step in this development of the concept of Elysium is that also dead heroes like Achilles were believed to have reached Elysium (cf. Pindar, *Olympian Odes* 2,79-80). The end of this development is that Elysium is thought to be open to all humans, but now it is located in the netherworld.

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[1] Cf. J.-P. Vernant, "Death with Two Faces", in Humphreys 1981:285-291 and Griffin 1980:96-102.

[2] Cf. Schnaufer 1970:125-176.

[3] Cf. Griffin 1980:46-47.

[4] J.G. Griffiths, "In Search of the Isles of the Blest", *Greece and Rome* 16(1947),122-126 assumes that it is the religion of Egypt that had transmitted the idea of a blissful Elysium together with the idea of judgement after death to Crete.

[5] Cf. Roloff 1970:93-101.124-126.

The general hope for beatific afterlife has its origin in the mystery-cults, which became very popular in the sixth century B.C. They promised initiates a beatific afterlife, which they could experience during their lives in the mystic rituals[1]. An important element in the mystery-cults is a new conception of the dead person as ψυχή, which can be found already in the seventh century B.C.[2]. The ψυχή was now seen as the immortal part of a human being, the bearer of personal identity[3]. At death it is freed from the body, in which it was kept as if in a prison, to be blessed or punished in the hereafter[4]. Within the same framework belongs the Greek belief that the soul which is not yet pure has to return in a new body on earth.

An important phenomenon with regard to the Greek conceptions of afterlife is the hero-cult. The heroes were venerated because they were believed to have special powers with which they could help the living. The origin of the Greek hero-cult is still a matter of dispute. If one is not a specialist in this field, one has to be very careful with far-reaching statements. We are warned by Coldstream that "Greek hero-worship has always been a rather untidy subject, where any general statement is apt to provoke suspicion"[5].

It is possible to distinguish three different factors which have attributed to the rise of the hero-cult. First, we have the Mycenaean family graves. The regular funerary offerings to the graves of important people may have been the beginning of a hero-cult[6], but it is difficult to decide where funerary offerings end and a hero-cult starts[7]. Much more revealing is the fact that after three or more centuries, in the eighth century B.C., people began to bring offerings to the ancient Mycenaean graves again, especially in regions where there was no racial continuity between the people of the Mycenaean Age and the later population. Apparently new inhabitants were impressed by the unknown monumental tombs and associated the stories of ancient heroes with them[1]. Other factors may have furthered this. The hero-cult was probably inspired by the Panhellenic circulation of the Homeric epics[2]. There may also have been a socio-political impulse: the eighth century is the beginning of a new economic system with independent large landowners and small towns, which had their own heroes as protectors or founders of the dynasty[3].

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[1] Cf. Roloff 1970:177ff. and Burkert 1977:415.

[2] Cf. A. Dihle, "Totenglauben und Seelenvorstellung im 7. Jahrhundert vor Christus", in *Jenseitsvorstellungen in Antike und Christentum*, Fs A. Stuiber, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 9, Münster 1982, pp.9-20.

[3] Cf. B. Gladigow, in Stephenson 1980:122-123.

[4] Cf. Sonnemans 1984:145-161.

[5] Coldstream 1976:8.

[6] Cf. Farnell 1921:4-5.17-18; K. Kerényi, *Die Heroen der Griechen*, Zürich 1958, pp.18ff.; Schnaufer 1970:15; and H. von Geisau, *Der Kleine Pauly*, II, col.1103.

[7] Cf. Snodgrass 1982:108 and D. Wachsmuth, *Der Kleine Pauly*, V, col.897.

There are different kinds of heroes. First we have the heroes who are descendants of the gods and who lived in the remote past. These semi-divine persons like Heracles, Minos and Rhadamanthys have to be distinguished from human beings who became heroes and were venerated after their death. The distance between the latter heroes and the gods is much greater than for the primeval heroes[4]. Thus it could only be said of heroes like Heracles, Castor and Pollux that after dying they mounted to heaven to become apotheosized. In the period before the rise of the mystery-cults a heavenly ascent of a normal human being was believed to be out of the question. As an exception to this rule, however, can be mentioned the handsome young man Ganymede, who was carried off by the gods to be Zeus' cupbearer.

The Mycenaean Age was known in later centuries as a time of heroes. Some of them were described by Homer. They were venerated at the Mycenaean tombs. As time went on also contemporary important persons, like soldiers who died on battle fields, could become heroes. There were special clubs called ϑίασοι for the maintainance of the cults of "beginning" or unknown heroes[5].

The heroes were supposed to be able to help the living in many ways[6]. Many heroes were known as healers who protect those who venerated them against diseases. In Attica a ἥρως ἰατρός was venerated, who according to Farnell had "compeers in many other regions"[1]. Famous healer heroes are Asclepius, Amphiaraus and Achilles. Heroes were also believed to give fertility to women. In the first place, however, they were the protectors against enemies, mighty helpers in battle.

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[1] Cf. Coldstream 1976:14.

[2] Cf. Farnell 1921 and Burkert 1977:313.

[3] Cf. Snodgrass 1982:108.

[4] Cf. Roloff 1970:102.153.

[5] Cf. Th. Pekáry, *Der Kleine Pauly*, V, cols.1188-1189. See on the hero-cult Herrmann 1959:95-99 and Burkert 1977:315-316.

[6] Cf. Burkert 1977:317-318.

Hero-cult and belief in beatific afterlife are different approaches to the problem of death and afterlife. The first envisages primarily the relation between the dead and the living, whereas the second concentrates on the state of the dead themselves. But these different approaches intermingled in the religious thinking of everyday life. This becomes clear in the later development of the belief in heroes. In the Christian era and probably even earlier "hero" became a designation of the dead enjoying beatific afterlife[2].

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[1] Farnell 1921:369.

[2] Cf. M. Delcourt, *Légendes et cultes de héros en Grèce*, Paris 1942, pp. 76-77.

2.5. SYRIA AND PALESTINE

In this last section of ch.2 a more elaborate survey is given of positive conceptions of afterlife which are found among Israel's closest neighbours. Chief emphasis is laid on Ugarit in the late Bronze Age, because the fortunate discoveries at Tell Ras Shamra, Minet el Beida and Ras Ibn Hani provided much relevant information.

2.5.1. INDICATIONS OF CULT OF THE DEAD IN THE BRONZE AGE?

The burial customs in this area[1] are on the whole the same as in ancient Mesopotamia. As a rule the dead were buried in tombs and were provided with grave-goods. This indicates that afterlife was believed to be resembling life before death. The living are able to help the dead by keeping the corpse undamaged and provided with the things the dead need to live on.

There are some indications of repeated food offerings. E.g., in a middle Bronze or late Bronze grave in Megiddo; its capstone was found pierced by a funnel shaped hole, of which the maximum diameter is about 20 cm. Before the entry of the grave stands a large storage jar, in which food offerings could be deposited[2]. At the entrance of another grave of that period[3] a niche was carved out of the rock. A small basalt bowl was set into this niche in such a way that its mouth was at the same level as the surface of the rock. This might have been an offering place associated with the surrounding graves.

Just as in Mesopotamia the malign influence of the spirits of the dead who did not receive proper care was feared. This explains why in a middle

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[1] See the surveys by Hrouda 1957 and K.M. Kenyon, "Burial Customs at Jericho", ADAJ 16(1971),5-30.

[2] "Grabkammer II"; cf. G. Schumacher, *Tell el Mutesellim*, I, 1908, pp.19-20 and pl.VI.

[3] Tomb 234; cf. P.L.O. Guy and R.M. Engberg, *Megiddo Tombs*, Chicago 1938, pp.108ff. See on the interpretation of the finds in both graves Quell 1925:15 and Ribar 1973:46-51.

Bronze grave in Jericho one or both arms had been removed from the bodies buried there: without their arms the dead were probably supposed to be harmless[1].

Such phenomena are regarded by some scholars as indications of a cult of the dead (see pp.36.47 above), but repeated food offerings and fear for the dead do not imply that the dead were venerated. A more convincing indication of a cult of the dead was found by Matthiae in Ebla[2]. Within the city he discovered a royal cemetery which appeared to be connected with a sanctuary and a temple dedicated to Reshep, a god of the netherworld. According to Matthiae this is the "first archaeological evidence . . . of the funerary cult of the royal ancestors", which we knew already from the Akkadian texts about the *kispu* and the Ugaritic texts about the *rpʾum*[3]. A reference to this cult of the dead was found by Pettinato in texts speaking of the "lamentations of the kings", which in his opinion have to do with rites for dead kings[4]. Matthiae relates his finds to the middle Bronze royal tombs of Byblos which were found in the heart of the city and on top of which traces of buildings were found[5]. He also assumes a connection with the middle Bronze "Double Temple" of Hazor, which was related to a burial area[6].

Albright found evidence of a cult of the dead in the middle Bronze "Temple aux Obélisques" of Byblos and the late Bronze "Temple of Stelae" in Hazor[7]. In the courtyard outside the temple in Byblos, which was probably dedicated to Reshep[8], a great number of stelae had been erected. It is not likely that they had been placed there at the same time, because they are very different in size (from about 25 cm to nearly 2 m). It is assumed that these stelae commemorate deceased persons[1]. The problem of this interpretation is that only one of these stelae is inscribed and thus makes it possible to identify the person it is supposed to represent. One would expect them all to be inscribed like the well-known Greek tomb stelae. On the other hand the Greeks also used simple rough stones for the same purpose[2]. In the temple of Hazor - not to be confused with the older "Double Temple" - a row of ten small basalt stelae was found at the rear of the building. The stele in the middle is decorated with a crescent disc and two outstretched hands. According to Yadin this represents the moon-god and his consort[3]. Whether these stelae were intended as commemorations of "notable recipients of the divine favor who had become intercessors for their kindred", as is assumed by Gray[4], cannot be proved[5]. Albright also interpreted the stelae in a middle Bronze temple in Gezer as references to a cult of the dead[6], but re-excavation has shown that these stelae were erected simultaneously. For this reason it is very unlikely that they represent deceased persons[7].

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[1] Cf. Kenyon, *Burial Customs*, p.21.

[2] Cf. Matthiae 1979 and his articles on the same subject in *Akkadica* 17 (1980),1-52 and ArOr 49(1981),55-65.

[3] Matthiae 1979:568.

[4] G. Pettinato, *Culto ufficiale ad Ebla durante il regno di Ibbi-sipiš*, Orientis Antiqua Collectio, XVI, Rome 1979, pp.31-32; cf. also Healey 1984:251.

[5] Matthiae 1979:569; cf. P. Montet, *Byblos et l'Egypte*, Paris 1928-1929, pp.143ff.

[6] Matthiae 1979:567; cf. Y. Yadin, *Hazor*, London 1972, p.96.

[7] Albright 1957:248.252-253 and BASOR 184(1966),26-27.

[8] Cf. Gese 1970:46.

It is difficult to decide whether Mattiae and Albright are correct in interpreting the archaeological finds described above without additional literary evidence as an indication of a cult of the dead, but certainly the proposed connection of the graves with the temple points to a veneration exceeding the normal care for the dead.

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[1] Cf. also C.F. Graesser, BA 35(1972),59 and in general on "stones memorializing the dead" ibid., pp.39-41.

[2] Cf. Burkert 1977:298.

[3] Y. Yadin, "Symbols of Deities at Zinjirli, Carthage, and Hazor", in *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century*, ed. J.A. Sanders, Garden City 1970, pp.199-231; esp. pp.216.220-223.

[4] J. Gray, *Near Eastern Mythology*, New York 1969, p.94; cf. also VT 16 (1966),35-36; K. Galling, ZDPV 75(1959), 7-12; and Yadin, *Hazor*, pp.73-74.

[5] Cf. C.F. Graesser, BA 35(1972),60-61; Ribar 1973:23-24; and W. Boyd Barrick, VT 25(1975),589-590.

[6] Albright 1957:243-244.

[7] Cf. A. Reichert, BRL, 2nd ed., pp.207-208; Ribar 1973:17ff.; and W. Boyd Barrick, VT 25(1975),590.

2.5.2. UGARIT

The lack of literary evidence in the middle Bronze Age is compensated by the discovery of a number of Ugaritic texts concerning the afterlife and the attitude towards death. As we shall see below, some of these texts concern a cult of the dead. So the question can be discussed whether these texts can be related to the facts from archaeology mentioned above. But first we have to study the Ugaritic tombs and burial practices themselves.

2.5.2.1. TOMBS AND BURIAL CUSTOMS

In the tells of Ras Shamra, Minet el Beida and Ras Ibn Hani many well-preserved graves were excavated[1]. From them some information can be derived about the burial customs of the ancient inhabitants of the kingdom of Ugarit. All tombs discussed here are situated within the city, under the houses and palaces. These graves made of hewn stone or bricks could only be afforded by wealthy families. A number of more simple graves was also found within the city walls, but it is likely that most common people were buried in still undiscovered cemeteries outside the city.

Characteristic of the end of the middle Bronze Age (1800 - 1600 B.C.) are the family tombs, which were found beneath many houses[2]. These brick built tombs consist of one square room with sloping walls covered with stone plates. They are connected with the house by a stone shaft. The tombs were used over long periods, some even until the fourteenth century B.C. So they contained many interments including the grave-goods given to the dead at the burial. To make room for new bodies it was sometimes necessary to push aside the remains of earlier interments. Some graves had special recesses for this purpose. Sometimes children were buried before the entrance to the family tomb[1].

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[1] Cf. C.F.-A. Schaeffer, *Syria* 10(1929),290-293; 12(1931),1-6; 13(1932),2-4.11-20; 14(1933),96-118; 15(1934),106-108.111-118.123; 16(1935),148-152.156-157; 17(1936),106-109.120-121.138-144; 18(1937),134-142.149; 19 (1938),197-255;317-319; 20(1939),280-282; 28(1951),5-8.16-17; Ug.1(1939), 72-92; AAAS 1(1951),pl.II; 13(1963),127; AfO 19(1959-1960),193; 21(1966), 132-133; cf. also Ug.6(1969),121-137; E. and J. Lagarce, *Syria* 51(1974), 7.17-20; AAAS 25(1975),43-44; K. Toueir, *Archéologia* 88(1975),66-70 and *Syria* 56(1979),237; J. Margueron, *Syria* 54(1977),175-178; N. Saliby, AAAS 29-30(1979-1980),105-139 and in *La Syrie au Bronze récent*, Paris 1982, pp.37-42; O. Callot, *Une maison à Ougarit*, Paris 1983, pp.44-45. 65-66; see also the surveys by L. Hennequin, DBS III, cols.472-475 and J.-C. Courtois, DBS IX, cols.1200ff.1440-1441.

[2] See on this period Schaeffer, *Syria* 12(1931),5-6; 13(1932),16-20; 14 (1933),109-111; 15(1934),123; 17(1936),142; and esp. 19(1938),197-255. See also Courtois, DBS IX, cols.1203-1208 and the short survey by Hrouda 1957:600.

There are some indications of repeated offerings to the dead[2]. One tomb of this period contained vases the top of which reached into a room of the house above. This made it possible to bring offerings to the dead after the burial[3]. Another grave appeared to be connected with a cultic installation in the room above[4].

Related to this middle Bronze tomb type are a number of vaulted family tombs beneath the houses, dating from the late Bronze Age[5]. A very clear description of one of these graves and its relation to the house to which it belongs is given recently by Callot[6]. It shows that the house and the grave were built at the same time and that from within the house the grave could be entered easily.

The custom of regular offerings to the dead is also clearly attested in this period. The excavators discovered many libation installations connected with the graves[7]. By these the dead could easily be provided with water. Other tokens of repeated offerings to the dead are the vases placed outside the tombs under an opening in the wall of the grave[8]. This made it possible to bring offerings to the dead after the burial without having to open the grave again. Some graves may have been connected with cultic installations like offering tables, located in small rooms on top of the graves[1]. A number of the tombs were found beneath the palaces in Ugarit. So it is likely that the royal family was also buried in this type of grave[2].

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[1] Cf. AAAS 13(1963),213.

[2] See on this phenomenon in Ugarit C.F.-A. Schaeffer, *The Cuneiform Tablets of Ras Shamra*, The Schweich Lectures 1936, London 1939, pp.46-56 and Sukenik 1940.

[3] Cf. *Syria* 19(1938),213.

[4] Cf. Ibid., p.228.

[5] See on this development Courtois, DBS IX, col.1205.

[6] O. Callot, *Une maison à Ougarit*, Études d'architecture domestique, Ras Shamra-Ougarit, Paris 1983, pp.44-45.65-66; pls.4.10.13.21.23;ph.24.25.

[7] Cf. *Syria* 10(1929),291; 12(1931),2; 13(1932),4; 14(1933),107.115; 15 (1934),116.

[8] Cf. *Syria* 14(1933),100; 15(1934),115-116.

Schaeffer called these graves Mycenaean because the way they were built made him assume Aegean influence and because much Mycenaean pottery was found in them. In his opinion these graves belonged to Mycenaean traders. Because they were a minority in the city of Ugarit, they would have built their tombs beneath their houses to protect them from eventual hostilities of the local population[3]. This theory, however, is hardly tenable[4], because there are very few parallels to this kind of vaulted tombs in the Aegean region of that period[5], whereas they are quite common in Syria and Mesopotamia[6]. And also the custom of burying the dead beneath the houses is attested many times in this region[7]. Nor does presence of Mycenaean pottery prove that the tombs belong to Mycenaean people. For this kind of pottery can be regarded as a luxury imported from abroad and given to the dead as a special gift[8].

The tombs and burial customs of the people of Ugarit are on the whole the same as those of the other peoples in Syria and Palestine. We can only note a more than usual emphasis on repeated offerings to the dead. However, it would go too far to speak of a cult of the dead on the basis of these facts alone[1]. Even the location of the graves under the houses can hardly be used as evidence of the veneration of the dead[2]. Whether the inhabitants of ancient Ugarit ever venerated their dead or cherished hopes for a beatific afterlife can only be decided on the basis of the texts.

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[1] Cf. *Syria* 13(1932),2; 19(1938),228; and Ug.6(1969),91ff.

[2] Cf. *Syria* 28(1951),16-17 and Courtois, DBS IX, col.1236. In the excavation reports two royal cemeteries are mentioned, because the first vaulted late Bronze tombs discovered in Minet el Beida were - probably mistakenly - also interpreted as royal graves. Another confusing element is the identical numbering of the tombs in Minet el Beida and Ras Shamra; cf. the remark by R. North, ZDPV 89(1973),155.

[3] Cf. *Syria* 17(1936),109 and Ug.1(1939),72-92.

[4] The article of J. Servais, "Architectures funéraires mycénienne et ougaritique: un parallèle à éviter", in *Phoenicia and its Neighbours*, Phoenicia III, Namur 1985 was not available to me.

[5] Cf. R. de Vaux, RB 49(1940),247 and Courtois, DBS IX, cols.1200-1201.

[6] Cf. Strommenger 1957:588-589. A good example of this type of tomb in Palestine is Tomb 1 in Megiddo; cf. G. Schumacher, *Tell el Mutesellim*, I, 1908, pp.14ff.19ff. and pls.V-VI.

[7] Cf. Barrelet 1980:8-13.

[8] The same custom is attested in late Bronze tombs in Byblos; cf. J.-F. Salles, *La nécropole 'K' de Byblos*, Edition ADPF 1980, pp.65-66.

2.5.2.2. THE LITERARY EVIDENCE

In some texts we find references to graves and funerary offerings without further information. A libation-pipe is mentioned in KTU 1.19:III.41 (*knkn*)[3]. The opening in the wall found in some tombs may be the same as the *ʾurbt*, "window", mentioned in some cultic texts[4]. A description of funerary offerings brought to the grave is found in KTU 1.142:

dbḥt.byy.bn	Sacrifice by *byy*, son
šry.lᶜṯtr[ ]	of *šry* to *ᶜṯtr[ ]*
d.bqbr[5]	who is in the grave.

2.5.2.2.1. THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS DEATH AND AFTERLIFE IN THE EPIC LITERATURE

In the epic literature of Ugarit, in which the problem of death plays an important part, we find many references to such funerary offerings. One of these epics, the epic of Aqhat, shows some striking similarities with the Gilgamesh Epic with regard to the attitude towards death. For this reason it can be used here, like the Gilgamesh Epic in section 2.2., as a framework for the survey of the Ugaritic conceptions of death and afterlife[1].

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[1] Against Schaeffer, *The Cuneiform Tablets of Ras Shamra*, pp.46-56.

[2] Against P.C. Craigie, *Ugarit and the Old Testament*, Grand Rapids 1983, p.29. Craigie also speaks in this connection of the commemoration of the dead. This is probably more correct.

[3] Cf. De Moor 1971:170. It has to be admitted, however, that the reading *knrt* is also possible.

[4] Cf. J.C. de Moor, UF 2(1970),325 and J. Gray, Ug.7(1978),102.

[5] As a rule the Ugaritic texts are cited in this study according to KTU, but comparison with the photos and copies of the tablets sometimes led to different readings (cf. also the forthcoming edition of the religious texts of Ugarit by J.C. de Moor et al.).
Whenever possible the texts are stichometrically arranged, because this can be of great help to the interpretation. See on the art of versification in Ugarit the articles of J.C. de Moor in *Studies in the Bible and Ancient Near East*, Fs S.E. Loewenstamm, Jerusalem 1978, pp.119-139 and UF 10(1978),187-217 (an outline of De Moor's theories in this matter is given on pp.216-217 below).

The epic of Aqhat is the story of king[2] Daniel and his son Aqhat. In the beginning of the epic we are told that Daniel desperately needs a son. Why a son is so important to him is explained in the following lines:

25 *wykn.bnh.bbt.*	Let him have a son in his house,
šrš.bqrb (26) *hklh.*	offspring in his palace,
nṣb.skn.ʾilʾibh.	one who sets up the stelae[3] of his ancestral gods ,
bqdš (27) *ztr.ʿmh.*	in the sanctuary the marjoram[4] of his clan,
lʾrṣ.mšṣʾu.qṭrh	one who makes come out his smoke from the earth,
28 *lʿpr.ḏmr.ʾṯrh.*	from the dust the Protector of his place[5],
ṭbq.lḥt (29) *nʾiṣh.*	one who puts the lid on the abuse of his revilers,
grš.d.ʿšy.lnh	who drives away those who do something to him,
30 *ʾaḫd.ydh.bškrn.*	one who holds his hand in drunkenness,
mʿmsh (31) *[k]šbʿ yn.*	who carries him when filled with wine,
spʾu.ksmh.bt.bʿl	one who serves his emmer-corn in the house of Baal
32 *[w]mnth.bt.ʾil.*	and his share in the house of El,

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[1] Cf. the surveys by Van Selms 1954:125-137; Jirku 1969; Healey 1977A; Astour 1980; Margalit 1980; Xella 1982A and *Gli antenati di dio: Divinita e miti della tradizione di Canaan*, Verona 1982, pp.217-227.

[2] Daniel is called king in KTU 1.19:III.46 and Aqhat is probably regarded as a future king (cf. the related text KTU 1.22:II.17). It has been disputed, however, whether Daniel was really a king; cf. J.C.L. Gibson, VT.S 28(1975),60-68 and *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh 1978, p.24, n.2; B. Margalit, UF 8(1976),175-176; and H.P. Dressler, VT 29(1979),152-161. Daniel would look more like a village chief than like the monarch of a great city. But one does not have to be the ruler of a great city to be called king. See against the remarks of Gibson also Xella 1982B:624.

[3] Cf. Dijkstra, De Moor 1975:175 and M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, UF 10 (1978),67.

[4] So J.C. de Moor in a forthcoming note in UF. He connects this word, which also occurs in KTU 1.43:3 (later corrected into *zʿtr*), with Arabic *zaʿtar*, Jewish-Aramaic and Syrian *ṣâtrā* and Akkadian *zatēru/satara/saturu*. Cf. also Pope 1977:164 and 1981:160, n.4 who proposes to regard it as a verb derived from the same noun.

[5] *ʾaṯr* probably refers to a special cultic room in private houses, like Akkadian *aširtu*; cf. Healey 1977A:247-248.

ṭḫ.ggh.bym (33) *[ṯʾi]ṭ.* one who plasters his roof in the muddy season,
rḥṣ.npṣh.bym.rṯ who washes his garments in the days of loam.
(KTU 1.17:I.25-33 = I.42-52 and II.1-8.16-23)

A key role in the interpretation of the first lines is played by the difficult and much disputed word *ʾilʾib*, which also occurs in lists of the Ugaritic pantheon as the first of the gods and also in a number of cultic texts[1]. It seems to have been made up of the words *ʾil*, "god" or "El", and *ʾab*, "father". This implies that it can be translated as "the god who is the father" or "El who is the father". So it can be interpreted as an aspect of El as the father of the gods, who is for that reason the first among the gods[2]. In this text, however, *ʾilʾib* seems to have a different meaning. This is indicated by the parallel with *ʿmh*, "his clan". It is very likely that *ʾilʾib* has to be translated here as "the divine father"[3]. *ʾil* has been used in that case as the element which indicates the divinity of the ancestor. Something similar can be observed in KTU 1.113. In this list of deified kings the names of the kings are preceded by *ʾil* without separation mark[4]. *ʾilʾib* can be regarded as the general designation for such deified persons. Apparently Daniel hoped to become one of them after his death.

A very important text in this matter is KTU 1.109[5], because it offers us additional information about the state of the *ʾilʾib*. The word *ʾilʾib* occurs four times in this cultic text. Especially two references are of importance in this connection. In 1.19 and probably also in 11.34-35[6] a sacrifice to *ʾilʾib* "in the aperture" (*bʾurbt*) is mentioned. As remarked on p.145 above this aperture could refer to the opening found in some graves, through which offerings were made to the dead. Gray interprets *npš ʾilʾib gdlt* (11.12-13) as a sacrifice to an ancestral god: "for the life (or: soul) of the ancestral god a calf"[1]. It is more likely, however, that *npš* denotes a living sacrifice here as in KTU 1.105:11[2] and that *ʾilʾib* refers to "El who is the father". This would imply that we have both meanings of *ʾilʾib* in one text. The following tentative suggestion based on the structure of this text can be made to explain this double use of the word *ʾilʾib*. In the middle of this tablet we find two headings introducing different sacrifices. From 1.11 to 1.18 the sacrifices are mentioned which have to be brought "in the house", i.e., in the temple. From 1.19 probably to 1.23 the sacrifices are mentioned which have to be brought "in the aperture". The different uses of *ʾilʾib* might be explained out of the different contexts: next to the regular sacrifices in the temple to the most important gods of Ugarit, like El, Baal and Yarikh, there were also other kinds of sacrifices, viz. sacrifices to gods living in the netherworld. This is corroborated by the fact that all gods mentioned under the heading "into the aperture" have ties with the netherworld. First there is *ʾilʾib*. Because only one deified ancestor is mentioned, we assume that the founder of the dynasty of the king (1.2) is meant. Then comes Baal, who according to the myth of Baal had to descend into the world of the dead. Dagan was probably also regarded as a god of the netherworld[3]. The "Helper-gods" cannot be classified, but the underworld character of Reshep is without doubt. With regard to Anat we can refer to her struggle with the god of death, Mot (KTU 1.6:II) and to her connection with the *rpʾum* (cf. KTU 1.22:I.9; II.7-8; and 1.108:6-8). The aperture can also be related to the aperture in the house of Baal mentioned in the myth of Baal (KTU 1.4:VII), which made it possible for his enemies to enter. Among these enemies is Mot, who made an end to Baal's kingship on earth. So this aperture can be regarded as an entrance to the netherworld. According to KTU 1.109 sacrifices were brought to the gods living there through this aperture, which could also be used as an exit of the netherworld. If this interpretation of KTU 1.109 is correct, we can conclude that the deified ancestors were supposed to live in the netherworld. Their situation can be compared to that of Gilgamesh and the deified Sumerian kings who were believed to have become kings of the netherworld.

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[1] Cf. Dietrich, Loretz, Sanmartín 1974; Healey 1977A:249-258; and De Tarragon 1980:151-157.

[2] Cf. Healey 1977A:256 and De Moor 1980:183-185. De Tarragon 1980:156 thinks of an unknown god, but he does not explain why this god is mentioned as the first among the gods.

[3] Cf. Dietrich, Loretz, Sanmartín 1974:451: "*el* des (verstorbenen) Vaters"; De Moor 1976:331 and 1980:184, n.66: "father-god", "ancestral god"; and Healey 1977A:258: "divine ancestor". Against De Tarragon 1980:155: "dieu personnel", which is unlikely because of the parallel with *ʿmh*.

[4] See on this important though unfortunately mutilated text K.A. Kitchen, "The King List of Ugarit", UF 9(1977),131-142; Healey 1984:249; and M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, in *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, ed. O. Kaiser, Band I, Lieferung 5, Gütersloh 1985, pp.496-497.

[5] See on this text J.C. de Moor, UF 2(1970),322-326.

[6] KTU reads in 1.34: *ʾug*[rt]*, but a damaged letter /*g*/ can also be interpreted as a part of the letter /*b*/.

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[1] J. Gray, Ug.7(1978),102; Dietrich, Loretz, Sanmartín 1974:451 seem to be of the same opinion, because they also refer to this line for the interpretation of *ʾilʾib* as denoting a spirit of a dead person.

[2] Cf. J.C. de Moor, UF 2(1970),325.

[3] Cf. J.J.M. Roberts, *The Earliest Semitic Pantheon*, Baltimore 1972, p.19 and Talon 1978:69. This has been contested, however, by Healey (cf. Healey 1977B).

The third and fourth duty of a son according to KTU 1.17:I.25ff., however, shows that Daniel hoped to be able to leave the netherworld[1]. According to 1.27 the correctly performed ritual would make it possible for the spirit of the deceased to leave the netherworld like smoke curling upwards[2]. In the parallel line this spirit is described as one of the "Protectors of his place". This is probably a reference to the function of the spirits of prominent dead people who were believed to be able to help the living (see the remarks on KTU 1.22:I.8-9 and 1.108:22 below).

According to 1.26 an important element of the ancestor-cult is the setting up of the stelae of the ancestors and the "marjoram of his clan" in the sanctuary. The marjoram may have served apotropaic purposes (cf. Exod 12:22), but it is more likely in this connection that it was believed to ensure a happy afterlife to the dead[3]. The setting up of stelae mentioned in a funerary context reminds us of the stelae temples of Byblos and Hazor. It may well be that these lines in the epic of Aqhat are referring to something similar in Ugarit. However, no archaeological proof confirming this hypothesis has been found yet. It has been assumed that two inscribed stelae found in one of the temples of Ugarit[4] prove that Ugarit also had its temple of stelae connected with a cult of the dead[5]. These stelae bear the following inscriptions (KTU 6.13 and 6.14)[6]:

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[1] Cf. the article of De Moor mentioned on p.146, n.4 above.

[2] Cf. KTU 1.18:IV.25-26.37 describing death as the spirit being released from the body "like smoke" (*km qṭr*). The same can be said of evil spirits; cf. Y. Avishur, UF 13(1981),18.

[3] For Egyptian and Greek parallels see the article of De Moor mentioned on p.146, n.4 above.

[4] Cf. J.-C. Courtois, DBS IX, cols.1195-1196.

[5] Cf. Albright 1957:247.

[6] See on these texts M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, J. Sanmartín, UF 5(1973),289-291; Dijkstra, De Moor 1975:175; and Healey 1977B.

skn.d šᶜlyt	Stele of that which *Ṯryl* offered
ṯryl.ldgn.pgr	to Dagan as a *pgr*-offering:
[š]wᵓalp lᵓakl	[a sheep] and a bull for the meal.

pgr.d šlᶜly	*pgr*-offering which *ᶜzn* offered
ᶜzn.ldgn.bᶜlh	to Dagan, his lord:
[šwᵓa]lp.bmḥrt	[a sheep and a b]ull in the morning.

These inscriptions can hardly be interpreted as commemorations of deceased persons. They have much in common with the later Punic stelae mentioning the sacrifices brought to Baal Hammon (cf. KAI 61; 79; 102 etc.)[1]. An attempt has also been made to relate these texts to the cult of the dead by interpreting *pgr* as a stele erected as a memorial for the dead. This assumption found much support, because it seems to fit well in Ezek 43:7.9[2]. However, this text can also be explained adhering to the normal meaning of Hebrew פגר, "body, corpse" (cf. Akkadian *pagru(m)*), if we assume that this text refers to a royal cemetery next to the temple (see p.250 below). The solution for Ugaritic *pgr* in KTU 6.13 and 6.14 is offered by cultic texts from Mari which mention *pagrāᵓum* as a sacrifice to Dagan. This word is related to *pagrum*, which can even replace it[3]. Because *pagrum* means "body, corpse", *pagrāᵓum* can only mean "*pagrum*-offering". In the same way *pgr* in KTU 6.13 and 6.14 can be interpreted as "*pgr*-offering"[4]. To sacrifice an animal as a *pgr*-offering probably means simply that it was sacrificed without being cut up.

Next to Dagan the only deity to whom *pgr*-offerings are offered is the sun-goddess (cf. KTU 1.39:12.17 and 1.102:12). As in Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Hittite religion the sun-god(dess) is connected with the world of the dead because of the nocturnal journey of the sun through the netherworld[5]. In the hymn at the end of the myth of Baal the sun-goddess is described as a ruler of the dead (KTU 1.6:VI.45-49). This indicates that the

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[1] Cf. C.F. Graesser, BA 35(1972),42 who mentions one of them, viz. the one pictured in ANEP 262, among the stones "commemorating an event and honoring the participants".

[2] Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, BK XIII/2, 2nd ed., Neukirchen-Vluyn 1979, pp.1082-1083 and HAL, pp.861-862.

[3] Cf. Talon 1978:70.

[4] Cf. AHw, p.1581.

[5] Cf. A. Caquot, "La divinité solaire ougaritique", *Syria* 36(1959),90-101; esp. pp.93-98; De Moor 1976:330; and Healey 1977A:90-103 and 1980.

pgr-offering probably was a special sacrifice for deities with an underworld character. We might even go further and assume that the *pgr*-offering is meant as a substitute for the one who offers it to Dagan or to Shapash: to be rescued from death a substitute is offered. This would also explain why a stele was erected to commemorate this sacrifice. So the Ugaritic stelae may have had the same function as the Punic stelae mentioned above[1].

After this digression we can return to the epic of Aqhat. We are told that Baal intercedes with El on behalf of Daniel. Thereupon El sends the Kotharat, goddesses of birth, to Daniel. Here the tablet is broken; about 150 lines are missing. The next thing we read is that a bow is made by the divine craftsman Kothar-and-Hasis and given to Daniel. In his turn Daniel appears to have given the bow to his son Aqhat. With this special weapon Aqhat has superhuman power and reaches into the sphere of the gods. This attracts the attention of the goddess Anat. We can compare this to the Gilgamesh Epic: after the semi-divine Gilgamesh had beaten the giant Huwawa he was noticed by the goddess Ishtar. Anat asks Aqhat to give his bow to her. When he refuses she promises to give him immortality in return (KTU 1.17:VI.25-38)[2]:

	wtʿn.btlt (26) *ʿnt.*	And the virgin Anat answered:
	ʾirš.ḥym.lʾaqht.ġzr	"Ask for life, o hero Aqhat,
27	*ʾirš.ḥym.wʾatnk.*	ask for life and I will give it to you,
	blmt (28) wʾ*šlḥk.*	immortality and I will bestow it upon you.
	ʾašsprk.ʿm.bʿl (29) *šnt.*	I will let you count with Baal the years,
	ʿm.bn ʾil.tspr.yrḫm	with the sons of El you will count the months.
30	*kbʿl.kyḥwy.yʿšr.*	Just as Baal when he brings to life[3] is served,
	ḥwy.yʿš(31)*r.wyšqynh.*	did he bring to life, then one serves and gives him to drink,
	ybd.wyšr.ʿlh	there improvises and sings before him
32	*nʿmn[.dy]ʿnynn.*	a gracious lad *[who]* answers his (wishes)[4],
	ʾap ʾank.ʾaḥwy	so I too can bring to life

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[1] Cf. H. Donner, W. Röllig, KAI II, p.76.

[2] See on this text Dijkstra, De Moor 1975:187-190 and Healey 1977A:276-295 and 1984:246-248.

[3] For the interpretation of *ḥwy* in 11.30.32 as D-stem see below.

[4] Cf. the use of the verb ענה in I Kgs 12:7 and Hos 2:17.

33	*ʾaqht[.ġz]r.*	[the he]ro Aqhat."
	w.yʿn.ʾaqht.ġzr	But the hero Aqhat answered:
34	*ʾal tšrgn.ybtltm.*	"Do not distort things[1], o virgin,
	dm.lġzr (35) *šrgk.ḫḫm.*	for to a hero your distorting is filth.
	mt(!)*.ʾuḫryt.mh.yqḥ*	Death, the final lot, what takes (it) away?
36	*mh.yqḥ.mt.ʾaṯryt.*	What takes away death, which comes after?[2]
	spsg.ysk (37) *[l]rʾiš.*	Glaze[3] will be poured [on] my head,
	ḥrṣ.lẓr.qdqdy	white lime on top of my skull.
38	*[ʾap.[4]]mt.kl.ʾamt.*	I [too] shall die the death of all men,
	wʾan.mtm.ʾamt	I too shall surely die."

It is usually assumed that Anat promises something to Aqhat she cannot give him, because immortality belongs to the gods and not to man[5] and that Aqhat rightly scorns her for this reason. However, things are probably more complicated here. In her offer to Aqhat Anat refers to the yearly revivification of Baal. Baal has to descend every year into the netherworld, but he always returns[1]. Aqhat should regard this as a guarantee. Next to Baal she speaks of *bn ʾil*, "the son(s) of El". Cazelles proposes to identify *bn ʾil* with the moon-god[2], but in no other text is the moon-god explicitly called son of El. A connection with Baal would seem more likely (cf. KTU 1.4:IV.47.52; 1.17:I.24), but one can also think of a special group of the lower deities called *bn ʾil*[3]. To these lower deities were also reckoned persons like king Keret; for when Keret seems to be dying it is said of him (KTU 1.15:V.16-20):

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[1] Cf. Hebrew שׂרג, "to be intertwined".

[2] See for this interpretation Healey 1977A:287-293. Cf. Prov 24:11: death who "takes away" all men cannot be taken away itself.

[3] According to M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, UF 8(1976),37-40 *spsg* denotes a vessel: "*spsg*-Schale" (Ibid., p.39). The parallel with *ḥrṣ*, however, makes it more likely that it denotes a material. This does not exclude that in a different context *spsg* is the name of a vessel made of this substance (cf. the double use of "glass" in English). It has been assumed by a number of scholars that these lines refer to the ancient custom of plastering the skull of the dead, as it is attested in graves of the Neolithic Age; cf. B. Margalit, "The 'Neolithic Connection' of the Ugaritic Poem of AQHT", *Paléorient* 9(1984),93-98 (with a survey of previous research). It is more likely, however, that ll.36-38 chronologically describe man's aging and death. Moreover, there is no archaeological evidence for a burial custom as assumed by Margalit et al. in the Near East at the end of the Bronze Age. Margalit is forced to give a rather speculative explanation of this "Neolithic connection": he assumes that such plastered skulls were a collector's item and are mentioned by the poet of the epic of Aqhat "to furnish his narrative with the flavour of antiquity and the stamp of authenticity" (Ibid., p.97). Cf. against this also Gibson 1979:152.

[4] This restoration is based of the assumption that l.38 contains a reaction to l.32: *ʾap ʾank*.

[5] E. Ashley, *The 'Epic of AQHT' and the 'RPUM Texts'*, diss. New York 1977, p.371 speaks of "an offer she can not back up, a deceptive offer made for purposes of acquiring the prince's bow"; cf. also Gibson 1979:152; Dietrich, Loretz 1980:181; Margalit 1980B:252-253; and Mullen 1980:233-235.

16	*[k]hm l.mtm.ʾuṣbʿ[t]*	Yes he is only a finger-breadth removed from death,
17	*[k]rt.šrk.ʾil*	Keret is going to join El,
18	*ʿrb.špš.lymġ* (19) *krt.*	Keret will reach the sun-set,
	ṣbiʾʾa.špš (20) *bʿlny*	our lord the sun-down.[4]

Keret's children cannot comprehend why their father is going to die (KTU 1.16:I.9-11.14-15.20-23):

	ʾap (10) *[k]rt.bnm.ʾil.*	Ah! Is not Keret a son of El,
	špḥ (11) *lṭpn.wqdš.*	a child of the Benevolent and Qadesh?[5]
	. . .	
	bḥyk.ʾbn.n(!)šmḫ	In your life, our father, we rejoiced,
15	*blmtk.ngln.*	in your immortality we exulted.
	. . .	
20	*ʾikm.yrgm.bn ʾil* (21) *krt*	How can they say, Keret is a son of El,
	špḥ.lṭpn (22) *wqdš.*	a child of the Benevolent and Qadesh?
	ʾu ʾilm tmtn	Alas! Do gods die,
23	*špḥ.lṭpn.l yḥ*	does not a child of the Benevolent live?

There are many resemblances between the passage in the epic of Aqhat about Anat's promise and the two passages from the epic of Keret. They deal with the same problem and - what has been overlooked by most scholars - they do it in almost the same way[1]. Keret is supposed to go after his death to the setting sun. This belief, which is quite common in the ancient Near East, is in line with the hymn to the sun-goddess in KTU 1.6:VI, in which she is called a ruler of the dead, and with her role as intermediary between the living and the dead in KTU 1.161:18-19. It is also believed that king Keret, who is called a son of El during his life, could expect some kind of continuation of this state in the afterlife[2]. To this Anat seems to refer in her promise of Aqhat. What belongs to a son of El, viz. life and immortality (KTU 1.16:I.14-15) can also be given to Aqhat (KTU 1.17:VI.27-28). In the following lines Anat tries to make her offer more plausible by telling Aqhat how this can be done: he will become one of the sons of El counting the months. Proceeding on the very likely assumption that this verse is parallel in meaning to the one above about Baal counting the years, it can be connected with the belief that the ritual of the ancestor-cult enables the spirit of the deceased to leave the world of the dead. From neighbouring cultures we learn that such rituals took place every month[3]. As a rule these regular food-offerings to the dead were believed to rescue the dead from total extinction, but Anat's promise supersedes this. The "non-death" (*blmt*) she refers to means a regular return to real life. The dead who profit from these rituals are freed from death and the netherworld.

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[1] Cf. De Moor 1971.

[2] H. Cazelles, "Quelle vie la déesse Anat proposait-elle au jeune chasseur Aqhat?", AAAS 29-30(1979-1980),181-183 (N.B. we assume that "M. Gazelles" in the table of contents and "H. Gazelles" above the article are misprints.)

[3] See on these *bn ʾil* Gese 1970:100-101.

[4] Cf. J.C. de Moor and K. Spronk, UF 14(1982),179.

[5] Cf. Ibid., p.182.

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[1] Healey represents the common scholarly opinion when he remarks about KTU 1.16:I.20-33 that this is "part of the royal ideology", which "contrasts remarkably" with KTU 1.17:VI.25ff., "in which immortality is regarded as of the gods alone" (Healey 1977A:202).

[2] Bartelmus 1979:55 compares what is said of Keret with the apotheosis of Greek heroes. Cf. also the dynastic seal described in PRU III, pp.XL-XLII and Ug.3(1956),66-77 with a picture of the founder of the dynasty of Ugarit. According to J. Nougayrol, PRU III, p.XLI this is a "hommage du roi déifié". In a reaction to the theory of the pattern of divine kingship in the ancient Near East the posthumous deification of the kings of Ugarit may have been too strictly distinguished from the idea of the divinity of the king during his life; against J. Gray, Ug.6(1969), 295.299-300; J. Coppens, "L'idéologie royale ougaritique", in *Symbolae Biblicae et Mesopotamicae*, Fs F.M.Th. de Liagre Böhl, ed. M.A. Beek, Leiden 1973, pp.81-89; esp. pp.84.86; and Healey 1984:249.

[3] Cf. Heidel 1946:151-152; G. Wilhelm, JCS 24(1972),83; Schützinger 1978: 53-54. In Mari the ritual of the *kispu* (see p.106 above) took place twice a month: at full moon and at new moon; cf. Talon 1978:57.61. Cf. with regard to ancient Iran Boyce 1975:125 and with regard to Egypt PyrT. 373 speaking of feasts for the the dead taking place every month and every half year.

The interpretation of *ḥwy* in KTU 1.17:VI.30-32 is a vexing problem[1]. The translation given above is based on the following arguments. In 1.32 it can only be translated as an active D-stem: Anat says that she too will revive Aqhat. She clearly refers to the action of Baal described in 1.30: "Like Baal . . . so I . . .". Therefore, *ḥwy* has to be translated in 1.30 in the same way. Now it would have been very confusing if the poet would have used a different stem of *ḥwy* in the second occurrence of this verb in 1.30. A pt. of the passive D-stem ("the one given life")[2] would fit here very well, but one would have expected *mḥwy* then. So here too *ḥwy* is interpreted as a perfect of the active D-stem.

In ll.30-32 probably it is the revivification of the dead during the New Year Festival that is described. It was believed that the dead could participate in this festival. At the autumnal Ugaritic New Year Festival Baal's victory over death is celebrated[3]. The description of Baal being served at this festival in KTU 1.3:I shows a number of important parallels to KTU 1.17:VI.30-31. Apparently the same feast is meant[4]. We are told that Baal is served by a gracious lad (*n*ᶜ*m*(*n*)), who is probably named Radmanu (cf. KTU 1.3:I.2). Such a gracious lad is mentioned in a similar context in KTU 1.113. The few words we can read on the obverse of this tablet can be translated as the names of musical instruments alternating with the expression *l n*ᶜ*m*, "o gracious lad". This indicates that somebody, maybe Radmanu, is asked to make music for the deified kings mentioned on the reverse of the tablet. For this reason KTU 1.113 seems to confirm the assumption based on KTU 1.17:VI.25ff. that the dead could participate in the feast of Baal's revivification[5]. In the course of the festival a number of dead were revivified by Baal[1]. This act of Baal is described in KTU 1.21: II.5-6. Unfortunately, this important text is damaged here, but it can be restored on the basis of the attested word pair *rpʾ/ḥyh* (D-stem)[2]:

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[1] Cf. Dijkstra, De Moor 1975:187-188; Healey 1977A:281-285; and J.C. de Moor, UF 11(1979),643.

[2] Proposed by Healey 1977A:278.

[3] Cf. De Moor 1973.

[4] Cf. De Moor 1971:42 and Healey 1977A:284.

[5] Cf. De Moor 1973:I.8. This belief is quite common in the ancient Near East. In an ancient Mesopotamian text an autumnal festival in the month of Ab is mentioned, at which the heroes in the netherworld were believed to ascend to the world of the living (KAV 218:II.1-16; cf. S. Langdon, *Babylonian Menologies and Semitic Calendars*, The Schweich Lectures 1933, London 1935, pp.20.22). The Sumerian text "The Death of Gilgamesh" also seems to refer to a festival of the dead in this month (1.31; cf. ANET, p.50). According to ancient Iranian belief the Fravashis, the spirits of deceased heroes, were present at the New Year Festival (cf. Boyce 1975:

> *ʾapnnk.yrp[ʾu*(6)*km.]* Then he will heal*[you]*
> *[yḥwh]km.rᶜy.* the Shepherd will*[give life]*to you.[3]

The place name *hdrᶜy*, "Hadad is a shepherd" (KTU 1.108:3) proves that "Shepherd" is an epithet of Hadad (who is the same as Baal). These words in KTU 1.21 are adressed to the *rpʾum*, who are the deified spirits of deceased kings (see section 2.5 2.2.2. below).

Now Anat says she can do the same with Aqhat. There is no reason to doubt whether Anat really had the power to do this. We can refer in this connection to her role in the myth of Baal as the one who defeats the god of death, Mot (KTU 1.6:II). And she also plays a prominent role in the texts about the *rpʾum* (cf. KTU 1.22:I.11; II.8; 1.108:6.8). In KTU 1.22:I. 11 the coming up of the *rpʾum* is compared to Anat chasing the game and causing the birds to fly up (*ndd* D-stem; cf. also the use of the same verb G-stem for the coming up of the *rpʾum* in KTU 1.20:II.2; 21:II.4.12; 22:II.

122.124). We can mention in this connection also Arabic festivals for the dead in spring, at which the dead are believed to return to this world (cf. R. Kriss and H. Kriss-Heinisch, *Volksglauben im Bereich des Islam*, I, Wiesbaden 1960, pp.32.35 and Morgenstern 1966:153ff. who assumes that the name of this festival, *ḏaḥiyyeh*, may have been derived from the verb *ḍaḥay*, "to become visible"; ibid., pp.259-260, n.219) and the Greek yearly festivals of the dead, at which the dead were believed to come up and go through the city (cf. Burkert 1977:298-299). The Greek Anthesteria-festival is a very interesting parallel to the Ugaritic New Year Festival. It is a feast of all souls celebrated in spring and also a feast of new wine connected with Dionysus, a god of vegetation (cf. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, 3rd ed., Darmstadt 1969, pp.93ff.148ff.). For parallels from outside the region of Greece and the Near East see T.H. Gaster, *Thespis*, 2nd ed., Garden City 1961, p.45.

[1] Healey also takes *ḥwy* as D-stem ("to give life") here, but he does not draw the consequences of this. He states that "Baal is put forward as an example of immortality rather than of life-giving" (Healey 1977A:284).

[2] Cf. De Moor 1976:329 who proposed the restoration *ʾapnnk yrp[ʾukm ḥd yḥwy]km rᶜy*, but there is not enough room for this on the tablet. See for the word-pair *rpʾ/ḥyh* Deut 32:39; Hos 6:1-2; Ps 30:3-4; Sirach 38:14.

[3] KTU 1.10:I.9-10 also seems to refer to this occasion, because this text can be restored as follows: *[hm.ʾil.h]d yṯb.lʾarṣ* (10) *[hm.yḥwy].mtm*, ["If only the god Ha]dad would return to earth;[if only he would revive] the dead".

5-6.10-11.21). A very interesting text in this connection is KTU 1.91:13-15:

	hdṯm (14) *dbḥ.bˤl.*	New Moon: the sacrificial meal of Baal,
	k.tdd.bˤlt.bhtm	when the Mistress of the Mansion (= Anat)[1]
15	*b.ġb.ršp.ṣbˀi*	chases from the pit of Reshep of the Army.

The word *ġb* probably denotes the netherworld here like בור and שחת in the Old Testament[2]. It is very likely that *ndd* (1.14) is used in the same way as in the *rpˀum*-texts and has the positive meaning of letting the spirits of the dead go up from the netherworld. Interpreted in this way KTU 1.91: 13-15 can be regarded as a mythical allusion to the ritual practice described in KTU 1.17:I.26-28, which possibly also took place every month. This interpretation is confirmed by the first part of KTU 1.43, which deals with the ancestral cult of the royal family of Ugarit[3]:

1	*ktˤrb.ˤṯtrt.ḫr.gb*	When Athtart of Khurri enters the pit[4] of
	bt mlk.ˤšr.ˤšr.bt ˀilm	the house of the king: serve a banquet in the
	kbkbm.zˤtr mt[5].	house of the star-gods. Marjoram of death,
	lbš[.]wktn.ˀušpġt	a garment and a chemise, a neckpiece of
5	*ḫrṣ.ṯlṯt.mzn.* (6) *drk.*	gold, food for a three days journey.

The first line of this text probably refers to the same event as described in KTU 1.91:14-15, because Athtart is closely related to Anat. The following lines can be regarded as a description of the ritual of the cult of the dead. The expression *ˀilm kbkbm* is usually regarded as a designation of the gods of heaven. However, in this context, which refers to the chasing of the spirits of the dead out of the netherworld, it is better to assume that as in Egypt the deified dead who had the opportunity to leave the netherworld could be represented as stars (see also the remarks on KTU 1.19:IV.22-25 below).

The family of the king serves a banquet in a place devoted to the ancestor-cult. This "house of the star-gods" is probably the same as the holy place mentioned in KTU 1.17:I.28. As in KTU 1.17:I.27 marjoram is offered to the dead. Their three days journey (ll.5-6) is probably the same as the journey of the *rpʾum* mentioned in KTU 1.20:II.5-7; 1.21:7 (see p.170 below). The proposed connection of KTU 1.43 with the cult of the dead is also confirmed by the mention of the *gṯrm* (ll.9ff.; see the remarks on KTU 1.108:2 below) and the sevenfold ritual (ll.7-8.26; cf. KTU 1.161:27-30).

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[1] Cf. De Moor 1971:85-86.

[2] Cf. Tromp 1969:66-71.

[3] See on this text M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, J. Sanmartín, UF 7(1975),525-528 (with earlier literature); De Tarragon 1980:98-107; Xella 1981:86-90 and the article of De Moor mentioned on p.146, n.4 above.

[4] Cf. Hebrew גב; apparently *gb* was used next to *ġb*.

[5] According to KTU we have to read *trmt* preceded by traces of a deliberately erased letter. It is also possible, however, to assume a correction by the scribe of *ztr* into *zˤtr*.

It is clear that Anat promises to Aqhat that after his death he will become one of the prominent dead and like them will have his share in the never ending circle of life, which is embodied by the yearly resurrection of Baal. This is more than the common ancient Near Eastern idea of the dead enjoying regular funerary offerings. The essential difference is indicated by the use of the words "with Baal/with the sons of El". This close relation of a dead person to this most important god is also attested in a later text found in Syria, viz. KAI 214:17.21-22 (see section 2.5.3.1 below). This implies that "with Baal" is hardly an accidental formula. The closest parallel is the Egyptian hope to join Re, e.g., as the morning star or as one of the imperishable stars, when he leaves the netherworld. The "counting of the months" by the sons of El (KTU 1.17:VI.29) can be compared to the hope of the Egyptians of being born again like the moon, who is the "comrade of Re"[1]. It may be assumed that the long and strong influence of Egypt in this area in the second millennium B.C., especially in the cities on the coast[2], has contributed to this special element in the Ugaritic conceptions of Baal's return to life.

Aqhat refuses. But not because the life Anat offers to him would be reserved to the gods. Aqhat knows that what she offers is a real possibility, but he wants more. It is assumed by most scholars that the words of Aqhat contradict Anat's proposal, but Aqhat reproaches her only for the attempt to make things look better than they are. By emphasizing the hope for a happy afterlife she ignores death. Aqhat does not deny the chance of becoming one of the privileged dead[1], but he tells Anat that he prefers to stay alive and to keep his magic bow for himself, because it gives him the opportunity of becoming very famous as a hunter and warrior. The problem with Anat's proposal is that it does not take away the threat of aging and death. Aqhat knows that his hair will become white (ll.36-37): he too will grow old and weak (cf. Hos 7:9). Although he may become one of the *rpʾum*, he too must die. The emphasis is on this last remark (l.38); especially if the assumption is correct that we have to read *ʾap* at the beginning of l.38. This restoration is to be preferred to /*w*/ proposed in KTU, because there is room for two letters. With *ʾap* Aqhat takes up the words of Anat. She said "I too can revive you", but Aqhat answers that, be this as it may, he too must die. It is also not by chance that Aqhat uses the word "filth" (*ḫḫ*) to qualify Anat's offer (l.35), because the world of the dead is known as full of filth (cf. KTU 1.4:VIII.13-14; 1.5:II.16) and even the *rpʾum* who are allowed to participate in the New Year Festival are no more than a "host of filth" (KTU 1.22:I.9-10)[2].

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[1] Cf. W. Helck, LÄ IV, col.192.

[2] Cf. W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, 2nd ed., Wiesbaden 1971; esp. pp.90.467.620. Even temples for the deceased king of Egypt were found in this area (ibid., p.481). A survey of the many contacts of Ugarit with Egypt is given by M. Liverani, DBS IX, cols.1295ff.; esp. cols.1298-1304 and 1324-1325. Cf. also D. Kinet, *Ugarit- Geschichte und Kultur einer Stadt in der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, SBS 104, Stuttgart 1981, pp.21-34.42-43.

With regard to feelings towards death there is no difference between the epic of Aqhat and the epic of Keret. The aversion to death overshadows Keret's qualities as son of El and as one of the *rpʾum* (KTU 1.15:III.2-4. 13-15). It is better to live. With regard to the way the problem of death is handled in the epic of Aqhat the parallel with the Gilgamesh Epic is obvious. The argument between Anat and Aqhat has been compared by many scholars with the sixth tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic, in which the goddess Ishtar proposes to Gilgamesh that he should marry her. Like Anat Ishtar is impressed by the superhuman powers of the hero of the story. But the resemblance appears to go much further when we notice that, according to the reaction of Gilgamesh to this proposal, Ishtar's offer implied that he would become one of the privileged dead. Gilgamesh refers to another husband of Ishtar, viz. Tammuz. For him Ishtar has ordained "wailing year after year" (Gilg.VI.47). We can compare this to the counting of the years like Baal (KTU 1.17:VI.30). Gilgamesh does not want to share Tammuz' fate. He even found a solution to the problem of death in the herb of rejuvenation, but he lost it and had to be content with immortal fame as a means to overcome death. As we saw above (pp.113-114), the twelfth tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic was probably added to make a link with a conception of Gilgamesh as a king in the netherworld like Tammuz. That appeared to be all he could achieve in this matter. In a different way the epic of Aqhat seems to lead to the same conclusion. In KTU 1.18 we are told how Aqhat was killed by an attendant of Anat. After many difficulties his father Daniel succeeds in finding the remains of his son, buries them and he mourns over him for seven years. The description of this period of mourning is concluded with the following passage (KTU 1.19: IV.22-25; cf. 11.29-31)[1]:

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[1] Xella 1982B:628 assumes that Aqhat rejected Anat's offer because he hoped to become one of the *rpʾum* after death. The only clear reference to the *rpʾum* in KTU 1.17:VI.25ff., however, is in Anat's offer and not in the answer of Aqhat.

[2] The meaning of this word is disputed; cf. Healey 1977A:286 who proposes a translation "thorns" or, as in other places, "low". Anyway, the relation with the netherworld is clear.

wyqr[y] (23) *đbḥ. ʾilm.*	And he presented a sacrifice to the gods,
*yšʿly. dġṯ*h (24) *bšmym.*	he sent up his incense among those-of-heaven,
dġṯ hrnmy[.]d[k] (25) *bkbm.*	incense of the Harnamite among those-of-the-stars.

In no other text of the religious literature of Ugarit are the gods described this way. Apparently it wants to emphasize that the divine recipients of the sacrifice and incense of Daniel are in heaven. Because of the funerary context it could be assumed that it concerns deified dead persons who were believed to be freed from the netherworld by the rituals performed on their behalf, like the ritual which takes place in the House of the Star-gods (KTU 1.43:2-3).

KTU 1.19 breaks off with the preparations of Aqhat's sister to avenge his murder. It is very likely that the so-called *rpʾum*-texts (KTU 1.20-22) are connected with the epic of Aqhat[2]. An important argument for this is the fact that Daniel is mentioned in KTU 1.20:II.7. Also Daniel's epithet "man of Rapiu" (*mt rpʾi*) shows that it is hardly a coincidence that he appears in these texts about the *rpʾum*.

The *rpʾum*-texts are very mutilated, which makes it difficult to find out which is the right order of the tablets and of the columns on the tablets. KTU 1.21-22 seems to have been written by the same person who wrote KTU 1.17-19, but KTU 1.20 is clearly of a different hand. Because KTU 1.20 is partly identical to KTU 1.22, it might be regarded as a copy. And because KTU 1.21 contains the advice to call up the *rpʾum*, whereas KTU 1.22 describes the apparition of the *rpʾum*, these tablets are probably listed in the right order. This does not hold true for the order of the columns of KTU 1.22. The order proposed in CTA is more logical[1]. This means that the first column in KTU is in reality the third. It can finally be noted that what is described in KTU 1.20:I can be placed before KTU 1.22.

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[1] See on this text S.B. Parker, UF 4(1972),100-101; Dijkstra, De Moor 1975: 210; and M.Dietrich and O. Loretz, UF 10(1978),69-70.

[2] Cf. Dijkstra, De Moor 1975:171.

As far as the story can be reconstructed we may assume that Daniel was advised to call up the *rpʾum* (KTU 1.22); for only in this way Daniel would be able to embrace his son again (cf. KTU 1.22:I.3-4). So the epic of Aqhat ends as it began: with a description of the cult of the dead. It marks the tragedy of Daniel who longed for a son to take care of the ancestor-cult after his death, but who is now forced to perform similar rituals himself with regard to his son.

2.5.2.2.2. THE *RPʾUM*

A key role in the Ugaritic cult of the dead appears to have been played by the *rpʾum*. It was maintained above (p.156) that this term denotes the privileged dead, especially the deceased kings. This needs further discussion, because the identity and function of these *rpʾum* is still a matter of dispute[2]. Most scholars assume that the *rpʾum* are in some way related to Hebrew רפאים as a name of the dead, but others regard them as lower deities without any connection with the dead[3] and some are of the opinion that *rpʾum* is the name of a group of living persons, whereas it has also been stated that *rpʾum* denotes different groups of persons[4].

According to Gray the *rpʾum* mentioned in KTU 1.20-22 are human agents or cultic functionaries[5]. With the help of texts which were not known to Gray when he wrote his articles about the *rpʾum*, viz. KTU 1.108 and 1.161, L'Heureux could modify Gray's theory. According to him the *rpʾum* mentioned in KTU 1.20-22 are the major gods. They are called *rpʾum* because they are related to El, who is the supreme god of the Ugaritic pantheon and who is also called *rpʾu*. Some of these major gods have their own subordinate deities, who are also called *rpʾum*. The *rpʾum* "of the earth" as they appear in other texts would originally have been members of an elite group of chariot-warriors, who also had El as their patron[1].

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[1] Cf. Healey 1977A:161; cf. also the note to KTU 1.22:I in KTU, p.65.

[2] For a survey of the different opinions see Caquot 1981:351-356. To the literature mentioned there can be added Healey 1977A:147-197; L'Heureux 1979:111-223; and Pope 1981.

[3] Cf. Van Selms 1954:130 and UF 2(1970),376-377.

[4] See the survey by L'Heureux 1979:116-127.

[5] J. Gray, "The Rephaim", PEQ 81(1949),127-139 and "DTN and RPʾUM in Ancient Ugarit", PEQ 84(1952),39-41.

According to Healey the *rpʾum* "were an early Amorite tribe related to Ditānu, whose eponymous ancestor was regarded as the god Rapiʾu. In Ugarit they are looked back to with awe and reverence as ancestors of legendary glory. They may have persisted as part of the royal family"[2]. He assumes that already in Ugarit this term had developed into a name for the dead in general. Both meanings were inherited by Israel, where the רפאים were regarded as the dead, but also and independent of this as the name of an ancient race of giants.

Finally, Heltzer can be mentioned among those scholars who emphasize the earthly character of the *rpʾum*. In his opinion it is an ethnic term denoting a Sutean sub-tribe called the Rabbaʾum, which is also mentioned in texts from Mari. He wants to translate it this way in KTU 1.15:III.14 and in KTU 1.161, but he does not exclude the possibility that it can also have the same meaning as Hebrew רפאים, viz. "shades of the dead", in other texts[3].

In order to get a clear view of the *rpʾum* the most important texts dealing with them have to be discussed here.

At the end of the myth of Baal the *rpʾum* are mentioned in a hymn to the sun-goddess (KTU 1.6:VI.45-49):

špš (46) *rpʾim.tḥtk*	Shapash, you rule the *rpʾum*,
47 *špš.tḥtk.ʾilnym*	Shapash, you rule the ghosts;

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[1] L'Heureux 1974; 1979:201ff.; and "The y^{e}*lîdê hārāpā* - a Cultic Association of Warriors", BASOR 221(1976),83-85; cf. also B. Margulis, JBL 89 (1970),300-302; D. Sperling, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, XIV, p.79 and Mullen 1980:261-264. This interpretation is criticized by Pope 1981: 174 and D. Pardee, AfO 28(1981-1982),266.

[2] Healey 1977A:195.

[3] M. Heltzer, "The *Rabbaʾum* in Mari and the *Rpi(m)* in Ugarit", OLoP 9 (1978),5-20.

48 *ʿdk. ʾilm.*	let the deities be your company,
hn.mtm (49) *ʿdk.*	behold, let the dead be your company.

These lines probably have a chiastic structure indicated by the clear parallelism of *ʾilnym* in the second line and *ʾilm* in the third line. This makes it very likely that *mtm* in the last line refers back to *rpʾum* in the first line (cf. also KTU 1.22:I.6). So in this text the *rpʾum* are related to both deities and dead persons.

The conception of the sun-goddess ruling the dead has been mentioned before (see pp.150.154 above). The sun was believed to travel through the netherworld during the *night*. So it is not difficult to understand why the sun-deity was associated with the spirits of the dead staying there. Apparently the *rpʾum* were found there too.

The *ʾilm* (1.48) are probably the same as the *ʾilm arṣ*, "gods of the netherworld", mentioned in KTU 1.5:V.6. *ʾilnym* (1.47) seems to be the name of lower deities of the netherworld[1]. *ʾilm* and *ʾilnym* might refer in this context to a certain class of dead persons. For we know that the dead were sometimes called "gods" in ancient Mesopotamia[2] and Israel (cf. I Sam 28:13; Isa 8:19). Whereas this happens only sporadically in Mesopotamia and Israel, it seems to have been more common in Ugarit, as with the Egyptians[3] and the Hittites. An important text in this connection is KTU 1.113, which is a list of deceased kings, each one being called *ʾil* (see pp.147.155 above).

Much information about the character of the *rpʾum* can be derived from the "*rpʾum*-texts" KTU 1.20-22[4]. As was remarked on pp.160-161 above the original order of the tablets and the columns on each tablet is probably not the same as in the edition of KTU. But this is of less importance here.

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[1] Cf. Gese 1970:92; Müller 1975A:71, n.42; and Healey 1977A:181-182.

[2] Cf. Heidel 1946:153 and Bottéro 1980:28.

[3] Cf. Hornung 1971:149.

[4] First published by C. Virolleaud, *La légende phénicienne de Danel*, Paris 1936, pp.228-230 (KTU 1.20 was considered to be part of the epic of Aqhat(or Danel) and, therefore, numbered IVD) and "Les Rephaïm. Fragments de poèmes de Ras Shamra", *Syria* 22(1941),1-30. For recent discussions and translations of these texts see A. Caquot and M. Sznycer, *Textes ougaritiques*, I, Paris 1974, pp.461-480; Healey 1977A:160-194; L'Heureux 1979:129-159; and G. del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y leyendas de Canaan segun la tradicion de Ugarit*, Madrid 1981, pp.405-424.

So we start with KTU 1.20:I.

1	*[rp]ʾum.tdbḥn*	[ ]may the *[rp]ʾum* take part in the sacrifice;
2	*[t]sʿd*[1]*.ʾilnym*	[ ]may the ghosts [be str]engthened;
3	*[tʾik]l.kmt mtm*	[may they e]at like the dead of the dead.
4	*[tqr]b wtʿrb*[2]*.sd*	[May they draw] near and enter the company[3];
5	*[ ]n bym.qẓ*	may they[ ]on the day of the summer fruit.
6	*[ʾiln]ym.tlḥmn*	May [the gho]sts eat,
7	*[wrp]ʾum*[4]*.tštyn*	[yea,] may the *[rp]ʾum* drink.
8	*[trd*[5]*].ʾil.dʿrgzm*	[May they descend,] the god of the nut-trees,
9	*[ʾilt].dt.ʿl.lty*	[the goddess] who is sitting on a twig[6].
10	*[dbḥ]t dbḥ ʾamr*	[I have sacrifi]ced the sacrifice of Amurru.
11	*[ ]ym[ ]*	[ ]day[ ]

As in KTU 1.6:VI.45-49 the *rpʾum* are called (lower) deities and equated with the dead. They are invoked to take part in a meal prepared for them. The same invitation can be found in KTU 1.108. As in KTU 1.108 the verbs have to be regarded as jussives. The company the *rpʾum* are asked to enter (1.4) can be compared to the "company of the holy" (סוד קדשים) in Ps 89:8.

In 1.5 we find an indication of the date of this sacrifice: "on the day of the summer fruit". This summer fruit (cf. KTU 1.22:I.15: olives and gourds) is also mentioned in KTU 1.19:I.41, where the full development of this fruit is said to depend on Baal's rain[7]. So, again, there appears to be a connection with the New Year Festival, which celebrates Baal's victory over death.

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[1] KTU reads *b*ʿd*, but the traces of the first letter which is visible can also belong to a /*s*/; cf. Dijkstra, De Moor 1975:214 who connect it with Hebrew **סעד**, "to strengthen (oneself) with food".

[2] Read with CTA: *wtʿrb* instead of *kqrbm* in KTU. The copy of Virolleaud leaves both possibilities open.

[3] The "entering of the company" can be compared to the expression **באו בסוד** in Gen 49:6.

[4] KTU reads *]p*m*. Because of the parallel *ʾilnym* we would expect here *wrpʾum*. On the tablet there is room for three letters before the signs that are still visible. So perhaps the damaged letter was /*ʾu*/ and not /*p*/. Otherwise we would have to assume that the writer left one letter out accidentally.

[5] For the restoration *trd* see KTU 1.24:42-43.

[6] Cf. Akkadian *lutû*, "twig".

[7] Cf. Dijkstra, De Moor 1975:201-202.

In ll.8-9 two of the *rpʾum* are described separately as sitting in trees, probably pictured as birds (see also the remarks on KTU 1.20:II.2 below). The nut-trees mentioned here associate the *rpʾum* with lower goddesses called Kotharat, because in KTU 1.24:42-43 it is said of them that they descend on nut-trees[1] and olives.

Just like KTU 1.20:I the second column is severely damaged. It is possbile, however, to restore many lines by comparison with parallel lines in KTU 1.21-22:

1*	*[šbʿ bbty]*	*["* seven in my house,*]*
1	*ṯmn.bqrb.hkly.*	eight in my palace.
	[ʾaṯrh.rpʾum] (2) *tdd.*	May *[*the *rpʾum]* flutter[2] to the holy place[3],
	ʾaṯrh.tdd.ʾiln[ym.]	may the gho*[*sts*]* flutter to the holy place".
	[mrkbt] (3) *ʾasr.*	They tied up *[*the chariots*]*,
	sswm.tṣmd.	harnassed the horses,
	dg[lm.tšʾu]	*[*raised*]* the ban*[*ners*]*.
4	*tʿln.lmrkbthm.*	They mounted their chariots,
	tʾi[ty.lʿrhm]	ca*[*me to their stallions*]*.
5	*tlkn.ym.wṯn*	They went one day and a second.
	ʾaḫr.š[pšm.bṯlṯ]	After sun*[*set on the third*]*
6	*mġy rpʾum.lgrnt.*	the *rpʾum* arrived on the threshing-floors,
	ʾi[lnym.l] (7) *mṭʿt.*	the gh*[*osts on*]* the plantations.
	wyʿn.dnʾil.mt.rpʾi	And Daniel, the man of Rapiu said,
8	*yṯb.ġzr.mt hrnmy[.]*	the hero, the Harnamite man replied:
	[rpʾum] (9) *bgrnt.*	"*[*Let the *rpʾum]* on the threshing-floors,
	ʾilm.bqrb.m[ṭʿt.]	let the gods on the plan*[*tations*]*,

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[1] Pope 1977:165-166 and *Song of Songs*, AncB 7c, Garden City 1977, pp.574-579 points in this connection to the cosmic symbolism of the nut (cf. Cant 6:11). He assumes that "the walnut grove" is a name of the Kidron Valley and denotes by the symbolism of the nut the entrance of the netherworld. If this surprising theory is correct, it fits the context of KTU 1.20 very well.

[2] *tdd* is derived from the verb *ndd/nwd*, "to fly up, to hasten", like Hebrew נדד this is said of birds (cf. Isa 16:2; Jer 4:25; cf. also the use of נוד in Prov 26:2). Although it is also possible to connect it with *ndd*, "to stand" (cf. L'Heureux 1979:134), we prefer the first meaning because of the common ancient Near Eastern association of the dead with birds. It also explains the use of *ndd* D-stem in KTU 1.22:I.10.

[3] Cf. KTU 1.17:I.28. The suffix can be explained as *he*-locale.

[ʾilnym] (10) *dtʾit.yspiʾ.*	let [the ghosts] who came be fed,
spʾu.q[rʾim.dtlk.]	feed those who were in[voked and came[1]].
[b] (11) *tpḥ.ṯṣr.shr*	Go round [with] apples, ambrosia[2],
[ṯ] (12) *ṣr*	[am]brosia

The interpretation of *ṯmn* (1.1) as a number and the reconstructed first line (1.1*) based on this[3] have been questioned[4], but it is confirmed by the ritual described in KTU 1.161, which mentions seven *rpʾum* and seven sacrifices made to them. We can also compare this to the many references in the ancient Near East to demons, who are inhabitants of the netherworld, acting in groups of seven[5]. It has been assumed that the number eight relates the *rpʾum* to the Phoenician god Esmun, whose name would have been derived from the number eight, and to the Hittite "ancient gods"[6]. But this is not very likely, because the name Esmun is probably not derived from the number eight, but from the word *šem*, "name"[7], and the number of the Hittite "ancient gods" is not explicitly mentioned. Moreover, the Hittite equivalent of the *rpʾum* seems to have been the group of "ancient kings" of the netherworld[8]. The number eight was probably only used in KTU

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[1] Cf. the use of *qrʾ* in KTU 1.21:II.2.10; 1.22:II.4.9; and 1.161. Cf. also קראים in I Sam 9:13 (those invited for a sacrificial meal) and Prov 9:18 (parallel to רפאים).

[2] See for this translation of *shr* and *ṯṣr* Dijkstra, De Moor 1975:215.

[3] Cf. already R. Dussaud, *Les découvertes de Ras Shamra (Ugarit) et l'Ancient Testament*, 2nd ed., Paris 1941, pp.185ff. who proposed to read *šbᶜ btk bty* (cf. KTU 1.5:V.8-9).

[4] Cf. Caquot, Sznycer, *Textes Ougaritiques*, p.478 who propose to translate *ṯmn* like *ṯm* with "there". They refer for this to KTU 1.17:V.2, but there the reading *ṯmn* is uncertain. Healey 1977A:171 and L'Heureux 1979:133-134 prefer to relate the number eight to the days of sacrificing (cf. KTU 1.22:I.21ff.). This does not exclude, however, the possibility that the *rpʾum* appeared in the same number.

[5] Cf. the Sibittu, "the Seven (demons)", mentioned in ancient Mesopotamian sources; Dumuzi was taken to the netherworld by seven demons, who can be compared to the "seven lads and eight boars" accompanying Baal on his way to Mot (KTU 1.5:V.8-9). In the New Testament we hear of persons who are possessed by seven evil spirits (Mark 16:9; Luke 11:26). Cf. also the seven plagues mentioned in Deut 28:22.25 (cf. Bailey 1979:13.31).

[6] Cf. J. Ebach, *Weltentstehung und Kulturentwicklung bei Philo von Byblos*, Stuttgart 1979, pp.262-263 following a suggestion which was made earlier by Virolleaud.

[7] Cf. Gese 1970:190.

[8] See on these *karuiles* LUGAL$^{\text{meš}}$ Haas 1976:209.

1.20:II.1 as the common parallel to the number seven (cf. KTU 1.14:I.8-9; 1.19:I.42-43; Micah 5:4 and Eccles 11:2).

The common ancient Near Eastern conception of the spirits of the dead taking the physical form of birds is also attested in the literature of Ugarit. The *rpʾum* are described as fluttering (*ndd*; KTU 1.20:II.1-2; 1.21: II.3-4.12; 1.22:II.5-6.10-11.20-21 and Ras Ibn Hani 77/8a+13+21b:11.14); they are startled like birds (*ndd* D-stem; KTU 1.22:I.10). Apparently they were believed to come like birds to the holy place to enter the company of the gods (KTU 1.20:I.4). The presence of birds in temples was not uncommon. Tristram even noticed "a very strong feeling among all Eastern nations, that any birds which resort to a sacred edifice, thereby claim the protection of the deity. It was esteemed sacrilege to disturb such . . . To the present day the Moslems cherish tenderly any birds which resort to the mosques"[1]. Ps 84:4 seems to express the same attitude towards birds in the temple. The belief in birds representing the dead may have contributed to the feeling observed by Tristram.

In 11.2ff. the *rpʾum* are pictured as more human, travelling on horse-drawn carriages. This change does not contradict the interpretation of the previous lines, because we know that Ugaritic deities can also be described alternately as humans, as animals, and as winged "angels"[2]. According to L'Heureux these lines denote the *rpʾum* as a class of chariot warriors (cf. also KTU 1.22:II.22-23). There are, however, some very interesting parallels in other cultures of the idea of spirits of the dead travelling this way. A Phoenician text mentions a demon tying up his chariot[3]. The ancient Iranian spirits of dead heroes, the Fravashis, who were also pictured as birds, can appear as horsemen too[4]. And also the Greek heroes receiving sacrifices could be pictured with a horse[5]. Perhaps also the widely attested custom of burying horses and sometimes chariots together with the deceased[1] has to be connected with this conception, although it is more likely that the horses and chariots have to be regarded as the personal belongings the deceased takes with him in the grave.

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[1] H.B. Tristram, *The Natural History of the Bible*, 4th ed., London 1875, pp.159-160; cf. also CAD "I", pp.210-211 on birds in the temple.

[2] Cf. Ug.2(1949),41, fig.14,3; 4(1962),98, fig.79; and *Syria* 31(1954), pl. VIII.

[3] Cf. De Moor 1981:111.

[4] See p.127 above. This important parallel is also mentioned by Horwitz 1979:42 and Pope 1981:174. The latter also adds another parallel, viz. the Greek Dioscuri depicted on a funerary stele as coming on horseback to partake in a sacrificial meal for the gods. The correspondence between the Dioscuri and the *rpʾum*, however, remains rather vague.

[5] Cf. Herrmann 1959:60.

The *rpʾum* arrive at night (1.5), which is the usual time for spirits of the dead to appear (cf. I Sam 28:8). They arrive on the threshing-floors and the plantations (1.6). This seems to be a traditional Semitic place of ghostly visitation[2]. It is also an indication of the *rpʾum* being represented as birds: they come to the place where they can feed. It may be tentatively suggested that it is another reference to the beginning of the new year, which is introduced by Baal's return from the netherworld. For according to the myth of Baal his descent into the netherworld coincides with the vernal migration of birds[3]. His return may also have been marked by the return of these birds. It is not unlikely that part of the New Year Festival took place on the threshing-floors (cf. also Hos 9:1-2).

Daniel's epithet "man of Rapiu" (1.7) is used very often in this epic. Rapiu is probably a deity with whom Daniel had a special relation. The fact that Baal spoke on behalf of Daniel to El (KTU 1.17:I.17ff.) makes it very likely that Baal was his patron and Rapiu a name of Baal[4]. The standard parallel to *mt rpʾu* is *mt hrnmy*. The word *hrnmy* is used separately only once. This text (KTU 1.19:IV.22-25) shows that it denotes Daniel and that it is not the name of a deity. We probably have to connect this name with a place name *hrnm* (the final *yod* can be regarded as a *yod-gentilicum*), but the identification of this place is problematical[5].

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[1] For ancient Mesopotamia see Strommenger 1957:607-608 and the Sumerian text "The Death of Ur-Nammu", ll.74-75 (cf. Kramer 1967:118 and Foster 1981:622); for Ebla see P. Matthiae, *Akkadica* 17(1980),16. The Hittite rituals for the royal funeral also mention sacrifices of horses (cf. Christman-Franck 1971:69.71ff.). See for Greek parallels Il.23 (cf. Burkert 1977:297) and for the Skythians Rolle 1979:96-121.

[2] Cf. De Ward 1972:5 and Healey 1977A:174. According to Wensinck 1917:1-6 the threshing-floor was used for mourning rites; apparently because of the intrinsic connection between the dead and the (fertile) land.

[3] Cf. De Moor 1971:176.

[4] Cf. De Moor 1976:328; see also the remarks on KTU 1.108:1 below.

[5] According to W.F. Albright, BASOR 130(1953),26-27 and *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, London 1968, pp.102.206 it is a place in the Lebanon called Hermel= Harnam. D.N. Freedman and F.I. Anderson, BASOR 198(1970), 41 assume the following development of this name: Harnam>Harmon>Hermel.

KTU 1.21[1]:

1*	*[wyʿn.dn]*(1)*[ʾil.]*	*[*"Then Daniel should say:*]*
	[bʾu.bt.]mrzʿy.	*[*'Come into the house of*]* my Marzeah[2],
	lk bty (2) *[rpʾim.]*	go into my house *[*for the *rpʾum*[3]*]*.
	[bb]ty.ʾaṣḥkm.	I invite you *[*into*]* my *[*hou*]*se,
	ʾiqraʾ(3)*[km.bqrb.h]kly.*	I call *[*you into*]* my *[*pa*]*lace.
	ʾaṯrh.rpʾum (4) *[tdd.]*	May the *rpʾum* flutter to the holy place,
	[ʾaṯr]h.ltdd.ʾilnym	may the ghosts flutter *[*to*]* the *[*holy place[4]*]*
5	*[tbʾu.bt.m]rzʿy.*	*[*may they come into the house of my*]* Marzeah.
	ʾapnnk.yrp[ʾu](6)*[km.]*	Then he will he*[*al you*]*,
	[yḥwy]km.rʿy.[5]	the Shepherd will *[*give you life again*]*.'
	ht.ʾalk (7) *[ym.wṯn.]*	Now I will go, *[*one day and a second*]*,
	[wb]ṯlṯt.ʾamġy.lbt	*[*on the*]* third day I will arrive at the house,
8	*[ʾabʾu.bqr]b.hkly.*[6]	*[*I will come in*]*to my palace."
	wyʿn.<dn>ʾil	And Daniel said:

Pope 1977:166 associates it with the Hinnom Valley. It is also possible to connect *hrnm* with the mountain Hermon (Hebrew חרמון), because in a paraphrase of Gen 6:1-4 the Ethiopic book of Enoch 6:5-7 speaks of a certain Danel (cf. Ugaritic Daniel) as one of the fallen angels who descended from heaven to the mountain Hermon to generate the giants. In the Old Testament some of these giants are called Rephaim. It may be assumed that this tradition in I Enoch has its roots in ancient Canaanite religion and that this origin led to a deliberate misreading of הרנם* (cf. הרמון in Amos 4:3) connecting it with חרם, "ban".

[1] Most restorations of this text are based on parallel lines in KTU 1.20: II and 1.22:II and in this tablet itself.

[2] The restoration *bt mrzʿy* depends on an Akkadian text found in Ras Shamra mentioning a *bît amîl* ^{M}*mar-za-i* (RS 15.88).

[3] *rpʾim* in ll.2 and 9 is hardly a vocative as is usually assumed, because one would expect *rpʾum* then. It is also possible and because of the parallel line even likely that we have a double genitive here (see for this phenomenon in Old Testament Hebrew GK §128d).

[4] Healey 1977A:162 takes the *lamed* before *tdd* as a negative particle. This is very unlikely, however, because according to parallel passages the *lamed* can be left out (cf. KTU 1.20:II.2). So it can only be an emphatic particle here.

[5] See for this restoration of 1.5-6 p.156 above.

[6] The lines 6-8 can be restored by comparison with KTU 1.20:II.5-7. This parallel also indicates that *ʾil* in KTU 1.21:II.8 is almost certainly to be corrected in *dnʾil*. The same mistake (*homoioteleuton*) was made to KTU 1.19:II.12.

[bʾu.bt.mrzʿ]y.	"[Come into the house of] my [Marzeah],
lk.bty.rpʾim	go into my house for the *rpʾum*.
10 *[bbty.ʾaṣ]ḥkm.*	[I in]vite you [into my house],
ʾiqraʾkm (11) *[bqrb.hk]ly.*	I call you [into] my [pala]ce.
ʾaṯrh.rpʾum (12) *[tdd.]*	May the *rpʾum* [flutter] to the holy place,
[ʾaṯ]rh.ltdd.ʾi[lnym]	may the gh[osts] flutter [to the holy] place."

In this text the *rpʾum* are invited to come to the house of Daniel's Marzeah, which is also called "house for the *rpʾum*". The Marzeah (Ugaritic *mrzʿ* or *mrzḥ*) is a cultic association, which is also attested in later cultures in this region. Its participants practise communion with divine beings by a communal meal. KTU 1.21 clearly shows that it was also connected with the cult of the dead. Because this connection has been questioned by some scholars[1], we will return to this issue in section 2.5.2.2.3. below.

The implications of the restored ll.5-7 were already discussed on p.156 above. The *rpʾum* are not only promised food and drink but also return to life. Of course, this return can only be temporarily, i.e., for as long as the festival lasts.

The following lines are very interesting, because they indicate that Baal's journey from the netherworld to the place of the festival, i.e., the journey from death to life, takes three days. The same is said in KTU 1.20:II.5-7 of the journey of the *rpʾum*, which is in line with the fact that they were believed to follow Baal (cf. KTU 1.17:VI.28-29). This period of three days occurs within the same framework of the hope for revivification in Hos 6:2. It is very likely that KTU 1.21 helps us to understand the Canaanite background of this Old Testament text (see section 3.4.1. below).

It is not easy to determine who are the speaking characters in this fragmentary text. If the interpretation of ll.5ff. given above is correct, then we have to assume that Baal takes the initiative in l.6: "Now I will go and do as is promised to the *rpʾum*". In ll.5-6 Baal is spoken of in the third person, whereas ll.9ff. repeat the first lines of the text. The best solution seems to be that ll.1-6 are also spoken by Baal: he advises Daniel to invite the *rpʾum*; in ll.9ff. Daniel does as Baal told him to do.

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[1] Cf. recently H.-J. Fabry, ThWAT V, cols.11-15.

So we have here the same kind of repetition as in KTU 1.14:V.29-VI.15.

KTU 1.22:I:

	hn.bnk.	"Lo, your son,
	hn ʾa[ṯrk.yḏmr]	lo, [he will protect your holy pla]ce[1],
3	*bn bn.ʾaṯrk.*	your grandson your holy place.
	hn[.]ḥt[kk.]	Lo, [your] off[spring],
	[ʾaḫ]d (4) *ydk.*	[he who will gra]sp your hand,
	ṣġŕ.tnšq.šptk.	your lips will kiss the boy."
	ṯm (5) *ṯkm.bm ṯkm.ʾaḫm.*	There, shoulder to shoulder were the brothers,
	qym.ʾil (6) *blsmt.*	whom El made to stand up[2] in haste.
	ṯm.yṯbš.šm.ʾil.mtm	There the name of El revivified[3] the dead,
7	*yṯ(!)bš.brkn*[4]*.šm.ʾil.ġzrm*	the blessings of the name of El revivified the heroes.
8	*ṯm.ṯmq.rpʾu.bʿl.*	There rose up[5] Baal Rapiu,
	mhr bʿl (9) *wmhr.ʿnt.*	the warriors of Baal and the warriors of Anat.
	ṯm.yḥpn.ḥyl (10) *ḫḫ.*	There rustled[6] the host of the filth,
	zbl.mlk.ʿllmy.	the highness, the king, the unrelated[7],
	km.tdd (11) *ʿnt.ṣd.*	as when Anat chases the game,
	tštr.ʿpt.šmm	causes to fly up the birds of heaven.
12	*ṭbḫ.ʾalpm.*	He slaughtered oxen,

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[1] The restoration of this line is based on the assumed parallel with KTU 1.17:I.28.30.

[2] See for the interpretation of *qym* as "to rise up" (D-stem) J. Gray, *The Legacy of Canaan*, 2nd ed., Leiden 1965, p.128 and De Moor 1980:179, n. 38; cf. the use of קום in Isa 14:21; 26:14; and Ps 88:11.

[3] Cf. De Moor 1971:117 and 1981:179 who connects Ugaritic *ṯbš* with Akkadian *bašū* Š-stem.

[4] KTU, p.65, n.2 proposes to read in 1.7: *ybrkn* instead of *yṯ(!)bš.brkn*, because a repetition of *yṯbš* in this verse is considered to be unlikely. It is, however, not unusual that identical words are repeated in parallel lines; cf. S. Segert, JAOS 103(1983),303.

[5] Cf. J.C. de Moor, in *Bewerken en bewaren*, Fs K. Runia, Kampen 1982, p. 44, n.50 who connects Ugaritic *ṯmq* with Arabic *samaqu*, "to be high, tower up". This clearly fits the context (against Pope 1977:169).

[6] Cf. De Moor 1971:117. The use of this verb is another reference to the *rpʾum* being represented as birds.

[7] This translation will be discussed below.

	ʾap ṣʾin.	also small stock.
	šql.ṯrm	He slew bulls
13	*wmriʾ ʾilm.*	and the fattest of rams,
	ʿglm.dt.šnt	yearling calves,
14	*ʾimr.qmṣ.llʾim.*	sheep, a multitude of lambkins.
	kksp (15) *lʿbrm.zt.*	To those who came over the olives were like silver,
	ḫrṣ.lʿbrm.kš	to those who came over the gourds were like gold,
16	*dpr.ṯlḥn.bqʿl.*	among the fruit on the table in the hall[1],
	bqʿl (17) *mlkm.*	in the hall of kings.
	hn.ym.yṣq.yn.ṯmk	Lo, one day he poured wine of Thamuka[2],
18	*mrṯ.yn.srnm.*	must of wine fit for rulers,
	yn.bld (19) *ġll.*	wine without after-effect,
	yn.ʾišryt.	wine of happiness,
	ʿnq.sm d(20)*lbnn.*	The purple necklace of the Lebanon,
	ṭl(!).mrṯ.yḥrṯ.ʾil	dew of must grown by a god.
21	*hn.ym.wṯn.tlḥmn.*	Lo, one day and a second they ate,
	rpʾum (22) *tštyn.*	the *rpʾum* drank
	ṯlṯ.rbʿ.ym.	a third, a fourth day,
	ḫmš (23) *ṯdṯ.ym.tlḥmn.*	a fifth, a sixth day they ate,
	rpʾum (24) *tštyn.*	the *rpʾum* drank
	bt.ʾikl.bprʿ	in the dining room on the summit[3],
25	*bṣq[.]bʾirt.lbnn.*	on the crest[4], on the flank of the Lebanon.
	mk.bšbʿ (26) *[ymm.]*	Then, on the seventh *[day]*,
	[wyl]k.ʾalʾiyn.bʿl	Baal the Almighty *[came]*,
27	*[yqrb.bḥn]t.rʿh[.]*	*[he approached]* his friend *[with merc]*y:
	ʾabyn (28) *[dnʾil.mt.rpʾi.]*	"*[Daniel, the man of Rapiu,]* is poor,
	ṣʿ[q.ġzr] (29) *[mt.hrnmy.]*[5]	*[the hero, the Harnamite man, is c]*rying.

In ll.5ff. the revivification of the *rpʾum* is described[6]. Thus far it was suggested that this would be done by Baal, but in this text Baal appears to be only the first of the *rpʾum* to be raised. On the other hand it is not surprising that it is El who gives life, because he was believed to be the creator[1]. When Baal wants to help Daniel to get a son, he has to go to El first (KTU 1.17:I.24ff.) and something similar is found in the epic of Keret (KTU 1.15:II.12ff.). The roles of Baal and El with regard to the revivification of the *rpʾum* were probably not felt to be contradictory as is indicated by the difference in the words used to denote this action. Baal is just as important in this matter as El, because only in his retinue is it possible for the *rpʾum* to return to life. So Baal contributes in his own way to the revivification of the *rpʾum.*

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[1] Cf. De Moor 1973:II, 13 and Healey 1978B:91.

[2] Cf. W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien*, p.145.

[3] Cf. Pope 1977:177 who connects Ugaritic *prʿ* with Arabic *firaʿ*.

[4] Cf. the use of מצוק in I Sam 14:5.

[5] Ll.25-29 are restored after KTU 1.17:I.16-19.

[6] Cf. the opposite statement with the same words in Ps 88:11.

It is not clear why the *rpʾum* are called brothers (1.5). Perhaps we have to compare this to the general indication of all gods as brothers, which is attested in ancient Mesopotamian literature[2]. They are also called heroes (*ġzrm*) (1.7). Being primarily a word denoting a masculine person who has reached manhood[3], *ġzr* developed into an epithet for people distinguished by heroic qualities[4]. In the epic literature of Ugarit only few persons are called *ġzr* (Elhu in KTU 1.16:I.46; Daniel in KTU 1.17:I.2 etc.; and Aqhat in KTU 1.17:VI.20 etc.). It probably has this restricted sense of "hero" in KTU 1.22:I as well indicating that only a limited number of dead persons share in the blessing of belonging to the *rpʾum.*

The much disputed *rpʾu bʿl* (1.8)[5] can be interpreted as "*rpʾu(m)* of Baal"[6]. This seems to fit the context, because with *mhr bʿl* in the same line a similar or at least a comparable group of persons may have been meant (cf. also KTU 1.22:II.6-8). However, it is more likely that *rpʾu* is an epithet of Baal[7] like *ʾalʾiyn*, which is also written before his name, because Baal is called *rpʾu* in KTU 1.108:2 and in the epithet of Daniel, whereas we also know a Phoenician god named *bʿl mrpʾ*. Baal can be regarded then as the first of the *rpʾum*.

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[1] Cf. De Moor 1980.

[2] Cf. H. Ringgren, ThWAT I, col.205.

[3] Cf. Van Selms 1954:96.

[4] Cf. A.F. Rainey, in *Orient and Occident*, Fs C.H. Gordon, ed. H.A. Hoffner, AOAT 22, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1973, p.142.

[5] For a survey see Healey 1977A:176-177.

[6] Cf. L'Heureux 1979:146.

[7] Cf. De Moor 1976:325-329; Healey 1977A:177-180; and Dietrich, Loretz 1980:179. An important argument is derived by De Moor 1976:328-329 from the West-Semitic personal names containing the root *rpʾ*; cf. in this framework also ARM XVI/1, 50.266.

In 11.8-9 the *rpʾum* are called warriors of Baal and warriors of Anat. It is possible to think here of the soldiers who died as heroes on the battlefield. In ancient Greek religion all soldiers who died in battle were venerated as heroes[1] and in the Akkadian "Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty", which mentions the dead persons who receive funerary offerings, "the soldiers who fell while on perilous campaigns" are listed among kings and princes[2]. We can think of another aspect as well, if we take into account the fact that Greek heroes were believed to be helpers in battle and protectors of the city in which they are worshipped, just like the ancient Iranian spirits of dead heroes, the Fravashis, who were known as armed horsemen fighting for believers. The fact that the *rpʾum* are called warriors of Baal and Anat and not simply the fallen soldiers as in the Akkadian text mentioned above also points to their being active as warriors. Their chariots (KTU 1.20:II.2ff; 1.22:II.22ff.) can also be regarded as equipment for this purpose.

In KTU 1.18:IV.6.11.27 another warrior of Anat is mentioned, viz. the lower deity Yatpan, who is a servant of Anat. He is called *mhr št*, "warrior of the Lady". Yatpan is used by the goddess to kill Aqhat and he takes the form of a bird, a kite, to carry out his mission. Apparently he is a winged demon. This description of Yatpan is another indication of the already noticed similarity between the *rpʾum* and lower deities.

zbl, *mlk*, and *ʿllmy* (1.10) can be regarded as general terms for the *rpʾum*. A perfect parallel for this is offered by the "Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty": after the soldiers it mentions "princes, princesses, all persons from east to west who have neither caretaker nor anyone who concerns himself (with the needs of the dead)". This text may offer the solution to the problem of translating the term *ʿllmy*, which is probably the same as *ʿllmn* in KTU 1.161:7. After the "highness" and the "king" a last group of dead persons has to be invoked. De Moor proposed a translation "usurper", referring to Akkadian *mar la mammana*, "son of nobody" (cf.

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[1] Cf. H. von Geisau, *Der Kleine Pauly*, II, col.1104.

[2] Cf. Finkelstein 1966:97.

also I Sam 17:55-58), which fits in with its place in a list of royal persons[1]. The same can be said of Del Olmo Lete's translation "vizier"[2]. De Moor offered a reasonable etymology (cf. also Ugaritic *ᶜll*, "child" in Ras Ibn Hani text 77/18, rev.3). On the other hand it is not very likely that an usurper was mentioned in a list of ancestors like KTU 1.161. For this reason we tentatively suggest to connect it with the spirits of the dead who do not have any relatives that are taking care of them[3]. In some Mesopotamian texts such a spirit is called "spirit of nobody" (*eṭim la mammanama*)[4]. Something similar could have been expressed by Ugaritic *ᶜllmn/ᶜllmy*: "whose child?", i.e., somebody with no relative, even the father being unknown.

In 1.15 the participants of the banquet are called "those who came over" (*ᶜbrm*). The background of this term is the belief that a river or sea separates the world of the dead from the world of the living. This river of death is called the Styx in Greek and Hubur in Akkadian. The place where Utnapishtim lives is separated from this world by the water of death (Gilg. X.iii.47ff.) and in the Sumerian story of the flood Dilmun is called "land of the crossing". This conception can also be found in Job 33:18, "to spare his soul from the pit, his life from crossing the stream (שלח)"[5]. The 22nd verse of Job 33 is almost completely identical: "his soul draws near to the pit, his life to the place of death (across)the sea". The difficult ממתים at the end of this verse can be explained by comparing it to Ugaritic *šḥl mmt*, "the stream of the realm of death"[6]. ממתים probably also consist of two words, viz. ממת, "place of death" and ים, "sea". This is confirmed by KTU 1.14:I.20-21, from which we learn that both *ym* and *šḥl* can represent death[7].

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[1] De Moor 1971:117 and 1976:342; cf. also Xella 1981:285.

[2] G. del Olmo Lete, UF 9(1977),38. Pope 1977:170 connects it with Arabic *ᶜalima*, "to know". R.M. Good, UF 13(1981),118-119 rightly criticizes this, but his own translation "eternal" is etymologically unconvincing and does not fit the context.

[3] See on the mention of these spirits of the dead in Mesopotamian literature Finkelstein 1966:115 and Bottéro 1983:170-171.186.

[4] Cf. Ebeling 1931:132.

[5] Cf. Tromp 1969:147-151.

[6] Cf. De Moor 1971:186.

[7] Cf. J.C. de Moor and K. Spronk, UF 14(1982),156. In KTU 1.5:I.21-22 we

The place of the banquet is called "hall of kings" (ll.16-17). This name is another indication of the fact that only important dead like kings belonged to the *rpᵓum* (cf. also 1.10).

KTU 1.22:II[1]:

1	*w.yl[k.bty.]*	"And let them co[me into my house],
	[ybᵓu.bqr](2)*b.hkly.*	[go into] my palace.
	[bᵓu.bbt.mrzᶜy]	[Go into the house of my Marzeah,]
3	*lk.bty.r[pᵓim.]*	come into my house for the *r[pᵓum]*.
	[bbty.ᵓaṣḥ](4)*km.*	[I call you into my house ,
	ᵓiqr[ᵓakm.bqrb.hkly]	I invi[te you into my palace].
5	*ᵓaṯrh.r[pᵓum.tdd.]*	[May the *rpᵓum* flutter] to the holy place,
	[ᵓaṯrh] (6) *ltdd.ᵓil[nym.]*	may the gho[sts] flutter [to the holy place],
	[ṯm.yṯmqn] (7) *mhr.bᶜl[.]*	[May there rise up] the warriors of Baal,
	[rpᵓu.bᶜl.wmhr] (8) *ᶜnt.*	[Baal Rapiu and the warriors] of Anat.
	lk b[ty.rpᵓim.]	Come into [my house for the *rpᵓum*],
	[bbty] (9) *ᵓaṣḥ.km.*	I call you [into my house],
	[ᵓiqraᵓkm.bqrb] (10) *hkly.*	[I invite you into] my palace.
	ᵓaṯr[h.rpᵓum.tdd]	[May the *rpᵓum* flutter to] the holy place,
11	*ᵓaṯrh.lt[dd.ᵓilnym.]*	may [the ghosts flut]ter to the holy place.
	[ṯm] (12) *yḥpn.ḥy[l.ẖẖ.]*	May the host [of the filth] rustle [there],
	[mlk.ᶜlmy]	[the king, the unrelated.]
13	*šmᶜ.ᵓa(!)tm.[rpᵓum.]*	Listen, you *[rpᵓum]*,
	[bn.ᵓiln](14)*ym.*	[pay attention, gho]sts.
	lm.qdt[ ]	Why [ ]
	[ ]	[ ]".
15	*šmn.prst[.yṣq.]*	[He poured] oil of decision,
	[dnᵓil.ndr] (16) *ydr.*	[Daniel] made [a vow]:
	hm.ym[ ] (17) *ᶜl ᵓamr*[2].	"If [ ] over Amurru,

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are told that Nahar, "river", a title of the sea-god Yam, mixes the cup for the god of death, Mot. Gibson rightly remarks that this is probably a poetic allusion to souls being taken across the river of death (*Canaanite Myths and Legends*, p.69, n.1).

[1] The restoration of the broken passages is based on parallel passages in KTU 1.20-22 and on the average number of signs missing on the right side of the tablet.

[2] We do not follow KTU here; cf. the copy by Virolleaud.

	yʾu[ḫd.ksʾa.mlkh]	gra[sps the throne of his kingship,]
18	*nḫt.kḥṯ.d[rkth.]*[1]	the cushion of the seat of his do[minion],
	[hn.bbty] (19) *ʾaṣḥ.rpʾim[.]*	Then[2] I will call the *rpʾum* [into my house],
	[ʾiqraʾ.ʾilnym] (20) *bqrb. h[kly.]*	[invite the ghosts] into [my palace].
	[ʾaṯrh.rpʾum] (21) *tdd.*	May [the *rpʾum*] flutter [to the holy place],
	ʾaṯrh[.ltdd.ʾilnym]	[may the ghosts flutter] to the holy place."
22	*ʾasr.mr[kbtm.]*	They tied up the ch[ariots],
	[tṣmd.sswm]	[harnassed the horses].
23	*tʿln.lmr[kbthm.]*	They mounted their ch[ariots],
	[tiʾty.l] (24) *ʿrhm.*	[came to] their stallions.
	tl[kn.ym.wṯn.]	They w[ent one day and a second].
	[ʾaḫr.špšm] (25) *bṯlṯ.*	[After sunset] on the third
	mġ[y.rpʾum.lgrnt]	[the *rpʾum*] arri[ved on the threshing-floors,]
26	*ʾi[ln]y[m.lmṭʿt]*	the gh[osts on the plantations].

This column probably contains words spoken by Daniel invoking the *rpʾum*, followed by their reaction (11.22ff.). It was already remarked above that the original order was probably different from the numbering in KTU. It is more likely that KTU 1.22:I followed after KTU 1.22:II. KTU 1.22:I.2-3 can be regarded as the answer to the vow made by Daniel (11.15ff.). Unfortunately, one can only guess what precisely is said here by Daniel.

Next to KTU 1.20-22 which seem to belong to the epic of Aqhat there are two cultic texts describing rites connected with the veneration of the *rpʾum*. The first of these texts we discuss here is KTU 1.108[3]:

1	*[hl]n.yšt.rpʾu.mlk.ʿlm.*	[Lo], may Rapiu, the eternal king drink[4].
	wyšt (2) *[ʾil.]gṯr.wyqr.*	And may [the god] Gathar-and-Yaqar drink,

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[1] Ll.16-18 are restored after KTU 1.16:VI.23-24.

[2] Cf. the use of הנה in Exod 7:27 and 8:17.

[3] Cf. C. Virolleaud, Ug.5(1968),551-557 (*editio princeps*); J.C. de Moor, UF 1(1969),175-179; B. Margulis, "A Ugaritic Psalm", JBL 89(1970),293-304; De Moor 1973:II,24-27; Caquot 1976; L'Heureux 1979:169-187; and Dietrich, Loretz 1980.

[4] *yšt* (11.1ff.) is probably a jussive. This is indicated by the consistent use of the shorter form *yšt* instead of *yšty*; cf. De Moor 1973:II.24 and UF 1(1969),176 who also points to a parallel in the Akkadian text KAR 214.

	ʾil.yṯb.bʿṯtrt	the god who is dwelling in Athtarot,
3	*ʾil[.]ṯpẓ.bhdrʿy.*	the god who is judging in Edrei,
	dyšr.wyḏmr	who sings and plays
4	*bknr.wṯlb.*	with the lute and the shawm,
	btp.wmṣltm.	with the tambourine and the cymbals,
	bm(5)*rqdm.dšn.*	with the anointed dancers,
	bḥbr.kṯr.ẓbm	with the merry companions of Kothar.
6	*wtšt.ʿnt.gṯr.*	And may the Anat of Gathar drink,
	bʿlt.mlk.	the Mistress of kingship,
	bʿ(7)*lt.drkt.*	the Mistress of dominion,
	bʿlt.šmm.rmm	the Mistress of the high heaven,
8	*[bʿ]lt.kpṯ.*	the Mistress of the royal cap[1],
	wʿnt.dʾi.dʾit.	and the Anat of the Kite, the She-Kite,
	rḫpt (9) *[bšm]m[.]rm.*	she who soars in the high heaven,
	ʾaklt.ʿgl ʿl.mšt	she who devours a heifer at the banquet[2],
10	*[mmlʾat.ḫ]mr.špr.*	*[*she who fills*]* the horn with new wi*[*ne*]*.
	wyšt.ʾil (11) *[ ]n.*	And may the god *[ ]* drink,
	ʾil ġnṯ.ʿgl ʾil (12) *[ʿtk.]*	the god who sucked[3] the heifer of El, *[*Atik*]*.
	[md]d.ʾil.šd.[4]	*[*who the belo*]*ved of El, Shed.
	yṣd.mlk (13) *[ ]*	May *mlk* be fed[5] *[ ]*

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[1] For *kpṯ*, "royal kap" or "turban" cf. Akkadian *kubšu*. KTU 1.108:6-8 can be regarded as a precise description of the goddess Anat as she is pictured on the seal of the dynasty of Ugarit (cf. PRU III, pls.XVI and XVII): she wears a head dress and is clothed in a robe of feathers; cf. also the haematite cylinder representing a winged goddess with head dress (cf. A. Caquot and M. Sznycer, *Ugaritic Religion*, Iconography of Religions XV,8, Leiden 1980, pl.XXIIIa). According to Caquot and Sznycer this goddess can be compared to Anat. L'Heureux 1979:178 points to the clear parallel with the Akkadian epithet of the god Sumuqan, viz. *bēl kubši*. It is very interesting to note that Sumuqan (or Shakan) is known as a chthonic deity (cf. D.O. Edzard, WM I/1, p.118), because Anat as a She-Kite is clearly associated with the deified spirits of the dead.

[2] Cf. Hebrew משתה; cf. T. Penar, *Biblica* 55(1974),106. The expression *ʿl mšt* can be compared to על הלחם in I Sam 20:24 and to על היין in Prov 23:30.

[3] The difficult *ġnṯ* can be explained as a participle G-stem like *yṯb* in l. 2. The context and especially l.9 suggest a connection with Arabic *ġnṯ*, "to sip".

[4] This line is restored after KTU 1.3:III.43-44.

[5] For *ṣdy*, "to feed" cf. *mṣd ṣd*, "to give a banquet" (KTU 1.114:1).

	[ ]	[ ]
	[w]yšt.ʾilh (14) [ ]	[and] may Eloah drink [ ]
	[ ]	[ ]
	[ ]*ʾiṯmh*	[ ] its firm-fleshed cattle,
15	[ ]	[ ]
	[wyšt.]ršp (16) [ ]	[and may drink] Reshep [ ]
	[ ]	[ ]
	[k]mġy (17) *[rpʾum.]*[1]	[When the *rpʾum*] arrive,
	[rgm.lmlk.w]drh	[say to the king and] his family:
18	*[ʾirš.ḥnt.]*	[Ask for grace,]
	[ʾi]rš.lbʿl (19) *[ʿz.]*	[a]sk Baal for [strength].
	[ybrk.]mġk.	[He will bless] your coming,
	rpʾu mlk (20) *[ʿlm.ṣʾat]k.*[2]	Rapiu, the [eternal] king your [going].
	l tštk.lʾiršt(21)*[k.]*	Surely, [the grace[3]] of Rapiu, the eternal king,
	[ḥnt.]rpʾi.mlk ʿlm.	will place you, on [your] request,
	bʿz (22) *[rpʾi.]mlk.ʿlm.*	under the force [of Rapiu], the eternal king,
	bḏmrh.bl(23)*[ʾanh.]*	under his protection, under his po[wer],
	bḥtkh.bnmrth.	under his patronage, under his beneficial strength,
	lr(24)*[p]ʾi.ʾarṣ.*	to the *r[p]ʾum* of the earth.
	ʿzk.ḏmrk.	Let your force, your protection,
	lʾa(25)*nk.ḥtkk.*	your power, your patronage,
	nmrtk.btk (26) *ʾugrt.*	your beneficial strength be in the middle of Ugarit
	lymt.špš.wyrḫ	throughout the days of sun and moon
27	*wnʿmt.šnt.ʾil*	and the happiest of El's years.

This text does not have the same "Sitz im Leben" as KTU 1.20-22. Whereas the latter belong to the epic of Aqhat and are a story about the invoking of the *rpʾum*, KTU 108 contains the text of a related ritual[4]. In KTU 1.20-

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[1] This line is restored after KTU 1.20:II.6; cf. also KTU 1.124:1.

[2] Cf. Deut 28:6 and Ps 121:8 for the restoration of l.20.

[3] Cf. KTU 1.17:I.16 on "grace" as a quality of Baal.

[4] L'Heureux 1979:186 calls this text a "mythological narrative", but this is based on a very different interpretation of the text. In his opinion it tells us that El gives strength to Baal.

22 the relation between Daniel and his deceased son seems to take the first place; KTU 1.108 is primarily concerned with the welfare of the city. This makes it likely that KTU 1.108 is part of the New Year Festival (cf. esp. 1.25)[1], which takes place in the period of the foaming new wine, viz. in autumn (1.10). And if the restoration of 1.17 is correct, ll.16-17 speak of the arrival of the *rpᵓum* coinciding with Baal's return from the netherworld.

It was already stated above that Rapiu (ll.1.19.21) is the same as the Rapiu of Daniel's epithet and the Rapiu mentioned in KTU 1.22:I.8. This identification of Rapiu with Baal, however, is not generally accepted[2]. The word *ᵓil* in ll.2.3.10 and 11 has been taken as the proper name El and some scholars point to the role of El as a healer in the epic of Keret[3]. Against this it can be argued that in this passage (KTU 1.16:V) the verb *rpᵓ* does not occur and that El does not drive away Keret's illness himself, but only creates a certain Shataqat to do this. Other scholars point to the prominent place of the concept of the kingship of El in Ugaritic religion, which would make it likely that by *mlk* in 1.1 El is meant[4]. But this does not exclude the possibility that it refers to Baal, because we also hear of "eternal kingship" ascribed to Baal (KTU 1.2:IV. 10).

Most scholars agree to the opinion that Rapiu is the first of the *rpᵓum*[5]. Caquot and Sznycer think of a personification of the *rpᵓum*, who are the shades of the royal dead[6]. It is difficult to imagine how a group of deceased kings can be personified, but that Rapiu in this text is the first and perhaps also the eponym of the *rpʾum* can hardly be denied. This can be used as another argument in favour of the identification with Baal, because in other texts the *rpʾum* are said to follow Baal on his return from the netherworld. We can finally mention here the fact that the only one of the important Ugaritic deities invoked in the following lines is Baal's consort Anat (ll.7ff.) and that the request of ll.18ff. is addressed to Baal.

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[1] Cf. De Moor 1973:II,24.

[2] Cf. L'Heureux 1979:213, n.44. S.B. Parker, "The Ugaritic Deity Rāpiᵓu", UF 4(1972),97-104 thinks of an independent deity, but he does not explain why this god Rapiu is not mentioned in any of the numerous lists of gods. The identification with Reshep proposed by Cooper (mentioned by Pope 1981:172-173) is also unconvincing.

[3] Cf. C. Virolleaud, Ug.5(1968),553 and J. Blau and J.C. Greenfield, BASOR 200(1970),12.

[4] Cf. F.M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, Cambridge 1973, pp.16. 20-21; see on the kingship of El W.H. Schmidt, *Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel*, 2nd ed., Berlin 1966, pp.23-25.

[5] Cf. A. Jirku, "Rapaᵓu, der Fürst der Rapaᵓuma-Rephaim". ZAW 77(1965),82-83; B. Margulis, JBL 89(1970), 301; and Caquot 1976:299. Ribichini, Xella 1979:155-156 identify this *rpᵓu* with Yaqar mentioned in 1.2.

[6] Caquot, Sznycer, *Ugaritic Religion*, p.19. They translate *mlk ᶜlm* "king from the earliest times".

The interpretation of ll.2-4 is based on the most likely stichometry (cf. ll.7-8.10-11). A comparison with ll.6.10 suggests that *wyšt* at the end of the first line is followed by the name of a god. We assume that this is a dual deity called Gathar-and-Yaqar[1]. The second member can be identified with *ʾil yqr*, who is the most ancient royal ancestor according to KTU 1.113[2]. This Yaqar is probably also mentioned in a text from Ras Ibn Hani, nr. 77/8a+13+21b, obv.l.14 as one of the *rpʾum*: *rpʾi yqr*[3]. It is not unusual that the two members of a dual deity also appear separately. A good example for this is the fact that in the myth of Baal we find the double name Kothar-and-Khasis (KTU 1.2:IV.7 etc.) next to Kothar (KTU 1.2:IV.11 etc.) and Khasis (KTU 1.2:IV.7 etc.).

What we have found thus far definitively excludes the proposed meaning for *gṯr* of some kind of beverage[4]. An epithet or name of Baal[5] is not likely either, because one would expect the two members of a double deity to be more or less equal. In the letter KTU 2.4 a statue of a god named Gathar is mentioned next to a statue of Baal (ll.21-24). This confirms that Gathar is not the same as Baal. A very important text with regard to the identification of this Gathar is KTU 1.43. On pp.157-158 above it was demonstrated that the first part of this text deals with the ancestral cult of the royal family. The second part (11.9ff.) probably also belongs within this framework. It speaks of *gṯrm* in 11.9 and 17 as gods (cf. 1.9 with 1.1) parallel to the two "Anat-goddesses" (*ᶜntm*; 11.18 and 20). The word *gṯrm* is probably also a dual, because two sacrifices to *gṯr* are mentioned (11.11.14; cf. also KTU 1.109:26-27 and KTU 1.112:17-20, according to which the *gṯrm* receive two identical sacrifices). The *gṯrm* receive their sacrifices together with the deities of sun and moon. They are also closely related to the king (cf. also KTU 1.112:20), Baal (cf. KTU 2.4:21-24) and Anat (cf. also KTU 1.109:25ff.). So they appear to have much in common with the *rpᵓum*. The dual god *gṯrm* probably represents the two most important *rpᵓum*, viz. Gathar and Yaqar, who are called up with Baal, Anat and a number of lower deities. Also their functions as judges (KTU 1.108:3) and singers (11.3ff.) qualify them as lower deities or at least as the first among the dead.

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[1] Cf. A. Caquot, ACF 78(1978),575. For the well-known phenomenon of dual deities in Ugaritic religion see J.C. de Moor, UF 2(1970),227-228.

[2] Cf. Ribichini, Xella 1979:155-156. See for a survey of the many different interpretations of *yqr* Dietrich, Loretz 1980:171-173; for the opinion that Yaqaru was the founder of the dynasty of Ugarit see K.A. Kitchen, UF 9(1979),132-133. Yaqaru is also mentioned as such on the dynastic seal of Ugarit (cf. PRU III, p.XLI).

[3] The severely mutilated text shows a number of similarities with KTU 1.108 (cf. *lšd.qdš* in 1.13 with *ʾil šd* in KTU 1.108:12) and KTU 1.113 (cf. *nʿm* in 1.15 with KTU 1.113:10).

[4] Assumed by B. Margulis, JBL 89(1970),293 and L'Heureux 1979:169.171.

[5] Cf. Dietrich, Loretz 1980:175.

The idea of prominent dead persons acting as judges is well-known in the ancient Near East. In Mesopotamian ritual texts Gilgamesh is mentioned as a judge in the netherworld (see p.113 above) just like the Hittite "ancient kings", who are now kings of the netherworld (see p.131 above), and the famous Greek judges of the netherworld, Minos, Rhadamanthys and Aiakos. Also according to Hesiod's "Works and Days" the beatific dead act as judges (11.124.254) and in Aeschylus' "The Persians" the deceased king Dareios is described as king and judge of the netherworld[1].

The fact that Gathar-and-Yaqar is called a singer can be related to KTU 1.3:I.18-20; 1.17:VI.31; and 1.113. In these texts singing is mentioned as part of the blessings given to Baal and the *rpᵓum* after their revivification. The singer of KTU 1.3:I can be identified as Radman (1.2), a lower deity who has been connected with Rhadamanthys[2], who was already mentioned above as one of the judges in the netherworld. So he has the same functions as Gathar-and-Yaqar[3]. From KTU 1.3:I we learn that this singing was a very special function. The same holds true for the judging (see also the remarks on KTU 1.124:3.12 below). Only the most important among the *rpˀum* can act as singer or judge among the gods.

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[1] Cf. Roloff 1970:127-130.

[2] Cf. De Moor 1971:68.

[3] Cf. also Il.20,232ff. which tells us that Ganymede was taken by the gods to the Olympus to serve them as cup-bearer (see p.137 above).

ᶜṯtrt and *hdrᶜy* (ll.2f.) can be interpreted either as place names or as names of deities[1]. The clear parallel with Josh 12:4 mentioning "Og, king of Bashan, one of the last of the Rephaites, who lived in Ashtarot and Edrei" (cf. also Josh 13:12 and Deut 1:4) settles the question in favour of the first possibility (see on the relation between the Ugaritic *rpˀum* and the Old Testament Rephaites section 2.5.3.2.2. below).

Our interpretation of *gṯr* in l.2 implies that *ᶜnt gṯr* in l.6 has to be translated "Anat of Gathar"[2]. This is supported by KTU 1.43:13 speaking of "his Anat", because the suffix probably refers to *gṯr* (ll.11 and 14), and by the relation between the *gṯrm* and the two "Anat-goddesses" in the same text (ll.17-18). We translate *ᶜnt dˀi* likewise "Anat of the Kite". The use of the name of Anat in the construct state can be compared to some recently discovered Hebrew inscriptions mentioning YHWH and "his Asherah"[3]. It is not unlikely that the same could be said of the Ugaritic Anat as the consort of Baal. In KTU 1.108 it is then stated that Gathar and Yaqar also have their Anat. So they are not only revivified as *rpˀum* together with Rapiu Baal, they also had a consort like Baal. These "Anat-goddesses" can be regarded, therefore, as deified queens.

This much is certain, that ll.6ff. point to the role of Anat in the royal cult of the dead. The description of the goddess as a bird and with a head-dress tallies with the way she is pictured on the dynastic seal of the last dynasty of Ugarit (see p.178, n.1 above). On this seal we see a scene of the royal ancestor-cult: the deified ancestor sits on a throne with a cup in his hand. The living king is standing before him and behind this living king stands Anat. It may be suggested that Anat was represented in the cult by the queen, because it is very likely that next to the king (cf. KTU 1.43:23-26) the queen played a prominent role in the ancestor-cult, just as both profited from it (cf. KTU 1.161:31-32). According to KTU 4.149:14-16 certain rites were probably performed by the queen of Ugarit and there are also indications that she could represent Anat in the cult[1]. So maybe KTU 1.108:6ff. describes the part of the queen in the ritual of the cult of the dead[2].

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[1] Cf. Dietrich, Loretz 1980:172.

[2] Cf. Ibid., p.175.

[3] Cf. A. Lemaire, "Les inscriptions de Khirbet el-Qôm et l'Ashérah de Yhwh", RB 84(1977),595-608; J.A. Emerton, "New Light on Israelite Religion: The Implications of the Inscriptions from Kuntillet ᶜAjrud", ZAW 94(1983),2-20 (there appears to be more evidence for this phenomenon in Ugaritic texts than is assumed by Emerton, p.8); W.G. Dever, "Asherah, Consort of Yahweh? New Evidence From Kuntillet ᶜAjrud", BASOR 255(1984), 21-37; A. Lemaire, "Date et origine des inscriptions hébraïques et phéniciennes de Kuntillet ᶜAjrud", SEL 1(1984),131-143; and M. Weinfeld, "Kuntillet ᶜAjrud Inscriptions and Their Significance", SEL 1(1984), 121-130.

It is not surprising to find that the dead are represented here as birds (see pp.100 and 167 above). The identification of Gathar and Anat with kites, however, may have had a special meaning. Although the people of Ugarit probably also had their problems in distinguishing between different species among the small birds of prey[3], they had noticed the special qualities of the kite, which hovers further up in the sky than any other bird of prey and therefore must have pre-eminent powers of sight[4]. For in KTU 1.18:IV.20-21 it is said especially of the kite that he looks down from far above[5]. It can also be noted that the identification of the Anat of Gathar with a kite tallies with her role in the royal cult of the dead described as "devouring a heifer at the banquet" (1.9), because this may refer to the circumstance that the kite is known not to be shy at all[6]. Because the people of Ugarit appear to have been familiar with falconry (cf. KTU 1.18:IV.17ff.), they may have used specially trained falcons or kites in the part of the ritual described in KTU 1.108, just as live birds were used in the Egyptian cult. Be this as it may, we can conclude that what is said of this Anat will also hold true for the deified spirits of the dead. So when kites descended on the sacrifices in the temple, they could very well have been thought to incorporate the royal spirits of the dead. This can be connected with a passage in the cultic text KTU 1.112. According to ll.18-19 of this text the *gṯrm* "descend upon the banquet", just as Baal is said to come down upon his sacrifice (KTU 1.14:II.24-25). The banquet offered to the *gṯrm* may have been part of the rituals of the New Year Festival (cf. KTU 1.114:1) celebrating the fact that they have left the netherworld as birds who are now hovering far up in the sky.

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[1] Cf. De Moor 1971:104.

[2] Cf. also KTU 1.43:1, "When Athtart of Khurri enters the pit". This probably refers to a rite performed near the royal tomb followed by the bringing of sacrifices to the statues of the ancestors (ll.2ff.23).

[3] Cf. Tristram, *The Natural History of the Bible*, pp.181.189 and A. Parmelee, *All Birds of the Bible*, New York 1959, p.109. This can be illustrated by the fact that in Hebrew נשר denotes both the eagle and the vulture, whereas in Ugaritic *nšr* is paralleled by *dʾiy*, "kite" (KTU 1. 18:IV.17ff.; 1.19:I.32-33; cf. Hebrew דאה).

[4] Cf. Tristram, p.188.

[5] See for this interpretation of the verb *bṣr* Caquot, Sznycer, *Textes Ougaritiques*, p.439, n.a who connect it with Arabic *baṣura* III. "fixer de haut".

[6] Tristram,p.181 reported about the kite: "it is very sociable; and the slaughter of a sheep near the tents will soon attract a large party of black kites, which swoop down regardless of man and guns, and enjoy a noisy scramble for the refuse". It can also be noted that in many classical Greek sources the black kite is described as swooping down on sacrifices; cf. W. d'Arcy Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, Oxford 1936 (rpt. 1966), p.120.

All this is supposed to have happened at the beginning of autumn. Now there is also reason to assume that kites representing the venerated ancestors played a role in certain rites in spring. In ancient Greece the black kite was saluted as a herald of spring[1] and it may have had the same function in Ugarit, because we know that this migrant bird arrives in this area from the beginning of March onward[2]. Whereas the kites are associated with Baal's return in autumn, they may also have been believed to forebode his descent in spring. This assumption is supported by the fact that the kite is among the birds that are closely related to death and drought in the epic of Aqhat (KTU 1.19:I.29ff.). Most interesting in this connection is a passage in "The Birds" of Aristophanes:

> "Then the kite became king of the Greeks."
> "Of the Greek?"
> "Yes, and when he was king he taught us to wallow on the earth for the kites." (ll.499-500)

This passage describes a peculiar way of greeting the first kites of spring. It has always been more or less a riddle to which ancient custom Aristophanes is referring here[3]. It now seems possible that he is mocking at a Phoenician mourning rite (cf. KTU 1.5:VI.14-16) on the occasion of Baal's expected descent into the netherworld. It is very likely that the kites, i.e., the kings of old were believed to follow him.

This is not the only indication that ancient Ugaritic belief in deified spirits of the dead being represented as birds seems to have been preserved in later Phoenician customs. In his description of the rites performed every year on the occasion of the revival of Adonis, who can be regarded as the successor of Baal in this region, Lucian writes: "Throughout the land they perform solemn lamentation. When they cease their breast-beating and weeping, they proclaim that he lives and send him into the air" (De Dea Syria 6)[1]. These last words can be connected with the ancient Ugaritic conception of the spirits of the dead being resurrected with Baal and taking the form of birds who fly up to the sky.

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[1] D'Arcy Thompson, pp.119-120.

[2] Cf. De Moor 1971:176.

[3] Cf. T. Cock, *Ausgewählte Komödien des Aristophanes*, IV, 4th ed., Berlin 1927, pp.65-66.

With regard to the origin of this conception we can refer to some very interesting parallels from Egypt to the role of the kite and related birds in a funerary context as in KTU 1.108[2]. They confirm the assumption of Egyptian influence upon the Ugaritic conceptions of afterlife (see p.158 above). In the first place it is noteworthy that birds belonging to the hawk family are often used to represent the *Ba* of the dead indicating that the dead are able to leave the grave. Another very interesting parallel concerns the fact that Anat is called kite (KTU 1.108:8; cf. also KTU 1.18:IV.20-21); for this can be compared to an Egyptian tradition about Isis bewailing her dead husband Osiris as "the Great Kite". This is all the more interesting when we take into account the fact that the "Sitz im Leben" of KTU 1.108 is the feast celebrating the resurrection of Anat's consort. Egyptian influence in this matter is further confirmed by the discovery of two small bronze statues of falcons dating from the 14th or 13th century B.C. in Minet el Beida[3]. One of these is wearing the double pharaonic crown, the other is pictured with the Uraeus-snake between its legs. There can be no doubt about the connection of these statues with the Egyptian royal ideology identifying the king with the god Horus. The second statue, which is inlaid with gold, is a local product[4]. So it cannot be explained as imported ware. This precious work of art may have functioned in the royal cult of Ugarit.

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[1] Cf. H.W. Attridge and R.A. Otten, *The Syrian Goddess*, Missoula 1976, p.13.

[2] Cf. H. Altenmüller, LÄ II, col.95. As in Syria and Palestine different species were sometimes confused.

[3] Cf. *Syria* 10(1929),288+pl.LII; Ug.1(1939),32+fig.24; J.-C. Courtois, DBS IX, col.1284. One of the statues is also pictured in Caquot, Sznycer, *Ugaritic Religion*, pl.XXIIIc, but it is wrongly described as found at Ras Shamra (ibid., p.27).

[4] Cf. C.F.-A. Schaeffer, Ug.1(1939),32.

Because the beginning of 1.13 is lost, it is very difficult to decide who is meant here by *mlk* (1.12). One can think of the king who took part in the ritual and translate "may the king feed . . .". It is more likely, however, that it is one of the deities called up to join the banquet, because the enumeration of gods seems to go on until 1.16. It is possible to identify *mlk* with El[1]; for KTU 1.22:I.5-6 shows that the creator god plays an important part in the revivification of the *rpʾum*. On the other hand it is unlikely that El was mentioned in this place, i.e., among gods who are all related to the netherworld. If we proceed on the proposition that *mlk* also belongs to this group of deities, the fact that we hear of both "*mlk* at Athtarot" (KTU 1.100:41) and "*mlk* in Athtarot" (KTU 1.107:17) becomes very interesting. Apparently he has the same residence as Gathar-and-Yaqar. We can also compare him to *mlk* mentioned in KTU 1.41:48 and 1.87:52 speaking of the "host" (*ḫl*) of *mlk*. This host is mentioned together with the sunrise and sunset and the "host of the daylight". As the latter host belongs to the sunrise, the "host of *mlk*" can be considered as belonging to the sunset and the dark world of the dead. This makes it very likely that in KTU 1.108:12 *mlk* is not the word for king, but has to be related to the Mesopotamian chthonic deity Malik[2]. This god or demon is associated with the *malkū/malikū*, a plural form of *malik*, who receive funerary offerings. These *malkū* also appear in an Ugaritic list of gods written in syllabic script among the minor gods as $^{\mathrm{d}}$MA.LIK$^{\mathrm{MEŠ}}$[3]. According to the parallel alphabetic version they are the equivalents of the *mlkm* (KTU 1.47:33), who are probably the same as the "host of *mlk*". The *malkū* can be compared with the Anunnaki as underworld gods[4]. Something similar may be assumed with regard to the Ugaritic *mlkm*. Some scholars propose a direct relation between the *mlkm* and the *rpʾum*[5]. The main argument for this is the fact that in Mari the sacrifices to the *malkū* are associated with deceased kings. It has to be emphasized, however, that the *malkū* are also clearly distinguished from these kings[1]. Nevertheless, the occurrence in a funerary context of the *malkū*, who are related to Malik, can be explained as a reference to dead persons associated with this deity. Müller may be right in assuming that the *malkū* are "zahlreich wie die Toten, deren göttliche Überhöhung sie darstellen; in ihnen kann sich der Gott Malik vervielfältigt haben"[2]. Because the word *malik* can be translated "counsellor" but also "prince" or "king"[3], it is possible to connect Ugaritic *mlk* in KTU 1.108:12 with Baal, who is called Rapiu, king of eternity. It can be regarded as denoting an aspect of Baal, like *rpʾu*, which is mentioned here next to *mlk*. Just as Baal is the first of the *rpʾum* he is also the first of the *mlkm*. Whereas *rpʾum* is an indication of the deified dead as "healers", *mlkm* may have denoted their state as kings in the netherworld. So *mlk* is the chthonic aspect of Baal, i.e., Baal when he is in the netherworld. This is confirmed by the cultic text KTU 1.100, which mentions *mlk* of Athtarot (1.14) but also Baal as he lives on his mountain Safon (1.9). These connections with different places mark the different aspects of Baal: he is called up from his heavenly abode but also from the netherworld.

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[1] Cf. Dietrich, Loretz 1980:177.

[2] Cf. M. Weinfeld, UF 4(1972),136-137. See in general on this god H.-P. Müller, ZDPV 96(1980),11-14; Jaroš 1982:178-182; and on the sacrifices *ana maliki* in Mari Talon 1978:65-71.

[3] Ug.5(1965),45.60. Cf. J.F. Healey, "The Akkadian 'Pantheon List' from Ugarit", SEL 2(1985),115-125.

[4] Cf. Healey 1975 and Talon 1978:68.

[5] Cf. Healey 1977A:272; Healey 1978B: "the dead semi-divine kings"; and Ribichini, Xella 1979.

We tentatively suggest a connection between *mlk* as the chthonic aspect of Baal and the god Moloch in the Old Testament[4]. This might explain why this deity does not drink, but has to be fed. For we know from the Old Testament that Moloch can only be served with child sacrifices.

The ritual described in KTU 1.108 ends with the wish that the king and the city will be blessed for ever with the power of Baal, who overcomes death as Rapiu, king of eternity. According to Ugaritic belief the mighty spirits of the dead possessed the same power. So when it is given to the king he can be said to have become one of them. The same metaphor is used with regard to Keret. After the promise that he will be blessed with offspring Keret is praised with the following words (KTU 1.15:III.2-4=13-15):

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[1] Cf. H.-P. Müller, ZDPV 96(1980),13 who maintains that the *malkū* are "gegenüber den Toten relativ *eigenständigen* Unterweltsgestalten". Healey 1984:250, n.18 does not want to exclude the possibility that the *mlkm* were demons; cf. also SEL 2(1985),120.

[2] Müller, loc.cit.

[3] Cf. Talon 1978:66 and Müller, p.12.

[4] Cf. M.J. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, 2nd ed., Paris 1905, pp.107ff.; R. Frankena, *Tākultu: De sacrale maaltijd in het Assyrische ritueel*, Leiden 1953, p.102; Mulder 1965:69-70; Talon 1978:79; and M.Weinfeld, UF 4(1979),154. They all connect Moloch with Baal. See also section 2.5.3.2.3.

mᵓid rm krt	Be greatly exalted, Keret,
btk rpᵓi ᵓarṣ	among the *rpᵓum* of the earth,
bpḫr qbṣ dtn	in the gathered assembly of Ditan.

Because the context does not speak of the death of Keret, this is hardly a reference to the happy afterlife of Keret as one of the venerated dead[1]. Moreover, we learned from the epics of Keret and Aqhat that life after death as one of the *rpᵓum* is never praised as a happy prospect.

The person named Ditan mentioned in the last line can be compared to Gathar-and-Yaqar as being one of the famous ancestors of the dynasty of Ugarit (cf. KTU 1.124 and 1.161:3).

In KTU 1.161 the *rpᵓi ᵓarṣ* are paralleled by *qbṣ ddn*. These names clearly refer to the spirits of dead kings. For this reason *ᵓarṣ* probably refers here to the netherworld as in the expression *ᵓilm ᵓarṣ* (KTU 1.5:V.6; cf. also KTU 1.6:VI.45-47 for the word pair *ᵓilm/rpᵓum*).

The very important text 1.161[2], which has been mentioned already several times, clearly shows the relation of the *rpᵓum* with the royal cult of the dead.

1 *spr.dbḥ.ẓlm*	Report on the sacrificial banquet of the shades[3].

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[1] Cf. Levine, De Tarragon 1984:655.

[2] Cf. A. Caquot, ACF 75(1975),427-429 (*editio princeps*); Ug.7(1978),413-415 (photos); De Moor 1976:333-335.341-345, revised in BiOr 38(1981),374-378; Pope 1977:177-181; Healey 1978A; Pitard 1978; L'Heureux 1979:187-193; R.M. Good, "Supplementary Remarks on the Ugaritic Funerary Text RS 34.126", BASOR 239(1980),41-42; Xella 1981:279-287; Bordreuil, Pardee 1982; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, UF 15(1983),17-24; and Levine, De Tarragon 1984.

[3] In Ras Ibn Hani text 78/20:15 *ẓl* is a designation of an evil spirit; cf. J.C. de Moor, UF 12(1980),432. In Egypt, Greece and Mesopotamia the dead could also be called "shades"; cf. W. Schenkel, LÄ V, col.536; Od.11,207-208; and Bottéro 1980:28. So it is not necessary to assume an error of an unexperienced scribe (against Dietrich, Loretz, UF 15(1983),18; cf. Xella 1981:284). Pitard 1978 and Levine, De Tarragon 1984:651-652 regard "shade" as a metaphor denoting protection. Although this would be in accordance with the function of the *rpᵓum* (cf. KTU 1.17:I.28), we prefer a literal interpretation because of the clear parallels mentioned above.

	qriʾtm.rpʾi.ʾa[rṣ]	You invoked[1] the *rpʾum* of the e[arth],
	qbiʾtm.rpʾi.d[dn]	You summoned the Assembly of Di[dan].
	qrʾa.ʾulkn.rp[ʾa]	He invoked Ulken, the *rp[ʾu]*,
5	*qrʾa.trmn.rp[ʾa]*	he invoked Tarmen, the *rp[ʾu]*,
	qrʾa.sdn.wrd[n]	he invoked Sidan and Rada[n],
	qrʾa.ṯr.ʿllmn	he invoked the mighty[2], the unrelated,
	qrʾu.rpʾim.qdmym	they invoked the *rpʾum* of old.
	qriʾtm.rpʾi.ʾarṣ	You invoked the *rpʾum* of the earth,
10	*qbiʾtm.qbṣ.dd[n]*	you summoned the Assembly of Dida[n].
	qrʾa.ʿmṯtmr[.]m[l]k	He invoked Ammithtamru, the k[in]g,
	qrʾa.ʾu.nqm[d.]mlk	he invoked - woe! - Niqma[d], the king.
	ksiʾ.nqmd[.]	The throne of Niqmad -
	ʾibky (14) *wydmʿ.*	weep[3] and shed tears!
	hdm.pʿnh	the stool of his feet -
15	*lpnh.ybky.*	weep before him!
	ṯlḥn.mlk	the table of the king -
16	*w.yblʿ.ʾudmʿth*	yea, let one swallow up his tears!
	ʿdm.w.ʿdmt.ʿdmt	Miseries and miseries of miseries!
	ʾišḫn.špš.	Be hot, Shapash,
	w.ʾišḫn (19) *nyr.rbt.*	yea, be hot, Great Luminary!
	ʿln.špš.tṣḥ	Let Shapash cry from above:
20	*ʾaṯr.bʿlk.l.ksʾi(!)*	"After your owner, o throne,
	ʾaṯr (21) *bʿlk.ʾarṣ.rd.*	descend after your owner into the earth,
	ʾarṣ (22) *rd.*	descend into the earth

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[1] See with regard to the problem of the use of different verbal forms of *qrʾ* in ll.2-12 Dietrich, Loretz, UF 15(1983),18-19. They can all be interpreted as perfect tense (cf. Xella 1981:282). The change of plural to singular forms of the perfect coincides with the change from general reference to the *rpʾum* (ll.2-3.8-10) to specific *rpʾum* (ll.3-7.11-12) and probably also with a change of subject. This implies that this text is a description, not a prescriptive ritual (cf. De Moor 1976:335). A prescriptive ritual is also unlikely because ll.12ff. indicate that we have to do here with a very special occasion.
With regard to the stichometry it can be noted that ll.1-12 and 27-34 of the tablet appear to coincide with the stichometry; ll.13-26 consist of shorter stichoi. This difference is probably due to the contents, the latter describing the more emotional part of the ritual. These words may have been spoken during the ritual itself, together with ll.31-34.

[2] Cf. J.C. de Moor and K. Spronk, UF 14(1982),177.

[3] Cf. Bordreuil, Pardee 1982:126.

	w.špl.ʿpr.	and lower yourself in the dust
	tḥt (23) *sdn.w.rdn.*	under Sidan and Radan,
	tḥt.ṯr (24) *ʿllmn.*	under the mighty, the unrelated,
	tḥt.rpʾim.qdmym	under the *rpʾum* of old,
25	*tḥt.ʿmṯtmr.mlk*	under Ammithtamru, the king,
26	*tḥt(!).ʾu.nq[md].mlk*	under - woe! - Niq[mad], the king!"
27	*ʿšty.w.ṯ[ʿy.]*	One and he sacri[ficed],
	[ṯn.]w.ṯʿ[y]	[two] and he sacrifi[ced],
28	*ṯlṯ.w.ṯʿy[.]*	three and he sacrificed,
	ʾa[rb]ʿ.w.ṯʿ[y]	f[our] and he sacrifi[ced],
29	*ḫmš.w.ṯʿy.*	five and he sacrificed,
	ṯṯ.w.ṯʿy	six and he sacrificed,
30	*šbʿ.w.ṯʿy.*	seven and he sacrificed;
	tqdm ʿṣr	you *offered* a bird.
31	*šlm.šlm.ʿmr[pʾi]*	Hail, hail to Ammura[pi]
32	*w.šlm.bt(!)h.*	and hail to his house,
	šlm.[ṯ]ryl	hail to [Tha]ryel[1],
33	*šlm.bth.*	hail to her house,
	šlm.ʾugrt	hail to Ugarit,
34	*šlm.ṯġrh*	hail to its gates!

This text describes a funerary ritual in which all deceased members of the dynasty of Ugarit are invoked[2]. The ancestors receive sacrifices; they are believed to bless the living king in return[3].

Didan or Ditan (cf. KTU 1.15:III.2-4) also appears in Assyrian King-lists and is probably the same as the Ditan of the "Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty"[4]. He probably was the *founder* of an ancient Amorite dynasty with several branches, because he is not only the ancestor of Ammurapi of Ugarit, but also of his Babylonian namesake (!) and Keret[1].

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[1] This is probably the name of the queen; cf. Dietrich, Loretz, UF 15 (1983),303 and Levine, De Tarragon 1984:653.

[2] Cf. the use of the verb קרא in I Sam 28:15. The calling of the name was also an important element in the Mesopotamian *kispu*-ritual; (cf. Bayliss 1973:116); in the cults of the dead of the Greeks (cf. Burkert 1977:299), the ancient Iranians (cf. E. Lehmann, ERE I, p.455), and the Hittites (cf. Christman-Franck 1971:70). Cf. in general Wensinck 1917:24-30.

[3] Cf. the relation of רפא and שלם in Isa 57:19; Jer 6:14; and 8:11. See for the hope for the blessing by the spirits of the dead also Heidel 1946:154; Otten 1958:16; and Bottéro 1983:173. See for parallels to the blessing formula in this text Levine, De Tarragon 1984:658-659.

[4] Cf. Finkelstein 1966:98.101.

Apparently the *rpʾum* in general were invoked by the priests (ll.2-3.8-10), whereas the king (cf. 1.31) called his individual predecessors by their names in so far as they were known to him (ll.4-7.11-12). Because some of the very early kings may have been forgotten, the king also invokes the "*rpʾum* of old".

A special place is reserved for the grandfather and father of king Ammurapi (ll.11-12). His father Niqmad apparently died not long ago: the mention of his death still evokes cries of mourning. According to ll.13ff. the royal furniture is sent after him into the netherworld[2]. A beautiful illustration of this ritual in the royal cult of the dead is offered by the dynastic seal of the last dynasty of Ugarit (see p.183 above), which pictures the venerated ancestor sitting on a throne with a cup in his hand. This custom of giving a throne to the deceased king was quite common in the ancient Near East[3].

In ll.13-17 first the different items are mentioned, every time followed by the call to mourn[4]. The sun-goddess is asked to be intermediary and probably also to give light and warmth to the dead kings in the netherworld (ll.18-19) (cf. KTU 1.6:VI.45-48 and 1.15:V.16-20).

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[1] Cf. De Moor 1976:324; E. Lipiński, "Ditanu", in *Studies in Bible and Ancient Near East*, Fs S.E. Loewenstamm, Jerusalem 1978, pp.91-110; and P. Xella, in *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn*, I, ed. H.-J. Nissen and J. Renger, Berlin 1982, p.331 who calls him a "chef mythique".

[2] See for the conception of deceased kings sitting on thrones in the netherworld De Moor 1976:335 who mentions in this connection Isa 14:9; Gilg.VII.iii.2-3; and "The Death of Ur-Nammu", l.135; cf. also the Egyptian "Book of the Dead", ch.47 (cf. J. Leclant, LÄ I, col.1157 and Kees 1956:92).

[3] Cf. the banquet scenes on funerary stelae and reliefs in ANEP pl.630-637 and the reliefs on the sarcophagus of Ahiram of Byblos (ANEP pl. 456-459), which all picture a throne, table, and a foot stool for the deceased. It was not unusual to provide the dead in their graves with a table and a seat (cf. Strommenger 1957:600.608-609 and P. Matthiae, *Akkadica* 17(1980),16). There are also parallels to the Ugaritic ritual to provide the dead king with furniture; cf. Lambert 1960:42 (a table for Gilgamesh) and Christman-Franck 1971:72ff. (a throne and a table for the deceased Hittite king).

[4] Precisely the same phenomenon can be observed in the Hittite ritual for the deceased king: after every single action it is said "the singers accompany themselves on the harps; the singers call 'woe!'" (cf. Christman-Franck 1971:69ff.; esp. pp.80-81).

The seven sacrifices mentioned in 11.27-30 coincide with the number of *rpʾum* called up according to 11.4-8. Apparently the "*rpʾum* of old" are reckoned as one (cf. the custom of honouring all unidentified fallen soldiers with one monument for the "unknown soldier"). Finally, the king sacrifices a bird, which is the common sacrifice to spirits of the dead[1].

The last text which needs discussion here is KTU 1.124[2], in which the famous ancestor Ditan plays a prominent part:

1	*kymġy.ʾadn*	When arrived the Lord
	ʾilm.rbm.ʿm dtn	of the Great Gods with Ditan
	wyšʾal.mṯpṭ.yld	and he asked a judgement of the child,
	wyʿny.nn.dtn	Ditan answered him:
5	*tʿny.nʾad.mr.qḥ*	"You shall answer: 'Take a bottle of myrrh
	wšt.b[b]t ʿnt.trḥ	and put it in the house of the Anat of Terah[3].
	ḥdṯ m[r].qḥ[.]wšt	Take fresh (fruit of) myrrh and put it
	bbt.bʿl.bnt.qḥ	in the house of Baal. Take . . .
	wšt.bbt.wprʿ[t]	and put it in the house and it will bring
10	*hy.ḫlh.wymġ*	his illness to a head.
	mlʾakk.ʿm dtn	Your messenger reached Ditan,
	lqḥ mṯpṭ	he received the judgement'."
	wyʿny.nn	And Ditan (also) answered him:
	dtn.btn.mḥy	"Clean our house

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[1] Cf. Otten 1961:130-133 and Gurney 1977:42 for Hittite parallels.

[2] Cf. C. Virolleaud, Ug.5(1968),563-564 (*editio princeps*); J.C. de Moor, UF 2(1970),303-305; M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, J. Sanmartín, UF 7(1975), 540-541; Pope 1977:178-179; A. Caquot, "Remarques sur la tablette alphabétique RS 24.272", in *Studies in Bible and Ancient Near East*, Fs S.E. Loewenstamm, Jerusalem 1978, pp.1-6; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, UF 12 (1980),395-396; P. Xella, in *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn*, I, ed. H.-J. Nissen and J. Renger, Berlin 1982, pp.329-331.337-338; and Pardee 1983. The text given here is based on Pardee's new collation.

[3] Pardee 1983:135-136 connects *trḥ* with the first two words of the following line and translates "a new vessel of myrrh", but he admits that he is totally uncertain as to the meaning of the word *trḥ*. However, *ḥdṯ mr* is better taken apart, because we can interpret the first word as an indication of newly gathered fruit (cf. Akkadian *eššu*; cf. CAD 'E', p.375). This leaves us with the expression *bbt ʿnt trḥ* paralleled by *bbt bʿl*. We tentatively suggest that *ʿnt trḥ* is the name of Anat in a construct state like "Anat of Gathar" and "Anat of the Kite" in KTU 1.108:6.8. It is tempting to assume that *trḥ* is also the name of a venerated ancestor. He would have the same name as the father of Abraham (cf. Gen 11:26).

15 *ldg.wklb*	for the fish and dog
wʾatr.ʾin.mr	and afterwards the bitterness will be no more."

This text gives a description of a spiritualist session, which gives us some valuable information about the function of the most important of the *rpʾum*, Ditan. The beginning of the text mentions his arrival together with the Lord of the Great Gods. The verb used here is also used for the description of the arrival of the *rpʾum* and Rapiu Baal in KTU 1.20:II.6; 1. 21:II.7; 1.22:II.25; and 1.108:16. This already indicates that by this Lord of the Great Gods Baal could be meant[1], which is confirmed by the observation that "Great Gods" can be used to denote the deified royal ancestors like Ditan[2]. We can compare this title to the designation of the dead as gods in KTU 1.6:VI.47 and it is also interesting to note that in Mesopotamian ritual texts "great gods" is a normal epithet of the Anunnaki, who are gods of the netherworld acting as judges on behalf of the living and helping people who are tormented by evil spirits[3]. In Egypt the beatific dead acting as judges in the hereafter have the same title[4]. So the first lines of KTU 1.124 seem to refer to Baal coming up from the netherworld, taking Ditan with him.

The messenger (1.11) asks a favour of Ditan. We can compare this to KTU 1.108:16ff.: when the *rpʾum* have arrived one of them is asked for help. In KTU 1.124 this help consists of a judgement concerning a sick child[5], i.e., he is asked to heal the child[6]. Ditan, who gives a judgement (*mtpṭ*), appears to have the same function as Gathar-and-Yaqar (cf. KTU 1.108:2). So KTU 1.124 describes how an important deified ancestor could work as a judge. It also offers conclusive evidence for the derivation of the word *rpʾu(m)* from the verb *rpʾ*, "to heal". And again there appears to be not much difference between the deified ancestors and lower gods like the Mesopotamian Anunnaki.

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[1] Cf. Dietrich, Loretz, UF 12(1980),395-396 and S. Ribichini, in *Atti della seconda settimana di Studio Sangue e Antropologia Biblica nelle Patristica*, II, Rome 1982, p.846 who refers to the fact that Baal, who is resurrected from death,is the leader of the deified deceased kings.

[2] Cf. Pardee 1983:133 who identifies the Lord of the Great Gods with Yaqar. However, this is not very likely, because Ditan, who seems to be subordinate to this Lord, held a more prominent position than Yaqar. For it is said of all *rpʾum* that they belong to the gathering of Ditan (cf. KTU 1.161:3.10).

[3] Cf. A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden, *Sumerische und Akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*, Zürich 1953, p.346 and Bottéro 1983:199-200.

[4] Cf. E. Otto, in HO 8.1.1., p.72.

[5] See on the expression *mtpṭ yld* Pardee 1983:132 and H. Cazelles, "*mtpṭ* à Ugarit", Or.53(1984),177-182; esp. pp.178ff. who assumes a more general meaning.

[6] The same function is ascribed to dead heroes in Egypt (see p.92 above), ancient Iran (see p.127 above) and Greece (see pp.137-138 above).

Having studied the Ugaritic texts concerning the *rpʾum* we may conclude that *rpʾum* is a name for the deified royal ancestors (cf. KTU 1.22:I.10. 17 and 1.161:4-12) who are called up from the netherworld, where they live like shades (cf. KTU 1.161:1). They are revivified with Baal to take part in the New Year Festival celebrating Baal's return to life (cf. KTU 1.17: VI.28-35; 1.20:I.5; II.6; 1.21:II.5ff.15ff.). Therefore, Baal can be called the first of the *rpʾum* (cf. KTU 1.22:I.8 and 1.108:1). Normally the spirits of the royal ancestors have to live in the netherworld (cf. KTU 1. 6:VI.45-49; 1.20:I.3; 1.22:I.6.9-10) and they receive offerings to provide for their needs in the realm of the dead (cf. KTU 1.22:I and 1.161:13-20). They are represented as birds (cf. KTU 1.20:I.8-9; 1.22:I.9-11 and 1.108: 8). As *rpʾum* the deified dead appear as warriors (cf. KTU 1.20:II.2-3; 1. 22:I. 8-9; II.6-8), but more important seems to be their help as healers (cf. KTU 1.124) and in securing the welfare of the city (cf. KTU 1.161:31-34). They possess healing power like the *rpʾu par excellence*, Baal, who healed, i.e., revived them (cf. KTU 1.21:II.5-6). This power, which can also be given to the living king (cf. KTU 1.108:16ff.), is the power to overcome death.

We can translate *rpʾum* as "healers"[1], because the verb *rpʾ* not only refers to curing a disease but also to the "healing" of a country (cf. II Chron 7:14)[2]. So the term *rpʾum* denotes a function of the deified dead. They can also be called "divine ancestors" (*ʾilʾib*; KTU 1.17:I.26), "gods

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[1] Cf. A. van Selms, UF 2(1970),368; De Moor 1976:324-325; Ribichini, Xella 1979:150; Astour 1980:233; and Caquot 1981:356. For scholars like Healey and Heltzer, who take it as an ethnic term, there is no need, of course, to translate it; cf. Healey 1977A:154. But with regard to Rapiu as an epithet of Baal Healey also thinks of a "healing sense" (ibid., pp.179-180). He even admits that "it is natural to link *rpʾu* with *rpʾum*" (p. 180; cf. also p.183). Nevertheless, he holds to a gentilic usage and rejects the translation as "healers" (ibid., postscript, p.II).

[2] Cf. De Moor 1976:324 and CAD 'A', I, p.345.

(of the earth)" (*ʾilnym*, *ʾilm*, *ʾilm ʾarṣ*; KTU 1.5:V.6; 1.6:VI.45-49; 1.20: I.1 etc.), "star-gods" (*ʾilm kbkbm*; KTU 1.43:2-3) or "those-of-the-stars" (*d kbkbm*; KTU 1.19:IV.24-25), "those-of-heaven" (*šmym*; KTU 1.19:IV.24), "kite" (*dʾiy*; KTU 1.108:8), "protector" (*ḏmr*; KTU 1.17:I.28), and "host of *mlk*" (*ḥl mlk*; KTU 1.41:48; 1.87:52) or "*mlkm* (KTU 1.47:33). We have to assume that the name *rpʾum*, which is used more than any other name for the deified dead, denotes the most important aspect, viz. their ability to help the living. Although this title is used in Phoenician and Old Testament texts as general indication of the dead, we can also find there some traces of the original meaning of this word (see sections 2.5.3.1. and 2.5.3.2.2. below).

The *rpʾum*, especially prominent *rpʾum* like Gathar-and-Yaqar and Ditan, have much in common with the lower deities of the netherworld (cf. KTU 1.20:II.1-2 and 1.108). There are many similarities with regard to appearance and function[1]. The *rpʾum* are the counterpart of evil demons we know from texts like KTU 1.82[2].

The fact that the living ruler could also be counted among the *rpʾum* (cf. KTU 1.15:III.2-4 and 1.108:23-24) can be related to Old Testament traditions about the Rephaite giants, which are clearly connected with the Ugaritic conceptions of the *rpʾum* (cf. KTU 1.108:2-3 and 1.161:8. See section 2.5.3.2.2. below).

2.5.2.2.3. THE MARZEAH

There is still one important problem in this connection which demands further discussion, viz. the relation of the Marzeah (Ugaritic *mrzʿ* or *mrzḥ*) to the rituals concerning the *rpʾum* (cf. KTU 1.21:II.1.9; 1.22:II.2)[3].

The Marzeah is mentioned in a number of economic and legal texts. It appears to be some kind of institution with members (Akkadian *amīl ma-ar-zi-hi* RS 14.14; cf. also *mt mrzḥ* in KTU 3.9:13 and *bn mrzḥ* in KTU 4.399:8) and special accommodation (Akkadian *bît amīl ^{M}mar-za-i* RS 15.70 and 15.80; cf. also KTU 3.9:2-6 below). The Marzeah possesses vineyards or is interested in them (cf. RS 18.01 and KTU 4.643:3) and can be associated with one particular deity (cf. RS 15.70: Shatrana; KTU 4.643: Anat).

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[1] Cf. also the Phoenician deity Shadrapa, "the demon heals" (cf. Gese 1970: 198-201 and De Moor 1976:329, n.44) and the fact that in Mesopotamia Shedu was a good demon (cf. D.O. Edzard, WM I/1, p.49).

[2] Cf. De Moor, Spronk 1984:246.

[3] See in general on the institution of the Marzeah in the ancient Near East H.-J. Fabry, ThWAT V, cols.11-16 who also discusses the Ugaritic material. To the literature with regard to the Ugaritic Marzeah mentioned there can be added L'Heureux 1979:206-212.218-221.

Further information is provided by a legal text concerning a Marzeah, KTU 3.9[1]:

1 *mrzḥ* (2) *dqny* (3) *šmmn* (4) *b.btw*	Marzeah which Shamuman established[2] in his house[3]:
5 *wšt.ʾibsn* (6) *lk(!)m.*	"If I have placed[4] at your disposal our storeroom[5],
wm.ʾag (7) *rškm.* (8) *b.bty*	but[6] nevertheless expel you from my house,
9 *ksp ḫmšm* (10) *ʾisʿ*	I shall pay you fifty (shekels of) silver.
11 *w šm.mn* (12) *rb.*	And Shamuman is president[7]:
ʾal.ydd (13) *mt.mrzḥ*	let no man of the Marzeah rise
14 *wyrgm.l* (15) *šmmn.*	and say to Shamuman:
tn. (16) *ksp.ṯql dʿmnk*	give the silver, the shekel that is with you."
17 *ṯqlm.ysʿ*	They have paid the shekels.
18 *yph.ʾiḫršp* (19) *bn.ʾuḏrmn*	Witness is *ʾiḫršp* son of *ʾuḏrmn*
20 *wʿbdn* (21) *bn.sgld*	and *ʿbdn* son of *sgld*.

Apparently the "house of the Marzeah" is a house in which a room is reserved for the Marzeah. The treaty mentions a large sum of money as a penalty. The contribution of the members (1.18) was probably also high. It may be assumed therefore that only the rich could afford the wealth to partake in a Marzeah like the one established by Shamuman.

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[1] Cf. P.D. Miller, in *The Claremont Ras Shamra Tablets*, AnOr 48, Rome 1971, pp.37-49 (*editio princeps*); R.E. Friedman, "The MRZḤ Tablet from Ugarit", *Maarav* 2 (1979-1980), 187-206; and M.Dietrich and O. Loretz, "Der Vertrag eines *MRZḤ*-Klubs in Ugarit", UF 14 (1982), 71-76.

[2] For this use of the verb *qny* see De Moor 1980:176.

[3] If /*w*/ in *btw* is not a scribal error, we have to assume a rare form of the pronominal suffix masculine singular third person; cf. Friedman, pp. 192-194.

[4] For perfect consecutive containing the condition in a conditional sentence see GK §112 kk-ll.

[5] Cf. Akkadian *abūsu* and Hebrew אבוס.

[6] *wm* is a by-form of /*w*/; cf. Ruth 4:5.

[7] Cf. the *rb mrzḥ*, "president of the Marzeah" mentioned in texts from Palmyra of the Roman period; cf. Milik 1972:109; J. Teixidor, CRAI 1981, p.301.

It is noteworthy that only male members are mentioned. Because the Marzeah is concerned with vineyards, we can compare this to the fact that during the New Year Festival Baal drinks from the new wine from "the holy cup which no woman may see, the beaker which no goddess may regard" (KTU 1.3:I.14-15)[1]. The text speaks about women and goddesses who have borne children (*ʾaṯt* and *ʾaṯrt*). This includes the goddess Athirat, but not Anat who is often called "the virgin". Apparently it was forbidden for mothers to join the licentious festivities of the New Year Festival[2]. The fact that the Marzeah can be compared in this regard to the New Year Festival corroborates the theory of Pope that sexual activities play an important part in the Marzeah[3].

The assumption of a connection between the Marzeah and the New Year Festival is also supported by some elements in the following mythological text mentioning the Marzeah, KTU 1.114[4]:

1 *ʾil dbḥ.bbth.*	El was sacrificing in his house,
mṣd.ṣd.bqrb (2) *hklh[.]*	was giving a banquet[5] in his palace.
ṣḥ.lqṣ.ʾilm.	He called in the gods for the carving:
tlḥmn (3) *ʾilm.wtštn.*	"Eat, gods, and drink,
tštn y<n> ʿd šbʿ	drink wine unto satiety,
4 *trṯ.ʿd.škr.*	must unto drunkenness!"
yʿdb.yrḫ (5) *gbh.*	Yarikh put down the meat of the back,

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[1] Cf. De Moor 1971:67.74-75.

[2] Cf. De Moor 1973:I, 12.

[3] Pope, *Song of Songs*, pp.214-221.

[4] Cf. C. Virolleaud, Ug.5(1968),545-551 (*editio princeps*); De Moor, UF 1 (1969),167-175; Pope 1972; P. Xella, "El e il vino", SSR I/2 (1977),229-261; L'Heureux 1979:159-169; B. Margalit, "The Ugaritic Feast of the Drunken Gods", *Maarav* 2 (1979-1980),65-120; K.J. Cathcart and W.G.E. Watson, "Weathering a Wake: A Cure for a Carousal", *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association* 4(1980),88-98.

[5] *mṣd* is interpreted as a participle, like *dbḥ* in the parallel stichos, taken from the verb *ṣdy*, "to give a banquet". We now assume that *ṣdt* and the noun *mṣd* in KTU 1.14:II.26 have to be derived from this verb as well (against J.C. de Moor and K. Spronk, UF 14(1982),162); cf. S.E. Loewenstamm, *Comparative Studies in Biblical and Ancient Oriental Literatures*, AOAT 204, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1980, pp.372.410-422.

	km.[ ][1] *yqṯqṯ.*	like *[ ]* he tore it out.
	tḥt (6) *ṯlḥnt.ᵓil.dydᶜnn*	Below the tables for the god whom he knew[2]
7	*yᶜdb.lḥm (dmṣd).lh.*	he put down bread (gloss: of the banquet),
	wd l ydᶜnn (8) *ylmn.*	but whom he did not know he beat
	(bqrᶜ) ḫṭm.tḥt.ṯlḥn	with a stick (gloss: with a rod) under the table.
9	*ᶜṯtrt.wᶜnt.ymġy*	He approached Athtart and Anat.
10	*ᶜṯtrt.tᶜdb.nšb lh*	Athtart put down a haunch for him
11	*wᶜnt.ktp͟h*	and Anat its shoulder.
	bhm.ygᶜr.ṯġr (12) *bt.ᵓil.*	The gate-keeper of the house of El roared to them:
	pn.lm.k(!)lb.tᶜdbn (13) *nšb.*	"One does not put down a haunch for a dog,
	lᵓinr.tᶜdbn.ktp	one does not put down a shoulder for a puppy!".
14	*bᵓil.ᵓabh.gᶜr.*	He roared to his father El:
	yṯb.ᵓil.kb (15) *ᵓašk[rr.]*	"El is sitting as if he is on the henbane *[*drug*]*[3],
	ᵓil.yṯb.bmrzḥh	El is sitting with his Marzeah,
16	*yšt[.y]n.ᶜd šbᶜ.*	he drinks *[*wi*]*ne unto satiety,
	trṯ.ᶜd škr	must unto drunkenness.
17	*ᵓil.hlk.lbth.*	Let El go to his house,
	yštql. (18) *lḥẓrh.*	proceed to his residence!"
	yᶜmsn.nn.ṯkmn (19) *wšnm.*	Thakuman and Shanam supported him
	wngšnn.ḥby.	and brought him to the steward[4].
20	*bᶜl.qrnm.wḏnb.ylšn*	He-with-the-horns-and-the-tail scolded:
21	*bḫrᵓih.wṯnth.ql.*	"He has fallen into his own dung and urine.
	ᵓil.km mt	El is like a dead man,
22	*ᵓil.kyrdm.ᵓarṣ.*	El is like those who descend into the earth!".
	ᵓnt (23) *wᶜṯtrt.tṣdn*	Anat and Athtart went scouring
	[ ] (24) *tᶜl[.]*	*[ ]* they went up
	šbᶜ[ ] (25) *[ ]n.*	seven *[ ]*

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[1] Whereas Virolleaud could see nothing after *km.*, KTU reads *km.k*l*b**. This may be a case of "wishful reading" inspired by 1.12.

[2] *ᵓil dydᶜnn* is a *casus pendens*. This explains why the preposition is missing and only appears in the second, parallel stichos.

[3] Cf. J.C. de Moor, UF 16(1984),355-356.

[4] Cf, De Moor, UF 1(1969),173. The translation "steward" is admittedly uncertain. C.H. Gordon, "The Devil, ḤBY", *Newsletter for Ugaritic Studies* 33 (april 1985),15 proposes a relation with Eblaite *ḫa-ba-ḫa-bi*, Hebrew חבי (Isa 26:20), and חביון (Hab 3:4), which in his opinion all denote a person comparable to the devil of Jewish and Christian tradition. This may be attractive, but it is no more than a hypothesis.

	b[ ] (26) [ᶜṯ]trt.	in [Ath]tart
	wᶜnt[ ]	and Anat [ ]
27	*wbhm. tṯṯb[.ḥl.y]dh*	and by these they brought back [the strength of his ha]nds,
28	*km trpʾa.hn nᶜr*	when they healed (him), lo, he awoke!
	———	———
29	*dyšt.llṣbh ḫš*	What one should put on the brow of the patient:
	ᶜrk lb (30) wrʾiš.	lay out the pith and the top,
	pqq.wšrh	the node and its stalk;
31	*yšt.ʾaḥdh.dm zt.ḫrpnt*	put it (on the brow) together with the juice of autumnal olives[1].

The last lines of this text give an indication of its "Sitz im Leben": in ll.29-31 a recipe against a hangover seems to be suggested to somebody who was as drunk as El in the mythological part of the text. Maybe the reciting of this story was also believed to be of some help to the "patient".

We cannot simply call this text a description of a heavenly Marzeah, because the banquet mentioned in l.1 is certainly not the same as the Marzeah mentioned in l.15. The banquet is prepared for the important gods; lower deities have to be satisfied with a place under the table and are dependent on the benevolence of the important gods. The second part of the story blasphemously ridicules the supreme god of the Ugaritic pantheon[2]. He gets drunk and falls into his own dung and urine, which can be regarded as a description of the miserable state of the dead[3]. In all probability the Marzeah is mentioned here to illustrate this situation of El. So we can conclude that "to sit with one's Marzeah" can lead to total drunkenness, which resembles death. This and especially the association with the stupefying henbane drug (ll.14-15) offer a clue to the solution of the difficult problem of the etymology of the word Marzeah. They confirm Pope's connection of Ugaritic *mrzḥ* with Arabic *rzḥ*, "to fall down from a fatigue or some other weakness"[1].

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[1] Cf. De Moor, UF 16(1984),356.

[2] This text can be regarded as an indication of the impending down-fall of El; cf. De Moor 1983:35-36.

[3] We often find the idea that the dead who have no one among the living to take care for them have to eat their own excrement; cf. Ebeling 1931:18-19; R. de Mesnil du Buisson, *Nouvelles Études sur les dieux et les mythes de Canaan*, Leiden 1973, pp.29-31; Haas 1976:210; Bleeker 1979:86-87; and Xella 1980 who demonstrates that also II Kgs 18:27 and Isa 36:12 have to be interpreted against this background.

This orgy can be related to the sacrificial banquets (*dbḥm*; cf. 1.1) of the autumnal New Year Festival[2]. This is corroborated by the fact that the gods drink must, which is even younger than new wine, and in this connection we can also mention the olives of autumn (1.31). The relation with the New Year Festival could also explain why the Marzeah is mentioned in texts about the invoking of the *rpʾum*, because this takes place at the same occasion. This does not exclude, however, the possibility that the Marzeah was held on other times as well.

All this does not imply that the institution of the Marzeah has something to do with rites concerning the dead[3]. Unfortunately, the references to the Marzeah in other cultures are not conclusive either[4]. In addition to the Ugaritic evidence that links the Marzeah with the *rpʾum* we can only refer to later traditions, viz. Jer 16:5-7, where the "house of the Marzeah" is associated with mourning[5], and Sifre Num 131, which calls the cult of the dead that was related to Baal Peor a Marzeah. The LXX translated מרזח in

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[1] Pope 1972:193-194 and *Song of Songs*, p.221. This meaning of the word Marzeah also explains the use of מרזח in Amos 6:7. For other proposals with regard to the etymology see O. Eissfeldt, Ug.6(1969),189, n.84 and R. Meyer, UF 11(1979),603-604.

[2] Cf. De Moor 1973:I,9-10.

[3] The relation between the Marzeah and the cult of the dead is still a matter of dispute. The Marzeah is directly linked with the cult of the dead by Pope 1972:190-194; 1981:174-179; *Song of Songs*, pp.214-221; "Le MRZH à Ougarit et ailleurs", AAAS 29-30(1979-1980),141-143; and B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, Berkeley 1968, pp.179-186. Other scholars deny this and assume that the Marzeah is a cultic society which has nothing to do with a cult of the dead; cf. O. Eissfeldt, Ug.6(1969),187-195; L'Heureux 1974:266-267.270-271; and H.-J. Fabry, ThWAT V, col.13. A middle position is taken by those scholars who are of the opinion that a relation between the Marzeah and the cult of the dead is possible, but that it is only one aspect of the Marzeah; cf. J.C. Greenfield, "The Marzeaḥ as a Social Institution", *Acta Antiqua* 22(1974),451-455; RB 80 (1973),48-49; J.C. Greenfield and N. Avigad, IEJ 32(1982),125-126; Healey 1977A:173; P. Xella, SSR I/2 (1977),250-255; De Tarragon 1980:144-147; and Loretz 1982B.

[4] See the surveys by Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, pp.179-186 and Fabry, ThWAT V, cols.13-16 who come to very different conclusions with regard to the relation of the Marzeah and the cult of the dead.

[5] It is a matter of dispute whether this was done already in the original prophecy; cf. the difference of opinion with regard to the history of the literary tradition between Loretz 1982B:88-90 and Fabry, ThWAT V, col.15.

Jer 16:5 as θίασος. This offers an illuminating parallel to the Marzeah of Syria and Palestine. The Greek θίασος shares three basic elements with the Marzeah. First, it means "drinking-bout" or designates a wild feasting group; secondly, it is a religious club, which, thirdly, could have as its goal the maintainance of a hero-cult or the funerary rites of its members[1]. It is very likely that the Ugaritic Marzeah had the same function. From KTU 1.20-22 we learn that the spirits of the deified ancestors were invited to the house of the Marzeah during the New Year Festival. So we may assume that on this occasion a communion with the dead was practised in the Marzeah. This could also explain why the drunken El is compared to the dead: if the communion of the living with the dead was experienced as a reality, the participants could change roles. The living were like the dead and the dead were brought to life.

We can conclude that in Ugarit the Marzeah was a cultic society in which communion with the dead could be practised. This has to be seen within the framework of the much attested custom of organizing communal meals with the dead. The Mesopotamian *kispu*-ritual is principally also a meal for the deceased and his living relatives[2]. Similar meals, which were usually held near the grave, were known in Egypt[3], Greece[4], and Palmyra[5].

2.5.2.2.4. HOPES FOR BEATIFIC AFTERLIFE

According to Margalit the people of Ugarit were familiar with a conception of a "special preserve" in the netherworld, which awaits prominent people, "the Elysian fields in Hades"[6]. He bases this assertion on his interpretation of a passage in the myth of Baal which would describe how

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[1] Cf. M.N. Tod, in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1970, p.255; T. Pekáry, *Der Kleine Pauly*, V, cols.1188-1189; and E. Puech, RB 90(1983),493.

[2] Cf. Bottéro 1980:38.

[3] Cf. C. Aldred, LÄ II, cols.868-869 and S. Schott, *Das schöne Fest im Wüstentale*, Wiesbaden 1953, pp.91-92.

[4] Cf. Farnell 1921:352-354; Schnaufer 1970:15-16.172-173; and Burkert 1977:297.315.

[5] Cf. Milik 1972:194.

[6] Cf. Margalit 1980A:125-128 and Margalit 1980B.

Baal was accorded "V.I.P. status" in the realm of the dead. In his opinion the treatment of Baal by Mot "may be seen as an expression of Mot's benevolence towards Baal (and, implicitly, to the shades who inhabit his kingdom generally)".

A number of serious objections have to be raised against this theory. First, there is no reason whatsoever to assume that Baal was treated in a friendly way by Mot. Margalit refers for this to KTU 1.5:I.22-26, but his interpretation of this text is very questionable. By leaving out the negative particle in 1.22 as "metrically unlikely"[1] he completely reverses the meaning of the text[2]. He is also forced to give a new explanation of KTU 1.5:II.6-7, which according to most scholars speaks of Baal's fearing Mot. Margalit tries to prove that not Baal is fearing, but that the land and the fruit are fearing for him[3]. However, in that case the pronominal suffixes in these lines and in 1.4 would have different antecedents, which is very unlikely.

Margalit also refers to sexual pleasures for Baal in the netherworld according to KTU 1.5:V.17-23[4]. He compares this with a passage in Aristophanes' "The Frogs" mentioning a "flute-girl" and "two or three dancing wenches", who are at the disposal of Heracles in the netherworld. Even better parallels can be adduced; e.g., the care that was taken in Egyptian funerary rituals to ensure the satisfaction of the sexual desires of the dead in the hereafter[5]. However, Margalit ignores the fact that the mating of Baal with a heifer is mentioned primarily for its result: Baal needs a substitute to take his place when he leaves the netherworld again. Just as Ishtar could only leave the netherworld after Dumuzi had taken her place[6]. Apparently Baal wanted to have somebody who looked like himself and therefore also clothed him with his robe[7]. Another argument against the use of KTU 1.5:V.17-23 in this connection is that this scene does not take place in the netherworld, but on its border. *dbr* (1.18) is not "the infernal plane", but simply the "steppe" separating the land of the living from the world of the dead as in Mesopotamian conceptions[1]. *šd šḥlmmt* can be translated as "the fields near the stream of the realm of death (see p.175 above). So we can assume that Baal procured a substitute before crossing the river of death[2].

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[1] Margalit 1980A:106.

[2] Cf. J.C. de Moor, UF 11(1979),640.

[3] Margalit 1980A:112-113.

[4] Ibid., p.124.

[5] Cf. Kees 1956:95.202.264; Hornung 1982:137; H.Altenmüller, LÄ II, col. 841.

[6] Cf. Alster 1972:13; Kramer 1980; and in general on this phenomenon Afanasieva 1981 and Gurney 1977:55.

[7] Cf. Gurney 1977:57 on the substitute for the Hittite king in royal clothes.

Finally, Margalit refers to KTU 1.5:VI.6-7, according to which the "steppe" and "the fields of the stream of the realm of death" are called "loveliness" (*nᶜmy*) and "delightfulness" (*ysmt*). However, with most scholars it has to be assumed that these qualifications are euphemisms[3].

We may conclude that there are no indications of a "V.I.P. status" in some kind of Elysian Fields for Baal in the netherworld. This takes away all grounds for Margalit's hypothesis that in general the dead could also hope for the benevolence of Mot. There are no traces of this in the literature of Ugarit. Just as in ancient Mesopotamia the existence of the dead in the netherworld was regarded as unhappy. There are many things to be feared there: darkness, coldness, hunger, thirst, and the god of the dead who devours his victims. But that does not mean that the people of Ugarit did not also have expectations for a bearable afterlife or even more than that. The living could also help the dead in the netherworld. The people of Ugarit appeared to be very active in this matter as can be seen from the many indications of repeated offerings in the grave. The dead were enabled to continue in one way or another the way of "life" they were used to.

A special place in the Ugaritic conceptions of afterlife is taken by the royal dead. They are venerated as healers who can bless the living. They are deified and can be regarded as equal to the lower deities. We can compare this to the status of the deceased kings according to the conceptions in the Mesopotamian Ur III-period. Because of the archaeological facts mentioned above in section 2.5.1.4. and a number of links with texts from Mari it may be assumed that the veneration of deified ancestors was not uncommon in ancient Syria. The Ugaritic literature does not explicitly confirm the interpretation of the archaeological finds in Syria as referring to a worship of the dead, but the key role of the cult of the dead in the epic of Aqhat certainly points in this direction.

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[1] Cf. De Moor 1971:186 and Bottéro 1980:31-32.

[2] Cf. also the critical remark with regard to this theory by Hutter 1985: 138+n.64. We cannot agree, however with Hutter's assumption that Baal wanted offspring to take care of his funerary offerings after his death. For this task is performed by Anat (cf. KTU 1.6:I.17ff.).

[3] Cf. Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, p.73, n.4. To the texts speaking euphemistically of the netherworld can be added KTU 1.5:III.1ff. where the netherworld seems to be called "dwelling/land of bliss" (*ṯbt/ ʾarṣ ḥšn*; cf. Arabic *ḥasanah*, "beauty, delight", which is also used to describe beatific afterlife). The reason why the myth of Baal speaks so often in this euphemistical way of the netherworld may have to do with the fact that it is Baal who is forced to stay there. The poet may have wanted to avoid describing the horror awaiting this important deity.

There is one element which distinguishes the Ugaritic conceptions from those of the Ur III-period: the Ugaritic deified kings were believed to come to life "with Baal" at the New Year Festival and to join in the festivities celebrating the resurrection of Baal. Something similar may have happened every month on the occasion of the regularly practised cult of the dead. So for them the netherworld is not the land of no return. Whereas regular offerings to the dead can only make life in the netherworld bearable, this temporary revivification can be called a form of beatific afterlife.

Indications of this relatively positive concept of the afterlife can be found elsewhere in ancient Syria as well. Next to the archaeological facts discussed above we can mention some indications from the period after 1200 B.C., especially KAI 214 (see below). It was already remarked that this deviation from the common Mesopotamian conceptions may be due to foreign influence. Because of the many clear Egyptian parallels noted above it may be assumed that the strong political influence of Egypt in this area in the third and second millennium B.C. has left its traces in the concept of afterlife. Of course, this Egyptian influence is to be expected in the first place in international trade-centers like Byblos and Ugarit[1]. The Egyptian ideas about the victory over death could easily be connected with the belief in Baal's victory over death, because they share a basic element, viz. the belief in the ever repeated return from the netherworld.

Another factor of some importance in the development of the ancient

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[1] In our opinion Strange goes too far when he assumes that the Egyptian ideas about afterlife and resurrection were "spread throughout the Levant at the end of the Bronze Age and in the Iron Age"(Strange 1985:38).

Syrian conceptions of afterlife may have been the influence of Hittite religion, because Syria belonged for some centuries to the Hittite sphere of influence[1]. So the Ugaritic conceptions of afterlife, which probably represent the conceptions that can be found in the Syrian region as a whole fairly well, reflect the political situation of Syria as a meeting place for many cultures. Basically, the Ugaritic conceptions of afterlife concur with the Mesopotamian ideas in this matter, but there are clear traces of Egyptian and Hittite influence.

2.5.3. THE PERIOD AFTER 1200 B.C. (EXCEPT ISRAEL)

2.5.3.1. NON-ISRAELITE SOURCES

The Ugaritic cult of dead kings is not isolated within the region of ancient Syria and Palestine. Although a comparison between literary and archaeological evidence is usually very difficult, especially when they belong to different places, the clear traces of veneration of the dead in cultic buildings related to the graves or the representation of the dead in temples in, e.g., Ebla, Byblos, and Hazor point to the same attitude towards the dead as we found in Ugaritic literature. The same phenomenon can be observed in Iron Age Gozan (Tell Halaf) in East Syria, where graves of the tenth or ninth century B.C. were found beneath cult-places which were used over a long period. In the same city a kind of temple with statues of gods and men, who are almost certainly venerated ancestors[2], was uncovered.

There is also a very interesting literary parallel to the Ugaritic rituals with regard to the *rpᵓum*: in an inscription of the eigth century B. C. carved on the waist of a statue of Hadad (=Baal), which was found in Zincirli, king Panammuwa of Samal describes how the gods blessed him and how under his rule his land prospered. He expresses the hope that his fortune will continue after death. For this he needs a son who does not forget his duties (cf. KTU 1.17:I.25-33):

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[1] See on the relation between the Hittites and Ugarit M. Liverani, DBS IX, cols.1304ff.1325-1326 and Kinet, *Ugarit*, pp.32-43.

[2] Cf. Strommenger 1957:602.

> Whoever of my sons grasps the sceptre and sits upon my seat as king over Yaudiya and confirms his rulership and sacrifices to this Hadad and mentions the name of Panammuwa, let him say: "May the soul of Panammuwa eat with Hadad, and may the soul of Panammuwa drink with Hadad". (KAI 214:20-22; cf. ll.15-17)

Greenfield compares this text to the Mesopotamian *kispu*-ritual[1], which is also attested in this region, viz. in Mari, and of which the calling of the name of the deceased is also an important element. Other scholars assume influence from the Neo-Hittite funerary banquet scenes[2]. However, neither the Mesopotamian nor the Hittite parallel can explain the role of Hadad in this text. Greenfield refers to the fact that sometimes the *kispu*-offerings were accompanied by sacrifices to the gods and he mentions a text which speaks of the spirits of the dead sitting next to the cult installation[3], but it is something different when the dead person is believed to be "with his god" like Panammuwa who is "with Hadad".

A better parallel to KAI 214:21-22 is Anat's promise to Aqhat that he will "count the years with Baal" (KTU 1.17:VI.28-29)[4]. As was demonstrated above she refers here to the yearly revivification of the *rpʾum* at the New Year Festival, when the spirits of the deified dead participate in the banquet celebrating Baal's return from the netherworld. It is not clear whether KAI 214 also refers to the New Year Festival[5], but the idea behind the words of Panammuwa is certainly related to it. The parallel with the Ugaritic conception would be even more interesting if it is correct that in 1.16 a sacrifice to an ancestor (*ʾbʾ*) is mentioned[6], because this can be compared to the description of the cult of the dead in KTU 1.17:I. Unfortunately, the inscription is difficult to read at this point.

Most commentators on KAI 214 point to the remarkable use of the word *nbš* (=Hebrew נפש) in this context[7]. In the Old Testament נפש can indicate a dead person, but only as a corpse[1] and never as something like the living spirit of the dead. In the Old Testament נפש in the meaning of "life" denotes in the first place the opposite of death[2]. *nbš* in KAI 214 may have been used in the same way, indicating that for the moment Panammuwa is revivified. We can also think of the development of the word נפש in Aramaic and Hebrew to a name of the grave or the stele above it. This could only mean that the grave monument was believed to be a representation of the dead, in which the dead live on[3]. Astour, who comes to the same conclusion with regard to the meaning of *nbš* in KAI 214, calls the conception behind this text "an exception which proves the rule"[4]. The clear parallel with the revivification of the *rpʾum* as it is described in the religious literature of Ugarit, however, shows that we have to do with a deeply rooted belief in this region.

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[1] J.C. Greenfield, "Un rite religieux araméen et ses parallèles", RB 80 (1973),46-52.

[2] Cf. Hartmann 1968:39-40; Kestemont 1983:59; and Healey 1984:251.

[3] Greenfield, RB 80(1973),49.

[4] Cf. Nelis 1970:364-365.

[5] Cf. De Moor 1973:I,10; II,31.

[6] Cf. De Moor 1973:II,31.

[7] Cf. H. Donner and W. Röllig, KAI II, p.220 and Nelis 1970:364-365.

The famous sarcophagus of Ahiram of Byblos can tell us a lot about Phoenician conceptions of afterlife[5]. It stems from about 1000 B.C.[6]. According to the inscription of the sarcophagus it was made by Ittobaal for his father Ahiram. Father and son are pictured on the lid. The deceased can be recognized by a drooping lotus flower he holds in his hand. The other person is holding an upraised lotus symbolizing that he is still alive[7]. This makes it also possible to identify the person pictured on one side of the sarcophagus as the deceased king. He is sitting on a throne with his feet on a foot stool and he holds a drooping lotus flower[8].

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[1] Cf. Wolff 1977:43.

[2] Cf. C. Westermann, THAT II, col.88.

[3] Cf. Gawlikowski 1970:23, who speaks of "la personification du défunt, le gage de son immortalité ou la demeure de son âme", and Westermann, col. 71.

[4] Astour 1980:228; cf. also Maag 1980:199, n.28.

[5] Cf. KAI 1 and 2 and ANEP, pls.456-459; see in general on this sarcophagus M. Weippert, BRL, 2nd ed., pp.269-270.

[6] Cf. E. Porada, "Notes on the sarcophagus of Ahiram", JANES 5(1973),354-372.

[7] See on the lotus as an Egyptian symbol of revivification Strange 1985: 37-38. The difference between the drooping and upraised lotus may have to do with the Egyptian idea of afterlife as opposed to this life.

[8] Cf. R. Giveon, "King or God on the Sarcophagus of Ahiram", IEJ 9(1959), 57-59 and *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan*, Göttingen 1978, pp.31-33; against M. Haran, IEJ 8(1959),22-25 who thinks of Mot.

The deceased king receives many gifts which are laid on a table before him. It may be noted that the same furniture is mentioned in KTU 1.161:13-20. We can also mention in this connection a number of Aramaic and Neo-Hittite funerary stelae with similar representations of a seated figure who is receiving offerings and who is, like Ahiram, listening to music made by attendants[1]. On some of these stelae the dead are pictured eating and drinking without attendants[2].

Some elements of the Neo-Hittite stelae seem to point to the belief that the deceased persons pictured there were deified. Kestemont has pointed out that they are holding objects in their hands, which can be interpreted as divine symbols[3]. The Neo-Hittite stelae can also be related to the earlier Hittite rituals for the royal dead, who had become gods and to funeral scenes in Egyptian art[4], but this does not imply that also the ancient Hittite belief in the posthumous deification of the royal family was accepted and even extended to common people, or that the Egyptian conceptions of beatific afterlife were shared. Inscriptions on some of these stelae[5] give only the names of the dead and tell something about the people who have erected the monuments or try to defend it by cursing grave-robbers. We have to assume that the main function of these stelae was to secure the lasting commemoration of the dead and also to make sure by means of this magical representation that the dead would never have to suffer from hunger or thirst in the hereafter, even when the regular food offerings[6] had stopped.

Phoenician conceptions of afterlife in the period after Ahiram did not change much. From Phoenician burial customs[7] we learn that the corpse was treated with care and that offerings were given to the dead in order to make life in the netherworld bearable. Egyptian influence is found in the use of sarcophagi. As usual the inscriptions on the graves are meant to keep the memory of the person and sometimes also of his deeds alive. They contain warnings against people who might want to rob or molest the grave and the person buried there[1]. According to the inscription on the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar those who disturb his place of rest will have "no habitation with the *rpʾm* and they will not be buried in a grave and will have neither son nor offspring in their place" (KAI 14:8-9). This can be compared to the following Akkadian text: "May his corpse not be buried in the earth, may his ghost not join the ghost of his relatives"[2]. It shows that being with the *rpʾm* after death can be regarded as a relatively positive conception of afterlife. But this does not imply that the Phoenicians were still familiar with the ancient Canaanite belief in the possibility of deified spirits of the dead leaving the netherworld. On the other hand the idea of the deification of the dead may have never disappeared, because as late as the first century A.D. the dead could be called divine: a Neo-Punic inscription (KAI 117) speaks of the divine spirits of the dead (*ʿlnm ʾrʾpʾm*) who are equated with Latin *Di Manes*. According to early Roman belief the dead join the undifferentiated mass of divine *Manes*. These spirits of the dead were worshipped at special festivals, during which they were believed to return to the world of the living, e.g., at the feast of the Lemuria in May. So these *Di Manes* can be compared to the Ugaritic *rpʾum*.

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[1] Cf. ANEP, pls.630, 632, 635, and 637 and the discussion by Hawkins 1980 and Kestemont 1983.

[2] Cf. ANEP, pls.631 and 633.

[3] Kestemont 1983:58.60-61

[4] Cf. R. Giveon, IEJ 9(1959),59 and Hawkins 1980:216.

[5] Cf. KAI 1; 2; 225; 226; and Hawkins 1980:217ff.

[6] See on some Phoenician texts found at Cyprus mentioning funerary offerings E. Puech, *Semitica* 29(1979),19-26.

[7] Cf. J.-F. Salles, *La nécropole 'K' de Byblos*, Edition ADPF 1980 who gives a description of a cemetary used from the eighteenth untill the sixth century B.C.

We can also find traces of the ancient conception of the *rpʾum* as mighty healers in an inscription on a sarcophagus from the Persian period discovered in Byblos[3]. After the common phrase against those who want to open the sarcophagus and to disturb the bones we read: "The Og will search for me, the mighty, and in all generations . . ." (*hʿg ytbqšn hʾdr wbkl dr [wdr]*[4]). The use of the verb *bqš* in this context can be compared to that in Ezek 34:16 and Ps 119:176, in which the hope is expressed that those who trust in YHWH will not be lost[1]. This Og is known in the Old Testament as "the last of the Rephaites" (Josh 12:4). Röllig hesitatingly proposes to think here of "die Spur eines Unterweltgottes in Byblos . . . der im Alten Testament zu einer Sagengestalt aus der Zeit der Landnahme geworden ist"[2]. This assumption is supported by the fact that the Og of this text can be compared with Ditan, Gathar, and Yaqar of the Ugaritic texts. Because the text speaks of "the" Og we have to assume that after a long period Og was no longer regarded as the name of a famous ancestor, but had become the title of a god with the same function. The word *ʾdr* as a qualification of this kind of chthonic deities is also found in Ps 16:3 (see section 3.5.2.5. below) and for this reason confirms our interpretation of this difficult inscription.

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[1] See in general on the inscriptions on tombstones in this period Müller 1975B.

[2] Cf. CAD "E", p.398.

[3] Cf. W. Röllig, "Eine neue Phoenizische Inschrift aus Byblos", in *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik*, II, ed. R. Degen, W.W. Müller and W. Röllig, Wiesbaden 1974, pp.1-15.

[4] The line can be partially restored, because a common expression seems to have been used; cf. Ps 45:18; 145:13; and Esther 9:28.

The remains of the Phoenician colonies in the west of the Mediterranean show a high esteem for the corpse resulting in concern for a decent burial[3] and repeated offerings of food and especially drink[4].

Ferron has tried to prove that in Carthage the dead were deified[5]. For this he refers to the occurrence of stelae near the graves, on which a person is pictured with the right hand raised and with the palm of this hand turned to something or somebody else. According to Ferron this position indicates the divinity of the person pictured. He associates it with the way Ahiram is pictured on the lid of his sarcophagus and with an Aramaic stele of the sixth century B.C. (ANEP, pl.280; cf. KAI 225). Inside the tombs of Carthage statuettes of praying men and women were found. Ferron interprets these as representing the dead standing before the sun-god, who will take them from the netherworld to heaven[1]. Ferron's interpretation, however, is open to doubt. The position with the hand raised can also be explained as an act of veneration by a person standing before a god. There are many parallels for this[2]. And if the relation with the sarcophagus of Ahiram is justified, it would be correct to assume that the dead person is pictured here as receiving the regular funerary offerings. The statuettes in the graves can also be regarded as the personal belongings of the deceased.

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[1] Röllig translates: "der mächtige Og wird mich rächen"; cf. I Sam 20:16 (ibid., p.5), but he does not exclude the translation given above; cf. also J. Teixidor, *Syria* 49(1972),431.

[2] Röllig, p.6.

[3] For a survey of Punic tombs see P. Cintas, *Manuel d'archéologie punique*, I, Paris 1970, pp.430-442; II, Paris 1976, pp.239-387; and H. Benichou-Safar, *Les tombes puniques de Carthage: Topographie, structures, insrciptions et rites funéraires*, Paris 1982.

[4] Cf. C. Picard, RB 83(1976),588 and J. Debergh, "La libation funéraire dans l'Occident punique", *Akkadica* 16(1980),48-49.

[5] J. Ferron, *Mort-Dieu de Carthage ou les stèles funéraires de Carthage*, Paris 1975, pp.254ff.

A remarkable example of Egyptian influence on burial customs in this period is the presence of anthropoid clay coffins in Palestine[3] and in the country of Moab[4]. The former are dated in the period between 1200 and 1000 B.C., the latter are probably a few centuries younger. The coffins with a "natural" face modelled on the headpiece would have belonged to Egyptians working abroad. The so-called "grotesque" type of the Palestine coffins is usually ascribed to the Philistines who served as mercenaries under the Egyptians. The theory of typical Philistine sarcophagi is weakened, however, by the fact that all types of clay coffins discovered in Palestine were also found in Egypt in places where there are no traces of Philistines at all[5]. It cannot be doubted that most of the anthropoid clay coffins found in Palestine were used and probably also made by the Philistines, but it remains uncertain whether this implies that the Philistines also took over Egyptian ideas about the afterlife, because the other Philistine funerary customs do not differ from those of other inhabitants of this region[6].

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[1] J. Ferron, *Orants de Carthage*, Paris 1974, p.154.

[2] E.g., M.T. Barrelet, in *Le palais et la royauté*, CRAAI 19, ed. P. Garelli, Paris 1974, p.56 (Hammurapi standing before Shamash) and F. Abitz, *König und Gott*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 40, Wiesbaden 1984, pls. 3, 5, 7, 9, and 10 (the king standing before Osiris).

[3] Cf. T. Dothan, *The Philistines and their Material Culture*, London 1982, pp.252-288 and *Excavations at the Cemetery of Deir el-Balaḥ*, Qedem 10, Jerusalem 1979 (cf. also IEJ 23(1973),129-146) and E.D. Oren, *The Northern Cemetery of Beth Shean*, Leiden 1973, pp.132-150.

[4] Cf. F.V. Winnet and W.L. Reed, *The Excavations at Dibon in Moab*, AASOR 36-37(1957-1958), Cambridge 1964, pp.59ff.

[5] Cf. L. Kuchman, "Egyptian Clay Anthropoid Coffins", *Serapis* 4(1977f.),11-22.

[6] Cf. K.A. Kitchen, in *Peoples of Old Testament Times*, ed. D.J. Wiseman, Oxford 1973, p.68.

The Moabite clay coffins probably belonged to Egyptian immigrants. The burial practices in the region of the east side of the Jordan do not differ from those of the rest of Syria and Palestine[1]. Only one interesting find can be mentioned here: in Tell el Mazar two tombs dating from the eigth century B.C. were found beneath a room with a shrine with clear traces of regular sacrifices over a long period[2]. This can be regarded as another indication of the fact that the cult of the dead was not uncommon in Syria and Palestine of this period.

2.5.3.2. FOREIGN CONCEPTIONS OF AFTERLIFE ACCORDING TO THE OLD TESTAMENT

2.5.3.2.1. ISAIAH 14 AND THE ROYAL IDEOLOGY

This song which mocks the king of Babylon is one of the few texts in the Old Testament with a more or less detailed description of the world of the dead. It seems to deny the possibility of obtaining beatific afterlife.

Ia How the oppressor has ceased,
the oppression[3] has ceased.
5 YHWH has broken the staff of the wicked,
the sceptre of the rulers.

6 He struck peoples in his rage
(with) unceasing blows.
He tyrannized nations in his anger
(with) relentless[4] prosecution[5].

7 The whole world is at rest and quiet.
They break forth into singing.
8 Also the junipers exult over you

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[1] For a survey see Yassine 1983.

[2] Ibid., p.33.

[3] Read with 1QIs[a] and the LXX מרהבה instead of MT מדהבה; cf. H.L. Ginsberg, JAOS 88(1968),53, n.38. This can be connected with the verb רהב, "to assail", which is used in Isa 3:5 next to נגש, just as in this verse. We have to assume a slight copying error in this text, a *resh* being misread as a *dalet*.

[4] Read חֲשֹׂךְ because of בלי; cf. BHS.

[5] There is no need to change the vocalization of the word מרדף (cf. BHS), because it is a good parallel to the noun מכה; cf. HAL, p.598.

together with the cedars of Lebanon:
"Since you lie down no man comes up
to fell us".

Ib 9 Sheol beneath is stirred up[1]
to meet you at your coming.
She rouses[2] the shades because of you,
all the leaders of the earth.
She raises from their thrones
all the kings of the nations.

10 All of them will answer
and say to you:
"You, too, have become weak as we,
like us you have become".

11 Brought down into Sheol is your pride,
the sound of your harps.
Maggots are the bed[3] beneath you
and worms your covering.

IIa 12 How have you fallen from heaven,
Helel, son of Dawn,
felled to the earth
(you) who defeated[4] nations!

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[1] In Phoenician grave inscriptions the same verb is used for the disturbing of the dead in graves (cf. KAI 9A:5; 13:4.6-7), but here Sheol itself is said to be trembling (cf. the use of רגז hif. in v.16b). The same expression is used in Mesopotamian texts; cf. Erra I, 1.135 (cf. AHw, p.761) and "The Death of Ur-Nammu", 1.97 (cf. Kramer 1980:118).

[2] For Sheol as a person see also Isa 5:14 and 38:18. Because שאול is a feminine noun, עורר is usually interpreted as inf.abs., which implies that הקים in the following line has to be vocalized as הָקִים (cf. BHS and GK §145t).

[3] יצע as perf.pual is not impossible here. It is also used in Esther 4:3 (cf. GK §145o). So a different vocalization, as proposed in BHS, is not necessary.

[4] For חלש, "to defeat" cf. Exod 17:13, where it is used without a preposition. BHS proposes to read כל instead of על and refers for this to the LXX, but the reading of the LXX is probably influenced by the occurrence of this word in vv.9-10.18. The use of גוים is in accordance with v.6b. So, although this expression is rare, it is not improbable in this context. For this reason there is no need to emend the text. R.C. van Leeuwen, "*Ḥôlēš ʿal gwym* and Gilgamesh XI,6", JBL 99(1980),173-184 translates "helpless on your back" and regards this as a "pseudo-epithet contrasting the lofty Helel son of Dawn to a lowly mortal in the posture of death". He takes גוים as גו=גוי, "back", followed by enclitic *mem*. The most important argument for this is derived from 1QIs^a where this *mem* is left out. According to Van Leeuwen this was done because it was no longer recognized as enclitic. It is, however, more likely that this is another example of the tendency in 1QIs^a to actualize the text, viz. by reading " my nation"; cf. Van der Kooij 1981:94.

13 And you said in your heart:
"I will ascend to heaven.
Above the stars of El[1]
I will set my throne.

I will sit on the mount of the assembly
on the crests of Safon[2].
14 I will ascend above the heights of the clouds
and make myself like the Most High".

15 Yet you are brought down to Sheol,
to the lowest point of the Pit.

IIb 16 Those who see you will stare at you,
will ponder over you:

"Is this the man who made the world tremble,
who shook kingdoms,
17 who made the world like a desert
and laid its cities[3] in ruines?

Who did not let his prisoners go home[4],
18 all the kings of the nations?".
They all lie in honour,
each in his "house".

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[1] Because of the many names derived from Canaanite mythology in this part of the text אל is most likely the name of the Canaanite deity here. A comparison with *km hkkbm ʾl* in KAI 277:10-11 as proposed by M.H. Pope, ThWAT I, col.272 (with more literature) is problematical, because it is to be doubted whether this can be translated in the same way; cf. Donner, Röllig, KAI II, pp.331-332.

[2] The original meaning of ירכה is "thigh". As a metaphor it denotes the ridge of a mountain. So it is not a point far away (cf. Ezek 38:6.15; 39:2), but a very high point and can be opposed to the lowest place in Sheol (ירכתי בור, v.15b). Therefore, ירכתי צפון can be regarded as the equivalent of Ugaritic *mrym ṣpn*, "heights of Safon" (KTU 1.3:IV.1.38; 1.4:IV.19), which is the residence of Baal (cf. also the reference to Baal as "rider of the clouds" in v.14a). Now this verse seems to identify the mountain of Baal, Safon, with the mountain of the gods. In the literature of Ugarit, however, the mountain on which the gods assemble is not connected with Baal, but with El, who is the head of the pantheon. Probably different Canaanite conceptions of the dwelling-places of Baal and El have been intermingled here; cf. W.H. Schmidt, THAT II, col.578 and Houtman 1974:147-148. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that in the next verse we find an allusion to El, to whom refers the title "the Most High" (עליון), which is paralleled by a comparison of the oppressor with Baal, "above the clouds".

[3] The suffix in עריו refers to the feminine תבל. Instead of changing the text we can assume a *constructio ad sensum* here influenced by the masculine מדבר; cf. GK §135o.

[4] See on this *constructio praegnans* GK §117o.

19 But you are cast out, away from your grave,
like a loathed figure[1],
clothed by the slain, who were pierced by the sword,
(clothed by those) who go down to the stones of the Pit,
like a corpse trampled underfoot,
20 you will not be joined with them in the grave.

IIIa Yea, you have ruined your land,
slaughtered your people.

Never more be named
the brood of evildoers:
21 prepare the shambles for his sons
because of the sins of their fathers.
They shall not rise up to possess the world
and fill the earth with leaders[2].

IIIb 22 "And I will rise against them",
says YHWH of Hosts,
"and I will destroy the name and the remnant of Babylon,
the offspring and the posterity", says YHWH.

23 "I will make it a possession of the hedgehog,
pools of water,
and I will sweep it with the besom of destruction",
says YHWH of Hosts.

Wherever it may be helpful for the interpretation of the texts, which are discussed here and in the following chapter, an attempt is made to describe the strophical structure of the text. The method used was developed by De Moor and Van der Lugt[3]. Their view on Ugaritic and Hebrew poetry can be summarized as follows: the smallest structural unit is not the syllable but the foot, i.e., a word or cluster of words bearing a main stress. Ugaritic and Hebrew poetry is flexible; it is not based on metre, but on free rhythm. This means that within reasonable limits every unit can be expanded or contracted. Usually the stichos consists of no more than three feet, whereas the number of feet in parallel stichoi is very often the same. The normal Hebrew verse contains no more than four stichoi and the strophe usually no more than three verses. The limitations for larger structural units, which are called here stanza and substanza (others speak of canto and canticle), are less strict. A very important phenomenon appears to be that the number of strophes within the substanzas constituting a stanza often remains the same. This regularity in balancing parts is one of the most important features of this poetry[1]. Another important structural element in the study of the structure of Ugaritic and Hebrew poetry is external parallelism. Whereas internal parallelism marks the relation between the stichoi of one verse, external parallelism forms bridges between verses, strophes, and (sub)stanzas.

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[1] MT נצר, "branch", is very difficult to understand in this context. The structure of vv.19-20a makes it very likely that נצר has a meaning which is parallel to פגר, "corpse". For this reason the proposal of Gunkel and Jahnow to read יצר, "Gebilde", is very attractive (cf. Jahnow 1923:240). It is possible to go further and to assume a part. nif. of the verb יצר, "to form", viz. נוצר, "what is formed"; cf. the use of this verb in Ps 139:16 where it is used of man being formed in his mother's womb. Apparently it was written defectively and later not recognized anymore by the Massoretes.

[2] According to BHS we have to delete the difficult ערים, probably *metri causa*, but the lengthening of the last line of a strophe is not uncommon. We tentatively suggest to read עירים, "stallions", as a designation of rulers (cf. עתדי ארץ in v.9b). We might even assume a by-form of this word: ערים (cf. Ugaritic ᶜr).

[3] See p.145, n.5 above and Van der Lugt 1980 and J.C. de Moor, "The Poetry of the Book of Ruth (part I)", Or.53(1984),262-283.

As the work of Van der Lugt and De Moor shows, the recognition of these principles has turned out to be very fruitful in the study of the structures of Ugaritic and Hebrew poetry. This holds also true for Isa 14. Of course, not all poetic texts discussed in this and the following chapter can be studied in this way. Especially the study of the strophic structures in the book of Job and the books of the prophets would require too elaborate studies of very large units. When translated only a stichometry of these texts according to the principles outlined above can be given, just as this was done with the Ugaritic texts in section 2.5.2.2.

The commentators on Isa 14 are unanimous in their praise of the poet of this song. Kaiser calls it "eine der gewaltigsten Dichtungen nicht allein des Alten Testaments, sondern auch der Weltliteratur"[2]. With regard to the structure the consistent use of the *qina*-metre (with verses consisting of a stichos with three accents followed by a stichos with two accents) is remarkable. Furthermore, everyone agrees that the song, which begins with v. 4b is built up of four parts, of which at least the first three are of the same length, viz. seven verses: vv.4b-8.9-11 and 12-15. But here the problems begin. One would expect a fourth and perhaps also a fifth part consisting of seven verses with *qina*-metre to complete the song, but in v.19 the regular metre is lost and it appears to be very difficult to find out where the song ends. A number of scholars have tried to reconstruct an assumed original poem, in which the *qina*-metre is continued[3]. Other scholars who did not want to go that far also tried to emend the text assuming that the MT has to be corrupt here[4].

In our translation it is already indicated that it is possible to discern a regular structure in the text according to the MT[5]. As a starting-point it is assumed here that the song, which is introduced in v.4a, runs until v.23. There is a clear separation between v.23 and v.24 indicated by a *petuha*. The whole text can be divided into three stanzas (indicated by Roman numerals), each subdivided into two substanzas (indicated by the letters a and b). The first two stanzas consist each of 7+7 verses, the third stanza of 4+4 verses. The substanzas of stanza I each consist of three strophes (separated by blank lines); the substanzas of stanza II of four strophes; and the substanzas of stanza III of two strophes. As a result we come to the following structure: 2.2.3/3.2.2//2.2.2.1/1.2.2.2// 1.3/2.2 (7.7/7.7/4.4). This well-balanced structure is clearly marked:

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[1] It is also found in Egyptian literature; cf. G. Fecht, LÄ IV, cols.1127-1154, s.v. Prosodie; esp. cols.1139-1140 and 1153.

[2] O. Kaiser, *Der Prophet Jesaja: Kap.13-39*, 2nd. ed., Göttingen 1976, p.27.

[3] Cf. B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 4th ed., Göttingen 1922, pp.96-97 and A. Dupont-Sommer, "Note exégetique sur Isaïe 14,16-21", RHR 134(1948),72-80.

[4] Cf. H. Wildberger, *Jesaja*, BK X/2, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1978, pp.535-536; Barth 1977:123 and W.C. van Wyk, OTSWA 22-23(1979-1980),244.

[5] Thanks are due to dr. P. van der Lugt for a number of valuable suggestions with regard to the strophic structure of this text.

Ia The beginning of this stanza is indicated by איך, which is a common marker of the beginning of a poem or of a turn inside a poem[1]. It returns at the beginning of the second stanza (v.12). A very clear example of external parallelism is found in v.6a being parallel to v.6b, thus indicating that v.6 is one strophe.

Ib This substanza is marked by the inclusion by the words תחת (vv.9a and 11b) and שאול (vv.9a and 11a). External parallelism in the first strophe: לך (vv.9a.9bA) and כל (vv.9bA.9bB); in the second strophe: אל (vv.10a.10b).

IIa We already noted איך as marking a turn in the poem. Like Ib this substanza is marked by inclusion: שמים (v.12a) is taken up by its well-known counterpart שאול (v.15a)[2]. Other cases of external parallelism within the substanza: שמים (vv.12a.13a), עלה (vv.13a.14a), and ירכתי (vv.13b.15b).

IIb The stichometry of the difficult v.19 is based on the clear parallel between vv.18-20aA and vv.9bB-11. They are built up in exactly the same way: after כל-מלכי גוים follows a verse that begins with כלם[3]. The next verse begins with ואתה/גם-אתה and the following with the verb ירד. This results in two tristicha at the end of this substanza. This unexpected result is supported by the fact that this last strophe has a clear chiastic structure: the first stichos of the first verse parallels the last stichos of the second verse (cf. קבר); the middle stichoi of both verses are also parallel, containing a comparison indicated by the same preposition, and the persons mentioned in the last stichos of the first verse are the same as those mentioned in the beginning of the second verse. We can also note here the tendency in Hebrew poetry to complete a poetic speech by increasing the number of stichoi at the end[4].

External parallelism within the third strophe: בית (vv.17b.18b) and כל(ם) (vv.18a.18b) indicating a chiastic structure. External parallelism within substanza IIb: איש (vv.16b.18b), מלכי/מלכות (vv.16b.18a). An inclusion is also found in this substanza: אל (vv.16a.16b.19b). External parallelism within the second stanza: ירד (vv.15a.19b) and בור (vv.15b.19b).

IIIa The *first* strophe consists of one verse (v.20aB) marked by כי. The marker of the second strophe is לעולם (v.20bA). This first substanza is marked by inclusion: ארץ (vv.20aB.21bA).

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[1] For a list of these markers in the Psalms see Van der Lugt 1980:508-524.

[2] Cf. W.S. Prinsloo, "Isaiah 14,12-15 - Humiliation, Hubris, Humiliation", ZAW 93(1981),432-438 who speaks of a "circular structure".

[3] This was also noted by Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, p.96.

[4] Cf. Van der Lugt 1980:502.

IIIb The beginning of this substanza is taken up at the end (inclusion): נאם יהוה צבאות (vv.22aB. 23bB). It is also remarkable that all verses begin with "and". External parallelism within the third stanza: קום (vv.21aB.22aA).

Substanzas Ib and IIb are clearly related (cf. vv.9-10 with vv.18-19 and רגז in vv.9a and 16b). The same holds true for substanzas Ia and IIa (cf. איך in vv.4a.12a and עלה in vv.8b.13a.14a)[1]. Stanza III shows relations with substanzas Ia (cf. יהוה in vv.5a.22-12; עם in vv.6.20aB; and כרת in vv.8b.22b) and IIa (cf. בן in vv.12a.21a).

The contents of the (sub)stanzas can be described as follows:

I The fall of the oppressor;
  Ia happiness over his fall;
  Ib his reception in Sheol.
II His fall from heaven into Sheol;
  IIa his fall from heaven;
  IIb his miserable state after death.
III Total extinction;
  IIIa the extinction of the sons of the oppressor;
  IIIb the extinction of Babylon.

This structural analysis can help us to find a solution to the problem of the demarcation of the end of this song. Stanza III appears to be clearly separated from the rest: there is an important change of subject and also the formal structure is different. We assume that this third stanza was added later together with the introduction (v.4a; cf. the reference to Babylon in vv.4a.22). It is linked with the older song by v.20aB. This assumption is corroborated by the fact that some words which stanza III has in common with the first two stanzas have a different meaning there (cf. ארץ and עם in v.20aB with the use of these words in vv.6-7). It is unlikely that the original song would have ended with v.21, as is supposed by some scholars, because this would break the clear structure[2].

The Gattung of this song can be clearly described[3]. All formal elements point to a funeral song; especially the *qina*-metre and initial איך (cf. II Sam 1:19.27 and Ezek 26:17). It is introduced, however, as a משל, which certainly means "mocking song" here (cf. Micah 2:4 and Hab 2:6). This combination results in a satirical song shedding crocodile tears over someone who is "praised" as Helel, son of Dawn.

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[1] W.C. van Wyk, "Isaiah 14:4b-21: A Poem of Contrasts and Irony", OTSWA 22-23(1979-1980),240-247, who also discusses the structure of this song, failed to notice the clear relation between vv.12-15 and vv.4-8. His conclusion that "this poem is a symmetrical composition almost like two concentric circles around a centre" is for this reason not justified.

[2] Cf. Kaiser, *Der Prophet Jesaja*, p.27, n.9 and Barth 1977:127-129 for the assumption that vv.20b-21 are also secondary.

[3] See on the Gattung of Isa 14 Jahnow 1923:239-253; G. Quell, "Jesaja 14, 1-23", in *Festschrift F. Baumgärtel*, Erlangen 1959, pp.131-157; esp. pp. 146-155; S. Erlandsson, *The Burden of Babylon: A Study of Isaiah 13:2-14:23*, Coniectanea Biblica, Old Testament Series 4, Lund 1970, pp.122-124; Barth 1977:125-126; Wildberger, *Jesaja*, pp.539-540; and R.E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, NCeB, Grand Rapids 1980, p.140.

It is difficult to establish the date of this song. The question is whether the scanty details given in this song of the oppressor can be applied to a specific historical person. It not necessary to think of a Babylonian king here, because the structural analysis has shown that the references to Babylon are probably secondary. In the history of research we come across a long list of Assyrian and Babylonian kings who have been suggested as candidates and even Alexander the Great has been mentioned. Investigations into language and style have not resulted in a consensus either, because scholars have come to opposing conclusions here[1]. In fact, there is no reason to assume that Isa 14:4b-20aA was not written by the prophet Isaiah himself. Positive evidence of Isaiah being the writer of this masterpiece is the fact that it shows many similarities in thought with Isa 10:5-15, which is at least in part without any doubt written by Isaiah[2]. We can also refer to the fact that, if Isaiah is the author, he could have had the death of the Assyrian king Sargon in mind, because we know from Assyrian historical texts that Sargon was actually killed in battle and had not been buried "in his house"[3].

In its present context Isa 14 belongs to the "oracle concerning Babylon" (Isa 13:1-14:23). Together with v.4a vv.20-23 were probably added when this song was related to the new oppressors. This process of reinterpretation did not stop here. In the LXX Isa 14 appears to be adapted to the situation of the oppression under Seleucid rule[4].

Isa 14 is about the fall of somebody who was in a high position. This fall is described two times (in two stanzas), of which the second surpasses the first in calling it a downfall from heaven. What interests us here is not the elaborate description of the miserable state in Sheol, but primarily what is said in v.12a about the "heavenly state" of the oppressor. Most scholars take it for granted that in vv.12-15 an allusion is made to a myth about the revolt of a deity named Helel, which is usually translated as "Morning Star", against the head of the pantheon. After the discovery of the Ugaritic literature it became clear that the assumed myth could only have been derived from Canaanite mythology, because Isa 14 appeared to contain many references to Canaanite deities like El (v.13), Baal (vv.13-14) and maybe also Shahar (v.12). However, thus far no Canaanite myth about an attempt of a god named Helel, son of Shahar, to take the place of the first god of the pantheon has been found. Various attempts have been made to reconstruct it. One of the most important contributions in this regard was made by Grelot[1], who tried to prove that the similar Greek myth of Phaethon, who fell from heaven when he tried to guide the solar chariot, has a Phoenician background. He assumes that Phaethon and Helel can be identified via the god Athtar. This Athtar would have fought with Baal for the right to succeed El. However, this cannot be deduced from the myth of Baal, as is assumed by Grelot, because the position of El is not at stake here[2]. The identification of Helel with Athtar, which is based on the interpretation of Helel as being the morning star, is also problematical. The ancient Arabic deity Athtar is indeed connected with the morning star[3], but for the Ugaritic deity of the same name this is less certain[4]. An important argument in favour of the identification with Helel is the fact that in Ugaritic mythology both Athtar and Shahar seem to be described as sons of Athirat (cf. KTU 1.6:I.44 and 1.23). Grelot concludes that Athtar/Helel is the son of Shahar and a grand-son of Athirat. This seems to be confirmed by Greek mythology calling Phaeton a son of Eoos, the goddess of dawn. However, the Greek Eoos differs very much from the Ugaritic Shahar: whereas Eoos is described as a lovely goddess, Shahar is known as a voracious male god (cf. KTU 1.23). McKay has tried to solve this problem by assuming that in the Old Testament Shahar is portrayed as a dawn-goddess[1]. This, however, weakens Grelot's assumption of a relation between Isa 14 and KTU 1.23. The most important argument for the identification of Helel with Phaethon is the proposed meaning of the name Helel, viz. "the shining one", derived from the verb הלל. The Greek name Phaethon has the same meaning and as an epithet it is also used for the goddess Ishtar (Akkadian *ellêtu*), who in her turn can be connected with Athtar. Akkadian *ellêtu*, however, is used as an epithet of several astral deities. So this meaning of the name Helel is in itself no conclusive evidence for an identification with Athtar. Moreover, a direct connection of Akkadian *ellu* with Hebrew הלל is out of the question, because the West-Semitic equivalent of Akkadian *ellu* is *ḥll*[2]. According to Craigie the epithets of Athtar in the literature of Ugarit settle this matter[3]. In KTU 1.6:I.54-56 Athtar is called *ᶜrẓ*, which is translated by Craigie as "the luminous", and in KTU 1.6:I.48 he is called *ydᶜ ylḥn* translated by Craigie as "one who knows how to flash". These translations, however, are disputable[4]. Another parallel to Helel in the religious literature of Ugarit is found by Mullen[5]. He refers to *mt w šr* in KTU 1.23:8, which means in his opinion "Mot and the Shining one". This would be a perfect parallel to what is said of Helel in Isa 14, because Helel is cast down into the realm of the god of death, Mot. The problem with this proposal is that Mullen's interpretation of Ugaritic *šr* in KTU 1.23 is questionable[6]. Moreover, if *šr* in KTU 1.23 is the same as Helel, it is no longer possible to use this text as an argument for the relation between Helel, Shahar and Athirat, because Mot and the "Shining one" are killed in the beginning of this myth and there is no relation whatsoever between this "Shining one" and Shahar. To complete this picture of bewildering confusion in the search for a mythical background of Isa 14:12-15 a study of Oldenburg has to be mentioned[1]. He refers to a change of power in the ancient Arabic pantheon, which can be concluded from the theophoric names. Before Athtar El must have been the supreme god. This implies that there has been a struggle between Athtar and El comparable to the struggle between Baal and El in the Ugaritic pantheon. Oldenburg assumes the existence of a dramatic myth about this struggle, which must have been very popular in the Semitic world. This myth would have been used by Isaiah. Oldenburg does not explain, however, why the prophet would have used a myth describing a successful attempt to grasp the supreme power to indicate a disgraceful downfall into the netherworld. It is also very unlikely that the assumed myth would have left its traces only in Isa 14.

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[1] Cf. H. Wildberger, JSSt 17(1972),151-153 and Barth 1977:140.

[2] Cf. Barth 1977:26.139-140.

[3] Cf. B. Alfrink, *Biblica* 14(1933),67; H.L. Ginsberg, "Reflexes of Sargon in Isaiah after 715 B.C.E.", JAOS 88(1968),47-53; E. Lipiński, OLoP 2 (1971),54-55; Barth 1977:137-138; and Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, p.140.

[4] Cf. Van der Kooij 1981:39-42.

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[1] P. Grelot, "Isaïe XIV et son arrière-plan mythologique", RHR 149(1956), 18-48 and "Sur la vocalisation de הילל (Is.XIV,2)", VT 6(1956),303-304.

[2] According to N. Wyatt, "ʿAthtar and the Devil", *Glasgow University Oriental Society Transactions* 25(1973-1974), Glasgow 1976, pp.85-97 Isa 14 represents the older version of the myth which was adapted in the religious literature of Ugarit to a struggle of Athtar with Baal (p.94). However, it is rather unlikely that this assumed older version of the myth would have been preserved in the much younger song of Isa 14. Wyatt tried to make the Ugaritic background of Isa 14 more plausible by assuming that Athtar is the same as Yam, Mot, Shahar and Shalim, but these identifications are very speculative and based on questionable interpretations of the Ugaritic texts. So the assumption of an original myth about a struggle of Athtar with El appears to be unfounded.

[3] Cf. M. Höffner, in H. Gese, M. Höffner, and K. Rudolph, *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer*, RM 10,2, Stuttgart 1970, p.271.

[4] Cf. Gese 1970:118.

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[1] J.W. McKay, "Helel and the Dawn-Goddess", VT 20(1970),451-464; cf. also Wildberger, *Jesaja*, p.551.

[2] Cf. HAL, pp.235.238.

[3] P.C. Craigie, "Helel, Athtar and Phaethon (Jes 14:12-15)", ZAW 85(1973), 223-225.

[4] Cf. De Moor 1971:202-204 and Del Olmo Lete, *Mitos y leyendas*, pp.571.605.

[5] Mullen 1980:238-241.

[6] Cf. J.C. de Moor, UF 2(1970),314 and D.T. Tsumura, UF 6(1974),408-409.

We can only conclude that a relation with a Canaanite or other myth about a struggle between a god connected with the morning star and the head of the pantheon has still to be proved. The basic problem remains the identification of Helel with Athtar and the fact that Isa 14:12-15 does not mention such a struggle.

Barth, who also proceeds on the assumption that the name Helel is derived from the verb הלל, "to shine", tried to find the solution in comparison with Ezek 28:11-19. The background of both texts and also of Ezek 28:1-10; Lam 2:1; and Job 20:6-7 would have been a story which describes how "der (König-) Urmensch seiner Selbstüberhebung wegen vom Gottesberg verstossen wird und auf die Erde herabgestürtzt wird"[2]. He admits, however, that this proposed solution is not beyond any doubt.

Every study of the background of Isa 14:12-15 has to start with the identification of Helel, son of Dawn. It is certain that in this context the oppressor is meant by this name. Because it is paralleled by "(you) who defeated the nations", we may assume that it is an indication of the high status he had before his fall. The second element takes up the description of the oppressor as it was given in the first substanza. With Helel, son of Dawn, apparently a new element is added. This new element is represented by the use of the word "heaven" which appears here for the first time in this song. After we have been told of the downfall into the netherworld we now hear that he fell from heaven, from the residence of the gods (vv.13-14). Apparently the name Helel denotes this divine state. The translation "Shining one" has not led to a convincing solution to the problem of his identity. It has also been proposed to connect Helel with Arabic *hilal*, "crescent moon"[1]. This has been rejected because of the fact that it is not likely that the moon would be called a son of dawn[2]. However, this proposal cannot be dismissed lightly, because we also know a Ugaritic deity with this name (*hll*; cf. KTU 1.17:II.27 and 1.24:6). So it would fit very well into the the framework of allusions to Canaanite mythology. In the religious literature this god only appears as father, whereas Shahar is only known as a son. Therefore, the Ugaritic mythology cannot offer the solution to their relation as it seems to be described in Isa 14:12. On the other hand it may be questioned whether it is absolutely necessary to relate Helel and Shahar as father and son; it is also possible to regard them as parallel names. This is suggested by the fact that these names denote comparable things, viz. ever-recurring moments of the day: night and dawn. The assumption that the oppressor receives two names here, Helel and Son of Dawn[3], is confirmed by Hos 6:3 and Ps 89:37, that state of the dawn (שחר) and the moon (ירח) that they "stand firm" (כון) for ever. The ever-recurring appearance of the dawn and the moon is symbolic of eternity. By giving him these names the poet indicates that the oppressor believed that he would stand firm for ever. A very illuminating parallel to the pride formulated this way is offered by a Pyramid Text which says of the dead king: "You are born in your months as the moon, Re leans upon you in the horizon"[4]. The second line is clearly a poetic description of dawn[5]. So we find here the same double metaphor in the context of belief in an everlasting beatific afterlife of the king. If we take the name for the oppressor in Isa 14:12 literally, it might be taken as referring to the idea that he will always see the light. During the night he is identified with the moon and being born at dawn he shall also see the sun. So these names can be regarded as no less than a short formula of belief in beatific afterlife as we know it from ancient Egyptian literature.

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[1] U. Oldenburg, "Above the Stars of El", ZAW 82(1970),187-208.

[2] Barth 1977:135.

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[1] Cf. HAL s.v.

[2] Cf. Barth 1977:132-133 and Wildberger, *Jesaja*, p.551.

[3] Cf. Ps 110:3 for the idea of human beings being born out of the dawn. See on this parallel between Isa 14:12 and Ps 110:3 G. Widengren, *Sakrales Königtum im Alten Testament und im Judentum*, Stuttgart 1955, p. 46.

[4] PyrT.412; cf. R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Oxford 1969, p.135.

[5] Cf. Faulkner's translation of PyrT.412 in JNES 25(1966),160: "you are born at your months like the Moon, the dawn is on you in the horizon".

Despite this clear parallel with the Egyptian conceptions it would probably go too far to assume that Isaiah also had the Egyptian belief in afterlife in mind. The references to Baal and El indicate that we have to think here in the first place of a reaction against Canaanite ideas, although this does not exclude indirect influence from Egypt (see pp.158 and 205 above). Isa 14:12-15 can be compared to what is said of king Keret. According to the royal ideology he was believed to be a son of El and, therefore, to live for ever, because gods cannot die. The belief in the eternal life of the king was quite common in the ancient Near East. That is to say, the wish that the king might live for ever is often expressed. Whether this always implies a real belief in the immortality of the king has to be doubted. It is very likely that it was often no more than a standard formula used at the royal court. As was stated on pp.116-117 above, this probably also holds true for the wish that king Samsu-Iluna would receive "life as eternal as Sin and Shamash" and the wish of Ps 72:5 that the king "shall continue as long as the sun and before the moon for ever". There can be no doubt about the similarity with Isa 14:12. What marks the difference here is the relation to the gods. It is not said of the oppressor that he hoped to be like the moon, but that he thought himself to be identified with the moon and even to take the place of the supreme god. In this regard he can be compared again to Keret, son of El, whereas the "stars of El" (v.13) probably denote the deified dead who according to Canaanite belief were regularly freed from the netherworld (cf. KTU 1.19:IV.22-25 and 1.43:1-4).

Isa 14:12-15 is often compared to Old Testament texts condemning the attempt of human beings to reach into heaven (Jer 51:53; Ob 2-4; Job 20:6; and Lam 2:1)[1]. A better parallel, however, can be found in Ezek 28[2]. In this chapter we hear of the death of those who believed themselves to be gods (vv.2.9.14; cf. Ps 82:2.6). It is very remarkable that the prophecies of Ezek 28:1-19 are also addressed to a Canaanite king, viz. the king of Tyre. It is not unlikely that Isaiah's song, which has been used by different generations to mock the oppressors of their own times, was known to Ezekiel and used by him against the proud king of Tyre.

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[1] Cf. Houtman 1974:245-246.

[2] Cf. A. Ohler, *Mythologische Elemente im Alten Testament*, Düsseldorf 1969,

Another interesting, though much disputed text in this connection is Ps 82. If those scholars are right who assume that "gods" and "sons of Elyon" in vv.1.6 designate the leaders of the people (cf. Ps 58:2)[1], Ps 82 offers a beautiful parallel to Isa 14: these leaders may think to have reached the state of gods (cf. Isa 14:14 "like the Most High (=Elyon)"), nevertheless they shall die like all mortals (v.7; cf. Isa 14:10).

The positive message of Isa 14; Ezek 28; and Ps 82 is the same as the despair of the children of Keret: these "gods" die. A very interesting remark is added to this in Isa 14:9-10. It describes the deceased kings in the netherworld as being seated on thrones. This can be regarded as a reference to the custom of sending the throne after its owner into the netherworld (cf. KTU 1.161:20). And it will hardly be a coincidence that the dead kings are called רפאים here. For someone who is familiar with the Canaanite conceptions of afterlife the prophet can only refer here to the mighty *rpʾum*. Apparently the prophet does not want to leave the oppressor the hope that he will become one of these prominent dead, because he lets the רפאים say: "You have become weak like us"(v.10). The identification of the oppressor with Helel is associated to the belief that the *rpʾum* "count the months with the sons of El" (KTU 1.17:VI.29), which refers to the regular offerings in the cult of the dead. This hope is also cut off by the fact that the oppressor did not receive a proper burial (vv.19-20).

Finally, it can be noticed that the apparent familiarity of the Israelites with this aspect of the Canaanite royal ideology may also explain why it is said in Isa 26:14 of the political overlords mentioned in the previous verse that they are "dead who shall not live, shades (רפאים) who shall not rise". This is precisely what was expected with regard to the royal

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pp.159ff. and Barth 1977:134-135.

[1] Cf. H.-J. Fabry, "'Ihr alle seid Söhne des Allerhöchsten' (Ps 82,6)", *Bibel und Leben* 15(1974),135-147; J.P.M. van der Ploeg, *Psalmen*, II, BOT VIIb, p.56; and Casetti 1982:81-82, n.111.

ancestors in Ugarit (see for further discussion of this text and its relation to Isa 26:19 section 3.5.1.4. below).

2.5.3.2.2. REPHAIM AND OBERIM

In discussing the Ugaritic texts about the *rpʾum* we have come across the fact that these mighty dead are not only related to the Old Testament רפאים as an indication of the dead, but also to the Rephaim, who are described in the Old Testament as an ancient race of giants living in the region on the east side of the river Jordan (cf. the parallel of KTU 1.108:2-3 with Josh 12:4). It is obvious that the vexing problem of the relation between the two meanings of Hebrew רפאים[1] cannot be solved without the help of Ugaritic material.

The decisive argument against the interpretation of Rephaim as the name of an extinct tribe is the fact that in Ugarit *rpʾum* denoted the deified dead as "healers". It is not unlikely that this meaning was known in Israel as well. It was already noted above that Isaiah may have mocked these deified dead in Isa 14:9-10 for their being weak. If this assumption is correct, then this text is almost certainly based on a connection of the word רפאים with the verb רפה, "to become slack": the "healers" are not able to heal their own weakness[2]. The fact that the Israelites were probably familiar with the Canaanite concept of the *rpʾum* as healers makes it very likely that Rephaim is a pseudo-ethnic term used for the legendary ancient inhabitants of Canaan. This is confirmed by the fact that the other names given to these legendary peoples of the past (Anakim, Emim, Zamzummim, Zumim, Nephilim, and Perizzim) are not gentilic names either, but words denoting the character of these peoples[3]. The name Nephilim, "the fallen", is especially illuminating here. It probably denotes the soldiers who died on the battle fields and who were venerated as heroes and as protectors of the living. Apparently the ancient inhabitants of Canaan were described in the Old Testament according to their posthumous situation.

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[1] See the excellent survey by Caquot 1981.

[2] Cf. De Moor 1976:340-341 and Loretz 1978:172. For a combination of the verbs רפא, "to heal", and חלה, "to be weak", which is used in Isa 14:10 to qualify the רפאים see Ezek 34:4.

[3] Cf. W.O.E. Oesterley and T.H. Robinson, *Hebrew Religion*, 2nd ed., London 1937, p.250; De Moor 1976:339; and Caquot 1981:346.

As with the Greek hero-cult there seem to have been two factors which led the people of Canaan to this veneration of vaguely remembered former inhabitants of their land. According to Greek mythology many of the venerated heroes had lived in the heroic age, the Mycenaean period, about half a millennium before the beginning of the hero-cult in Greece. Especially the Homeric epics recounting the glorious deeds of these heroes inspired the people to venerate them (see p.137 above). It is, therefore, interesting to note within this framework that some Old Testament traditions seem to be based on ancient tales of heroes. The enigmatic Gen 14:1-11 about battles between kings coming from the east against peoples living in Palestine (among whom the Rephaites; v.5) can be compared to the Homeric account of the Trojan war. And the description of the former inhabitants of Canaan as giants (Num 13:32-33) has a parallel in the Greek tradition of the giant hero Tityus (cf. Il.12,445). The second factor in the growth of the Greek hero-cult, viz. the existence of ancient grave monuments which aroused great respect for the unknown people who built them and who were buried there, has an even more clear parallel in the Old Testament. In Deut 3:11 we read about the iron bed of Og. It is very likely that this is one of the ancient grave monuments called dolmens[1] built during the last quarter of the third millennium and the beginning of the second millennium B.C. in Transjordan[2]. The measurements of Og's bed of eternal rest coincide with those of an average dolmen and Hebrew ברזל, "iron", probably denotes basalt here. This Og, who is called the last of the Rephaites (Josh 12:4), appears to have been one of the most important Canaanite heroes. As we saw on pp.211-212 above there are still traces of his cult in the Persian period.

The reference in KTU 1.108:2-3 to Transjordan indicates that similar traditions about these megalithic monuments, which are concentrated here[3], were widespread in Syria and Palestine. It is remarkable that a number of places in this region have names which clearly refer to the dead and the netherworld: Obot, "spirits of the dead", and Abarim, "those who have crossed (the river of death)" (Num 21:10-11; 33:43-44)[1]; the mountain Peor, of which the name can be connected with the open mouth of Sheol (cf. Isa 5: 14)(Num 23:27-28; cf. Bet Peor, Deut 3:29)[2]; and maybe also Raphan (I Macc 5:37-43). The common element in these names is not only their reference to death, but also more specifically the contact of the dead with the living: Peor denotes the entrance of the netherworld and Obot, Abarim, and Raphan can be regarded as designations of the dead who come up from the netherworld. All this is hardly coincidental. Therefore, it confirms the assumed connection of this region with the Canaanite cult of the dead.

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[1] Cf. Karge 1917 (see p.36 above); K. Galling, BRL, col.135; Healey 1977A: 150; and Caquot 1981:346.

[2] See the surveys by A. Kuschke, BRL 2nd ed., p.62 and C. Epstein, IntDB Suppl., pp.345-347.

[3] Cf. M. Tallon, "Monuments mégalithiques de Syrie et de Liban", MUSJ 35 (1958),211-234 who concludes that outside the plateau on the east of the river Jordan megalithic monuments are rare.

Summarizing, Rephaim is in the first place a name of the dead. There is no problem in connecting it with the use of Hebrew רפאים as denoting the dead in general. We have to assume that gradually the special meaning of "healers" as a name of the mighty dead was lost. A similar phenomenon can be observed in Greek religion. The term "hero" developed into a name which was given to all dead (see p.138 above).

Another reference to the Canaanite heroes can be found in Ezek 39:11-20[3]. This text mentions several times the עברים. At least two of the occurrences (in vv.11.14) can be related to the ᶜ*brm* of KTU 1.22:I.15, where it denotes the *rpˀum* who had "come over" from the netherworld to partake in the meal prepared for them.

Ezek 39:11-20 is part of the great prophecy against Gog. In vv.11-16 the prophet describes the burial of Gog and his horde and in vv.17-20 he speaks of the slaughtering of the heroes, who in this context can only be the heroes of Gog. The first part seems to be inspired by Ezek 32:17-32 (cf. the use of קבר and המון)[4], but there also exists a clear relation to Ezek

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[1] The association of Abarim, translated as "ancestors passed away", with the dolmens in Transjordan, the *rpˀum*, and the hero-cult was also made by J. Ratosh, *Beth Mikra* 47 (mentioned by B. Halevi, *Beth Mikra* 64(1975), 110ff. and Pope 1977:173). See also p.175 above.

[2] Cf. Xella 1982A:664; against Mendenhall 1973:109 who translates Baal Peor with "Lord of Fire", which would relate him to the plague described in Num 25; and Jaroš 1982:241 who translates "Baal des Verlangens".

[3] Cf. Pope 1977:173-175 and S. Ribichini and P. Xella, "'La valle dei passanti' (Ezechiele 39:11)", UF 12(1980),434-437.

[4] Cf. Hossfeld 1977:472-473.

37:1-14 (cf. עבר in v.2, קבר in vv.12-13, and especially עצם, "bones" in vv.1-11; cf. 39:19). Ezek 39:11-16 can be regarded as the negative counterpart of Ezek 37:1-14: instead of the revivification of the bones as in ch. 37 the bones of Gog and his horde are forever buried in order to purify the land. Ezek 39:17-20 is an elaboration of the idea already formulated in v.4: YHWH will give them as food to the birds and wild animals[1] (cf. also Ezek 32:4). According to Ps 79:2 the same was done to Israel by its enemies. Ezek 39:17-20 is also related to ch.32, because it uses the word גבור, "hero", which occurs in this book only here and in 32:12.21.27.

The basic problem in the interpretation of Ezek 39:11-16 is the use of the verb עבר, "to go/pass through". In the book of Ezekiel the participle עברים is commonly used as an indication of spectators watching the misery of Israel (5:14) or YHWH's judgement (14:15; 29:11; 33:28; 36:34). In 39: 11-16 it is used more specifically as an action: men will go through the land looking for the corpses of Gog and his horde. In v.14, however, it is not only used in this sense, but also to indicate the dead. This second occurrence is omitted in some versions and because it does not seem to fit the context, it is often deleted by modern commentators[2]. It is not easy to explain, however, why it would have been added to the original text. Pope translates all occurrences of עברים in this pericope as "the Departed"[3], but in v.11 and v.14 this leads to rather unconvincing interpretations of the text. The best solution seems to be to relate the second occurrence of עברים in v.14 and maybe also the first in v.11 to the *ᶜbrm* of KTU 1.22:15 and regard them as references to Canaanite heroes. The double use of עבר in Ezek 39 can be explained as a wordplay comparable to the רפאים being called weak in Isa 14. These ancient heroes who were believed to "come over" are buried for ever by people crossing over the land in search for them.

This interpretation is corroborated by the fact that the "Valley of the Oberim" is located east of the "Sea"(v.11). This sea is probably the Dead Sea and so this valley also belongs to Transjordan, the region connected with the Canaanite hero-cult. Another argument can be derived from vv.17-

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[1] Cf. Hossfeld 1977:503-504.

[2] Cf. BHS and W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, BK XIII/2, 2nd ed., Neukirchen-Vluyn 1979, p.931.

[3] Pope 1977:173.

20, because the horses, riders, heroes, and warriors (v.20) are mentioned as or in connection with the Ugaritic *rpʾum* in the literature of Ugarit[1].

2.5.3.2.3. THE VENERATION OF CHTHONIC DEITIES

Deities residing in the netherworld are very important in the conceptions of afterlife. It is, therefore, necessary to pay some attention to the gods with a chthonic character mentioned in the Old Testament. The popular belief in demons, the lower deities of the netherworld, which is also attested in ancient Israel shall be discussed in section 3.2. below.

In the Old Testament death and Sheol are sometimes described as persons (cf. Isa 25:8; Hos 13:14; and Hab 2:5)[2]. For the ancient Israelites who were familiar with Canaanite religion the personification of death was probably more than just a figure of speech, because there is hardly a difference between death (Hebrew מות) as a person and the Canaanite god of death, Mot[3]. It is clear, however, that this god only represents the negative aspect of afterlife. We also find in the Old Testament indications of belief in and veneration of chthonic deities who could help the living. Such a belief in more or less friendly deities residing in the netherworld also implies a relatively positive conception of afterlife, because these gods might be helpful there as well. In the Old Testament references to two venerated chthonic deities can be found, who are both described as foreign gods, even though they were also venerated by Israelites.

One of these deities is the Baal of Peor (cf. Num 25:1-5; 31:16; Deut 4:3; Josh 22:17; Hos 9:10; and Ps 106:28). It was already noted that the name of the mountain Peor in Transjordan[4] probably refers to the entrance of the netherworld. In Ps 106:28 the worship of Baal Peor is associated with eating of sacrifices with the dead. "Dead" is often regarded as a sneering indication of idols[1], but this does not explain why a plural is used here. Moreover, this would be the only place in the Old Testament where the idols are called "dead". So it is much more likely that we should take "dead" literally here[2]. This meal would then have belonged to the cult of the Baal of Peor and can be compared to the meal of the Marzeah. This explains why Sifre Num 131 maintains that the Moabites had set up Marzehim and had invited the Israelites to join and eat and why the site of this incident was known in Jewish tradition as Beth Marzeah ("Betomarsea" on the sixth century mosaic map of Palestine in Madeba). The sexual rites connected with the cult of Baal Peor indicate that it was a fertility cult. It may have been based on the idea of new life coming forth out of death[3].

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[1] Ribichini, Xella, UF 12(1980),435-436 want to relate the fact that these persons were eaten by birds to the similar fate of Aqhat (cf. KTU 1.19: III). However, as has been demonstrated above, this element is derived from v.4. Moreover, there is no clear link between this treatment of the corpse and the hero-cult.

[2] Cf. Tromp 1969:99-128 and S.G.F. Brandon, "The Personification of Death in some Ancient Religions", BJRL 43(1961),317-335; esp. pp.324-326.

[3] Cf. Mulder 1965:67-70; Tromp 1969:99-100; Burns 1973; and Herrmann 1979: 372-375.

[4] See on the localization of Peor O. Henke, "Zur Lage von Beth Peor", ZDPV 75(1959),155-163 and Jaroš 1982:239-240.

It has been suggested already in the comments on KTU 1.108:13 (see p.188 above) that Moloch is the same as the Mesopotamian god Malik and the Ugaritic *mlk* who is the chthonic aspect of Baal. Within the limits of this study it is impossible to discuss all problems with regard to the interpretation of Old Testament and Phoenician מלך[4]. We have to confine ourselves to the arguments in favour of an interpretation of מלך as a chthonic deity called Moloch. It may be noted here only that this interpretation does not exclude the possibility of מלך being a cultic term as well. The Phoenician evidence for this is very strong.

In Lev 20:5-6 - which even the staunchest defenders of the theory that מלך is a cultic term accept as a text speaking of מלך as a god[5] - the worship of Moloch is connected with the conjuring up of spirits of the dead.

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[1] Cf. Wächter 1967:187 and H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen*, BK XV/2, 5th ed., Neukirchen-Vluyn 1978, p.904.

[2] Cf. Van der Ploeg, *Psalmen*, pp.216-217.

[3] Cf. Pope, *Song of Songs*, pp.210-229; esp. pp.217-218. Mendenhall 1973: 110-111 interprets the sexual rites as sacrifices to those who died young without having experienced sexual intercourse and for this reason were unsatisfied. It is not likely, however, that a special cult was devoted to this.

[4] For a discussion of the relevant texts and for the enormous amount of literature on this subject see Jaroš 1982:176-184 and H.-P. Müller, ThWAT IV, cols.957-968.

[5] Cf. Müller, ThWAT IV, col.965.

The relation of Moloch with the netherworld is very clear in Isa 57:9, where "the descent[1] to Moloch[2]" is paralleled by "sending down into Sheol". The cult of Moloch is also associated with sexual rites here (cf. also Lev 18:21-23) as was the case with the cult of Baal Peor. Furthermore, the worship of Moloch is clearly related to the cult of Baal in Jer 32:35 and Zeph 1:4-6, whereas Jer 19:5 connects the child sacrifices, which are usually brought to Moloch, with Baal.[3] This relation between Moloch and Baal supports the assumption that מלך can denote the chthonic aspect of Baal. This may also explain why the Massoretes have vocalized it with the vowels of the word בֹּשֶׁת, "disgrace" : it is part of the tradition to replace the name of Baal with this word[4]. All this implies that Baal Peor is probably none other than the Ugaritic Rapiu Baal living in the netherworld[5].

The cult of Moloch appears to have as basic elements sexual rites, which point to Moloch as a god of fertility[6], and child sacrifices. It is a matter of dispute whether the children offered to Moloch were really killed[7]. It is probably best to assume that what was first-born - including the first-born children - was dedicated to the god of fertility, but that it was possible to redeem the first-born children. Apparently only in times of great distress the command to dedicate the first-born children was taken literally.

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[1] The meaning "to descend" for Hebrew שור can be derived from the parallel with שפל hif., "to bring down". In Cant 4:8 it is used for the going down from the top of a mountain.

[2] The MT vocalizes מֶלֶךְ, "king", but because of the relation with the child sacrifices (v.5) מלך almost certainly denotes Moloch here; cf. A. Schoors, *Jesaja*, BOT IX, Roermond 1972, p.343.

[3] Cf. also KTU 1.119:31: *]kr b^{c}l.nš[q]dš*. A. Herdner, CRAI (1972),694 suggests that the first word is *bkr*, "first-born", and translates "[un pre]mier-né(?) Ba[^{c}a]l, nous (te) con[sa]crons"; cf. also J.C. de Moor, in *Schrijvend verleden*, Zutphen 1983, p.252. So this cultic text seems to speak of dedicating the first-born, animals or sons, to Baal.

[4] Cf. M.J. Mulder, ThWAT I, col.718 and H.-P. Müller, ThWAT IV, cols.965f.

[5] Cf. Habel 1964:25 who points in this connection to the fertility rites and the allusion of Ps 106:28 to sacrifices of the dead. In his opinion all this "may well refer to sacrifices for Baal in the underworld".

[6] Cf. Mulder 1965:63-64.

[7] A literal interpretation is defended, e.g., by M. Smith, JAOS 95(1975), 477-479; cf. against this view M. Weinfeld, UF 4(1972),133-154; UF 10 (1978),411-413; and D. Plataroli, VT 28(1978),286-300.

2.6. SUMMARY

It has become clear that one cannot simply speak of a certain religion knowing the belief in a beatific afterlife or not. In all religions described in this chapter we find the belief in a continued existence after death. This makes death acceptable in so far as it implies that death does not mean total extinction of the personality. The hope for a beatific afterlife is not the only possible answer to the problem of death. To a certain degree death could also be overcome by the lasting memory of one's name and deeds.

According to the common conceptions of most peoples in the ancient Near East the spirits of the dead go to the netherworld, which is located beneath the world of the living. This world of the dead is a reflection of the world of the living. Although the spirit of the deceased person is in the netherworld whereas his body remains in the grave, there is a close relation between them. They cannot be separated. The spirit can get no rest when the body is not treated properly. This means that the body has to be buried, but also that it needs sustenance. For this the dead are dependent upon the living. By treating the body of the deceased with care, providing for their needs by giving them grave-goods and regular funerary offerings, the living can help the dead to make their stay in the netherworld bearable.

In accordance with this conception of the afterlife as mirroring life before death is the idea of a hierarchy of the dead. Important people hoped to obtain after death the same prominent place in the netherworld. As a rule this requires special preparations during their life in order to guarantee a good grave and lasting funerary offerings. The king especially was believed to get a special status in the netherworld. He sits there on his throne receiving lavish offerings. In this conception positive hopes for afterlife are primarily based on the burial, grave-goods, and regular funerary offerings.

In ancient Syria and Mesopotamia of the Ur III-period we found the belief that kings and heroes can become gods in the netherworld. They receive special veneration of the living, because they are believed to be of great help to them. It has to be remarked, however, that this deification is not a guarantee of beatific afterlife, because life in the netherworld is always regarded as less happy than life before death in the world of the living.

In some cultures we find the belief that the dead could leave the netherworld to partake in feasts organized on their behalf. This is something basically different from the belief in spirits of the dead haunting the living as a revenge for neglecting them, because these evil spirits remain within the sphere of death, which is in Semitic thinking the same as to be in the world of the dead. In Ugarit and probably in ancient Syria as a whole this belief in a temporary release from the netherworld was strongly emphasized by connecting it with the yearly revivification of Baal. It is a prerogative of the deified royal ancestors to leave the netherworld together with Baal at the New Year Festival, which celebrates Baal's victory over death. The dead leaving the netherworld can be described as stars, gods who dwell at least part of the time in heaven. Or they could take the form of a bird of prey, hovering majestically in the high skies and swooping down on the victims sacrificed in their honour. This emphasis on the possibility of prominent dead persons to leave the netherworld was probably also due to Egyptian influence.

In most religions discussed in this chapter the hope to beat death is expressed by a comparison of life rescued from death with the ever-recurring appearance of the heavenly bodies. This is most clear in Egyptian religion. Beatific afterlife is described as being for ever with the sun-god, "to go out by day", i.e., leaving the netherworld with Re every morning and thus enjoying his light for ever. The Egyptian texts also speak of escaping from the grave and the netherworld and of living for ever in the paradisiac Earu-fields or among the gods as a star.

In all these conceptions beatific afterlife has to be obtained by a victory over death. Death is regarded as a mighty power, which makes the body decay and keeps the dead in his realm in the netherworld. The fear of death keeping the dead in his power for ever could never be taken away. So the only sure way to everlasting blissful afterlife is the one which avoids death altogether. Strictly speaking this cannot be called afterlife, because it is not a life which comes after death. The best example of this conception of beatific life is the story of Utnapishtim who was taken away by the gods from this world and brought to a place between heaven and earth to live for ever. In this way also the problem of dependence upon the living is overcome, because there is no need for funerary offerings anymore. This beatific life is provided for by the gods and completely separated from the world of the living. Only very few human beings were believed to have obtained this.

Finally, we can mention the belief in a beatific life in a renewed world after the bodily resurrection of the dead. This conception found in the Zarathustrian religion of Persia is clearly distinguished from the conceptions of beatific afterlife described above, which are all concerned with the individual death and according to which beatific afterlife takes place in a different world. The basic difference from the belief in a regular temporary revivification as attested in ancient Syria is the circumstance that the final resurrection according to Persian belief takes place at the end of time. On the other hand most conceptions of afterlife share the view that this life resembles life on earth in so far as the blessed dead have a body. Conceptions of a completely spiritual beatific afterlife only appear in this region in the last centuries B.C.

3. CONCEPTIONS OF BEATIFIC AFTERLIFE IN ANCIENT ISRAEL

Our most important source for the study of the ancient Israelite conceptions of afterlife is, of course, the Old Testament. We could call the Old Testament the canonized document of official Yahwistic religion. This implies that we might get from it a somewhat biased picture of ancient Israelite religion as purely Yahwistic and clearly distinguished from beliefs of other peoples. In reality things were probably more complicated. From recently discovered texts we learn, for instance, that next to YHWH some Israelites may have venerated "his Asherah" and simply associated YHWH with Baal[1]. Likewise, the last section of the previous chapter showed that contrary to the predominant reluctance in the Old Testament with regard to positive conceptions of afterlife some Canaanite conceptions of death and the netherworld were familiar to the Israelites and may even have been accepted in some circles of the people of Israel. The study of the material remains of ancient Israelite culture and also the comparison with the beliefs and customs of the neighbouring cultures may help us to find traces in the Old Testament of this more positive approach.

3.1. ISRAELITE FUNERARY CUSTOMS

As is generally acknowledged, funerary customs tend to be conservative. This makes it difficult to derive any information from them with regard to the conceptions of afterlife of the people with whom these customs are found. It appears to be possible that certain customs are retained even when their original meaning is forgotten or contradicts current ideas about the afterlife. This implies that one has to be very careful in interpreting funerary customs, especially when the information is restricted to material remains only or to the mere mentioning of certain customs in ancient literature, without further explanation.

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[1] See p.183, n.3 above. The presence of two altars in the Iron Age sanctuary of Arad can be explained within the same framework.

3.1.1. BURIAL

The Israelites shared with most peoples of the ancient Near East respect for the body of the deceased[1]. The normal procedure is burial in the grave of the family. Many examples of this are given in the Old Testament. Cremation is rare. In I Sam 31:12 it is mentioned as an honourable treatment of the dead, viz. of king Saul and his sons. But this is an exception. Perhaps it was an act of piety meant to conceal the severe mutilations of their bodies[2].

From the Old Testament we learn that the ideal burial was burial with one's ancestors in a tomb which was in the possession of the family (cf. Gen 23; II Sam 19:38; I Kgs 13:22). Such a family tomb must have been a luxury which not every family could afford. The very poor were buried in the anonymous graves "of the oridinary people" (II Kgs 23:6). It was a disgrace for important people to be buried there (cf. Jer 26:23). The precious rock-cut tombs were a token of the prominence of the people who were to be buried there (cf. Isa 22:16). The most important of these graves must have been the tomb of the kings of Judah, which is mentioned several times as located within the city of Jerusalem (cf. I Kgs 2:10; 11:43 etc.). This location is unusual. As a rule the graves were outside the city walls. Only of Samuel and Benaiah is it said that they were buried "in their houses" (I Sam 25:1; I Kgs 2:34).

The remains of Iron Age tombs in Palestine[3] do not contradict the Old Testament description of the Israelite burial practices. Archaeology has also revealed that we cannot speak of a typical Israelite way of burial. There is no clear break between the burial practices of the Late Bronze

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[1] See in general on the Israelite burial practices R. de Vaux, *Les institutions de l'Ancient Testament*, I, Paris 1958, pp.93-100.

[2] Something similar could be assumed with regard to Amos 6:10. The MT, which is very difficult here, mentions somebody who burns the dead. This exceptional function may have to do with the severe plague described here. It is a loathsome but necessary measure; cf. Quell 1925:7-8 and C. van Gelderen, *Het boek Amos*, Kampen 1933, pp.179-180.

[3] Cf. the surveys by Quell 1925:14-21; Lapp 1968:149-151; and A. Kuschke, BRL, 2nd ed., pp.122-129.

Age and those of the Iron Age. And within the Israelite period it is often impossible to determine whether a tomb was used by Israelites or Canaanites[1]. There are many examples of Late Bronze Age tombs which were reused in the Iron Age. We also see a decline in quantity and quality of the grave-goods. This has been ascribed to an increasing reluctance with regard to the relation with the dead, but it may also be due to the poorer economic conditions of the population of Palestine in the Iron Age. Not many new rock-cut tombs were constructed in the Iron Age. Most people received a simple interment in these days[2]. Large cemeteries with such simple graves for the poor were found in Lachish, Tell el Far^{c}ah and Megiddo. These graves are usually no more than a shallow hole cut in the soil containing one body with a few bowls and dippers, and occasionally a storage jar[3].

Iron Age rock-cut tombs have been found all over Palestine[4]. Their main features are a stepped shaft leading through a small doorway, which is blocked after the burial with one or more stones. It leads to the underground burial chamber. Some tombs have more than one chamber. The chambers are connected by narrow passages. After the tenth century B.C. the first room could have the function of hall leading to the burial chambers. Along the sides of the burial chambers are benches about 75 cm above the surface. Sometimes they are cut out as niches.

The rock-cut tombs were used over long periods. This implies that it was sometimes necessary to make room for new interments. Usually the remains of previous burials were simply pushed aside or piled up. In many tombs, especially in tombs of the seventh and sixth century B.C., we find circular pits near one of the corners of the chambers, in which the remains of earlier burial were collected. It is remarkable that the appearance of these repository pits coincides with an increase of rock-cut tombs in Palestine[5]. So it may be assumed that it is an innovation introduced by the Israelites who by now certainly dominated the region completely. It may be regarded as a practical measure facilitating the clearance of the tomb chamber[1]. Although there hardly seems to be a difference between pushing remains aside or putting them into a pit, Meyers maintains that the latter has a special meaning[2]. In his opinion it has to be interpreted as a form of secondary burial comparable to the gathering of the bones in boxes which were specially made for this, the so-called ossuaries, a custom which is attested in earlier periods and also in the Hellenistic-Roman period. According to Meyers the well-known phrase "to be gathered to one's kinsmen" would also refer to a secondary burial. It would have to be taken literally: one's bones shall be gathered with the bones of the ancestors in this repository pit. There is no indication, however, of such a meaning for this phrase in the Old Testament. Moreover, Meyer's theory may be questioned on the ground that the *ossilegium* which takes place after a fixed period can hardly be compared to the occasional practice of clearing the tomb chamber[3].

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[1] Cf. Quell 1925:14 and Ribar 1973:57.

[2] Cf. Loffreda 1968:277 and Lapp 1968:150.

[3] Cf. O. Tufnell et al., *Lachish*, III, London 1953, pp.171-174.196.201. An example of a very simple family grave which even can be called a mass grave was discovered in Azor of the 10th and 9th century B.C.; cf. M. Dothan, IEJ 10(1960),259-260 and IEJ 11(1961),174.

[4] Cf. the survey by Loffreda 1968.

[5] Cf. ibid., p.280.

The expression "to be gathered to one's kinsmen" and the related "to sleep with one's fathers" and "to go to one's fathers"[4] are connected by most scholars with the burial in the family grave, but the expression "to be gathered to one's kinsmen" may originally have referred to the union of the deceased with his ancestors in the world of the dead and not to his burial, as can be inferred, e.g., from Gen 25:8-9[5]. It should also be remarked that the expression "to sleep with one's fathers" developed into an indication of the peaceful death of the king[6].

The question whether the expected gathering with one's ancestors was originally thought to occur in the grave or in the netherworld, is of secondary importance only. What matters here is the belief in ongoing communion with one's deceased relatives. The use of family graves and the fact that the remains of previous burials were not removed but only pushed aside show that this idea of the lasting family ties was very important, as it was with Amorites and Canaanites (see pp.142-145 above).

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[1] Cf. Quell 1925:17 and V. Tzafaris, IEJ 20(1970),30.

[2] Meyers 1971; cf. also his "Secondary Burial in Palestine", BA 33(1970),2-29 and "The Theological Implications of an Ancient Jewish Burial Custom", JQR 62(1971-1972),95-119.

[3] Cf. L.Y. Rahmani, IEJ 23(1973),126 and BA 45(1982),110.

[4] See on the meaning of these expressions Alfrink 1943 and 1948; Heidel 1946: 144-146; Schilling 1951:11-14; G.R. Driver, "Plurima Mortis Imago", in *Studies and Essays in Honor of A.A. Neuman*, Philadelphia 1962, pp. 128-143; Wächter 1967:71-74; Tromp 1969:168-171; and recently Illmann 1979:43-45.

[5] Cf. Alfrink 1948:128; Tromp 1969:168-169; and Illmann 1979:44.

[6] Cf. Alfrink 1943:109-110: "L'expression a été supprimée toujours chez les rois . . . qui étaient morts de mort violente".

The way the deceased was buried indicates that the state of the dead was believed to resemble their life before death. This can be inferred from the custom of burial with one's family, but also from the fact that the rock-cut chamber tomb is modelled after the houses of the living[1] and from the custom of providing the dead with grave-goods[2]. Whenever possible the dead were provided with personal belongings, like jewelry, clothes, weapons, sometimes furniture, and always pottery. We already noticed the decline in quantity and quality of the grave-goods in the Iron Age and it was remarked that this can be accounted for by the poorer economic situation. It has also been assumed, however, that this decline may have been caused by a change in interpretation of these tomb gifts. The original meaning of making the afterlife bearable would have faded[3]. Instead, they would have been regarded now as a *memento* of the dead person[4]. This cannot be concluded, however, from the archaeological facts alone. There is no reason to assume that the idea of a continued existence after death which resembles life before death was completely lost[5]. Moreover, Deut 26:14 clearly refers to the idea that the dead still need sustenance.

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[1] Cf. Quell 1925:15.20 and A. Mazar, IEJ 26(1976),4, n.9; cf. also E. Anati, "Subterranean Dwellings in the Central Negev", IEJ 5(1955),259-261 who describes houses which strongly resemble the normal rock-cut tombs of the Bronze and Iron Age. These houses were still inhabited in the beginning of this century.

[2] A survey of grave-goods found in graves in Palestine is given by M.-B. von Stritzky, RAC XII, cols.438-441.

[3] Cf. De Vaux, *Institutions*, I, p.95; Lapp 1968:150; and Von Stritzky,col.441.

[4] Cf. S. Cavaletti, "La rugiade cibo dei morti", *Antonianum* 32(1957),71-73; Campbell 1971:107; Gese 1977:39 remarks with regard to the function of the Israelite grave-goods: "Grabbeigaben sind nicht aus phantastischen Vorstellungen über ein physisches Weiterleben der Toten zu erklären, sondern bringen die Vollform des Lebens des Verstorbenen zum Ausdruck".

[5] See for the interpretation of grave-goods as provision for the afterlife, helping to make the stay in the netherworld bearable, Quell 1925:22; Wächter 1967:185-186; Kaiser 1977:41; and L.Y. Rahmani, BA 44(1981),174.

In a necropolis in Silwan at the east side of the Kidron valley some very interesting monumental rock-cut tombs have been discovered[1]. These free *standing* funerary monuments with an underground burial chamber were completely hewn out of the rock. Apparently they were not family graves, because there is room for two or three bodies on the benches inside. It is very difficult to date these tombs, because they have been reused for different purposes and there was nothing left from their original contents. So we have to rely on parallels with regard to the architecture and on the dating of the two inscriptions on one of the tombs. The first of these inscriptions is very mutilated. What can be read is: "*(tomb) chamber in the* side (or: slope) of the rock (or: mountain)"[2]. The other inscription, which was inscribed above the entrance of the tomb, can be translated as follows:

> This is [the sepulchre of . . .]yahu who is over the house. There is no silver and no gold here, but [his bones] and the bones of his slave-wife with him. Cursed be the man who will open this![3]

Until now very few ancient Israelite funerary inscriptions have been found[4], but we can compare this inscription from Silwan to many Phoenician and Aramaic funerary inscriptions[5]. As usual it begins with the identification of the owner of the grave followed by the reason not to open it. The emphasis on the lack of precious grave-goods has a clear parallel in an Aramaic funerary inscription of the second century B.C. (KAI 226:6-7). The curse on grave-robbers is a common element of nearly all West-Semitic funerary inscriptions.

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[1] Cf. D. Ussishkin, "The Necropolis from the Time of the Kingdom of Judah at Silwan, Jerusalem", BA 33(1970),34-46; A. Kuschke, BRL, 2nd ed., pp. 127-128; and L.Y. Rahmani, BA 44(1981),233-234.

[2] Cf. N. Avigad, "The Second Tomb-Inscription of the Royal Steward". IEJ 5 (1955),163-166 and D. Ussishkin, "On the Shorter Inscription from the 'Tomb of the Royal Steward'", BASOR 196(1969),16-22.

[3] Cf. N. Avigad, "The Epitaph of a Royal Steward from Siloam Village", IEJ 3(1953),137-152; KAI 191; and J.C.L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions*, I, Oxford 1971, pp.23-24.

[4] In Khirbet el-Kôm three funerary inscriptions of the 7th or 8th century B.C. were found. Two of them mention the name of the owner of the tomb, the third shall be discussed in section 3.5.2.1. below; cf. W.G. Dever, "Iron Age Epigraphic Material from the Area of Khirbet el-Kôm", HUCA 40-41(1969-1970),139-204. Also in Khirbet Beit Lei not far from there a number of inscriptions were found in a tomb, but these are clearly not funerary; cf. J. Naveh, "Old Hebrew Inscriptions in a Burial Cave", IEJ 13(1963),74-92; F.M. Cross, "The Cave Inscriptions from Khirbet Beit Lei", in *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century*, Fs N. Glueck, ed. J.A. Sanders, Garden City 1970, pp.299-306; Gibson, *Textbook*, I, pp. 57-58; and A. Lemaire, "Prières en temps de crise: les inscriptions de Khirbet Beit Lei", RB 83(1976),558-568.

[5] Cf. Müller 1975B; esp. p.119. He discusses "die Formgeschichte des nordwestsemitischen Epitaphs" and shows that the Israelite funerary inscriptions are clearly related to those of Israel's neighbours.

Unfortunately, only the last letters of the name of the owner are legible. We probably have to do with a theophoric name ending in the name of YHWH. It is tempting to assume that this is the grave of the royal steward ("who is over the house") Sebna, because both Sebna and his great rock-cut tomb are mentioned in Isa 22:15-16[1]. The Old Testament would not in that case have used his full name Sebanyahu, as it is supposed to have been written in the Silwan inscription. This identification would also settle the question of the date of the tomb. Further evidence for a date of this and the other Silwan tombs about the eighth century B.C. is derived from Egyptian and Anatolian parallels with regard to the funerary architecture. The relation with Isa 22:15-16, however attractive it may be, cannot be proven. And Loffreda has demonstrated that the main architectural features point to the Hellenistic-Roman period. An earlier dating would make the Silwan tombs unique in Palestine[2]. So we have to be careful with arguments derived from these tombs and their inscriptions for the study of the ancient Israelite beliefs with regard to the afterlife.

It has been assumed that if the monolithic graves of Silwan belonged to the servants of the king, the royal graves must have surpassed them. This could also be used, however, as an argument against the date of the Silwan graves in the period of the kings of Judah, because, as Loffreda remarks, throughout the Near East the kings of this period were satisfied with much less pretentious tombs[3]. We cannot say whether this also holds true for the kings of Judah, because the famous royal tombs of the house of David in the city of Jerusalem have not been identified with certainty yet[4].

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[1] Cf. Gibson, *Textbook*, I, p.24; D. Ussishkin, BA 33(1970),45-46; L.Y. Rahmani, BA 44(1981),233; and K.A.D. Smelik, *Behouden schrift: Historische documenten uit het oude Israel*, Baarn 1984, pp.73-75.

[2] Cf. S. Loffreda, "The Late Chronology of Some Rock-Cut Tombs of the Selwan Necropolis, Jerusalem", SBFLA 23(1973),7-36; cf. also the second century parallel to the tomb inscription mentioned above.

[3] Ibid., p.35; against D. Ussishkin, BA 33(1970),46.

[4] See on this problem J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament*, Leiden 1952, pp.194-215 and L.Y. Rahmani, BA 44(1981),231-233.

All tombs discovered inside the walls of the city in the royal period have been found empty and usually heavily damaged by quarrying, whereas the literary evidence is not of much help either (see also p.250 below on Ezek 43:8).

3.1.2. MOURNING CUSTOMS

The Old Testament contains ample information with regard to ancient Israelite mourning customs[1]. In general, mourning lasted seven days (cf. Gen 50:10). The deceased was lamented with cries (cf. I Kgs 13:30; Jer 22:18; and Amos 5:16) and prominent persons also with special mourning songs, the so-called *qina* (cf. II Sam 1:17-27 and 3:33-34)[2]. Grief could also be expressed through one's clothing: the clothes were torn (cf. Gen 37:34 and II Sam 1:11), sandals were taken off (cf. II Sam 15:30 and Micah 1:8) and probably also the turban (cf. Ezek 24:17.23), whereas one put on a sackcloth (cf. Gen 37:34 and II Sam 3:31). When mourning one did not care for the body: people stopped washing and anointing themselves (cf. II Sam 14:2); instead, one sat or lay on the ground (cf. II Sam 13:31) or even rolled in ashes and dust (cf. Jer 6:26; Ezek 27:30; and Micah 1:10) and one put dust upon the head (cf. Josh 7:6 and I Sam 4:12); one let the hair hang down (cf. Lev 10:6), tore it out (cf. Ezra 9:3) or cut (part of) the hair and beard (cf. Isa 22:12; Jer 41:5 and Job 1:20). The beard and the head could also be covered (cf. II Sam 19:5 and Ezek 24:17.23). Mourners beat themselves (cf. Isa 32:12) and cut themselves (cf. Jer 16:6 and 41:5). During the period of mourning one fasted (cf. I Sam 31:13 and II Sam 1:12). We also hear, however, of funeral meals (cf. Jer 16:7 and Ezek 24:17.22).

The Israelite way of mourning did not differ from that of other peoples in the ancient Near East[3]. In fact, many of the mourning customs recorded in the Old Testament appear to be universal[4]. With regard to the ancient

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[1] Cf. Heinisch 1931B; Martin-Achard 1956:27-31; De Vaux, *Institutions*, I, pp.97-98; Kutsch 1965; and De Ward 1972.

[2] Cf. Jahnow 1923; Heinisch 1931A; and E. Jacob, IntDB III, pp.452-454.

[3] Cf. in general Van Selms 1954:134-137; Müller 1978; and Alster 1983B.

[4] Cf. Widengren 1969:394-426.

Near East we can note the following two illuminating parallels.

In the Gilgamesh Epic Gilgamesh' desperate grief after the death of his companion Enkidu is described as follows:

> Like a lioness deprived of her cubs
> he paces to and fro in front and behind him.
> He plucks and throws away his curled hair.
> He tears off and casts away his fine clothes like an abomination.
> (Gilg.VIII.ii.19-22)[1]

Even more illustrative is the description of El's reaction to the message of the death of Baal according to KTU 1.5:VI.11-22 (cf. 1.5:VI.31-1.6:I.5):

> Thereupon the Benevolent, El the Good-hearted
>   descended from his chair,
> he sat down on the footstool
>   and from the footstool he sat down on the ground;
> he strewed ears of mourning on his head,
>   dust of wallowing on his skull;
>   for clothing, he covered himself with a loin-cloth.
> He scraped his skin with a stone,
>   using a flint blade as a razor,
>   he gashed his cheeks and chin.
> Thrice he ploughed his collar bones,
>   he ploughed his breast like a garden,
>   thrice he ploughed his chest like a valley.[2]

On pp.34-35 above we already noticed the many problems with regard to the interpretation of these mourning customs. Especially the question whether or not these customs can be explained as expressions of fear or even veneration of the dead is much discussed. To prove the assumed original connection with veneration of the dead, the mourning customs have been compared to all kinds of religious ceremonies. This did not lead, however, to convincing results. It appears to be more fruitful to compare the mourners with the dead themselves. It was already noted by Wensinck that the mourners "imitate the dead and take the appearance of the dead" by neglecting the care for their bodies and by abstaining from all pleasures of life[3]. Wensinck explains this as a means to be protected against jealousy on the part of the spirit of the deceased. It is more likely, however, that it is an act of sympathy of the living with the deceased, an expression of communion of the living with the dead[4]. The living act as if they are dead and have descended into the land of dust[1] and as if their bodies are decaying. In this way the living show how much they are impressed by the invincible power of death. This also explains why the same customs are practised in situations which have nothing to do with mourning over someone who has died (cf. Lev 13:45; II Sam 12:16-17; I Kgs 20: 31-32; 21:27; and Jonah 3:5-8). People acting this way indicate that they feel themselves threatened by death. In Semitic thinking this is not distinguished from really being in the netherworld (see p.69 above).

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[1] Cf. Alster 1983B:5.

[2] Cf. De Moor 1971:190-194.

[3] Wensinck 1917:51-52.

[4] Cf. Dhorme 1941:125: an "union qui persiste entre le mort et le vivant".

The custom of tearing out or shaving off one's hair and cutting oneself while mourning can be explained in the same way. It refers to the decomposition of the body of the dead. The wounds of the mourners point to death as a monster devouring its victims. These customs in particular are very interesting, because they are forbidden in Lev 19:27-28; 21:5 and Deut 14: 1. The reason for this can be derived from the Ugaritic parallel quoted above. In these rituals of mourning over Baal's death laceration clearly dominates. This may have been a prominent part of the Baal cult, as can be derived from the behaviour of the Baal priests on mount Karmel who cut themselves with swords and lances (I Kgs 18:28). The passage in the Ugaritic myth of Baal dealing with the mourning for Baal probably reflects a yearly ritual reflecting his stay in the netherworld[2]. So when Elijah teases the Baal priests with his remark about their god being asleep, he probably refers to Baal's sleep of death[3]. For this reason the rituals performed by these priests can be regarded as a form of cultic mourning comparable to the mourning over Hadadrimmon in the vale of Megiddo (Zech

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[1] Cf. Ridderbos 1948. Mourning is even explicitly called "going down into the netherworld" in the following Hittite text: "Because she killed her, throughout the days of life [my soul] goes down to the dark netherworld [on her account]"; cf. H.A. Hoffner, JAOS 103(1983),188 who also mentions in this connection KTU 1.5:VI.24-25 and Gen 37:35.

[2] Cf. Habel 1964:103 and De Moor 1971:201; cf. also Alster 1983B:11 who assumes that a passage in the Sumerian myth "Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld" which describes the mourning of the goddess Ereshkigal may have been intended to explain the origin of a mourning ritual in the temple of Inanna.

[3] Cf.H.Jagersma,"ישן in 1.Könige XVIII 27", VT 25(1975),674-676 against M.H.E. Weippert, NedThT 37(1983),281 who maintains that "sleep" has to be taken literally here. Weippert is certainly right when he states that gods could be thought to be sleeping, but just as sleep can be used as a metaphor for the death of human beings (see p.99 above) this could be the case with regard to gods.

12:11). For Hadadrimmon is probably another name of Baal. So lacerating and shaving was probably forbidden because of the association with the religion of Baal[1]. This does not imply, however, that these mourning customs have always been connected with Baalism. For it is a very common way of expressing one's grief[2]. In many texts in the Old Testament, in which there can be no doubt about their relation to the normal funeral of human beings, they are mentioned without comment. In Isa 22:12 to shave off the hair is even commanded by YHWH as a sign of mourning.

In any case it is clear that if the mourning customs mentioned in the Old Testament have to be interpreted as sympathetic identifications with the sorry fate of the deceased, be he man or deity, they also provide us with some information as to current conceptions about the state of the dead in the netherworld. Apparently it was far from a happy life they were condemned to live there. Any hope for some kind of beatific afterlife would have to be connected, therefore, with the hope to be released from the netherworld.

3.1.3. CULT OF THE DEAD

By "cult of the dead" we mean here a veneration of the dead which can be compared to the veneration of deities. Many scholars are of the opinion that such a cult of the dead also existed in ancient Israel (see section 1.4.2. above). The mourning customs we discussed in the previous section would originally have been part of the cult of the dead. This is contradicted, however, by the interpretation of these customs given above. It was demonstrated that they express sympathy with the dead and fear of death. Only eating and drinking as an act of mourning (cf. Jer 16:7 and Ezek 24:17.22) seems to denote a different aspect of the reactions to a person's death. It can be compared to the Mesopotamian *kispu*-ritual, which is a communal meal of the living with the dead[3], and to the regular meals of Palestinian Arabs to commemorate the dead. During these meals wine or coffee is poured on the graves[1]. These parallels make it likely that the dead were believed to take part in the eating and drinking mentioned by Jeremiah and Ezekiel as well[2]. The idea of giving food to the dead was not unfamiliar to the Israelites (cf. Deut 26:14).

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[1] Cf. H. Cazelles, "Sur un rituel du Deutéronome", RB 55(1948),54-71; J. Wijngaards, *Deuteronomium*, BOT II, Roermond 1971, pp.137-139; and P.C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, NICOT, Grand Rapids 1976, pp.229-230.

[2] Cf. Wensinck 1917:96-97; Morgenstern 1966:84-106.135; Widengren 1969: 401-404; Schnaufer 1970:163-164; and De Moor 1971:193-194.

[3] A. Malamat, JAOS 88(1968),173, n.29 assumes that the yearly sacrifice

Such food-offerings are often regarded as indications of a cult of the dead. However, without further information about the state of the dead there is no reason to assume that offering of food and drink points to something else than the normal care for the dead, because they were believed to live on in more or less the same way as before death. For this reason also the archaeological data which are interpreted as indications of repeated offerings brought to the grave (see pp.36.47 above) cannot be regarded as definitive proof of an Israelite cult of the dead[3].

It is very interesting to note that in Jer 16:5-7 "bread of mourning"[4] and the "cup of consolation"(v.7) are associated with the "house of the Marzeah" (v.5). As was demonstrated in section 2.5.2.2.3. above, the (house of the) Marzeah was connected in ancient Ugarit with the cult of the dead. In this institution the drinking of new wine plays an important role. Jer 16:7 is the only place in the Old Testament where drinking is mentioned as a part of the reactions to death. Apparently this has to do with the association with the Marzeah[5]. According to Loretz, who also as-

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at the ancestral home mentioned in I Sam 20:6.19 can be compared to the well-known Mesopotamian *kispu*-ritual; cf. also Quell 1925:24 who connects I Sam 20:6 with a cult of the dead. However, this cannot be proved.

[1] Cf. T. Canaan, ZDPV 75(1959),112-113.

[2] Cf. De Ward 1972:161-162.

[3] Against Ribar 1973:45. Such holes can also be interpreted as air shafts to ventilate the tombs; cf. Tufnell, *Lachish*, III, p.64. Examples of these ceiling holes in Iron Age tombs are found in Beth Shemesh (cf. Ribar 1973:57-60), Sahab in Transjordan (cf. R.W. Dajani, ADAJ 15(1970), 29-30), and Jerusalem (cf. B. Mazar, *The Excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem Near the Temple Mount*, Jerusalem 1971, p.25 who calls them "*nephesh* holes", but this interpretation remains hypothetical).

[4] Read לחם instead of להם; cf. BHS.

[5] We cannot agree with those scholars who maintain that the Marzeah of Jer 16:5 has nothing to do with the mourning described in the following verses; cf. L'Heureux 1974:266, n.7 who assumes that Marzeah has a similar meaning as "the house of feasting" mentioned in v.7. According to H.-J. Fabry, ThWAT V, col.15 we have to separate v.5 from the (in his opinion) secondary vv.6-7.

sumes a relation with the Ugaritic cult of the dead, v.7 originally spoke of food offerings to the dead[1]. We know, however, from the Ugaritic texts that the living took part in the meals of the Marzeah. So there is no need to change the MT here. The Ugaritic mythical text KTU 1.114 also shows that the physical state which is the result of excessive drinking was seen as comparable to death. So such a reaction to death is in line with sympathetic rites like sitting in the dust and wounding oneself.

Most scholars assume that Jeremiah took for granted the mourning customs of gashing and shaving oneself (v.6), although they were forbidden in Lev 19:27-28; 21:5; and Deut 14:1. It may be assumed, however, that the prophet also rejected these customs and regarded them as part of the idolatry he mentions within the same framework (v.11). This would tally with what was said above about the reason for rejecting certain mourning customs: they could all be associated with the Canaanite cult of Baal.

Clear evidence of a cult of the dead practised by Israelites is scarce. In addition to the inconclusive texts mentioned above we can note the following indications.

A veneration of the dead was probably part of the cult of Baal Peor. As was demonstrated on pp.231-233 above, this god can be regarded as representing the chthonic aspect of Baal. It may be assumed, therefore, that veneration of prominent dead belonged to this cult of Baal Peor as well, just as in Ugarit the *rpʾum* were venerated together with Baal. This assumption is supported by the fact that Ps 106:28 speaks in this connection of sacrifices to the dead and by the fact that in the Rabbinic tradition the cult of Baal Peor is connected with the institution of the Marzeah.

Another indication of the existence of a cult of the dead in ancient Israel can be found in Ps 16:3-4:

> With regard to the "saints" who are in the earth
>   and the "mighty" who only have delight in themselves:
> their sorrows are many;
>   they hurry back.
> I will not pour out their libations of blood
>   and I will not take their names upon my lips.

The "saints" and "mighty" are opposed to YHWH (cf. vv.2.5). Next to this, their names and the way they are venerated make it very likely that the poet of Ps 16 points here to a cult of deified dead persons (see for a full discussion of this Psalm section 3.5.2.5. below).

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[1] Loretz 1982B:89.

There are also traces of a royal cult of the dead. As could be expected a king was buried with ceremonies which exceed those of the burial of common people. At the royal funeral spices were burnt and the people kindled a fire to honour the deceased ruler (cf. Jer 34:5; II Chron 16:14 and 21:19). At the end of the period before the exile this honouring of the dead kings seems to have turned into a royal cult of the dead. Ezek 43:7-8 speaks of the defiling the temple "by the harlotry of the Judaean kings and the corpses of these kings at their death". The MT as it is translated here can be interpreted as referring to the sins of the kings before and after their death. The latter concerns the treatment of their corpses. There is no need to change the text here and read "in their heights"[1] nor to translate פגר not as "corpse", which is the normal meaning of this word, but as "stele"[2], because the philological evidence for this is questionable (see p.150 above). What seems to have been meant here is that some Judaean kings, apparently Manasseh and Amon, were buried near the temple (cf. II Kgs 21:18.26). They were probably posthumously venerated in this holy place. This assumption is supported by the fact that these kings are known for their sympathy for the Canaanite religion (cf. II Kgs 21:2.21).

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[1] Cf. Albright 1957:247-248.

[2] Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, BK XIII/2, 2nd ed., Neukirchen-Vluyn 1979, pp.1082-1083.

3.2. ISRAELITE BELIEF IN POWERFUL AND WISE DEAD

The ancient Israelite funerary customs point to a belief in some kind of continued existence of life after death. The living were supposed to be able to help the dead in this afterlife. There are also indications of an Israelite belief in the dead being able to help or harm the living. This phenomenon, which is well-known in the ancient Near East, can be regarded as an important aspect of the veneration of the dead. We can distinguish here between belief in powerful and wise dead as helpers and counsellors and the fear of the malign influence of evil spirits of the dead. So on the one hand the living could wish to call up the dead (necromancy), on the other hand they would need to expel them (exorcism). The former implies that the living had a high opinion of the dead as having insight into the secrets of life and death, the latter that the living feared the revenge of the dead who had not received a proper burial or enough grave-goods to make their stay in the netherworld bearable.

In the Old Testament we find no clear references to the malign influence of unhappy spirits of the dead. We only hear of demons[1] and apotropaic practices against them[2], but the texts about these matters are scarce as well. The reason for this may be that Yahwism leaves no room for divine powers next to YHWH, not even for demonic powers[3]. We have to assume, however, that the belief in hostile powers coming from the netherworld played a more prominent part in ancient Israelite religion than can be inferred from the Old Testament. For the emergence of the belief in demonic powers as is attested in the intertestamental literature and the New Testament cannot be explained as due to foreign influence only. Apparently it was an element of Israelite folk religion which left few traces in the canonical writings.

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[1] Cf. H. Kaupel, *Die Dämonen im Alten Testament*, Augsburg 1930; T.H. Gaster, IntDB I, pp.817-824; Tromp 1969:160-169; H. Haag, *Teufelsglauben*, Tübingen 1974, pp.163-180; and Bailey 1979:29-31.

[2] Cf. Haag, *Teufelsglauben*, pp.175-179; Bailey 1979:32; and H. Wildberger, *Jesaja*, BK X/3, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1982, pp.1073-1075.

[3] Cf. E. Noort, "JHWH und das Böse. Bemerkungen zu einer Verhältnisbestimmung", OTS 23(1984),120-136; esp. p.122 on Deut 32:39.

The positive side of the belief in powerful and wise spirits is better attested in the Old Testament, though all attempts to ask for help from the dead are condemned. In the description of the consultation of the dead in the Old Testament the terms אבות and ידענים play an important part. The former sometimes appears alone, but the latter is always used in combination with the former. It is difficult to establish their precise meaning[1]. They seem to denote spirits of the dead in Lev 19:31; 20:6; Deut 18:11; Isa 8:19; 19:3; I Chron 10:13, where it is said that people turn to them or consult them; Lev 20:27 speaks of "a man or woman in whom is an אוב or a ידעני"; and Isa 29:4 mentions a voice "like the voice of an אוב". But according to other texts the אבות are objects which can be made (cf. II Kgs 21:6; II Chron 33:6) and can be put out or cut off from the land (cf. I Sam 28:3.9; II Kgs 23:24).

In Job 32:19 the word אבות has the meaning of "wineskin". It is usually left out of consideration here, because it seems to have nothing to do with consultation of the dead and is taken for this reason as a homonym[2]. However, it appears to be possible to associate a dead person with an object like a wineskin. For in the Akkadian myth of the descent of Ishtar into the netherworld the corpse of the goddess is described as a waterskin (rev.ll.18-19). We can refer in this connection also to a passage in the Sumerian myth of Inanna and Bilulu, in which Inanna lays the following curse upon Bilulu: "I have killed you, so is it verily . . . May you become the waterskin for cold water that (men carry) in the desert" (ll.108-110; cf. l.121)[3]. The corpse being compared to a waterskin probably points to death by violent means. The skin of the victim is flayed so that it is turned inside out, just like the skin of an animal when it is used to make a container of water or wine[4]. In Job 32:19 this metaphor seems to have been reversed. Instead of describing a dead person as a waterskin, the poet refers to a wineskin with a word associated with death.

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[1] Cf. the survey by H. Wildberger, *Jesaja*, BK X/1, 2nd ed., Neukirchen-Vluyn 1980, pp.349-350 and the elaborate discussion of all relevant texts by Ebach, Rüterswörden 1977 and 1980.

[2] Cf. HAL, p.19b.

[3] Cf. T. Jacobsen and S.N. Kramer. JNES 12(1953),177.

[4] This metaphor offers a plausible solution for the problem of translating נקף in Job 19:26. It can be taken here as "to flay".

Of course, this highly poetical use of the word אבות cannot help us to find the origin of this word. In their important articles on the etymology of the word אוב Ebach and Rüterswörden have tried to prove that in connection with necromancy אוב is always "das Mittel der Beschwörung . . . womit man Zugang zur Unterwelt erlangen kann"[1]. This theory is based on an etymology which connects this word with Hittite *a-a-bi* and Akkadian *ap(t)u* denoting a pit by which it is possible to communicate with the inhabitants of the netherworld[2]. In most cases Ebach and Rüterswörden are certainly right, but their interpretation of Lev 20:27; Isa 8:19; and 29:4 is not convincing, because they seem to be too strict here. It cannot be excluded that אוב denotes the spirit of a dead person and the object by which the living could come in contact with this spirit. We can compare this to the two meanings of Hebrew אשרה. This is the name of a goddess, but also of a cultic object associated with the cult of the goddess[3]. Even more interesting whithin this framework is a *comparison* with Hebrew and Aramaic נפש: alongside its common meaning "soul" or "life" it can refer in Aramaic to a tomb monument or stele representing the dead[4]. Something similar may be assumed with regard to Hebrew אוב. It probably denotes both the spirit of a dead person and the object representing this spirit. This object might have been a statue, because we know that statues of the dead played a prominent part in the Mesopotamian, Hittite, and Egyptian cults of the dead. It seems also indicated by II Kgs 23:24 which mentions אבות and ידענים next to תרפים and idols to be put away.

With regard to the etymology of the word אוב we suggest a connection with Hebrew אב, "father"[5], because of all the dead one would first hope to receive help from one's ancestors. We can also compare it to Ugaritic *ʾilʾib* denoting the deified ancestors[1] and also Yaudic *ʾbʾ* in KAI 214:16[2]. As an argument in favour of this interpretation it may be observed that the texts of Ugarit expressly mention stelae erected for the *ʾilʾib* (see p.149 above). As an argument against this etymology Ebach and Rüterswörden put forward the observation that the woman[3] of Endor who conjured up the spirit of Samuel was called "mistress of an אוב"(I Sam 28:7), whereas Samuel probably did not belong to her family[4]. It is not certain, however, that in this expression אוב refers to the spirit of Samuel. The woman of Endor may have had contact with one special spirit of the dead who acted as an intermediary between her and other spirits of the dead[5]. She would in this case have been the mistress of this particular spirit of one of her ancestors. It is also possible that אוב had become a general designation of all spirits of the dead.

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[1] Ebach, Rüterswörden 1977:70.

[2] Cf. H.A. Hoffner, ThWAT I, cols.141-142.

[3] Cf. J.C. de Moor, ThWAT I, col.477; see for the comparison of אוב with אשרה also Wildberger, *Jesaja*, p.350.

[4] Cf. Gawlikowski 1970:22-24 and C. Westermann, THAT II, col.71.

[5] Cf. Lods 1906:I,248; J. Lust, "On Wizards and Prophets", in *Studies in Prophecy*, VT.S 26, Leiden 1974, pp.133-142. Our interpretation of the object denoted by אוב as a statue rules out the connection with Hittite and Akkadian words denoting a pit, as proposed by Hoffner et al. It may be noted that in Ugarit such a sacrificial pit was called *ġb* which would result in a Hebrew equivalent עב. The *aleph* in אוב renders a connection with Ugaritic *ʾilʾib* denoting the deified ancestor much more likely.

The etymology of ידענים is less problematic. It is clearly connected with the verb ידע, "to know", and qualifies the spirits of the dead as "those who are knowing"[6]. The same idea seems to be expressed in Job 28: whereas wisdom cannot be found in the land of the living (v.13), Abaddon and Death say: "We have heard a rumour of it with our ears" (v.18).

The relation between אבות and ידענים may be compared to the relation between the Ugaritic *ʾilʾib* and *rpʾum*. The first name describes them as ancestors of the living, the second name is an indication of the way they can help the living, viz. by their wisdom and power to heal.

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[1] Cf. Dietrich, Loretz, Sanmartín 1974 and Müller 1975A:70, n.32.

[2] Reading proposed by De Moor 1973:II,31.

[3] The fact that Samuel is conjured up by a woman is regarded by Schwally as "ein Zeichen des Verfallen des alten Glaubens" (Schwally 1892:70), because originally all rites connected with the cult of the dead had to be performed by male descendants of the deceased. There can be no doubt, however, that with most peoples the contact with the dead is primarily a matter of women; cf. F. Heiler, *Die Frau in den Religionen der Menschheit*, Berlin 1977, pp.11-21.42-46; N. Poulssen, TTh 20(1980),136, Humphreys 1981:267; and U. Winter, *Frau und Göttin* , OBO 53, Göttingen 1983, pp.50-51.

[4] Ebach, Rüterswörden 1980:207.

[5] Cf. Heidel 1946:201. A very interesting parallel to the woman of Endor being called בעלת אוב is the fact that the famous Ugaritic scribe Ilimilku calls himself lord (*bʿl*) of two minor deities or spirits (KTU 1.6: VI.58, as interpreted by J.C. de Moor in a forthcoming study). From them Ilimilku may have received his insight into the plans of the gods.

[6] Cf. HAL, p.375b; Ebach, Rüterswörden 1977:58, n.4; 1980:219; and Wildberger, *Jesaja*, p.351.

This explanation of these two names for the helpful spirits of the dead makes it possible to understand the difficult text Isa 63:16. In the previous verses we are told that Israel rebelled against YHWH despite his acts of unfailing love. Now YHWH does not lead his people anymore and He withholds his former compassion (v.15b). The use of the word "compassion" may have led the prophet to comparing YHWH with a father (cf. Ps 103:13): "For Thou art our Father, because Abraham does not know us nor Israel acknowledge us" (v.16a). According to Duhm this text proves that there existed a belief that the deceased ancestors could help their descendants[1]. This is confirmed by the fact that YHWH is compared with a father[2] and by the use in this connection of the verb ידע. In this way the prophet is able to refer to the אבות and ידענים without explicitly associating these disgraceful beings with the honourable ancestors of Israel. These "fathers" may be honoured, but real help can only be expected from the Father who is YHWH.

The Israelites were probably familiar with the common conception of the spirits of the dead as birds (see p.100 above). For it is said of the אבות that they squeak like birds and coo like doves (Isa 8:19; cf. 10:14 and 59:11)[3]. Another element which the Israelites shared in this matter with their neighbours is the fact that the invoked spirits of the dead are called "god(s)", viz. in I Sam 28:13 and Isa 8:19. The latter text needs some further discussion here. After the prophet has announced that he has to "fasten up the message" of YHWH and that YHWH shall "hide his face from the house of Jacob" (Isa 8:16-17), he warns the people not to listen to those who say that it is possible to seek help from others. Instead of listening to the (living) prophet they turn to the spirits of the dead. In v. 19 the prophet quotes his opponents: "They will say to you: 'Consult the אבות and ידענים, who squeak and moan! Would a people not consult its gods; instead of the living the dead?'". As in Ugarit the helpful spirits of the dead are mentioned here as "gods" and "dead" (cf. KTU 1.6:VI.45-49). The prophet is certainly a little biased in his rendering of the arguments used by his opponents when he lets them say that the words of YHWH spoken by his prophet can be replaced by the squeaking of the spirits of the dead. The answer of Isaiah is that there is still something more worthwhile to listen to, viz. "to the teachings and the testimony" (v.20). The context shows that these words are not an oath, as has been assumed by Müller[1], but a call pointing the people to where they can find help from YHWH when He does not speak through his prophet anymore (cf. vv.16-18).

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[1] "Wenn diese Satz nicht reine leere Phrase enthalten soll, so muss es manchen Zeitgenossen möglich erschienen sein, bei den Ahnen . . . Hülfe zu suchen; es muss das nicht eigentlicher Ahnenkult, es kann auch Nekromantie gewesen sein." (B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 4th ed., Göttingen 1922, p.438) See for the connection of Isa with the cult of the dead also Oort 1881:359 and Torge 1909:169.

[2] In Trito-Isaiah it only occurs here and in the related 64:7. See in general on this metaphor in the Old Testament H. Ringgren, ThWAT I, cols.17ff.

[3] Cf. especially spell 278 of the Egyptian Coffin texts speaking of the dead cackling like a goose (CT IV, 23ab); the Akkadian myth of Nergal and Ereshkigal III.7 speaking of the dead who "moan like doves"; and Arabic conceptions of the dead represented by owls as informers (cf. Homerin 1985:168). Perhaps also the comparison in Ps 124:7 of the נפש with a bird is associated with this concept, although this text has nothing to do with the afterlife (cf. H.W.F. Saggs, "'External Souls' in the Old Testament", JSSt 19(1974),1-12; esp. p.10).

According to I Sam 28:13 and Isa 29:4 the spirits of the dead come up from the earth. Isa 65:4 speaks of people "sitting in tombs and keeping vigil all night". We can think here of spiritualist seances, because the cemetery is a favourite place for necromancers[2]. Apparently the spirits invoked were believed to be residing in the netherworld and in the graves, which are often hardly distinguished from the common abode of the dead[3]. The spirits of the dead usually appear at night (cf. I Sam 28:8 and KTU 1. 20:II.5).

We may conclude that ancient Israelite necromancy did not differ from the common ancient Near Eastern practices. We noticed many parallels with the Ugaritic rituals in which the *rpʾum* are invoked. To these parallels can be added that in Hebrew the term for invoking the spirits of the dead is the same as in Ugaritic, viz. קרא (cf. I Sam 28:15; Prov 9:18; and KTU 1.161:2ff.)[4]. It is also noteworthy that king Saul converses directly with the spirit, as did the kings of Ugarit (cf. KTU 1.20-22). According to the transmitted text the spirit of Samuel addressed Saul in the name of YHWH (I Sam 28:16ff.). This implies that the illegal necromancy of the woman of Endor was of a syncretistic nature. For our investigation it is interesting that Samuel appears to have kept his individuality and personal belongings like a mantle (v.14), so that Saul did recognize him immediately[1]. In this connection it should be observed that there is nothing sinister about the appearance of Samuel. No rags, no cake of dust, no emaciation are mentioned. Samuel does not seem to suffer in the hereafter. Finally, we note that as in Ugarit the spiritualist ritual is concluded with a sacrificial meal (זבח) (v.24) in which Samuel, however, does not participate.

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[1] Müller 1975A:65-68.

[2] Cf. Scheftelowitz 1925:131.

[3] See pp.68-69 above; cf. also Tromp 1969:212 and Jaroš 1978:226.

[4] Cf. De Moor 1976:333.

From texts like Deut 18:9-22; I Sam 28; and Isa 8:19-20 we learn that the consultation of the dead takes the place of listening to YHWH and his prophets. For this reason necromancy seems to be irreconcilable with Yahwism[2]. However, it appears that not all Israelites took this condemnation of all contacts with the world of the dead seriously. We may speak of an under-current in the ancient religion of Israel next to the mainstream of Yahwism[3]. This under-current is usually connected with common people, but it should be noted that also king Saul (I Sam 28) and probably kings like Manasseh and Amon (see p.250 above) practised necromancy.

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[1] The apparent visibility of the spirit of Samuel has a clear parallel in an ancient Mesopotamian incantation "to enable a man to see a ghost"; cf. Finkel 1983:5.10.

[2] Cf. O. Eissfeldt, "Wahrsagung im Alten Testament", in *La divination*, ed. A. Caquot and M. Leibovici, Paris 1968, pp.141-146 who maintains that according to the Old Testament necromancy is "die verwerflichste und mit Jahwe-Religion schlechterdings unvereinbare Übung".

[3] Cf. Quell 1925:34; Baumgärtel 1932:17; W.O.E. Oesterley and T.H. Robinson, *Hebrew Religion*, 2nd ed., London 1937, pp.90-97; Martin-Achard 1956:23; Müller 1975A:76; and Jaroš 1978:226.

3.3. ANCIENT ISRAELITE TRADITIONS ABOUT HEAVENLY BLISS

The Old Testament contains two traditions about human beings who did not go "the way of all men". They concern Enoch and Elijah, who did not die and did not descend into the world of the dead, but were "taken (up)" by YHWH. These traditions are usually regarded as an exception to the rule, to be compared with what is told about Utnapishtim and Utuabzu in ancient Mesopotamia. On the other hand, what happened to Enoch and Elijah has also been seen as one of the first indications of the belief that the hope in YHWH cannot be restricted to this life, although there is no direct connection with the different conception of the resurrection of the dead. In order to find out whether Enoch and Elijah were forerunners or "Einzelgänger" within the Israelite conceptions of beatific afterlife, it is necessary to study the origin of the traditions about these two men and to define the place of these traditions in the Old Testament as a whole.

3.3.1. THE HEAVENLY ASCENT OF ELIJAH

It has been noted by most scholars discussing II Kgs 2:1-18 that in this text the history of the ascension of Elijah is subordinate to the story of Elisha "inheriting"[1] the spirit of his master (cf. esp. v.15)[2]. It is treated as a tale which is familiar to the listener and is mentioned here as the background of another story: "It happened, when YHWH would take Elijah up to heaven in the whirlwind, that Elijah and Elisha left Gilgal" (v.1). What is important here is the journey of Elijah and Elisha. The mention of the ascension of Elijah only functions as its setting. The way in which Elijah was carried up to heaven, viz. in a whirlwind, is presented as a well-known fact, because the text speaks of *the* whirlwind (vv.1.11).

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[1] We can speak of "inheriting" because of Elisha's asking a double share of Elijah's spirit (v.9). According to Deut 21:17 this is what the first-born inherits. Of course, Elijah's spirit cannot simply be inherited. It can only be given to Elisha by YHWH (cf. v.10).

[2] Cf. Galling 1956:138; Haag 1969:18.29-30; Schmitt 1973:129; and Hentschel 1977:9, n.26.

According to v.11 Elijah and Elisha were separated by chariots and horses of fire. It is only logical to suggest that Elijah was carried up by them (cf. Sirach 48:9)[1], but this is nowhere explicitly stated. For this reason it has been assumed that the element of the chariots and horses of fire was added to the traditional story of Elijah's ascension and was primarily related to the story of the succession[2].

The "departure" of Elijah from this world is described in different ways. The most clear one is the description of Elijah being carried up to heaven in a whirlwind[3]. This can be compared to the way in which the God of Israel is said to appear (cf. Nah 1:3; Zech 9:14; Ps 18:11 and 50:3)[4]. According to a different formula Elijah would have been taken (לקח) from above the head of Elisha (vv.3.5). This has been interpreted as a reference to his heavenly ascent, but within the context of II Kgs 2 this expression has to be connected with v.16 where the same prophets whose words were mentioned in vv.3.5 suggest that YHWH has lifted up (נשא) Elijah and cast (שלח) him on some mountain or into some valley. For this reason vv.3.5 are more in line with Ezek 3:14 and 8:3 where לקח is used next to נשא (cf. also שלח in 8:3) to denote being transported by YHWH within and not from this world. Elijah also uses the verb לקח when he speaks of his own death in vv.9-10. This can be compared to Jer 15:15 where Jeremiah asks of YHWH: "Take me not away". So Elijah seems to have thought in the first place of his separation from Elisha and not of a heavenly ascent.

The separation between Elijah and Elisha is effected by chariots and horses of fire (v.11). These are mentioned only here and in II Kgs 6:17. These two texts have much in common. Both belong to the stories about Elisha and in both the prophet and his servant play a prominent part. The chariots and horses of fire surround the prophet, whereas it is a prerogative of the servant to see them. The appearance of the chariots and horses of fire is a sign from heaven (cf. Exod 3:2; Isa 66:15-16; and Hab 3:13-

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[1] Cf. Galling 1956:142 and Houtman 1978:284.

[2] Cf. Schmitt 1972:102.

[3] For parallels from outside Israel see J. Assmann, LÄ II, cols.120-121 and G. Lohfink, *Die Himmelfahrt Jesu*, München 1971, pp.43-44.

[4] Cf. E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige. 1.Kön.17-2.Kön.25*, ATD 11,2, Göttingen 1984, p.275.

15)[1] and can be regarded as an indication of the prophet's close relation to YHWH. The servant allowed to see this is initiated into the mystery of YHWH working through his prophet. So this element of the story in II Kgs 2 clear fits the context of the succession of Elijah. Apparently it was only secondarily related to the tradition of Elijah's ascension.

It is now also possible to give a plausible explanation of Elisha's reaction in v.12. After having seen the chariots and horses of fire and Elijah's ascent in the whirlwind he calls: "My father, my father, chariots of Israel and its horses[2]". It has been assumed that this title has nothing to do with the chariots and horses of fire mentioned in the previous verse, because a different word is used to denote the horses in v.12[3]. This difference, however, can be explained if we assume that in v.12 Elisha gives an interpretation of what he saw: the appearance of these war-chariots[4] made him realize that Elijah was no less than Israel's mightiest weapon[5]. It is remarkable that the same title is given to Elisha at the same moment of his life, viz. when he is on the brink of death (cf. II Kgs 13:14). This led some scholars to the assumption that this title is an indication of their state after death: Elijah and Elisha shall become members of the heavenly host of YHWH[6]. This assumption may be less fanciful than Gray thinks it is[7], because in II Kgs 6:17 the appearance of the chariots and horses of fire can be explained as an action of this heavenly host. All this can be compared to what is said in the Ugaritic literature of the prominent dead called *rpʾum*, who travel on chariots (cf. KTU 1.20:II.2-4) and are called "warriors of Baal and Anat" (KTU 1.22:I.8-9). So it is possible that the title of Elijah and Elisha originates in the hero-cult of ancient Canaan[1].

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[1] Cf. A. Šanda, *Die Bücher der Könige*, II, Münster 1912, pp.11-12; Schmitt 1973:95-96; and Houtman 1978:285.

[2] See for this translation of פרש Galling 1956:131-135 and O.Loretz and W. Mayer, "Hurrisch *parašš*-'trainiertes Pferd'", ZA 69(1980),188-191.

[3] Cf. Šanda, *Die Bücher der Könige*, p.12 and Schmitt 1973:116.

[4] Cf. Galling 1956:134-135 who states that פרש is a "Fachausdruck" for "Streitrosse (vor dem Kriegswagen)".

[5] Cf. Šanda, *Die Bücher der Könige*, p.12; M.A. Beek, "The Chariots and the Horsemen of Israel (II Kings II 12)", OTS 17(1972),1-10; Schmitt 1972: 176; Schmitt 1973:115; Houtman 1978:294; M. Rehm, *Das zweite Buch der Könige*, Würzburg 1982, p.31; Schottroff 1982:222-223; and Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige*, p.365.

[6] Cf. I. Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Könige*, Freiburg 1899, p.131; Fohrer 1968B:100; Haag 1969:27; and Greenspoon 1981:301.

[7] J. Gray, *I & II Kings*, OTL, 3rd ed., London 1977, p.476.

In this connection it is tempting to assume that the name YHWH צבאות is related to this conception of the heavenly host as well. It may be translated as "YHWH of hosts"[2] and can be compared to the epithet of the god Reshep according to KTU 1.91:15, "Reshep of the Army" (*ršp ṣbʾi*). Reshep is mentioned here in the context of the revivification of the *rpʾum* (see p.157 above). Just as the "army of Reshep" the "hosts of YHWH" may have been associated with deified dead persons. This tallies with earlier theories explaining the name YHWH צבאות as an adaptation of non-Yahwistic beliefs in demons or lower deities[3]. An additional argument for this theory is the distribution of the name YHWH צבאות in the Old Testament. It is remarkable that in the book of Kings it is only used by Elijah and Elisha[4], who may have been believed to join the host of YHWH after death. Furthermore, this name of YHWH is lacking in Deuteronomy and Ezekiel and is but rarely used in Isa 40-55, whereas it frequently appears in the books of Haggai and Zechariah[5]. In these relatively late books of the Old Testament the original relation with Canaanite religion, which probably made it unacceptable for the stricter among earlier writers, may have been forgotten or no longer felt to be a problem because of the decline of the ancient religion of the Canaanites.

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[1] This is much more likely than the theory proposed by Galling 1956:146-148 that the title was derived from the northern Syrian deity *rkbʾl*, "chariot-rider (or chariot-army) of El". Galling has to assume that, though it would have been logical that in the monotheistic religion of Israel YHWH would have taken over the function of a god who helps in war, the function of *rkbʾl* was attributed to Elisha. The comparison with the *rpʾum* evades this problem, because the *rpʾum* are deified human beings. The theory of Galling was rightly criticized by Schmitt 1972: 112-114 who emphasizes the similarities with Zech 6:1-8 (ibid., pp.114-115), but these are very superficial and it is unlikely that these traditions were related.

[2] Cf. J.A. Emerton, ZAW 94(1982),3-9 and De Moor 1983:83-84, n.264.

[3] Cf. V. Maag, "Jahwäs Heerscharen", in his *Kultur, Kulturkontakt und Religion*, Göttingen 1980, pp.1-28 (first published in 1950); esp. pp.17-18. 25 and the survey by B.N. Wambacq, *L'épithète divine Jahvé Sᵉbaʾôt*, Paris 1947, pp.36-37.

[4] Cf. Wambacq, pp.177-180 and A.S. van der Woude, THAT II, col.499.

[5] See on the problem of the distribution of this epithet T.N.D. Mettinger, *The Dethronement of Sabaoth*, Lund 1982.

It can be demonstrated that Elijah and Elisha, whose work is characterized by the struggle against Baal worship[1], are particularly active in matters which among the Canaanites were usually connected with Baal[2]. This is clearly indicated in the story about the healing of Naaman. As the king of Israel is asked by the king of Aram to rid Naaman of his disease, he exclaims: "Am I God to kill and to make alive?" (II Kgs 5:7). In Deut 32:39 the same words are used as a polemic against Baalism to say that only YHWH kills and makes alive[3]. Also the story of the healing of Naaman through Elisha shows the preeminence of YHWH. For Naaman acknowledges that there is no god but the god of Israel (II Kgs 5:15). And whereas YHWH takes the place of Baal, his prophets take the place of the *rpʾum*, the "healers" in the retinue of Baal, because Elijah and Elisha also act as healers[4]. Almost everything they do concerns the giving of life, e.g., by "healing" water (II Kgs 2:19-22), providing food (I Kgs 17:7-16 and II Kgs 4:1-7) and revivifying dead persons (I Kgs 17:17-24 and II Kgs 4:18-37), even after the death of the prophet himself (II Kgs 13:20-21). The special state of these two prophets is also indicated by their being called "man of God" (cf. esp. I Kgs 17:24)[5].

Some scholars assume that the story of the ascension of Elijah has to be understood within this framework of the struggle against Baalism as well[6].

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[1] Cf. H.H. Rowley, "Elijah on Mount Carmel". BJRL 43(1960-1961),190-219; Fohrer 1968B:87ff.; Hentschel 1977:248-252; and W. Dietrich, *Israel und Kanaan: Vom Ringen zweier Gesellschaftssysteme*, SBS 94, Stuttgart 1979, pp.65-67; cf. also L. Bronner, *The Stories of Elijah and Elisha as Polemics Against Baal Worship*, POS 6, Leiden 1968, but it has to be remarked that some of her interpretations are rather strained; cf. also the critical remarks by Hentschel 1977:251-252.

[2] Cf. R. Smend, in *Congress Volume Edinburgh 1974*, VT.S 28, Leiden 1976, pp.178-179 who says of Elijah: "der Prophet (ist) machtvoll in Bereichen tätig . . . die als Domäne der Baalsreligion gelten, also dort, wo es um Natur, Vegetation, Leben geht".

[3] Cf. De Moor 1976:337.

[4] Cf. C. Grottanelli, "Healers and Saviours of the Eastern Mediterranean in Pre-Classical Times", in *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell' impero romano*, ed. U. Bianchi and M.J. Vermaseren, Leiden 1982, pp.649-670; esp. pp.651-654.

[5] Cf. Schottroff 1982:220-227.

[6] With regard to the date of these stories it can be noted that it is generally acknowledged that they originate in local hagiology and folklore

According to Bronner it had to show that only God rules over the clouds and not Baal who is called "rider of the clouds" in Ugaritic mythology. For the prophet of YHWH ascends to the clouds, whereas the Ugaritic myth of Baal tells us that Baal was found lying dead on the earth[1]. Schmitt, who was at first rather sceptical with regard to this suggestion[2], admits in a later study that the heavenly ascent of Elijah was part of the answer of Yahwism to the challenge of Baalism[3]. Bronner's arguments, however, are far from convincing. There is no indication that the epithet "rider of the clouds" was ever connected with the assumption to heaven and it is also unlikely that Elijah would have been compared to Baal. Bronner's theory can be better illustrated now by a comparison of the story of Elijah's heavenly ascent with the conception of the *rpʾum* coming up from the netherworld and even rising up to heaven. The main difference from the story of the assumption of Elijah is that the prophet of YHWH is not taken up from the netherworld, but from the world of the living. In this regard it exceeds its Canaanite counterpart.

Apart from the reaction against Canaanite conceptions about the revivification of the dead it is important to note another theological factor in this tradition about Elijah's assumption. This may be even more important, because instead of explaining it as a reaction, i.e., emphasizing the negative factor, it shows that it can be related positively to the close relation between Elijah and YHWH. This positive theological factor becomes clear if we note, as is done by a number of scholars, that Elijah is described as a "second Moses"[4]. Now this holds also true for his departure

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of the ninth century B.C.; cf. Fohrer 1968B:50; Gray, *I & II Kings*, p.30 and on this date of the history of Elijah and the history of Elisha O. Eissfeldt,"Die Komposition von I Reg 16:29-II Reg 13:25", in *Das ferne und nahe Wort*, Fs L. Rost, ed. F. Maass, BZAW 105, Berlin 1967, pp.49-58; esp. p.58. This may also hold true for the traditions about Elijah's ascension and for the fact that Elijah and Elisha are described as healers comparable to the Ugaritic *rpʾum*, because it is unlikely that these elements were products of later theological reflexion. Cf. Schmitt 1973:132-133 who dates II Kgs 2:1b-15 at the end of the ninth century.

[1] Bronner, *The Stories of Elijah and Elisha*, p.127.

[2] Schmitt 1973:110, n.130.

[3] Schmitt 1982:45-49.

[4] Cf. Fohrer 1968B:55-58; R.P. Carroll, "The Elijah-Elisha-Sagas: Some Remarks on Prophetic Succession in Ancient Israel", VT 19(1969),400-415; and Hentschel 1977:270.

from this world[1]. For this explains why Elijah's ascension takes place on the other side of the river Jordan, east of Jericho (cf. Deut 34:1ff. and also what has been said on pp.228-229 above about the connection of this region with the Canaanite cult of the dead!). According to the description of Moses' death in Deut 34:5-6 Moses seems to have been buried by YHWH, but his grave was not found. So his death remains mysterious. The most important element of Deut 34:5-6 is that apparently YHWH took care of Moses, who stood so close to Him, even after his death. In fact, the belief in YHWH carrying up Elijah to heaven is based on the same conviction. It can be regarded as the utmost consequence of the belief in the close relation between men like Moses and Elijah and YHWH[2].

3.3.2. THE ASSUMPTION OF ENOCH

Gen 5:24 describing the assumption of Enoch is part of a genealogy consisting of ten generations[3]. The information about the second until the ninth generation is given according to a fixed pattern: "And NN lived x years and he begot NN. And NN lived after the birth of NN y years and he begot sons and daughters. And all the days of NN were x+y years and he died". With regard to Enoch who is the seventh in line some phrases are added to this pattern. In the beginning of v.22 we read: "and Enoch walked with God" instead of the usual "and NN lived"[4]. So Enoch's life is characterized as "walking with God"[5]. The same expression is used in v.24 and

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[1] Cf. Carroll, pp.110-111; Haag 1969:21-22; Schmitt 1973:136-137; Gese 1977:46; Hentschel 1977:270.317; and Houtman 1978:302.

[2] Nötscher 1926:126 speaks with regard to the traditions about Elijah and Enoch of "der naiver ursprüngliche Ausdruck für eine ganz besondere Auszeichnung hervorragender Frömmigkeit". Cf. also Schmitt 1973:110.

[3] According to the Priestly writer there were also ten generations between Noah and Abraham, whereas he has listed ten of these genealogies; cf. with regard to this phenomenon N. Lohfink, in *Congress Volume Göttingen 1977*, VT.S 29, Leiden 1979, p.207.

[4] According to BHS we have to correct the MT of v.23 by inserting ויחי חנוך, but the textcritical basis for this is weak; cf. against this emendation also Schmitt 1973:152-153. Because the omitting in the MT of the expected ויחי חנוך tallies with the omitting of וימת חנוך in v.24, there is no reason to add it here.

[5] See on this expression Schmitt 1973:158-162 and F.J. Helfmeyer, ThWAT II, cols.422-424.

(with reversed word order) in Gen 6:9 describing Noah as "righteous man, blameless in his generation". Noah's generation has made the earth "corrupt before God" and has filled it with violence (Gen 6:11). Noah does not walk with them (cf. Ps 1:1), but with God. This metaphor, which denotes intimate companionship with God[1], is used only with regard to these two persons who lived before the flood. Apparently the Priestly writer wanted to say that after the flood it was no longer possible to achieve this[2].

In v.23 we find the following slight difference from the fixed pattern: instead of the usual plural form ויהיו the singular ויהי is used. Some Hebrew manuscripts and the Samaritan Pentateuch have "corrected" this and changed it into ויהיו. In this they are followed by most commentators. It must be noted, however, that the same variant occurs in v.31 and in a similar context, viz. the mentioning of an age which is clearly lower than the average age of more than 900 years of the other persons in this chapter[3]. Moreover, the 365 years of Enoch and the 777 years of Lamech can be regarded as special numbers constituting a distinct unit. This would explain why the singular form of the verb was used[4]. The age of Lamech appears to be linked with the numbers 7 and 77 in Gen 4:24, where his namesake says: "If Cain is avenged sevenfold, truly Lamech seventy-sevenfold". The use of the number 777 by the Priestly writer can be explained as a reaction to this older tradition (cf. also vv.1-11 with 4:25-26)[5]. In 5:28-31 Lamech is described as the father of Noah by whom God saved mankind from the flood. In this way he is the positive counterpart of the man crying for revenge.

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[1] Cf. J. Skinner, *Genesis*, ICC, Edinburgh 1910, p.131.

[2] Cf. G. von Rad, *Das erste Buch Mose. Genesis*, ATD 2-4, 10th ed., Göttingen 1976, p.48. With regard to Abraham we find a more indirect expression: "he walked before God" (Gen 17:1). In Micah 6:8 and Mal 2:6 "to walk (הלך qal instead of hitp) with God" is used more generally to denote faithfulness and righteousness.

[3] The extraordinary high age of these men probably denotes that they were blessed by YHWH; cf. C. Westermann, *Genesis*, BK I/1, 2nd ed., Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976, p.480. According to the Priestly writer the age of human beings was gradually reduced to 200-600 in the period from Noah to Abraham and then to 100-200 years in the period of the patriarchs. Finally, it became 70-80 years (cf. Ps 90:10); cf. Von Rad, *Genesis*, p.47. According to Gen 5 nobody grew older than 1000 years. This may have been regarded as the ultimate border of human life (cf. Ps 90:4 and Eccles 6:6), which not even these famous men before the flood had crossed; cf. E. Jacob, *Das erste Buch der Tora. Genesis*, I, Berlin 1934, p.165.

[4] Cf. Jacob, *Genesis*, p.165 and U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis*, I, Jerusalem 1961, p.285.

[5] Cf. O. Procksch, *Die Genesis*, Leipzig 1924, p.463; E.A. Speiser, *Genesis*, AncB 1, Garden City 1964, p.43; and Schmitt 1973:169.

It is interesting to note that the number 365 is also used, be it indirectly, by the Priestly writer in the story of the flood: according to Gen 7:11 and 8:14 the flood lasted exactly 365 days[1]. Apparently he regarded it as a round number. According to some scholars he used it in Gen 5:23 to indicate that, even though Enoch had not lived as long as his ancestors, his life was not abruptly cut off[2]. But 365 is not a common round number in the Old Testament. This led many scholars to assume a relation with the solar year, which lasts 365 days[3]. The circumstance that Enoch was related to the sun in this way made it possible to compare Enoch with Enmeduranki, the seventh king on the Babylonian King List, who was king of Sippar, a centre of the worship of the solar deity[4]. This Enmeduranki would have been allowed a visit to heaven. It has to be noted, however, that such a visit is not the same as the definitive transfer from this world of Enoch[5]. A better explanation of the use of the number 365 in this context is offered by the Old Testament itself. Because it associates Enoch with the sun, we can connect it with Ps 89:37 in which the reference to the sun denotes the everlasting duration of the line of the king (cf. also Ps 72: 5.17). The remarkable age of Enoch points in the same direction: whereas the other persons mentioned in Gen 5 may have become very old but ultimately could not cross the limits set to mankind, Enoch has transcended these limits. Just like the sunset shall be followed by sunrise Enoch's life shall not end with 365. This can be compared with what is said in the Gilgamesh Epic about the eternal life of Utnapishtim living in Dilmun and also with Gilgamesh' description of the victory over death as "living forever with the sun-god"; in Egypt the dead person who overcomes all the horrors of the netherworld is united with Re; in Ugarit it is the sun-goddess who liberates Baal from the realm of death (cf. KTU 1.6:IV.17ff. and also 1.17: VI.28-29) (see pp.88.123.154 above).

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[1] Cf. Cassuto, *Genesis*, II, Jerusalem 1964, pp.113-114.

[2] Cf. W. Zimmerli, *1.Mose 1-11. Die Urgeschichte*, ZBKAT 1.1, 3rd ed., Zürich 1967, p.256; Westermann, *Genesis*, p.485. A remarkable interpretation, which was probably based on later Jewish traditions about Enoch, is given by E. König, *Die Genesis*, 3rd ed., Gütersloh 1925, p.314. In his opinion the number 365 "wurde gewählt, als man schon angefangen hatte, das 'wandeln mit Gott' als einen äusserlichen Aufenthalt im Jenseits anzusehen und deshalb Henoch einen intimen Einblick in die Sternkunde zuzuschreiben". It has also been assumed that God took Enoch away because of the sinfulness of this world. This very ancient interpretation (cf. Wisdom 4:14) has been defended recently by L. Zachmann, "Beobachtungen zur Theologie in Gen 5", ZAW 88(1976),272-274. However, this cannot be deduced from the text itself.

[3] Procksch, *Die Genesis*, p.461 assumes a connection between this reference to the solar year and the seventh place of Enoch in the genealogy of Gen 5 as the number of the days in one week.

[4] See for this opinion, which was prevalent for a long period, Skinner, *Genesis*, p.132; Martin-Achard 1956:58; and Speiser, *Genesis*, p.43. H. Gunkel, *Genesis*, 3rd ed., Göttingen 1910, p.135 and Sellin 1919:262 even assumed a connection with a solar deity.

[5] Cf. Schmitt 1973:173-174 and Westermann, *Genesis*, p.485.

The last and most important change in the fixed pattern of Gen 5 is found in v.24. This whole verse replaces the words "and NN died"[1]. Usually only v.24b is regarded as its replacement, because only this part of the verse clearly speaks of the end of Enoch's life on earth, whereas the originality of v.24a, which repeats v.22aA, has been questioned[2]. Verse 24a mentions again Enoch's walking with God. This could be explained as giving the reason for what follows[3]. But it has to be doubted whether the strict pattern of these verses left room for such explanatory remarks. For this reason we have to assume that not just the second part of v.24 but the whole verse was meant as a variant of "and NN died". This offers an important clue for the interpretation of this verse, because it means that also the repeated "Enoch walked with God" refers to his death. In fact, v.24 seems to speak in three different ways of the end of Enoch's life on earth. The most clear one is "he was no more"[4]. This expression is often used in connection with someone's death (cf. Ps 39:14; 103:16; and Job 7:21). This led Cassuto to the conclusion that it is used here as a euphemism for "he died"[5]. This cannot, however, be deduced from the context. The following clause indicates that it has to be taken literally. It simply denotes that Enoch had disappeared (cf. Gen 37:30; I Kgs 20:40; and also II Kgs 2:12: "and he (Elisha) saw him (Elijah) no more"). Apparently Enoch no longer belonged to this world. The same idea is expressed by "he walked with God" and by "God took him". "To walk with God" is used in v.22 to denote Enoch's way of life. Now we hear that this walking with God does not stop at death. Verse 24a is not merely a repetition of v.22. It denotes a different aspect of walking with God: v.22 concerns this life, v.24 the afterlife[1].

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[1] Cf. Cassuto, *Genesis*, I, p.285 and Miller 1977:40.

[2] See on this issue Schmitt 1973:156-158 who maintains that the repetition is intended as emphasis.

[3] Cf. W.H. Gispen, *Genesis*, I, Kampen 1974, p.209.

[4] See on this expression Schmitt 1973:163-165.

[5] Cassuto, *Genesis*, I, p.285.

The belief that walking with God does not stop with death also explains the use of this expression with regard to Noah. The remark that Noah walked with God has to be seen within the framework of his part in the story of the flood. The flood is the return of chaos, the victory of death over life. Only Noah, who walked with God, could survive.

With regard to Gen 5:24a most attention has been paid to the question of the precise meaning of the verb לקח. Many scholars regard it as a *terminus technicus* of the taking away of a human being before death from this world to live on in a blissful state[2]. It is clear, however, that the text is very reticent here and leaves room for all kinds of speculations. It "conceals more than it reveals"[3]. What it reveals is that Enoch is taken by God from this world. This "taking" has two aspects: it is the separation from this world, but it is also an indication of God taking Enoch to Himself by which He confirms on his part their intimate companionship[4].

It is remarkable that like the comparable tradition about Elijah this story of Enoch transcending death is only found in one place in the Old Testament. The assumption of Enoch is only mentioned by the Priestly writer and left no traces in the Yahwistic source (cf. Gen 4:17-18). In the intertestamental literature, however, the tradition about Enoch takes a very prominent part. This different valuation may be due to the fact that Gen 5:24 is based on a non-Israelite source, viz. the Mesopotamian story of the heavenly ascent of Utuabzu, the counsellor of the seventh king before the flood[1]. In the apocalyptic writings of the last centuries B.C. this formerly strange element was not only accepted but even emphasized as it fitted the new beliefs very well.

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[1] We agree with Schmitt 1973:159 that v.24a must have the same meaning as v.22aA; against Cassuto, *Genesis*, I, p.285. This does not exclude, however, the fact that the different context emphasizes a different aspect.

[2] Cf. Gunkel, *Genesis*, p.135; Procksch, *Die Genesis*, p.462; Nötscher 1926:123; De Bondt 1938:145; Martin-Achard 1956:59; Von Rad, *Genesis*, p.49. Cf. against this Houtman 1979:179-181. Schmitt 1973:165-167 is reserved in this matter. He rightly observes that the use of Akkadian *leqû* in Gilg.XI.196 cannot be adduced as an argument here, because it is used literally in this text (*ibid.*, pp.312-313).

[3] Cassuto, *Genesis*, I, p.285; cf. also Kroon 1939 who states that there is no clear evidence of Henoch being taken to heaven. This reticence has been explained in different ways. Gunkel, *Genesis*, p.135 speaks of "echte, jüdische Scheu vor dem Mythologischen"; Schmitt 1973:166 explains it as a "verhaltene(n) Redeweise gegenüber den detaillierten Entrückungsberichten aus dem altorientalischen Raum"; and Houtman 1979:186-187 thinks that the author deliberately left room for the diverging traditions about Enoch.

[4] Cf. G.Ch. Aalders, *Het boek Genesis*, KVHS, 2nd ed., Kampen 1949, p.179.

It may seem unlikely that the Priestly writer, who is very strict with regard to religious matters, used foreign mythological elements here. An interesting but also rather speculative explanation for this is offered by Schmitt[2]. He points to the fact that the Priestly writer divided the history he described into four periods: the period before the flood, the period shortly after the flood, the period of the patriarchs, and the period of Moses. In each period one person takes a very prominent place. In the last three periods these are Noah, Abraham and Moses. As the exceptional person of the first period the Priestly writer would have chosen Enoch and by describing him like his counterpart of the Mesopotamian King List (or, strictly speaking, like the counsellor of this king) he could also show the Israelites that their predecessors were not inferior to those of the mighty people of Babylon. Schmitt emphasizes the fact that the Akkadian text speaking of Utuabzu "der zum Himmel emporgestiegen ist" and Gen 5:24 speaking of God taking Enoch have different subjects. However, this should not be stressed too much, because the data about Utuabzu appear in the very different context of a ritual text. More important is the observation that the comparison with Utuabzu makes it all the more remarkable that the Priestly writer does not give us further information about what happened to Enoch. We are not told to which place he was taken. All speculations about heavenly bliss and places like Dilmun are avoided. In this regard the "priestly" Gen 5:24 appears to be more reticent than the "popular" II Kgs 2.

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[1] Cf. Borger 1974 and Schmitt 1982:38-41. An important common element in the traditions about Enoch and Utuabzu is the connection of their victory over death with the sun(-god): Enoch lives as many years as the solar year has days; Utuabzu was the counsellor of the king of Sippar, a centre of the cult of Shamash. See pp.123-124 above.

[2] Schmitt 1982:41-44.

3.4. THE CRITICAL REACTION TO SOME FOREIGN CONCEPTIONS

It has been demonstrated that the Old Testament traditions about Elijah and Enoch have much in common with some Canaanite and Mesopotamian ideas about the afterlife and were probably influenced by them. This tallies with what has been said in section 2.5.3.2. above about the familiarity of the Israelites with some foreign conceptions about the afterlife. However, this process of assimilation did not go unchallenged. For instance, in Isa 14 the prophet scorns the Canaanite royal ideology with its ideas about the eternal life of the king. This rejection in the Old Testament of certain foreign conceptions of the afterlife shall be discussed now more fully to find out whether it has influenced Israel's own belief in this matter, as is assumed by a number of scholars (see p.71 above).

3.4.1. REVIVIFICATION WITH BAAL

There can be no doubt about the rejection of the worship of Baal by Yahwism. This does not imply, however, that all elements of Baalism were rejected. Some functions which were ascribed to Baal were taken over by YHWH after the Israelites had settled in Canaan[1]. As has been stated before, this offers a plausible background of Deut 32:39. In the Ugaritic texts it is said of Baal that he is a healer and that he revivifies the *rpʾum*. Deut 32:39 appears to be a reaction to this belief, because in this text YHWH states that only He has the power over life and death[2]:

> See now that I, I am He,
>   and there is no god beside Me.

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[1] Cf. G. Fohrer, *Geschichte der israelitischen Religion*, Berlin 1969, pp. 95-96.

[2] See on this and other polemic remarks against Baalism in Deut 32 Habel 1964:39-49 and De Moor 1973:I,15-16. The Song of Moses is usually dated in the period after the exile, but most scholars agree that it contains many earlier, partly Canaanite traditions; cf. E. Noort, OTS 23(1984), 121 and H.D. Preuss, *Deuteronomium*, EdF, Darmstadt 1982, p.167 who also gives a survey of previous research.

I kill and I revivify;
  I wound and I heal;
    there is no rescue from by grasp.

A reference to the polemic with Baal worship in this matter can also be found in Hos 11:2-3 where the Israelites are reproached for their sacrificing to the Baals without realizing that it is YHWH who had healed them[1]. Probably Deuteronomy is dependent upon Hosea in 32:39 as it is in many other places[2]. It is interesting to note that like Elijah and Elisha the prophet Hosea worked in northern Palestine. The fact that traditions about the confrontation with Baalism and also the adoption of elements of the religion of Baal primarily come from this part of Palestine seems to point to a relatively strong influence of Baal worship in this area. This comes as no surprise when we realize that the roots of belief in YHWH, who may have been related from the very beginning with the Canaanite El, lie in southern Palestine[3].

The prophets testify that it is not Baal who is the healer, but YHWH and that the *rpʾum* can have no part in any of the healing power of the god of fertility. The prophets of YHWH themselves, however, can act as healers on behalf of YHWH. So they are able to offer the people an alternative to the advantages of Baal worship. For something like the positive conceptions of afterlife connected with Baal, however, there appears to be no place in

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[1] Cf. A.D.H. Mays, *Deuteronomy*, NCeB, Grand Rapids 1979, p.392. Exod 15:26, "I, YHWH, am your (i.e. Israel's) healer", seems not to belong whithin this framework of anti-Baalism, because unlike Deut 32:39 and Hos 11:2-3 the context gives no references to the belief in other gods. Lohfink may be right in assuming that the origin of the metaphor in Exod 15:26 lies in common personal piety (N. Lohfink, in N. Lohfink et al., *"Ich will euer Gott sein":Beispiele biblischen Redens von Gott*, SBS 100, Stuttgart 1981, pp.41-49).

[2] Cf. H.W. Wolff, *Hosea*, BK XIV/1, 3rd ed., Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976, p.XXVI, although he does not mention this text. It would go too far to infer from texts like this that the origin of Deuteronomy lies in northern Palestine as has been assumed by Alt and others; cf. the critical remarks on this theory by R. Smend, *Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments*, Stuttgart 1980, pp.80-81 and C. Houtman, *Inleiding in de Pentateuch*, Kampen 1980, pp. 178-179.

[3] Cf. De Moor 1983:49-55. It should be noted that the god El as we know him from the literature of Ugarit cannot simply be identified with the El of the religion of southern Palestine. De Moor suggests that originally the latter was closely related to YHWH or even identical with Him. The name YHWH may be regarded as a short form of יהוה אל, "El is" (cf. ibid., p.69).

Yahwism. Unlike the Ugaritic *rpʾum* the Old Testament רפאים are only described as weak (cf. Isa 14:9-10 and Ps 88:5) and in Ezek 39:11-16 the Oberim who are described in KTU 1.22:I.15 as participants in a banquet for which the important dead had been revivified are the victims of God's wrath and are buried forever. We can notice in this connection also the rhetorical question of Ps 88:11:

> Dost Thou work wonders for the dead,
> shall shades (רפאים) rise up and praise Thee?

The context of this verse shows that the answer can only be: no! The way the question is formulated indicates that it is intended as a polemic against the opposite view[1], against something like what is said about the dead in KTU 1.22:I.5, "El made (the dead) stand up". There are two important parallels between Ps 88:11 and this Ugaritic text. In the first place the use of the verb קום/*qym*, but also the fact that Ps 88 is the only Psalm which mentions the רפאים. Its scepticism with regard to the power of God to raise the dead can be compared to Eccles 3:19 and 12:7, which seem to criticize the belief in the immortality of the soul[2]. In the same way Ps 88:11 might have criticized the hope for rescue from the netherworld. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to date this Psalm. However, the polemic in v.11 is an indication of a date before the exile (cf. Isa 14).

Another text in which the verb קום is used in connection with the idea of the resurrection of the dead is Hos 6:2. As the context shows, this idea is used here as a metaphor for the rescue of the people of Israel. Hos 6:2 is part of the reaction of the people (vv.1-3) to what has been said in the previous chapter, whereas Hos 6:4-6 is YHWH's answer to the people. A similar reaction can be found in Hos 8:2 and 11:7. Most scholars agree that the pericope ends in 6:6, but with regard to its beginning many different proposals have been made. The Massoretes have marked a separtion between 5:7 and 5:8. The beginning of a new pericope in 5:8 with the call to *blow* the *trumpet* would have a *parallel in 8:1. This demarcation is* also defended by Alt[3] and a number of scholars following him[4]. It is supported by our structural analysis. We propose the following translation:

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[1] Cf. Höffken 1981:314, n.25.

[2] Cf. Kellermann 1976:279-280 and Schoors 1983:156-157.

[3] Alt 1953.

[4] Cf. D. Deden, *De kleine profeten*, BOT XII, Roermond 1953, p.45; Hentschke 1957:89; J.L. Mays, *Hosea*, OTL, 2nd ed., London 1975, pp.85-86; J. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, ATD 24,1, Göttingen 1983, p.80; and M.C. Lind,

Ia 8 Blow the ram's horn in Gibeah,
the trumpet in Ramah;
raise a cry in Beth-Awen:
"after you, Benjamin!"[1]

9 Ephraim shall become a desolation
on the day of punishment.
On the tribes of Israel
I have proclaimed what is sure.

10 The rulers of Judah are
like those who remove the landmark;
upon them I will pour out
like water my wrath.

11 Oppressed is Ephraim
crushed by judgement,
because he was intent of going
after nonsense[2].

Ib 12 And I became like a moth to Efraim
and like rottenness to the house of Judah.

13 When Ephraim saw his sickness
and Judah his boil,
Ephraim went to Assyria
and he sent to the Great King[3].
But he cannot heal you
nor take your boil from you.

14 Because I am like a lion to Ephraim
and like a young lion to the house of Judah
I, yes I will tear in pieces and go;
I will carry off and there is no one who rescues.

15 I will go and return to my place
untill they realize that they are guilty.
And they will seek my face,
in their distress they will search hard for Me:

"Hosea 5:8-6:6", *Interpretation* 38(1984),398-403.

[1] The meaning of the expression אחריך is not clear. It occurs in a similar context in Judg 5:14 and we can also note the external parallelism with אחרי in v.11b within the first substanza. The passage should probably be compared with Isa 10:28-32 and Micah 1:8-16, because there too we have the short confused cries of fleeing armies associated with certain villages.

[2] For צו as an indication of nonsense cf. Isa 28:10.13 where it is used together with קו. These words are no more than letters of the alphabet.

[3] מלכירב can be explained as the Hebrew equivalent of Akkadian *šarru rabū*; cf. F.I. Andersen and D.N. Freedman, *Hosea*, AncB 24, Garden City 1980, p.414.

IIa 6:1 "Come, let us return to YHWH!

Because He has torn to pieces and He will heal us;
He has struck and He will bind up (our wounds).
2 He will revive us after two days;
on the third day He will raise us up.

We will live before Him (3) and know;
we will pursue to know YHWH:
his coming out is as sure as the dawn;
He will come to us like the rain,
like spring rains that water the earth."

IIb 4 How shall I deal with you, Ephraim;
how shall I deal with you, Judah?
Your loyalty is like the morning mist,
like the dew that goes away early.

5 Therefore I hacked (them) through the prophets,
I killed them with the words of my mouth.
And my judgements are a light coming out[1].

6 For I desire loyalty and not sacrifice
and knowledge of God rather than offerings.

It appears that Hos 5:8-6:6 has a well-balanced strophical structure consisting of two stanzas, each divided into two substanzas of equal length. The first two substanzas consist of four strophes, the last two substanzas of three strophes. Also the number of verses is regular: 2.2.2.2/1.3.2.2// 1.2.2/2.2.1 (8.8/5.5). We can notice the following formal markers: the beginning of the first stanza (5:8-15) is marked by an imperative, just as the beginning of the second stanza (6:1-6). A clear case of external parallelism in substanza is the repetition of אחרי (vv.8b.11b). The beginning of substanza Ib is marked by ואני[2]. This word is characteristic of this part of the text (cf. v.14). Another example of external parallelism in Ib is indicated by מזור (vv.13a.13b) and we can also mention the parallel structure of v.12 and v.14a. The most important markers of the last two substanzas are the words separating them from previous units, viz. the imperative in 6:1 and מה in 6:4[3].

Substanza Ia is connected with substanza IIa by יום (5:9a; 6:2a), but especially with substanza IIb by משפט (5:11a; 6:5b) and דעת/ידע (5:9b; 6:6; cf. also 6:3 in IIa). Substanza Ib is connected with IIa by the repetition of רפא (5:13b; 6:1a), טרף (5:14b; 6:1a), שוב (5:15a; 6:1a), פנים (5:15a; 6:2b), and כ (5:12.14a; 6:3b). Substanza IIb is connected with substanza IIa by כ . . . יצא (6:3a.5b). Finally, it should be noted that the verb הלך is used in all substanzas (5:11b.13a.14b.15a; 6:1a.4b).

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[1] With BHS and most commentators we assume that in the MT the preposition כ before אור was wrongly interpreted as a pronominal suffix belonging to משפטי. The original text is retained in the LXX, the Syriac Version and in the Targum. A similar expression can be found in Ps 37:6.

[2] For examples of this word marking the beginning of strophes and (sub)-stanzas see Van der Lugt 1980:513.

[3] Cf. Van der Lugt 1980:516-517.

Now the contents of Hos 5:8-6:6 can be described as follows:

Ia Judgement over Ephraim and Judah;
Ib Punishment with sickness and death;
IIa Hope for healing and revivification by YHWH;
IIb Judgement over Ephraim and Judah.

The formal analysis shows that substanza IIb, which is a reaction to IIa[1], takes up Ia, just as Ib is connected with IIa. The central theme of this pericope is the disturbed relation between YHWH and his people. The use of the verb הלך beautifully illustrates this: in vv.11b.13a it is part of the description of Ephraim's going astray; in vv.14b-15a it denotes YHWH's going when He punishes his people; in 6:1a it is the beginning of the exclamation of the repentant people and, finally, in 6:4b it is used in YHWH's answer that this conversion is not wholehearted.

The strophical structure, which offers some insight into the relation of Hos 6:1-3 to its context, may help us to find the reason why the words spoken in 6:1-3 expressing the people's trust in YHWH were not acceptable to YHWH[2]. According to Harper Israel is represented as wanting to come back to YHWH, "but with a conception of YHWH so false and an idea of repentance so inadequate as to make the whole action a farce"[3]. It has been remarked by other commentators that a confession of sins is missing here[4] and that YHWH's mercy is described in terms derived from the Canaanite fertility cult[5]. Only this last remark is probably to the point here, because the text itself gives no reason to question the sincerity of the people speaking here. Moreover, as has been remarked by Rudolph[1], they use words of the prophet himself. When they say that they want to return to YHWH and that they want to know Him, this is no less than a positive answer to Hos 5:4.

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[1] Some scholars want to place 6:5b after 6:3aC (cf. BHS; K. Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, Tübingen 1904, p.54; and T.H. Robinson, in T.H. Robinson and F. Horst, *Die zwölf kleine Propheten*, HAT 14, 3rd ed., Tübingen 1964, pp.24-25). Apparently they disregard the fact that v.5b can be regarded as an answer to the words of v.3aC: whereas the people are convinced of YHWH coming to heal them, YHWH states that He will come to judge them.

[2] Scholars denying that YHWH rejects Israel's repentance have great difficulties in explaining the relation between 6:1-3 and 6:4-6. Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*, p.52 takes 5:15-6:3 as a "tröstlicher späterer Anhang". According to W. Rudolph, *Hosea*, KAT 13.1, Gütersloh 1966, p.138 Hos 6:4-6 is a reaction to the people speaking of repentance, but not acting according to their words. He assumes that something must have happened after the words spoken in vv.1-3 having caused the answer of vv.4-6. According to Andersen, Freedman, *Hosea*, p.426 "6:4-6 goes with 5:12-15 in mood, and 5:12-15 and 6:4-6 together come before 6:1-3 logically, and in time". They do not explain why they are separated in the present text.

[3] W.R. Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, ICC, Edinburgh 1910, p.281; cf. also Alt 1953:185 who speaks of a "flüchtige Aufwellung zum Guten"; and Greenspoon 1981:308: "a gross misunderstanding of the ways of God and what ought to be the ways of man".

[4] Cf. Deden, *De kleine profeten*, p.49 and A. Deissler, *Zwölf Propheten: Hosea. Joel. Amos*, Echter Bibel, Würzburg 1981, p.31.

[5] Cf. E. Sellin, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, I, 3rd ed., Leipzig 1929, pp.71-72; Hentschke 1957:89-91; Wolff, *Hosea*, pp.149.151; H. Ringgren, ThWAT II, col.890; and Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, p.86.

The key to the right interpretation of Hos 6:1-3 and the negative reaction to this in vv.4-6 lies in v.3aC, which is taken up in v.5b. In v.3aC YHWH is compared to the sun which "comes out" every morning (cf. Ps 19:7) and the parallel stichoi refer to the coming of the early rain in the same period every year. YHWH's answer to this confession is that all that can be said of Him is that his judgement will "come out like the light" (v.5b) and that this has nothing to do with the cycle of nature, but only with the coming of his prophets transmitting his words (v.5a). So the problem with the repenting answer of the people is that it shows that they disregard the freedom of YHWH to act in his time and in his own way. He is not bound by any rule[2].

Now the first part of the speech of the people becomes clear as well. The expectation of YHWH healing and revivifying on the third day must have been derived from belief in Baal leaving the netherworld every year and taking with him the prominent dead (see p.170 above). The Ugaritic texts about the *rpʾum* confirm the relation of this text with the concept of the dying and rising god of fertility, as was proposed already before the discovery of ancient Ugarit by Baudissin[3] and after him by many others[4]. The new information offered by the Ugaritic literature also solves the problem noticed by many scholars that the revivification of Israel can hardly be compared with the belief in the dying and rising god of nature. For now we know that Baal was believed to take some of the dead with him. So the metaphor in Hos 6:1-3 is derived from the belief in real liberation from the world of the dead as part of a cyclical conception of beatific afterlife and does not refer to the healing of sickness. The use of this metaphor for YHWH helping his people shows that the Israelites were influenced by Canaanite religion in this regard. The criticism of the prophet concerns not so much the belief in YHWH's ability to heal and make alive (cf. Deut 32:39) or to bring rain (cf. Joel 2:23), but in the first place the idea that YHWH's actions would be predictable like the coming of the seasons.

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[1] Rudolph, *Hosea*, p.134.

[2] Cf. Jeremias, *Der Prophet Hosea*, p.86 who remarks that Israel speaks of YHWH "als von einem Naturgott, dessen Heil sicher und berechenbar ist".

[3] Baudissin 1911:403-416; esp. pp.408ff.

[4] Cf. Sellin 1919:243-246 and *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, pp.71-72; Martin-Achard 1956:70-71; Hentschke 1957:90; Stemberger 1972:284-285; H. Ringgren, ThWAT II, col.890; and Healey 1977A:29.

This interpretation is further illustrated and confirmed by Hos 13:14 14:2ff. Hos 13:14,

> Shall I redeem them from Sheol,
> shall I ransom them from death?

also implies that YHWH is stronger than death. The point is whether He shall use his power or not[1]. Apparently the people mentioned here do not deserve it. And in Hos 14:2ff. we hear what YHWH really expects of his people and what his people can expect of Him. These verses are clearly related to 5:8ff. and for this reason very helpful with regard to the interpretation of that passage. If Israel wants to return to YHWH (14:2; cf. 6:1), it shall have to stop trusting in the power of Assyria (14:4; cf. 5:13) and in other gods. Then YHWH shall heal them (14:5; cf. 6:1) and "love them freely" (14:5). This last word expresses exactly what was missing in 6:1-3.

3.4.2. THE ETERNAL LIFE OF THE KING

As we saw earlier the hope of a foreign ruler to live forever was criticized in Isa 14 as an inadmissible attempt to transcend the boundaries set to man (cf. also Isa 26:13-14; Ezek 28:1-10; and Ps 82). On the other hand we can find such a wish also in the Old Testament (cf. I Kgs 1:31) next to the belief that YHWH has given to the king "length of days for ever and ever" (Ps 21:5)[2]. So the question arises how these positive statements about the king's eternal life can be related to what has been said by the prophet about the pride of the foreign ruler. This issue becomes all the more interesting if we take into account the fact that some scholars connect these texts about the eternal life of the king with a belief in beatific afterlife (see pp.80-81 above). The basic argument for this is comparison with Ugaritic texts about the deification of the king after his death. One has to be careful, however, in equating the eternal life ascribed to the living king with belief in heavenly bliss awaiting him after death. In the typical hyperbolic language of the royal ideology of the ancient Orient "millions of years", "eternal kingship", "life as long as sun and moon exist" describe a quality rather than a quantity of time (see pp.116-117 above). The Gilgamesh Epic is a clear illustration of the fact that people realized that no man, not even a king, can avoid death (cf. also KTU 1.16:I.14-23 about the impending death of the "immortal" king Keret). It can be safely assumed that the eternal life ascribed to the king does not refer in the first place to the length of his life, but is a qualification of his state as a ruler. Because eternal life is commonly accepted as a prerogative of the gods, it qualifies the king as representing the gods in this world. For this reason we prefer to interpret the passage of Ps 21 speaking of the eternal life bestowed upon the king as an indication of his special relation with YHWH who gives the king eternal life, splendour and majesty (vv.5ff.). These are qualities which are all attributed to YHWH as well (cf. Ps 92:9 and 96:6). So YHWH gives the king the power to rule strongly and fruitfully, to be able to act as his representative. In this connection "eternal life" refers to the king's power and not to immortality[1]. Ps 45:3.7 belongs within the same framework. The king is called "god" here, because as a king he is like the god he represents (cf. also Ps 2:7 and 58:2).

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[1] Cf. Rudolph, *Hosea*, p.245.

[2] The Old Testament texts speaking of the eternal life of the king are listed and discussed by E. Jenni, THAT II, cols.237-238 and S. Springer, *Neuinterpretationen im Alten Testament*, Stuttgart 1979, pp.169-172.

The eternal life of the king can also be taken more literally as denoting the length of his life (cf. Ps 61:7-8 and 72:5), the eternity of his name (cf. Ps 72:17) and of his throne and his family occupying it (cf. Ps 18:51; 89:5.30.37-38)[2]. All these texts clearly refer to this life and there is no reason to assume that they have ever been related to some kind of beatific afterlife.

As Ps 2:7; 45:3.7; 58:2 and also Isa 9:5 show, the idea that the king belongs to the sphere of the divine was not rejected in itself by Yahwism.

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[1] Cf. Jenni 1953:60: "Die 'Ewigkeit' des Lebens bezieht sich in erster Linie auf das Leben als göttliche Lebens*kraft*, nicht auf die empirische Lebens*zeit* des Menschen".

[2] Cf. Jenni 1953:61 and THAT II, col.238.

The plain reason why Isa 14; Ezek 28:1-10; and Ps 82 are more critical in this regard is that it could easily lead to pride and abuse of power. When a king misuses his high state in this way, it becomes necessary to remind him of the fact that he is no more than a mortal man.

The ancient Israelites appear to have been familiar with the Canaanite idea of the deceased kings becoming minor deities in the netherworld. However, as was demonstrated above, Isa 14 can be seen as a rejection of this belief and from Gen 6:1-4 we learn that it was unacceptable to Yahwism.

3.4.3. GENESIS 6:1-4 AND THE HEROES OF CANAAN

In Gen 6:1-4, which describes the climax of sinful practices on earth in the period before the flood, we find an explanation of the origin of the Nephilim and "mighty men of old" mentioned in v.4[1]. Like the Rephaim the Nephilim are known as the giant ancient inhabitants of Canaan (cf. Num 13: 33). The relation to the Rephaim makes it likely that the name Nephilim can be translated as "those who have fallen", because this marks them as the heroes of the battle field (see p.227 above). This interpretation is confirmed by Ezek 32:27 which speaks of "the fallen mighty men of old" (גבורים נפלים מעולם; cf. BHS), using almost exactly the same words as Gen 6:4 in a context which points to their high state in the world of the dead and which also indicates that the Nephilim and the "mighty men of old" belong to the same group of persons[2]. Gen 6:2 suggests that they were born as the children of human women and divine fathers[3]. This element of the text has led a number of scholars to the idea that this tradition is part of the royal ideology tracing back the roots of the dynasty to the intercourse between a deity and a human being[4]. Taking this into account YHWH's measure to restrict the age of man to a hundred and twenty years (v.3b) can be compared to what is said about the "divine" kings in Ps 82: even kings who believe they descend from the gods are no more than mortal men[1]. To this it is added in Gen 6:3a that YHWH will not let his spirit "be strong"[2] in man forever. Usually this spirit of YHWH is regarded as the spirit of life, but we can also assume that the possession of the spirit of YHWH denotes in the first place the possession of superhuman power, as in the Samson stories[3]. In this way it would explain the might of the former inhabitants of Canaan.

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[1] Cf. Gese 1973:84.

[2] Cf. Von Rad, *Genesis*, p.85; W. Vijfwinkel, *Theologia Reformata* 17(1974), 194; and D.J.A. Clines, JSOT 13(1979),37. A distinction between terrifying giants (Nephilim) and their heroic opponents, as proposed by Bartelmus 1979:23, cannot be based on the text itself.

[3] See on the much disputed identity of the בני-האלהים W. Schlisske, *Gottessöhne und Gottessohn im Alten Testament*, BWANT 97, Stuttgart 1973; H.-J. Fabry, BiLe 15(1974),136-140; Westermann, *Genesis*, pp.501-503; and W. Herrmann, UF 14(1982),101-102.

[4] Cf. W. Wifall, "Gen 6:1-4 - A Pre-Davidic Royal Myth?", *Biblical Theology*

Interpreted in this way Gen 6:1-4 is not only critical with regard to the common royal ideology; it also wants to make clear that the power ascribed to the ancient Canaanite heroes is limited by YHWH[4]. In this regard it can be compared to Isa 14, which mentions the same two elements next to each other[5]. The differences between these two texts can be explained as due to their very different contexts. The prophecy concerns one particular proud king; Gen 6:1-4 is part of the primeval history explaining the world as it is. Because Gen 6:4 refers to a well-known tradition about ancient giants it has to concede that these heroes, although they lost their power, obtained immortal fame, because their name is still remembered[6], Isa 14:22 takes even this last comfort from the deceased oppressor.

Bulletin 5(1975),294-301 and CBQ 37(1975),332-334.337 and Bartelmus 1979:146-149.

[1] Cf. Schreiner 1981:71: "Weder ein Lebenskraut, bzw. Lebensbaum noch eine Götterzeugung können dem Menschen ewiges Leben geben".

[2] The difficult ידון can be connected with Akkadian *danānu*, "be strong"; cf. K. Vollers, ZA 14(1899),349-356; Gese 1973:85; and Bartelmus 1979:19.

[3] Cf. R. Albertz and C. Westermann, THAT II, col.745.

[4] Cf. Gese 1973:84-85. In his opinion v.3a is no more than an explanatory remark indicating that we have to do with the dead, because the venerated heroes are always dead heroes. It is more likely, however, that such extra information would have come after it was said that the power of these heroes was restricted; cf. against this interpretation of Gese also Bartelmus 1979:22, n.6.

[5] According to Westermann, *Genesis*, p.516 the common theme of Gen 6:1-4 and Isa 14 is "Der Verkündigung des Herrseins Jahwes über die Feinde Israels gerade dort wo diese Überhöhung ins Übermenschliche wahrzunehmen ist".

[6] Other examples of the idea of overcoming death by obtaining an immortal name, which is quite common in the ancient Near East, in the Old Testament are Gen 48:16; Isa 56:5; and Ps 72:17; cf. Kellermann 1976:268-269 and A.S. van der Woude, THAT, cols.939.948-949.

3.5. DEATH AND THE TRUST IN YHWH

The ancient Israelites have often been praised for their renunciation of any comfort that could have been derived from the expectation of a beatific afterlife. Instead, they emphasize the worth of this life. However, this attitude is not as unique as is sometimes assumed. For even the Egyptians, who are known for their elaborate provisions for the dead and complicated conceptions of the afterlife with the gods, clearly preferred this life to anything which could come after death. And we can also refer to the famous words spoken by the ale-wife to Gilgamesh urging him to enjoy life before death. Nevertheless, compared to Canaanite religion Yahwism is remarkably silent with regard to the afterlife. The discussion of Ps 88:11 and Hos 6 has made it clear that this phenomenon is due to a reaction to the Canaanite conceptions in this matter. The belief in YHWH helping and even revivifying the dead, as may have been popular with some groups of the Israelites, could too easily be confused or identified with Canaanite beliefs concerning the yearly resurrection of Baal. Such beliefs are rejected in Hos 6, because they threaten to exchange the freedom of YHWH for the regularity of the seasons. For the same reason Yahwism condemned all forms of consulting the dead. This kind of solicited information about the secrets of life could never replace the revelation given by YHWH in his way and in his time.

On the other hand Deut 32:39 ascribes to YHWH the same power as Baal, viz. to heal and to make alive. The belief that YHWH has the power over life and death can also be found in I Sam 2:6, which is part of the so-called Song of Hannah that may be dated in the early monarchic period[1] These texts express the belief that only YHWH decides in matters of life and death[2]. This implies that YHWH was held to be stronger than death[3]. It is also said that YHWH's power reaches into the world of the dead (cf. Amos

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[1] Cf. J.T. Willis, "The Song of Hannah and Psalm 113", CBQ 35(1974),139-154 and P.K. McCarter, *I Samuel*, AncB 8, Garden City 1980, p.76.

[2] Cf. E. Noort, OTS 23(1984),122.

[3] Cf. Nötscher 1926:213 and H. Ringgren, ThWAT II, col.890.

9:2; Ps 139:8), which according to Ps 22:30 is acknowledged by those who "go down to the dust":

> Even all the anointed ones[1] of the earth
>   will bow for Him[2];
> before Him shall bow down
>   all who go down to the dust[3].

We can also mention in this connection the fact that Elijah and Elisha are said to have brought dead persons to life again (I Kgs 17:17-24; II Kgs 4:18-37; cf. also 13:20-21), which characterizes them as "men of God"[4].

It is important to note that this belief in YHWH's power over death has different aspects. It not only concerns the afterlife, but also this life. The healing of a very ill person could be regarded as a rescue from death (see p.69 above). As a matter of fact the stories about Elijah and Elisha revivifying dead persons also belong within this framework[5]. We should not, however, relate the belief expressed in Deut 32:39 and I Sam 2:6 to this one aspect of YHWH's power over death only. It is much better to interpret these texts in a more general way as expressing the idea of YHWH's unlimited power[6]. This implies that one cannot simply assume a chronological development from the belief in YHWH as the Lord of this life to the belief in YHWH who also raises the dead. Confronted with the beliefs on the Egyptians and Canaanites the Israelites would probably always have affirmed that YHWH could do the same as Re and Baal. In fact, we found clear traces of a belief of some of the Israelites in YHWH comparable to the Canaanite belief in Baal (see pp.276-277 above). But it is also clear that this belief did not become the prevailing and authoritative view on these matters. The prime reason for emphasizing some and disregarding other aspects of YHWH's limitless power must have been the wish to safeguard the distinctness of Yahwism[1].

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[1] Just as the parallel expression "all who go down to the dust", we can interpret כל-דשני-ארץ as denoting the inhabitants of the netherworld; cf. the expression *mrqdm dšn*, "the anointed dancers", in KTU 1.108:5 referring to the *rpʾum*. So it is not necessary to change דשני into ישני, "those who are asleep (in the earth)", as proposed by many scholars.

[2] Read אך לו י... instead of אכלו וי...; cf. BHS.

[3] According to H. Gese, ZThK 65(1968),13 this verse is no less than apocalyptic theology suggesting a connection with belief in the resurrection of the dead. It is more likely, however, that v.30 is the reaction to v. 16 speaking of God having laid down the poet in the dust. Moreover, vv. 30c-31a seem to contradict the hope for resurrection: "and whose soul He does not make alive, (his) seed shall serve Him". So after death only the posterity can continue to praise the Lord.

[4] Cf. Schmitt 1975 and 1977.

[5] Cf. E. Jacob, IntDB, Suppl., p.689.

[6] Cf. Martin-Achard 1956:47-51.

3.5.1. THE RESCUE FROM DEATH BY YHWH

There is no need to discuss here the repeatedly observed phenomenon that threatened life is regarded as being in (the power of) Sheol and rescue from this danger as being brought back into the sphere of life again. What interests us whithin the framework of this study is the relation of this aspect of YHWH's power over death to hopes with regard to the afterlife. Whereas Barth maintains that belief in YHWH who rescues from death, as it is attested in many of the Psalms, has nothing to do with belief in beatific afterlife[2], Dahood is of the opinion that the "obvious meaning" of these Psalm texts is belief in resurrection and immortality[3]. Both positions can be criticized for being too static. As the title of Barth's thesis indicates, the belief that YHWH rescues from death and Sheol is primarily found in a certain genre of Psalms, viz. the individual songs of lament and of thanksgiving. All these Psalms belong to a specific situation of distress. What matters here is the threat to life. In the Psalms life is always life in relation to YHWH[4]. For this reason "to live" can be regarded as the same as to praise YHWH (cf. Ps 118:17; 119:175). This implies that death is in the first place seen as the end of this praise (cf. Ps 6:6; 30:10; 88:11-12; 115:17; and also Isa 38:18-19). According to the songs of lament and thanksgiving the prime reason for YHWH to rescue a person from death is to restore the possibility of praising Him (cf. Ps 9: 14-15; 30:4.10; 40:3-4; 56:13-14; 71:20-24; 107:20-22; 116:8-10.17-19; Isa 38:17-19; Jonah 2:7-10). So Barth is certainly right when he states that rescue from death in this special context has nothing to do with belief in a beatific afterlife. He goes too far, however, when he wants to prove his point in all Psalms speaking of life and death[1]. In the individual songs of lament and thanksgiving the starting-point is the desolate situation of man and the question whether he will be able to continue to praise the Lord. These are songs about the power of death threatening life with YHWH. In other Psalms, however, the problem of life and death can be described from a different point of view, e.g., by taking as a starting-point not threatened life but communion with YHWH as the Lord of life and death (cf. Ps 16; 49; and 73). In these more contemplative Psalms rescue from death has a different meaning. This is indicated by the use of verbs which are not used in the individual songs of lament and thanksgiving, viz. עזב, לא נתן לראות (Ps 16:10) and לקח (Ps 49:16 and 73:24). Especially the verb לקח points to the fact that the emphasis is not on man praising his Lord, but on YHWH maintaining the covenant relation with the faithful. This must have had implications for expectations concerning life after death: just as the power of death can throw a shadow over this life, the might of the Lord of life and death can bring light into the darkness of the afterlife[2].

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[1] Cf. Noort 1984:23-24.

[2] Barth 1947:166.

[3] M. Dahood, *Psalms*, III, AncB 17A, Garden City 1970, p.XLV.

[4] Cf. H.-J. Kraus, *Theologie der Psalmen*, BK XV/3, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1979, pp.205-206.

It is clear, however, that this element does not take a prominent place in the Psalms. Dahood certainly goes too far when he states that belief in resurrection and immortality is attested in some forty texts (see pp.77-80 above). He derives most of his evidence from dubious new meanings of words and sentences based on West-Semitic grammar, often disregarding the immediate context. Dahood's comparison with the Ugaritic literature is not convincing either, because he pays too little attention to the distinctive nature of the Ugaritic conceptions of afterlife. In this regard Healey has corrected Dahood's theory be restricting the assumed ancient Israelite hopes for beatific afterlife to the afterlife of the kings. This is certainly more in accordance with the Ugaritic conceptions, because, as was demonstrated above, the possibility of being revivified together with Baal as one of the *rpʾum* or of being with El after death appears to be a royal prerogative. On the other hand the assumed royal context of the Psalms mentioned in this connection by Healey is rather vague. In fact, only Ps 21, which is his "prime example"[1], is generally regarded as a royal Psalm. But even in this Psalm it cannot be derived from the text itself that the eternal life given to the king (v.5) is more than the common hyperbolic language of the royal ideology. We can compare it to king Keret being called immortal, but as we saw earlier this has nothing to do with hope for eternal life after death. For in the literature of Ugarit beatific afterlife is associated with the revivification of Baal. As we do not find in the Psalms mentioned by Healey any reference to the concept of the *rpʾum* coming up from the netherworld together with Baal, these Psalms can hardly be related to the Ugaritic conceptions of beatific afterlife.

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[1] Barth 1947:152-166.

[2] Cf. Von Rad 1971:245, n.28 who remarks on the study of Barth: "Er hat uns den alttestamentlichen Todesbegriff in der Psalmen in seiner Weite so trefflich verstehen gelehrt; aber er zieht nicht die Konsequenz für den Lebensbegriff".

3.5.1.1. PSALM 103

When the life of the faithful was regarded as being *in close communion* with YHWH this must have had implications for hopes with regard to the afterlife. It is also possible that a Psalm speaking of rescue from death in this life contains references to the afterlife. An interesting example of this is Ps 103. This Psalm describes the mercy of the eternal and just God for sinful and mortal man. Kraus qualifies it as a "zum Hymnus tendierendes Danklied"[2]. Especially vv.3-5 would seem to mark it as an individual song of thanksgiving, because these verses can be interpreted as a reference to the help of YHWH in a particular situation of distress[3]. It must be noted, however, that only the most general expressions are used to describe this situation and that in the description of the blessings by YHWH the poet did not use the common perfect tense (cf. Ps 6:9; 30:2 etc.), but, more generally, participles[4].

This strophe[5] can be translated as follows:

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[1] Healey 1984:252-253; cf. also Quintens 1978.

[2] H.-J. Kraus, *Die Psalmen*, BK XV/2, 5th ed., Neukirchen-Vluyn 1978, p.871.

[3] Cf. also J.P.M. van der Ploeg, *Psalmen*, II, BOT VIIb, Roermond 1974, p. 179.

[4] For a thorough study of this form of participial predicate see Dijkstra 1980:16.282-283.291-294.

[5] For a strophical analysis of this Psalm see Van der Lugt 1980:374-378. He arrives at the following structure: Ia: vv.1-2.3-5; Ib: vv.6-7.8-9; IIa: vv.10-11.12-14; IIb: vv.15-16.17-18; III: vv.19.20-22a.22b.

3 He who forgives all your guilt;
who heals all your diseases;
4 who ransoms your life from the Pit;
who surrounds you with loyalty and mercy;
5 who satisfies you with good as long as you live[1];
your youth is renewed like an eagle.

Verses 3 and 4 show a chiastic structure in which the reference to rescue from the Pit, i.e., the netherworld (cf. Hos 13:14), by YHWH is paralleled by the words calling YHWH a healer of sickness. This indicates that the rescue from death concerns life before death. Verse 5 describes life as it is rescued from death as a good life in which one's needs are satisfied (cf. Ps 145:14-16) and the strength of youth has returned (cf. Job 33:24-25).

What interests us here most is the metaphor used to denote this renewal of youthful strength: "like an eagle" (כנשר). To explain this it is not enough, as most commentators do, to refer to the strength and swiftness of this bird. This may be the *tertium comparationis* in Isa 40:31, which also mentions an eagle in the context of the renewal of strength, in Ps 103:5 the comparison concerns the renewal itself and not the strength of youth[2]. It is usually assumed that it has something to do with the moulting of this bird, but this is in no sense an exclusive characteristic of the eagle[3]. A rather far-fetched explanation is offered by Tur-Sinai who explains Ps 103:5 as a popular etymology of the word נשר connecting it with the falling of the leaves from the trees (cf. the meaning of the verb נשר in Talmudic Hebrew). So the renewal would have been compared to the growing of fresh leaves every year[4]. The most plausible explanation of the comparison with the eagle is still to be found in the connection with the phoenix, a bird which is a symbol of rejuvenation[5]. The identification of the dead with the phoenix, which is a well-known element in the Egyptian death-literature[1], denotes the victory over death. Because v.5 is clearly associated with v.4a speaking of rescue from death, it is very likely that the metaphor of v.5b also belongs in this context. The main problem of this interpretation is that the text does not mention a phoenix (Hebrew חול; cf. Job 29:18), but an eagle. This difficulty can be surmounted, however, if we take into account the fact that in the Egyptian death-literature the phoenix is closely associated with birds of the hawk family, especially the falcon. A very interesting text in this connection is a spell in the Egyptian Coffin Texts according to which the deceased says, while speaking of his beatific life: "I have gone in as a falcon and I have come out as a phoenix"[2]. The comparison with an eagle in Ps 103:5 can also be compared to the Ugaritic text KTU 1.108:8 speaking of the revivified dead as kites. These birds were not clearly distinguished from eagles (cf. the parallelism between *dʾiy*, "kite", and *nšr* in KTU 1.18:IV.17-18.20-21 and 1.19:I.32-33). It may be assumed, therefore, that the concept of the rejuvenation of an eagle denoting victory over death in Ps 103:5 has its origin in Egypt and was mediated by the Canaanites (see also pp.167 and 184ff. above).

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[1] Read עדכי instead of עדיך in the MT; cf. Kraus, *Die Psalmen*, p.871 and Dahood, *Psalms*, III, p.25. Apparently עד was not recognized as a defective form of עוד. This emendation is supported by the use of the suffix כי in this strophe and by Ps 104:33 and 146:2 where it also occurs in the same context as חיים (cf. v.4a).

[2] Cf. K. Elliger, *Deuterojesaja*, BK XI/1, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1978, p.101.

[3] Rightly remarked by A.A. Anderson, *The Book of Psalms*, II, NCeB, London 1972, p.714.

[4] N.H. Tur-Sinai, *The Book of Job*, rev. ed., Jerusalem 1967, p.415, n.1.

[5] Cf. R. Kittel, *Die Psalmen*, Leipzig 1914, p.369 and Dahood, *Psalms*, III, p.27.

In this respect Ps 103 can be compared to Ps 104. It is generally acknowledged that a significant part of Ps 104 has been derived from an Egyptian hymn to the god Aton. At the same time it betrays Canaanite influence[3]. According to most scholars a close relation between Ps 103 and Ps 104 is impossible, because Ps 103 would be much younger than Ps 104. Whereas Ps 104 is usually dated before the exile, Ps 103 would have been written long after that period. An important argument for this date is the resemblance of Ps 103 with some texts from Deutero- and Trito-Isaiah (cf. vv.5.14-17 with Isa 40:7-8.28-31 and v.9 with Isa 57:16)[4]. However, instead of assuming dependance upon these prophetic texts one may defend the view that the texts in the book of Isaiah are more or less quotations from this Psalm, because there are many examples of the use of Psalm texts in Deutero-Isaiah[5]. It is also much easier to explain the difference between Isa 40:31

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[1] Cf. L. Kăsoky, LÄ IV, cols.1034-1036.

[2] Coffin Texts Spell 340; cf. R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, Oxford 1969, p.275.

[3] Cf. Kraus, *Die Psalmen*, p.880; Dahood, *Psalms*, III, p.33; and De Moor 1983:22.

[4] Cf. Kraus, *Die Psalmen*, p.872 and Van der Ploeg, *Psalmen*, II, p.180.

[5] Cf. J. Begrich, *Studien zu Deuterojesaja*, TB 20, München 1963, pp.91-92.100.

and Ps 103:5 when the former has been derived from the latter than *vice versa*: whereas the comparison of the eagle with the strength of youth in Isa 40:31 could hardly have led to the idea of the eagle as a symbol of rejuvenation, the reverse is certainly possible.

A second argument put forward in favour of a postexilic date of Ps 103 is the use of the suffix כי in vv.3-5, because this would be an Aramaic element. However, Dahood has rightly remarked that this suffix is not necessarily an Aramaism. Feminine כי might just as well be a Canaanite archaism, because this is the normal form in Ugaritic[1]. The proposed origin of this grammatical feature supports our interpretation of v.5; especially when we take into account the fact that v.5 is part of the strophe which is characterized by this archaism.

Ps 103:4a has a parallel in Hos 13:14, "Shall I ransom him from death?". From the context in Hos 13 it is clear that this is what Ephraim expects of YHWH. But YHWH answers that He has no mercy to them (v.15). In this respect Hos 13:14 can be compared to Hos 6:1-3, because both texts express false hope for YHWH. Like Hos 6:1-3 the words of 13:14 can be regarded as too closely connected with Canaanite Baal worship[2]. So this parallel of Ps 103 can be used as another argument in favour of the proposed Canaanite origin of vv.3-5.

With this in mind it is very remarkable that in Ps 103:20-21 the angels are called "mighty ones" and "hosts" of YHWH, because such a description of the heavenly beings surrounding YHWH can also be attributed to Canaanite influence. For it is certainly not the usual way to describe the divine council in the Old Testament. It has much more in common with the Canaanite conceptions of lower deities and the deified dead as mighty warriors. It will be hardly a coincidence that vv.20-22 are clearly distinguished from the context by their form, just like vv.3-5. They too may have been adapted from a Canaanite hymn.

The assumed close connection of Ps 103 with Ps 104 is also supported by the fact that both Psalms use the same exhortation in their first and last lines: "Bless YHWH, my soul!". This is all the more remarkable if we take into account the fact that this expression occurs only in these two Psalms.

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[1] Dahood, *Psalms*, III, p.25; cf. also E. König, *Die Psalmen*, Gütersloh 1927, p.192 questioning this argument for a late date.

[2] Cf. Wolff, *Hosea*, p.297.

In addition to this an impressive number of other similarities may be noticed: חדש (103:5; 104:30), man being compared to dust (103:14; 104:29), YHWH residing in heaven (103:19; 104:2), and the angels as servants (103:20-21; 104:4). It is noteworthy that some of these common elements also have parallels in the Canaanite religious literature.

We come to the conclusion that both in Ps 104 and in Ps 103 Canaanite material with Egyptian elements has been used. In Ps 103 this concerns especially the second and the last strophe (vv.3-5 and 20-22a). Originally these verses may have been part of a Canaanite hymn devoted to Baal; cf. רפא in v.3b with Baal's title Rapiu. The comparison with the rejuvenation of the eagle and the mention of the mighty warriors in v.20 would fit the proposed original context very well. In the context of the Psalms, however, the meaning has changed. Without further information the verses about rescue from death cannot be distinguished from comparable expressions in the individual songs of lament and thanksgiving. And also the thoughts about death in the middle part of Ps 103 (vv.6-18) point to an approach which is fundamentally different from the originally Canaanite ideas. Man is pictured as perishable in contrast to the eternity of YHWH. This is a common Yahwistic element[1] emphasizing the total dependence of man upon YHWH. Whereas man is restricted both in age and possibilities, there are no limits to YHWH's power and ability to provide justice. This may comfort the faithful man even with regard to his death, because he can be certain that his posterity will be safe with YHWH (v.17b). The middle part of Ps 103 does not speak of the individual afterlife. The idea, however, of the lasting loyalty of YHWH towards those who fear Him (v.17a) is the principle behind Yahwistic hopes concerning the afterlife of every individual.

Ps 103 shows that belief in YHWH being able to rescue man from death in this life cannot be separated from hopes with regard to the afterlife. Again we detected Canaanite influence on the development of the Israelite conceptions about these matters.

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[1] Cf. Wächter 1967:102-106.

3.5.1.2. ISAIAH 52:13-53:12

The interpretation of the fourth so-called Servant Song in the book of Isaiah is a famous *crux*. Within the framework of this study it is impossible to deal satisfactorily with all problems involved. What matters here, is the question whether the long life given to the Servant according to v. 10 refers to life after death[1] or has to be regarded as a metaphor for rescue from death as in the individual songs of lament and thanksgiving[2].

Before attempting to answer this question it is necessary to pay attention to the problem of the identification of the Servant and, therefore, to the interpretation of this song as a whole and the place of this song within the book of Deutero-Isaiah. Among many modern scholars we find the opinion that this fourth Servant Song can only be understood rightly as part of a larger context. Recently Steck has demonstrated that the song builds on elements of the previous Servant Songs explaining why the Servant had ended in this way[3]. Perhaps we should go even further and relate these songs to the rest of the book of Deutero-Isaiah as being only formally separated from their immediate context[4], because the same development which is noticed by Steck with regard to the Servant Songs can be discerned in the whole of Isa 40-55[5]. We can describe Isa 40-55 together with the Servant Songs as the vision of the exile coming to an end because YHWH takes action. We are told that Israel's reaction is unbelieving at first, but that finally it is willing to accept the promise of the return and that it wants to co-operate.

Israel as YHWH would like it to be is called "servant of YHWH" in Isa 41:8-10. Now the songs of the Servant seem to describe this faithful

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[1] Cf. Nötscher 1926:153-154; Schilling 1951:60-61; and Greenspoon 1981:295.

[2] Cf. Begrich, *Studien zu Deuterojesaja*, p.151; Botterweck 1957:4; J.A. Soggin, "Tod und Auferstehung des leidenden Gottesknechtes", ZAW 87(1975), 346-355; and R.N. Whybray, *Thanksgiving for a Liberated Prophet: An Interpretation of Isaiah 53*, JSOT Suppl.4, Sheffield 1978, pp.92-105.

[3] O.H. Steck, "Aspekte des Gottesknechtes in Jes 52,13-53,12", ZAW 97(1985), 36-58.

[4] Cf. De Moor 1978A:135-136.

[5] Cf. W.A.M. Beuken, *Jesaja*, IIB, POT, Nijkerk 1983, p.185.

Israel as one person[1], an individual representing the best of his suffering people, a so-called "corporate personality"[2]. The Servant Songs tell us of the difficulties of keeping faith in the situation of the exile. In this situation the Servant is contrasted to those of Israel who refuse to accept the promise given by YHWH through his prophet that they shall return from the exile to their homeland.

Against this background Isa 52:13ff. can be interpreted as a prophecy to Israel in the exile explaining its present situation and giving hope for the future. It is clear that the exile has to be regarded as caused by Israel's sins against YHWH. So the suffering of the people appears to be justified. Now the last Servant Song seems to deal with the problem of the undeserved suffering of the young Israelites who could not be held responsible for the exile. That the Servant represents especially the young people of exiled Israel here can be concluded also from Isa 53:2 speaking of the Servant as a young plant (יונק). The primary subject of this metaphor may be understood as "child" (cf. Lam 2:11 and 4:4 on the suffering of the children in the exile)[3].

We are told in the next verses what had become of the Servant, i.e., of the young Israelites in the exile. They appear to have suffered for the sins of the people who are speaking in this song ("we", "us" etc.) and who probably are their parents (vv.2b-7; cf. Lam 5:7 and also Jer 31:29-30 and Ezek 18:1-4). Some of them had even been killed (v.8)[4]. This undeserved suffering of Israel's youth is explained now as a sacrifice for sin (v.10), which brings peace to Israel (v.5). According to vv.10aC-11 the Servant himself receives compensation for his suffering:

He shall see seed, prolong his days
  and the will of YHWH shall prosper in his hand.
11 After the travail of his soul he shall see,
  he shall be satisfied with his knowledge.[5]

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[1] Cf. Martin-Achard 1956:88 and Beuken, *Jesaja*, IIB, p.320.

[2] See on this phenomenon J. de Fraine, *Adam et son lignage*, Louvain 1959, pp. 158-171.

[3] Cf. De Moor 1978A:137 and J. Renkema, *"Misschien is er hoop . . .": De theologische vooronderstellingen van het boek Klaagliederen*, Franeker 1983, p.329.

[4] The verb לקח points in this context to a violent death (cf. Ezek 33:4.6; Prov 24:11), not to a heavenly ascent; cf. Schmitt 1973:86-87.

[5] See on the different reading of the LXX and 1QIs^{a} pp.19-20 above.

The promise of seeing offspring and of a long life clearly refers to this life and not to life after death. It is the promise of a future for Israel, of life after the exile. With regard to the promise of retribution in v.11 it has been noted that this has clear parallels in the Psalms of thanksgiving[1]. In those Psalms similar expressions are used to describe the situation of the person who is rescued by YHWH from death. In Ps 69:33 this salvation from the netherworld (cf. vv.15-16) is described as "seeing" and Ps 103:4 praises the Lord for rescuing the life of the faithful from the Pit and satisfying his soul. This would imply that also the promise to the Servant concerns this life and not some sort of afterlife.

In this connection we should also note the relation between v.11a and 52:13. The absolute "to see" in v.11 clearly refers to the insight gained by the Servant into the ways of YHWH. This insight is more clearly formulated in Isa 41:20 and 44:18. In these texts the verb ראה, "to see", is used in parallelism with שכל, "to understand", and precisely this word returns in the heading of the fourth Servant Song: "Behold, my Servant shall understand, he shall be exalted". For this reason it is not necessary to assume, as most scholars do, that שכל hif. has the uncommon meaning "to prosper" here. If we translate שכל as "to understand", Isa 52:13 can be compared to Prov 4:7-8 which says that wisdom "exalts" man. Now this remark that the Servant of YHWH has understanding can also be connected with the promise of a long life in 53:10, because according to Israelite wisdom literature understanding and life are closely related (cf. Prov 15:24; 16:22; and 21:16).

However, the fourth Servant Song may have gone further than the promise of renewed life in this world, because such a promise would have offered no solution to the problem of the undeserved death of some of the young Israelites (v.8). It is very likely that this prophecy gave rise to the hope of some kind of retribution after death. This assumption is supported by the fact that the first text which explicitly speaks of retribution in the hereafter, Dan 12:1-3, can be regarded as an exegesis of this song of the Servant (see p.341 below).

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[1] Cf. C. Westermann, *Das Buch Jesaja. Kap.40-66*, ATD 19, 3rd ed., Göttingen 1976, p.215 and Beuken, *Jesaja*, IIB, pp.229-230.

3.5.1.3. EZEKIEL 37:1-14

Hos 6:1-3 shows that the idea of the revivification of the dead as part of the conceptions of afterlife could be used as a metaphor denoting the recovery of the people of Israel from the set-back caused by the judgement of YHWH. As we saw, the prophet Hosea denounced the use of this metaphor because of its manifest association with Baalism. The negative reaction to the pious words of Hos 6:1-3 indicates that the belief in YHWH as having power over life and death does not imply that He is a god like Baal in this regard. Nevertheless, this metaphorical use of the idea of the resurrection of the dead by YHWH recurs without further comment in Ezek 37:1-14 and Isa 26:19. We will have to try to find out what made the use of this metaphor acceptable. We start with Ezek 37:1-14:

> The hand of YHWH was upon me and He brought me out by the spirit of YHWH and set me down in the midst of the valley. This was full of bones. (2) And He led me through them, all around (the valley): behold, there were many upon the valley; behold, they were very dry.
>
> (3) And He said to me: "Son of man, can these bones live again?" And I said: "O lord YHWH, Thou knowest." (4) And He said to me: "Prophesy over these bones and say to them: 'O dry bones, hear the word of YHWH! (5) Thus says the lord YHWH to these bones: behold, I will cause spirit to enter you and you shall live again. (6) And I will give sinews upon you, and I will bring flesh upon you, and I will lay skin over you, and I will give spirit in you, and you shall live again; and you shall know that I am YHWH'."
>
> (7) And I prophesied as I was commanded. And as I prophesied there was a noise and, behold, rustling; and the bones came together, bone to its bone. (8) And I saw, behold, upon them were sinews and flesh came upon (them) and skin overlaid them above. But there was no spirit in them.
>
> (9) And He said to me: "Prophesy over the spirit, prophesy, son of man, and say to the spirit: 'Thus says the lord YHWH: come from the four winds, o spirit, and breathe upon these slain that they may come to life!'."
>
> (10) And I prophesied as I was commanded and the spirit came into them. And they came to life and they stood upon their feet, a very, very great host.
>
> (11) And He said to me: "Son of man, these bones, they are the whole house of Israel. Behold they say: 'Our bones are dried up and our hope has perished; we are cut off completely.' (12) Therefore, prophesy and say to them: 'Thus says the lord YHWH: behold, I will open your graves and I will raise you from your graves, o my people, and I will bring you to the land of Israel. (13) And you will know that I am YHWH, when I open your graves and raise you from your graves, my people. (14) And I will give my spirit in you and you shall live again; and I will

> place you in your land. And you shall know that I YHWH have said it and done it, says YHWH'."

In this impressive vision of the prophet Ezekiel the national restoration of Israel after the exile is described as the turning of dry bones into living people of flesh and blood (vv.1-10) and as being led out of the graves (vv.12-13). The second prophecy is part of the explanation of the vision in vv.1-10. It uses a different and less grotesque picture to elucidate the meaning of this vision. The use of the metaphor in vv.12-13 is dependent upon the vision in vv.1-10. The differences between vv.1-10 and vv.12-13 are due to the fact that in vv.12-13 one special aspect of Israel's restoration is emphasized. We can compare vv.12-13 to traditions describing the Exodus as a victory over the powers of chaos and, therefore, as being led out of the world of the dead (cf. Ps 77:16-20 and Isa 51:9-10).

In comparing the national restoration with a victory over death Ezek 37: 1-14 is related to Hos 6:2[1]. A closer look at the text will show that Ezek 37 can be regarded as a reaction to the belief formulated in Hos 6. A striking difference from Hos 6:2 is the role of the dry bones in Ezek 37. But this can be explained from the context: the metaphor is derived from the lament of Israel mentioned in v.11: "Our bones are dried up and our hope has perished"[2]. The astonishing idea, however, of these bones become living persons again is more than just a manner of speaking, because answering this complaint by simply stating the reverse would not have been very convincing[3]. Apparently Ezekiel and his listeners were familiar with the idea of a resurrection of the dead. Moreover, the use of this metaphor can hardly be distinguished from the belief that YHWH is really able to raise the dead[1].

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[1] Cf. Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, p.283; Nötscher 1926:149; and Martin-Achard 1956:83-84.

[2] Hossfeld 1977:399 argues against this theory about the origin of the vision of Ezekiel that all references to the dry bones are secondary (cf. also ibid., p.369). The idea of the revivification of the bones would have been based on Ezek 6:4-5 speaking of the bones of killed Israelites (p.396). The words of the Israelites in 37:11b should then be interpreted as a negative reaction to this vision and have caused the prophet to repeat his message in other words (vv.12-14)(pp.399-401). Although this theory would solve the problem of the relation between vv.1-10 and vv.12-14, it does not offer a plausible explanation for the re-working of an otherwise perfectly understandable text. Höffken 1981:311 also regards v.11 as a later addition, but he does not exclude the possibility that v.11b represents the idea which led to the vision of vv.1-10.

[3] Cf. Höffken 1981:312 and Koenig 1983:167 against amongst others Fohrer 1968A:259 and B. Lang, *Ezechiel*, EdF 153, Darmstadt 1981, p.113. Meyers 1971:13 speaks of "the realization of the potential which the bones of Israel possessed in Sheol". The picture of the dry bones, however, seems to denote precisely the total absence of power.

It is interesting to note the reversed roles of the prophet and the people when the passage is compared to Hos 6. Whereas Hos 6:1-3 shows that the Israelites were confident that YHWH would "revive" his people, they appear to be desperate according to Ezek 37:11. And, reacting to the words of the people, the prophets have taken opposite positions. To this can be added the fact that not only in Hos 6:3 but also according to Ezek 37:11 the people use expressions which have to do with the wilting and revival of nature. The verb יבש, "to dry up", is normally used in the book of Ezekiel in connection with plants (cf. 17:9-10.24; 19:12) and the saying that one is "cut off" is to be understood as a metaphor derived from the cutting of flowers and grass[2]. So the wording used by the people can be regarded as an indication that it has lost all hope and has not even returned to the popular ideas associated with Baal worship as in Hos 6:1-3. This makes it possible to speak of YHWH's power to raise the dead without taking the risk of describing Him as a god like Baal. A basic difference from Hos 6:1-3 is that the revivification is not seen anymore as something which comes automatically like the revival of nature. Especially the reserved answer of the prophet to the question whether these bones can come to life again shows that he is well aware of the theological problems in this respect. He can only leave it to YHWH's free will: "O lord YHWH, Thou knowest" (v.3)[3]. Likewise, the description of the revivification by YHWH is not connected with the revival of nature, but with creation[4]. The vision of Ezek 37:1-10 describes YHWH as creator, not as a god of nature overcoming death.

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[1] Cf. De Bondt 1938:176; Martin-Achard 1956:83; König 1964:230; Stemberger 1972:283; Haag 1973:78-79; and Höffken 1981:314.

[2] Cf. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, p.897. At the same time the use of the term גזר reveals a connection with Isa 53:8; cf. also the gift of the spirit (v. 14) with the gift of the spirit to the Servant of YHWH (Isa 42:1-4).

[3] This difference from Hos 6 was noticed by Sellin 1919:253; W. Zimmerli, *Gottes Offenbarung*, TB 19, München 1963, pp.190-191; and Martin-Achard 1956:85. It is an important argument against a connection with the New Year Festival as proposed by Riesenfeld 1948:5-6.13ff.; Cf. Martin-Achard 1956:84 and Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, p.900.

[4] Cf. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, p.900 and Gese 1977:50. In his attempt to interpret Ezek 37 within the framework of the concept of the Divine Warrior, "whose victorious return leads to fertility and joyous productive activity throughout nature" Greenspoon 1981:292 disregards this difference.

According to Koenig this reference to the creative power of YHWH is not enough to explain the miracle of the revivification of the dry bones. He emphasizes that the conception of revivification in Ezek 37 has nothing to do with the common ideas of the existence of the dead as shades in Sheol[1]. Because the element of the recomposition of the bones appears not to be based on the common ancient Israelite anthropology, Koenig assumes foreign influence. The best parallel is offered in his opinion by the Egyptian myth of Osiris describing how the god was killed and cut to pieces, but came to life again after all parts of his body were gathered and put together. Koenig maintains that Ezekiel's vision derived its basic idea from this story (see p.56 above). Against this theory we can repeat that the element of the recomposition of the bones is clearly derived from the words of the Israelites in v.11. The metaphor in the complaint of the people is probably based on the idea of the bones as the seat of perceptions (cf. Ps 6:3)[2].

A much more illuminating parallel with regard to the element of creation in Ezek 37 is offered by the Ugaritic text KTU 1.22:I.6-7. In this text about the revivification of the *rpʾum* El acts as a creator who calls the dead into existence (see p.173 above).

The changed attitude towards the Canaanite conceptions of death and the dead is also apparent in Ezek 39:11-16. It has been pointed out on p.230 above that this pericope can be regarded as the negative counterpart of ch. 37. Ezek 39:11-16 deals with the Canaanite hero-cult in describing how the bones of these alleged heroes are buried forever. Their pretensions proved to be false. Instead, Ezek 37 gives hope to those who had lost all confidence comparing themselves to a powerless heap of bones.

Ezek 37:14 describes the life of the people of Israel after it will have gone back to its homeland. This life will be different from what is thought to be normal and possible. This is indicated by the promise that YHWH shall give his spirit. This is more than just the spirit of life which was mentioned in vv.5.9-10, because v.14 speaks of "my spirit"[3]. In this respect it may be compared to Isa 42:1; Jer 31:31-34; and Joel 3. It is very likely that this element together with the disappointing experiences after the return from the exile led the people to postpone the high expectations as they were formulated by Ezekiel[1] to the future[2].

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[1] Koenig 1983:169-171; cf. also Rost 1974:65 and Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, p.900 (so Zimmerli did not ignore this point as is stated by Koenig!).

[2] Cf. HAL, p.823a and Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, p.897.

[3] Cf. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, p.898.

3.5.1.4. ISAIAH 26:7-19

Isa 26:19, which speaks of the revivification of the dead and the resurrection of the body, is part of the so-called Isaiah-apocalypse (Isa 24-27). The interpretation of these chapters, which were almost certainly not written by the prophet Isaiah himself and which actually do not belong to the apocalyptic literature proper[3], is very difficult[4]. The prevalent view among modern scholars is that it consists of a groundwork written shortly after the exile, to which a number of later prophecies have been added. But there is much difference of opinion with regard to the demarcation of the different layers. According to Wildberger 26:19 belongs to the groundwork (24:1-6.14-20; 26:7-21)[5], but Millar maintains that it is part of the "mixed matter" (26:11-27:6) dating from the sixth century B.C. which was added to the earliest material (24:1-25:9; 26:1-8)[6]. Kaiser assumes that 26:19 was added together with 25:8aA in the second half of the second century B.C., whereas the earliest material would have been written at the end of the fourth century B.C.[7]. On the other hand there are also scholars who defend the literary unity of Isa 24-27[1].

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[1] Cf. C. Barth, "Ezechiel 37 als Einheit", in *Beiträge zur alttestamentliche Theologie*, Fs W. Zimmerli, ed. H. Donner et al., Göttingen 1977, pp.37-52 who has demonstrated that the expectation of the coming of the spirit of YHWH (37:14) has been worked out in 37:25-28 (cf. esp. pp.50-52).

[2] Cf. Haag 1973:83-84 and Gese 1977:50.

[3] Cf. J.P.M. van der Ploeg, in *Eschatologie im Alten Testament*, WdF 480, Darmstadt 1978, pp.391-392 and J.M. Ward, IntDB, Suppl., p.458.

[4] See the surveys by H. Wildberger, *Jesaja*, BK X/2, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1978, pp.893-896.905-906 and Hasel 1980:268-270.

[5] Wildberger, *Jesaja*, pp.902.904.

[6] W.R. Millar, *Isaiah 24-27 and the Origin of Apocalyptic*, HSM 11, Missoula 1976, pp.103-104.119-120.

[7] O. Kaiser, *Der Prophet Jesaja. Kap.13-39*, ATD 18, 2nd ed., Göttingen 1976, pp.144-145. See on this date of 25:8aA also Martin-Achard 1985.

It is impossible within the limits of this study to deal satisfactorily with the very complex problem of the structure of these chapters. We have to restrict ourselves to the direct context of 26:19. In the present text it belongs to the larger unit of vv.7-19 (cf. BHS). This is clearly distinguished from 26:4-6 and 26:20-21 by the fact that YHWH is addressed here in the second person. We propose the following translation and structure of this pericope:

I 7 The path of the righteous is level,
level is the way of the righteous, which Thou dost make smooth.
8 Also on the path of thy judgements,
o YHWH, we wait for Thee.

Thy name and thy memory
are the desire of the soul.
9 My soul longs for Thee in the night;
also my spirit within me yearns for Thee.

For when thy judgements are upon the earth,
the inhabitants of the whole earth learn righteousness.
10 The wicked is shown compassion,
(but) he does not learn righteousness:
in the land of uprightness he acts wrongly
and he does not see the majesty of YHWH.

II 11 O YHWH, thy hand is lifted up,
but they see it not.
They will see and be ashamed of the zeal for the people;
also the fire for thy adversaries shall consume them.

12 O YHWH, Thou wilt ordain peace for us,
for also all our works hast Thou wrought for us.
13 YHWH is our God;
other lords besides Thee have ruled over us;
alone Thee, thy name we acknowledge.
14 Dead will not live again,
shades will not rise.

Therefore, Thou hast punished and destroyed them
and wiped out all remembrance of them.
15 Thou hast enlarged the nation, o YHWH,
enlarged the nation, let Thouself be honoured;
Thou hast enlarged all the borders of the land.

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[1] Cf. J. Lindblom, *Die Jesaja-Apokalypse*, Lund 1938; G.W. Anderson, "Isaiah XXIV-XXVII Reconsidered", VT.S 9(1963),118-126; G. Fohrer, "Der Aufbau der Apokalypse des Jesajabuches (Is 24-27)", CBQ 25(1963),34-45; and H. Ringgren, "Some Observations on Style and Structure in the Isaiah Apocalypse", ASTI 9(1973),107-115.

III 16 O YHWH, in distress one seeks Thee;
they pour out incantations[1] when thy chastening is upon them.
17 Like a woman with child when her time is near,
she is in labour and cries in her pains,
so were we before thy face, o YHWH.

18 We were with child, we were in labour;
as it were we brought forth wind.
We wrought no deliverance on earth
and no inhabitants of the world were born.

19 Thy dead shall live again;
my bodies[2] shall rise.
Awake and shout with joy,
o dwellers in the dust!
For thy dew is honey-dew[3]
and the earth shall bring forth the shades.

The proposed demarcation of the pericope is confirmed by the regular strophical structure of vv.7-19. It appears to consist of three stanzas which can be divided into three strophes and seven verses. The first stanza (vv.7-10) shows many examples of external parallelism and is clearly marked by the keyword צד(י)ק (vv.7.9-10). The second and third stanza both begin with a vocative YHWH (vv.11.16). The theme of the second stanza is the judgement of YHWH which brings destruction to the wicked, but peace to the faithful. The third stanza describes the hope for YHWH in a situation of distress. It is characterized by its metaphorical language.

The stanzas are clearly interrelated. This is formally indicated by the repetition of similar expressions (cf. v.8b with v.13bA and v.9bB with v. 18bB).

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[1] This uncertain, but literal translation of צקון לחש is based on the parallelism with פקדון.

[2] We take נבלתי as a singular noun with a collective sense (cf. the LXX). As a rule this is connected with the plural of the predicate, also when the gender is different; cf. GK § 145b-c.

[3] The expression טל אורות presents many difficulties to the interpreter of this verse; cf. Day 1978. Some scholars have proposed to emend the MT; cf. M. Dahood, *Psalms*, I, AncB 16, Garden City 1965, pp.222-223: אוּרוֹת, "Elysian fields" and G. Schwarz, ZAW 88(1976),280-281: טל אברת, "dew of the deceased". It is usually translated "dew of lights", taking אורות as an uncommon plural form of אור (cf. also אורה in Ps 139:12 and Esther 8:16). We tentatively suggest a translation which is based on the occurrence of the word *ʾar*, "honey-dew" in Ugaritic (cf. De Moor 1971:83 and UF 7(1975),590). It is corroborated by the fact that it is now also possible to explain the parallel pair טל and אור in Isa 18:4. The last part of this verse can be translated as "like a cloud of dew in the heat of harvest". The parallel line can now be translated as "like vibrating heat with honey-dew above". The grammatical construction is admittedly rare, but it can hardly be denied that עלי-אור is parallel to עב טל. Another argument in favour of an interpretation of טל אורות in 26:19 as honey-dew is the fact that in the Ugaritic myth of Baal the return of honey-dew coincides with Baal's return from the netherworld (cf. KTU 1.3:I.24).

With regard to the interpretation of v.19 it is important to note that it is the answer to the complaint which begins in v.16 and that it clearly takes up v.14a by stating the opposite of what is said there. This phenomenon of antithesis appears to be charactistic of the style of the poet of this text, because we find something similar in v.11.

At first glance the relation of v.14a to its context is not clear. According to the proposed structure it is part of vv.12-14 which begin with the statement that YHWH shall bring peace to the faithful. This is followed by a confession of faith: "YHWH is our God" (v.13aA), which is worked out in the rest of v.13 by rejecting the belief in other lords, be it heathen gods or political overlords[1], who try to take the place of the Lord of Israel. This rejection is indicated by the wordplay בעל/פעל and by בעלונו being placed next to אלהינו. It can be compared to other texts in the Old Testament speaking of foreign kings pretending to be like the gods. And just as in Isa 14; Ezek 28:1-10; and Ps 82 it is said in Isa 26:14a, as a reaction to this part of the royal ideology, that these kings are no more than mortal men. The simple observation of v.14a is the appropriate answer to the Canaanite royal ideology, because it not only says that these lords have died, but also that they shall not be able to return to life again. So it denies the possibility, as attested in the Ugaritic literature, of the revivification of the prominent dead called *rpʾum*. It even uses the same verbs (cf. KTU 1.17:VI.30.32 and 1.22:I.5). And also the use of the term רפאים is probably not accidental, because it does not occur anywhere else in the book of Isaiah except in 14:9 where it is used in a similar context.

The closest parallel to Isa 26:14a is found in Ps 88:11. As was remarked on p.272 above, this verse can be regarded as a rejection of the conception of YHWH as a god like Baal who takes the prominent dead with him when he leaves the netherworld. In Isa 26:14b YHWH is described more explicitly as the one who destroys these overlords and wipes out all remembrance of them, leaving them no afterlife (cf. Isa 14:22). Instead, He gives a future to his people by increasing its population and enlarging its land (v.15).

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[1] Most commentators assume that we have to do with political overlords (cf. Wildberger, *Jesaja*, p.992). It cannot be excluded, however, that the prophet may also have had in mind gods like Baal (cf. O. Procksch, *Jesaja*, I, Leipzig 1930, pp.327-328). This can be derived from the terms used here and from the fact that these "lords" are put on the same level as YHWH. Cf. also Isa 24:21-23 speaking of YHWH visiting (פקד; cf. 26:14) both the host of heaven and the kings of the earth.

Compared to vv.11-15 things are reversed in vv.16-19. Here the poet does not begin with an expression of trust in YHWH. Instead, stanza III starts with a description of the relation with YHWH in a situation of distress which is caused by YHWH Himself. Because of vv.17b-18 it would seem preferable to read "we sought Thee" and "for us" in v.16 (cf. BHS), but the textcritical evidence for this is meagre. We have to assume that this part of the text begins with a general statement about the reactions of the people mentioned in v.15, who are chastened by YHWH. The use of the verb פקד is very remarkable. In vv.14.21 and 27:1 it is used of YHWH calling to account the wicked and punishing them. But in 26:16 the same verb indicates that now the people who are punished are seeking YHWH. This rare use of פקד in v.16 can be compared to Jer 3:16 where it is used of the people seeking the ark of the covenant. It is used there together with the verb זכר (cf. Isa 26:13b!). This different use of the verb פקד in v.16 compared to v.14b clearly shows the change in point of view.

The distress is compared to the pains of childbirth (v.17; cf. Isa 13:8; 21:3). Even the hope for joy connected with childbirth was falsified (v. 18). The answer to the complaint that "no inhabitants of the world were born (נפל qal)" (v.18bB) is that the earth shall give birth (נפל hif.) to the dead residing in the netherworld (v.19bB)[1]. The context makes it clear that this answer too can only have been meant metaphorically. It tells the people who are fearing for their future that YHWH shall keep to his promises of the past. The difference between these two metaphors is not as great as it seems if we take into account the fact that it is also possible to speak of a child being wrought in the netherworld (cf. Ps 139:13-15).

It has already been remarked that v.19 takes up what is said in v.14a by stating the opposite. All words of v.14a except the negative particle בל are used again. The words יחיו and מתיך/מתים have changed places. In this way the verb "to live" is emphasized. The word רפאים is replaced in the beginning by נבלתי, but reappears at the end of v.19.

The word נבלתי, which parallels מתיך presents many problems to the exegete. Because of the following plural form of the verb קום we have to assume that it is meant collectively here (cf. Deut 28:26; Isa 5:25 etc.). A translation "my bodies", however, seems to be nonsense. For this reason many scholars propose to read with the Syriac Version "their bodies" (cf. BHS) or even to regard it as a gloss[1]. Against these emendations it can be argued that the text-critical evidence is insufficient, whereas they would disturb the clear relation of v.19 with v.14a. As a matter of fact the correction based on the Syriac Version does not offer a clearly understandable text either, because it remains obscure whose bodies would have been meant then.

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[1] Because v.19 appears to fit the context very well, there is no reason to assume that it is part of a later version, as is assumed by Kaiser, *Der Prophet Jesaja*, p.145. Moreover, if this verse is left out, the balance between vv.12-15 and vv.16-19 would be lost.

The interpretation of the suffixes in v.19aA is an important, but also very difficult issue. In v.14a no suffixes are used. This difference from v.19 might offer an indication of the reason why the negative statement of v.14 could be reversed in v.19. Most scholars assume a change of subject in v.19. This verse is regarded as a divine oracle giving the answer to the complaint of vv.17-18[2]. So YHWH would speak to Israel of its dead. This implies that in v.19b "thy dew" has to be interpreted as "the dew upon you"[3], although it is more likely that it refers to YHWH's dew. This problem could be solved by assuming a new change of subject. After the promise of YHWH, "Your dead shall live", the people would have answered by faithfully repeating this: "my bodies shall rise"[4]. None of these proposed interpretations is convincing or gives decisive arguments against the most simple interpretation of these suffixes as referring to YHWH ("thy dead") and the people ("our/my bodies")[5] according to the consistent use of these suffixes in vv.7-19. "My bodies" has a clear parallel in v.9 speaking of "my soul" and "my spirit" after the use of the first person plural "we wait" in v.8. This alternating of the singular and plural of the first person is quite common in Hebrew poetry (cf. Ps 44:5 and 74:9.12).

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[1] Cf. Wildberger, *Jesaja*, p.985.

[2] Cf. Preuss 1972:119; Wildberger, *Jesaja*, p.994; and Hasel 1980:271.

[3] Cf. E.S. Mulder, *Die teologie van die Jesaja-apokalipse*, Groningen 1954, p.50 and Wildberger, *Jesaja*, p.995.

[4] Cf. Kaiser, *Der Prophet Jesaja*, p.173 and Helfmeyer 1977:248 who compares this to Isa 44:1-5.6-8; 49:7-12; Hos 6:1-3; Ps 20:2-6; 28:5-6 etc. which all mention the acceptation of a previous oracle (ibid., pp.248-250).

[5] Cf. De Bondt 1938:220; Heidel 1946:219; and A. Schoors, *Jesaja*, BOT IX, Roermond 1972, p.158.

In v.19 the relation between YHWH and the nation represented as one person is described as Israel's dead being the dead of YHWH, "thy dead"[1]. This is the basic difference from v.14a: only because the dead of Israel can be regarded as YHWH's dead do they have a future. This insight which caused the sudden change of mood is a denial of the common idea, as is found in many songs of lament, that the dead are forever separated from YHWH. And instead of the complaint that the dead can no longer praise YHWH (cf. Isa 38:18 and Ps 30:10), the dead who are described as dwellers in the dust[2] are called up to shout with joy (v.19aB). In the present context this is not just an indication of their happiness after revivification, but also a reaction to YHWH's faithfulness even to the dead (cf. the use of רנן (v.19aB) in Isa 24:14; Ps 30:4-6; and 59:17). Compared to the individual songs of lament and thanksgiving speaking of YHWH who rescues the living from death Isa 26:19 goes one step further by speaking of the rescue of the dead.

A threefold imagery is used to describe this extraordinary occasion of the revivification of the dead. In v.19aB the poet uses the well-known metaphor of death as sleep (see p.99 above). The third metaphor in v.19bB is also easy to explain. It compares the revivification of the dead to the birth of a child and shows in this way that v.19 is the appropriate answer to vv.17-18. The precise meaning of the second simile is less clear. It speaks of YHWH's dew. One could think here of dew as a life-giving power (cf. Hos 13:6)[3] or, if one prefers a translation of the word אורות as "lights", of dew as the marker of the transition from darkness (of the netherworld) to light at dawn[4]. The imagery derived from nature has also led a number of scholars to the assumption that the belief in the resurrection of the the dead as it is expressed here was influenced by or associated with Canaanite belief in Baal's victory over death[5] or with the

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[1] W.H. Irwin, CBQ 41(1979),252.261 takes the suffix as a dative of agent: "May the dead by You revive", but this interpretation forces him to change "my bodies" into "bodily".

[2] See for עפר as an indication of the netherworld Ridderbos 1948 and Tromp 1969:85-91.

[3] Cf. Wildberger, *Jesaja*, pp.996-997 and R.E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, NCeB, Grand Rapids 1980, p.217.

[4] Cf. Day 1978 and Clements, *Isaiah*, p.217.

[5] Cf. Baudissin 1911:432; Sellin 1919:257-258; and Stemberger 1972:279.

Canaanite New Year Festival[1]. A strong argument in favour of the latter interpretation is the fact that according to Ugaritic mythology Baal is resurrected together with his daughters Pidray, "the girl of the honey-dew" (*bt ʾar*) and Tallay (*ṭly*; cf. Hebrew טל), "the daughter of showers". Together with Baal, who is the bringer of rain, these minor goddesses had to descend into the netherworld (KTU 1.5:V.10-11) and remain there for the summer to be raised again with Baal at the turning of the year (cf. KTU 1. 3:I.24). This offers a very plausible background for Isa 26:19 speaking of טל אורות within the context of resurrection[2] and supports our translation of this term as "honey-dew". The given interpretation is corroborated by the fact that now v.19bA appears to be perfectly parallel to v.19bB, because we know that at the New Year Festival the *rpʾum* were believed to come up from the netherworld[3].

Isa 26:19b is not the only text in the apocalypse of Isaiah with clear parallels in the religious literature of ancient Ugarit[4]. In 27:1 the poet seems to quote the myth of Baal according to the version found in Ras Shamra (cf. KTU 1.3:III.41)[5]. And Isa 25:8 speaking of YHWH swallowing up death forever is a clear allusion to the role of the god of death as a swallower in the Ugaritic mythology[6]. It can be regarded as a reversal of the traditional role of death. But now also the difference becomes apparent: YHWH shall beat death once and for all[7]. So the concept of the victory over death was no longer related to the cycle of nature, as in Canaanite religion, but placed within the framework of eschatological expectations.

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[1] Cf. Riesenfeld 1948:10. Cf. also Day 1978:267 who speaks of "imagery from the Feast of Tabernacles".

[2] Some scholars have noticed Egyptian parallels to the association of dew and resurrection; cf. Wildberger, *Jesaja*, p.997 and De Savignac 1983: 194-195, but these parallels are rather vague.

[3] The parallel with the Ugaritic texts about the *rpʾum* was also noticed by Koenig 1983:167, but he bases this on the assumption that Isa 26:19 and the Ugaritic tradition about these deified dead do not speak of a corporeal revivification like Ezek 37. This distinction is not correct, because Koenig disregards the fact that Isa 26:19 speaks of the resurrection of bodies and that KTU 1.22:I.6-7 speaks of substantiation by El.

[4] Cf. De Moor 1971:224, n.8 and 1973:I,28+n.353. These Canaanite elements were probably mediated by Israelite folk religion. So they cannot be used as an argument for an early date of these chapters, as is done by H. Ringgren, ASTI 9(1973),114 and De Savignac 1983:194.

[5] Cf. J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament*, Cambridge 1985, pp.141-145.

[6] Cf. Tromp 1969:172 and Healey 1977A:51.

[7] Cf. Birkeland 1949:72-73; Schoors, *Jesaja*, p.152; and Delcor 1979:129.

This explains why the concept of YHWH as a God who revivifies the dead, an idea rejected in Hos 6, is accepted in Isa 26. In both texts it is connected with the return of life in nature, but only in the context of Isa 26 is it acceptable, because within the new framework it does not impair the character of YHWH[1]. It was already indicated by vv.13-14 that this revivification is not a matter of course, but a matter of free will. In this regard one could maintain that Isa 26:19 is a combination of Hos 6:1-3 and Ezek 37:1-14.

The hope for YHWH as it is expressed in Isa 26:19 seems to have arisen out of the disappointing experiences after the return from the exile. The prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah and Ezekiel had only partly been fulfilled. This may have led the people to believe that the fulfilment of their hopes was postponed[2]. It has already been noted that Ezek 37 has an eschatological aspect. Apparently this was taken up and developed in this later prophecy.

The immediate context of Isa 26:19 and also the relation with Hos 6 indicate that Isa 26:19 refers to a promise of national restoration. On the other hand the eschatological aspect and, related to this, the universal tendency in these chapters bring it close to the belief expressed in Dan 12:1-3 where a real resurrection of the dead is envisaged. This prophecy in the book of Daniel even appears to have been influenced by Isa 26:19. However, Dan 12:2-3 is the answer to a different question, viz. the problem of the untimely death of faithful Jews. So Isa 26:19 can be regarded as an intermediate between the apocalyptic vision of Dan 12 and the belief expressed in Ezek 37[3]. For this reason the dilemma national restoration or real resurrection is not appropriate here[4].

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[1] Cf. Preuss 1972:120 and Martin-Achard 1981A:452.

[2] Cf. M.-L. Henry, *Glaubenskrise und Glaubensbewährung in den Dichtungen der Jesajaapokalypse*, BWANT 86, Stuttgart 1967, pp.113-114 and Preuss 1972:111.

[3] Cf. Botterweck 1957:6; G.N.M. Habets, *Die grosse Jesaja-Apokalypse*, Bonn 1974, p.267; Gese 1977:52; Greenspoon 1981:284; and Martin-Achard 1981A: 452.

[4] Cf. Wildberger, *Jesaja*, p.996. Although he is one of the advocates of a

3.5.2. THE HOPE OF THE INDIVIDUAL FOR YHWH AFTER DEATH

It is often assumed that in ancient Israelite mentality before the exile the individual interest was completely subordinate to the welfare of the group. This would have made the death of the individual acceptable, because all that mattered was the survival of the group[1]. With regard to the afterlife they only would have hoped for the communion of the deceased person with his group being maintained. The afterlife of the individual would have been restricted to his family remembering him. In the words of Pedersen: "That which happens through normal death is . . . that a kinsman passes from one department of the family to another . . . As long as his memory lives, his personality is not wiped out. But it generally dwindles more and more, and at last he is merged entirely in the great stock of life, which upholds the family, that which is called the fathers. From them he has sprung, and to them he returns"[2].

However, this picture of the feelings in ancient Israel towards individual death probably does not exactly mirror the thoughts of the Israelites on this subject. One should not be too strict with regard to the separation of collectivism and individualism in ancient Israelite thought (see pp.73-74 above). Especially with regard to prominent men and women who are more than just part of the community, people may have speculated about their state after death. The Old Testament is admittedly silent in this matter. The only clear examples in the Old Testament of such speculations concern

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metaphorical interpretation (ibid., p.995), he admits that we are here "an der Schwelle des Glaubens an ein tatsächlicher Wiederbelebung nach dem Tode". See for a survey of the two different interpretations of Isa 26:19 Hasel 1980:272-273 (Hasel himself speaks of "the apocalyptic revelation of the physical resurrection of the faithful", ibid., p.275) and Martin-Achard 1981A:450-451 (Martin-Achard also defends a literal interpretation, cf. Martin-Achard 1981B:314). The interpretation as a promise of national restoration has been defended recently by Clements, *Isaiah*, p.216; Helfmeyer 1977:258 who speaks of a promise of a numerous posterity; and Day 1978:268.

[1] See for this opinion, e.g., Martin-Achard 1956:25; Rost 1974:64; and Bailey 1979:58.

[2] Pedersen 1926:496; cf. also L. Köhler, *Der hebräische Mensch*, Tübingen 1953, p.100.

foreign rulers (cf. Isa 14 and Ezek 28). This reticence of the Old Testament has to do with the fact that it cannot speak about the dead and their situation in the afterlife without touching upon the subject of their relation with YHWH and for reasons outlined above YHWH is primarily pictured as a god of the living. The emphasis upon the character of YHWH as a god of the living is best illustrated by the prayer in the individual(!) songs of lament to YHWH to rescue the suppliant from premature death. The negative picture these songs give of the state of the dead as being outside communion with YHWH and as being unable to praise Him is no more than an indication of the fact that if a person died too soon he did not take part in the worship of YHWH as long as he could have been expected to. This does not exclude some kind of relation to YHWH after death, nor does it imply that the individual hope for YHWH after death could only be a late development in the faith of Israel[1].

3.5.2.1. THE INSCRIPTION OF URIYAHU

The first indication in Israel of belief in some kind of continuance of the relationship with YHWH after death apart from the traditions about Enoch and Elijah is found in one of the inscriptions in the tombs discovered in Khirbet el-Kôm (see p.242, n.4 above)[2]. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to date the inscription and the tomb in which it was found. Because the tomb was cleared before the first serious excavation had begun, we can only rely on the type of the tomb and on the paleographical features of the inscription. The excavator proposes a date for the inscription in the middle of the eighth century B.C.[3]. This is accepted by most scholars. With regard to the text and the translation of the inscription, however, there is much difference of opinion. The following interpretation is based on the drawing and precise description of the text by Mittmann, although we do not always follow his transcription and translation:

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[1] Cf. Von Rad 1974:245; Nicacci 1983:8; and Noort 1984:22-23.

[2] See on this inscription W.G. Dever, HUCA 40-41(1969-1970),159ff.; A. Lemaire, "Les inscriptions de Khirbet el-Qôm et l'Ashérah de Yhwh", RB 84 (1977),595-608; G. Garbini, "Su un' iscrizione de Khirbet el-Kôm" AION 38(1978),191-193; Mittmann 1981; and Z. Zevit, "The Khirbet el-Qôm Inscription Mentioning a Goddess", BASOR 255(1984),39-47.

[3] W.G. Dever, HUCA 39-40(1969-1970),165. In his opinion the tomb type points to a date between the 8th and 6th century B.C. (ibid., p.150).

ʾryhw.hšr[1]*.ktbh*	Uriyahu, the singer, wrote this:
brk.ʾryhw.lyhwh	Blessed be Uriyahu by YHWH
wmmṣr[2] *dyh hlʾ lšrth hwšʿ lh*	and from the distress as much as comes
lʾr(!)yhw[3]	to him[4] over there[5] may He deliver him[6], Uriyahu, because of his service[7].

In the tomb inscriptions of ancient Syria and Palestine such a prayer for blessings from one's god is uncommon. A similar formula appears only in two Aramaic tomb inscriptions of the fifth or fourth century B.C. discovered in Egypt (KAI 267:1 and 269:1)[8]. But these inscriptions which speak of the relation between the deceased and Osiris who is residing in the netherworld cannot explain the blessing formula in Uriyahu's inscription. A better parallel is the Hadad inscription of Panammuwa of Samal (KAI 214), because in both texts the writer speaks of his own afterlife and of his relationship with his god there. We can also compare the inscription of Uriyahu to Ps 116:3, "The snares of death bound me, the pangs of Sheol held me; I suffered distress (צרה) and anguish"; v.6, "He has saved me (יהושע לי); and v.8, "You have rescued me from death". The tomb inscription of Uriyahu shows that this metaphorical language of the Psalms could also be interpreted literally. This can be illustrated by the clear parallel with Ps 138:7:

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[1] With Mittmann 1981:141 we assume that the illegible sign between /*h*/ and /*š*/ is a correction of the scribe: a /*r*/ was wrongly written before instead of after the /*š*/ and afterwards erased.

[2] Apparently the scribe had forgotten the second /*m*/ of this word and corrected his fault by adding it below.

[3] We assume a scribal error: /*n*/ instead of /*r*/. In ancient Hebrew script, which is employed here, these signs are much alike.

[4] Cf. Hebrew די, "what is sufficient, one's due". So there is no need to change the text here as proposed by Mittmann 1981:143.

[5] *hlʾ* can be interpreted as a defective form of *hlʾh*, "(over)there", used as a euphemism for the netherworld; cf. our "beyond".

[6] Cf. the use of הושיע ל in Josh 10:6; Ezek 34:22; Ps 86:16; and 98:1.

[7] In the Old Testament שרת is a *terminus technicus* for the service in the cult at the sanctuary; cf. Deut 10:8; 21:5; Ezek 40:46 etc. It perfectly fits Uriyahu who is called a singer, because in I Chron 6:17 the same verb is used of the singers in the temple. So the reading and translation by Lemaire, *lʾšrth*, "par son asherah" and by Zevit, *hlʾlšrtth*, "O Asherata" cannot be sustained. The copy of Mittmann leaves no doubt about the reading *lšrth* and, as we saw, the use of this word fits the context very well.

[8] Cf. Müller 1975B:124 and Mittmann 1981:148.

> If I go in the midst of distress (צרה),
>   Thou willst revive me in spite of the wrath of my foes,
> Thou willst stretch out thy hand
>   and thy right hand will deliver me (תושיעני).

As in other cases the Psalmist apparently meant this to refer to a deliverance from distress at this side of the grave. In the inscription of Uriyahu, however, the same words were used as a declaration of confidence in the continuing assistance of YHWH, even against the dark forces of the netherworld[1]. It is even possible to assume that Uriyahu quotes this or a related Psalm[2]. The last verse of Ps 138 might have suggested such an interpretation to him: "thy love, YHWH, endures forever". If we take into account the fact that the dead could be called "gods" (see p.163 and 256 above), v.1, "in the presence of the gods I shall sing to Thee", can be mentioned as a possible source of inspiration for Uriyahu as well.

Beneath the inscription of Uriyahu we see a picture representing a hand which reaches downward. This is hardly meant as the hand of somebody venerating his god, as assumed by Mittmann[3]. A hand pictured in this way usually has a magical or apotropaic function[4]. Since this picture is an illustration alongside the inscription, it can only be the hand of YHWH "stretched out from on high to rescue" (Ps 144:7; cf. also Ps 138:7)[5].

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[1] "My foes" could also be understood in a different context as a reference to the evil demons of the netherworld. In Egypt they were called *ḫfty*, "enemy", in Babylonia *ayābu*, "enemy", or *nakru*, "foe". See for the fury of evil demons J.C. de Moor, UF 12(1980),431-432.

[2] This Psalm is often held to be post-exilic, because it would presuppose the message of Deutero-Isaiah (cf. Kraus, *Psalmen*, p.1088 and Van der Ploeg, *Psalmen*, II, p.429). It is unlikely, however, that v.1 speaking of "the presence of the gods" would have been composed in a time when strict monotheism was becoming dogma.

[3] Mittmann 1981:149-152.

[4] Cf. O. Keel, in *Monotheismus im alten Israel und seiner Umwelt*, ed. O. Keel, Biblische Beiträge 14, Fribourg 1980, p.172; S. Schroer, "Zur Deutung der Hand unter der Grabinschrift von Chirbet el Qôm", UF 15(1983), 191-199; and also F. Dölger, *ICHTHUS*, II, Münster 1922, p.276 who interprets the pictures of hands on stelae found in Carthage as "Sinnbild der göttliche Macht und des himmlischen Schützes".

[5] Cf. also Riesenfeld 1948:33-34 on the pictures of the hand of YHWH in

We do not know what precisely Uriyahu expected of life after death, but it may be assumed that he himself did not have a clear picture of the afterlife either. All we can say is that staying in the netherworld was not a happy prospect for him and that he hoped for YHWH to rescue him from the distress which necessarily comes to everybody there. The text does not say whether Uriyahu hoped that YHWH would help him by making life bearable in the netherworld[1] or that he expected to be freed from there as the *rpʾum* who are able to follow Baal on his return to the world of the living. The demonstrated fact that Canaanite belief in the revivification of royal dead was familiar to the Israelites is an important argument for the second possibility. We have to assume in that case a democratization of this originally royal privilege as was the case with Egyptian beliefs in beatific afterlife[2].

It is worth noting that this democratization is coupled with a belief in some kind of divine retribution in the hereafter. There everybody will have to pay his due in the form of suffering, but one's merits can function as a plea for the alleviation of the bitter fate of the netherworld.

The inscription of Uriyahu probably represents an aspect of the folk religion of ancient Israel. In the Old Testament literature of this period before the exile a belief such as it is expressed here is not explicitly mentioned. This may have to do with the affinities of this belief with Canaanite religion[3].

3.5.2.2. JOB 19:25-27

The Old Testament appears to be very reluctant in speaking of any hope in YHWH after death for the individual. Only in situations of utter distress do we hear that faith in YHWH is not restricted to the hope of being

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the Dura-Europos paintings.

[1] Cf. the text from Susa quoted on p.109 above.

[2] Cf. Healey 1984:254. See also p.91 above.

[3] For the assumption of a difference between the official and the folk religion with regard to conceptions of afterlife see the theories about an ancient Israelite cult of the dead discussed in sections 1.4.2. and 3.1.3. above, as well as Martin-Achard 1981B:308 and the literature mentioned on p.257, n.3 above.

rescued from death in this life, but concerns the afterlife as well. In this regard texts like Job 19:25-27 do not differ from the texts which speak metaphorically of the resurrection of the dead.

Job 19:25-27 and especially v.26 is a very difficult text. It is hardly possible to translate it into understandable English. So it comes as no surprise that many scholars have proposed to emend the MT at this point. As was demonstrated on pp.17-18 above already the translation of the LXX may be regarded as an attempt to improve the original text. We also saw that the Hebrew text used by the Greek translator probably did not differ from the MT. Because neither the other versions nor the Hebrew manuscripts offer any plausible arguments for emendations, scholars who want to change the MT are forced to assume a very early corruption or re-reading of the text (see p.22 above). In this situation the danger of emending the text to say more clearly what one wants it to say can hardly be avoided. For this reason it is better to assume as a starting-point that the obscurity of the Hebrew text may be intentional[1] and try to explain it from the context.

According to Job's friends his suffering implies that he has been unjust and is now punished for that reason by God. Job, who is convinced of his innocence, appeals to God. Only He can show to Job's friends that Job can not be blamed for his present situation (13:3). Job, who states that there is no hope for him after death (14:14), cries to God to help him and maintain his right before he goes along the path-of-no-return (16:19-22), before his hope shall go down with him into the netherworld (17:15-16). The only thing his friends can say to this, is to stop protesting. They stick to the traditional wisdom that a premature death only comes to the wicked, to the ungodly "who do not know God" (18:21). For it is generally accepted that as a rule those who do not fear God are fools for whom there is no future (אחרית; cf. Prov 24:20). The future belongs to the one who accepts that the beginning of all wisdom is the fear of God (cf. Prov 23:17-18; 24:14; and Job 8:5-7). In the ancient Israelite wisdom literature this contrast between future and no-future has also been formulated as a difference between life and death. In this connection "death" usually means premature death and "life" long and blessed life before death (cf. Prov 9). In some short proverbs, however, it may be possible to find references to a hope in YHWH which is not restricted to this life (cf. Prov 12:28; 14:32; and 15:24)[1].

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[1] Cf. Gese 1982:169 and also BHS.

Be this as it may, Job's friends clearly speak of the future in this life (cf. Job 8:5-7). Job, who may seem to have lost all hope (19:10), cannot accept that he would have no future as if he were an ungodly fool. He does not want to give in. Death may come as a release from his sufferings (cf. Job 3), but it should not stop his cry for justice. This thought was already mentioned in 16:18, "O earth, cover not my blood, let my cry not find a resting place". Whereas this was meant metaphorically, because according to 16:22 Job may still have hoped for justice during his lifetime, he clearly envisages the period after his death in 19:23-24: Job wishes his words of complaint to be engraved in the rock forever. As in 16:18ff. the wish for the prolongation of his testimony of innocence is followed by an expression of hope that someone will intercede on his behalf (19:25-27):

> I know my avenger lives:
>   afterwards he shall stand upon the dust;
> after my skin has thus been flayed[2]
>   and without my flesh I shall see God,
> whom I shall see for myself
>   and (whom) my own eyes will see, not (those of) a stranger
>   (after) my kidneys have perished in my bosom.

It is not necessary to discuss here the difficult problem of the identity and precise function of the "avenger"[3], because this is of little relevance to the question which is most important to us, viz. what did Job expect for himself. According to v.25b he seems to have hope for the future. So he contradicts earlier statements about having no future and about his hopes descending together with him in the dust (על עפר; 17:15-16). Now he is looking forward to something into the future: he may descend into the dust, i.e., the netherworld, but that shall not be the end, of all hope, because upon the dust (על עפר) his avenger shall stand[1]. The parallel with 17:16 shows that Job speaks here of the time after his death[2]. This is confirmed by 19:26-27, where the situation indicated by the expression על עפר is worked out by describing Job's unfortunate fate. His death is sketched as the loss of his skin, his flesh, and his inner parts[3]. Nevertheless, Job is certain that he will see God. He repeats it three times: "I shall see God" (v.26bB), "I shall see for myself" (v.27aA), and "my own eyes will see, not (those of) a stranger" (v.27aB). Apparently this is all he can say. All he knows is that he will see God. He does not speculate about his own situation in the hereafter[4]. The hope of seeing God can be compared to what is said in Ps 17:15. The communion with YHWH is described here as "seeing (חזה) Him". This is more than anything one can find in this world (cf. Exod 24:11; Ps 11:7; 27:4; and 63:3). What is said in Ps 17:15 of this life[5] is now used by Job to denote the hope in his God which does not go down forever with him into the grave.

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[1] Cf. Dahood 1960; Van der Weiden 1970; and Nicacci 1981 and 1983:12.14. Dahood also mentioned in this connection Prov 16:2 (*Psalms*, III, pp. XLIII-XLV). Cottini 1984 follows Dahood in the interpretation of Prov 12:28; 14:32; 15:24 and adds 23:17-18 and 24:19-20. See against this interpretation of these proverbs Nötscher 1926:245-248; Sutcliffe 1947: 119-120; W. McKane, *Proverbs: A New Approach*, OTL, London 1970, pp.468. 475; Vawter 1972:166-169; and the attempt by Tournay to explain the MT of these proverbs as interpretative readings (see pp.22-24 above).

[2] See on this translation of נקף p.252, n.4 above.

[3] See on this issue now N.C. Habel, *The Book of Job*, OTL, London 1985, pp. 303-307.

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[1] "To stand up" is often interpreted here as a reference to the lawyer rising at court; cf. G. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob*, KAT 16, Gütersloh 1963, pp.321-322; M.H. Pope, *Job*, AncB 15, 3rd ed., Garden City 1980, p.146; and Habel, *The Book of Job*, p.292. It is much better, however, to regard קום in this verse as the counterpart of the way it is used in v.18: whereas Job cannot hold his foothold, his avenger shall stand firm. According to M.L. Barré, "A Note on Job 19:25", VT 29(1979),107-109 the wordpair קום/חיה is used here, as in many other texts, metaphorically expressing the healing from sickness, but to prove his point Barré has to emend the MT. Morever, he seems to disregard the context.

[2] Cf. Habel, *The Book of Job*, p.307.

[3] With Gese 1977:44 and 1982:169 we take Job 19:27b literally. In this way it fits the context best. We see a clear chiastic structure in vv.26-27. So there is no reason to speak of "a rather limp conclusion to what precedes" (Pope, *Job*, p.147). Note also the parallel in the Ugaritic text KTU 1.82:3 speaking of Reshep shooting arrows at the kidneys of his victims; cf. De Moor, Spronk 1984:239.

[4] He leaves this to biblical scholars. Cf., e.g., Nötscher 1924:159-160: "Von einer Auferstehung ist im Buche Hiob nicht die Rede. Wenn Hiob freilich überzeugt ist, trotz der Todesgewissheit Gott zu sehen, so muss er doch irgendwie ein Leben voraussetzen, das durch den Tod nicht zerstört werden kann, das also überzeitlich oder überweltlich sein muss, jedenfalls von dem rein physischen Dasein unterscheidet".

[5] According to some scholars Ps 17:15 refers to the afterlife (see p.74, n.3 above). The most important argument against this interpretation is that the rest of this Psalm describes the hope of being rescued from the enemies in this life (cf. v.13). So the awakening mentioned in v.15 probably refers not to the sleep of death, but has to be connected with v.3, which speaks of YHWH probing one by night. See for the interpretation of Ps 17:15 as referring to this life amongst others Tournay 1949:

It is important to note that though Job speaks of the period after his death he says nothing about the afterlife itself. He does not deny the things he said before about the netherworld as a place of darkness (cf.10: 21-22 and 17:13) and death as an irrevocable fact (cf. 14:12 and 16:22). But he seems to have lost all interest in his personal state, his belongings and even his physical appearance. The only thing what matters is the lasting relationship with his God who knows him better than his friends do. Only this and the firm conviction that there has to be some kind of compensation for undeserved suffering could bring him to believe that death is not the end of all hope.

It has been suggested that this hope for a vindication after death was derived by Job from the Canaanite belief in the resurrection of Baal[1]. This theory is primarily based on the comparison of Job 19:25a with KTU 1. 6:III.8-9. In this passage of the myth of Baal El announces the return of Baal from the netherworld saying: "I know that almighty Baal is alive". We could add now that it might be possible for Job to relate his hope to the revivification of the *rpʾum* together with Baal. It has been demonstrated, however, that the way v.25a is formulated can be explained from the context and is based on the idea of the living God rescuing his people[2]. We have to assume, therefore, that the similarity with the passage in the myth of Baal is coincidental[3]. If Job 19:25a had been a quotation from the myth of Baal, it would have been in line with the metaphor of Hos 6:1-3 which also speaks of the hope in YHWH after death. When we compare these texts, however, we note some basic differences with regard to the way this matter is treated. According to Hos 6 the people of Israel frankly speak of their hope of being revivified by YHWH, whereas Job only

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489-490; Coppens 1957:5-6; N.H. Ridderbos, *De Psalmen*, I, KVHS, Kampen 1962, p.185; Kraus, *Psalmen*, p.279; and Dorn 1980:192-214.

[1] Cf. E.G. Kraeling, *The Book of the Ways of God*, London 1939, p.89; S. Terrien, in *Interpreters's Bible*, III, New York 1954, p.1053 and *Job*, CAT XIII, Neuchatel 1963, p.151-152; and G. Widengren, *Sakrales Königtum im alten Testament und im Judentum*, Stuttgart 1955, p.73.

[2] Cf. H.-J. Kraus, "Der lebendige Gott", in his *Biblisch-theologische Aufsätze*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1972, pp.1-36.

[3] Cf. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob*, p.321, n.46 and in general on Widengren's theory about the Canaanite background of the formula "YHWH is alive" the critical remarks of Kraus, pp.13ff. and H. Ringgren, ThWAT II, col.891.

speaks of communion with his God and does not specify what kind of afterlife he expects. Because of this reluctance Job 19:25-27 stands closer to Ezek 37 than to Hos 6. Job cannot be blamed, as were the Israelites in Hos 6, for having a superficial belief. For his belief is based on his ultimate trust in God and is the result of a long and hard struggle with the traditional views put forward by his friends. We might call it a deeper insight into the character of Israel's God[1].

An argument often used against any interpretation of Job 19:25-27 as referring to the afterlife is that the idea of postmortal vindication would certainly have had its repercussions in the rest of the book of Job[2]. In ch.21 Job speaks of the prosperity of the wicked as opposed to the premature death of the righteous. Nothing here reminds us of his trust in the lasting fellowship with God as expressed in ch.19. It should be taken into account, however, that the discussion of Job and his friends concerns here Job's (negative) experiences. It is impossible for Job to connect these with positive expectations (cf. 23:8-9 and 24:1 with 19:26-27!), because this is precisely the problem for which he stands and which he cannot solve with the help of the traditional answers. For this reason Job questions the validity of traditional wisdom, but he cannot offer a fully developed alternative. Job 16:18-21 and 19:25-27 are, in fact, no more than cries for help based on trust in God. They are not dogmas which could help Job to accept or comprehend the world he lives in. They only stimulated him to be even more critical.

3.5.2.3. PSALM 73

The problem of the prosperity of the wicked is also discussed in the book of Psalms. Ps 37; 49; and 73 are devoted to this theme and are for this reason usually characterized as wisdom Psalms[3]. Although this qualification may be too general, because Ps 49 and 73 also contain elements of songs of lament and trust[1], it cannot be denied that in the way this problem is handled these Psalms are closely related to traditional wisdom: in the end the wicked appear to have no future (cf. Ps 37:37-40; 49:14-16; 73:17-20.23-28). The future as it is promised to the just in Ps 37 concerns this life, or else, their offspring. The hope expressed in Ps 49 and 73 seems to go beyond that. Given the fact that these Psalms have very much in common with Ps 37 it is remarkable that they do not mention the hope attached to posterity. It shows that the same subject is treated now as an individual problem[2]. In this respect Ps 49 and 73 can be compared to the book of Job, although what the poets of these Psalms say of themselves is often meant more generally, as something that concerns every faithful person[3]. Of these Psalms Ps 73 has most in common with the book of Job. Whereas Ps 49 describes things more or less at a distance, the poet of Ps 73 seems to be personally involved, like Job, when he speaks of the prosperity and pride of the wicked as contrasted to his own situation of undeserved misery and his inability to explain all this.

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[1] Cf. Gese 1977:44 and 1982:172.

[2] Cf. Fohrer, *Das Buch Hiob*, pp.318-319; C. Epping and J.T. Nelis, *Job*, BOT VIIa, Roermond 1968, p.94; and F. Hesse, *Hiob*, ZBKAT 14, Zürich 1978, p.127.

[3] Cf. G. von Rad, *Weisheit in Israel*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970, pp.263-266 and Luyten 1979:59-64.

We propose the following translation and strophical structure of Ps 73:

1 Truly, God is good to Israel[4],
to those who are pure in heart.

Ia 2 But as for me, my feet had almost stumbled;
my steps had well nigh slipped.
3 For I was envious of the arrogant;

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[1] Cf. C. Westermann, *Ausgewählte Psalmen*, Göttingen 1984, pp.101.106; Kraus, *Theologie der Psalmen*, p.212; and the elaborate discussions of the "Gattung" of Ps 49 and 73 by Schmitt 1973:200-212.263-282; Luyten 1979:64-73; Casetti 1982:279-283; Irsigler 1984:353-364; and Schelling 1985:30-32.

[2] Cf. J.F. Ross, "Psalm 73", in *Israelite Wisdom*, Fs S. Terrien, ed. J.G. Gammie, Missoula 1978, pp.161-175; esp. pp.162-163 and Casetti 1982:62. According to B. Renaud, "Le Psaume 73, méditation individuelle ou prière collective", RHPhR 59(1979),541-550 vv.1 and 10 are a collective adaptation of this originally individual song; cf. also Irsigler 1984:100-105.345-349 and R.J. Tournay, "Le Psaume LXXIII: relectures et interprétation", RB 92(1985),187-199; esp.189-191.

[3] Cf. Kraus, *Theologie der Psalmen*, p.213 and Irsigler 1984:347.

[4] Many scholars propose to read here טוב לישר אל, "God is good to the upright" (cf. BHS). The MT would represent the tendency to a collective interpretation (see n.2 above). The most important argument used for this emendation is that it would offer a better parallelism than the MT: "God is good to the upright/God to those who are pure in heart". This argument, however, is not decisive. As Ps 24:4-6 shows, the rare expression ברי לבב can be used to denote the ideal Israel.

I saw the prosperity of the wicked.

4 For they are not in the chains of death[1];
their body is fat.
5 They are not in trouble as other men are;
they are not stricken as other men.

Ib 6 Therefore, pride is their necklace,
violence the robe that covers them.
7 Their guilt[2] comes from the fat;
their follies overflow the heart.

8 They scoff and speak with malice;
from above they threaten oppression.
9 They put their mouth in heaven
and their tongue moves on earth[3].

Ic 10 Therefore, they satisfy themselves with their glory
and find no fault in themselves[4].

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[1] The difficult first part of v.4 (cf. BHS) can be regarded as a reference to the expression of being "in the snares of death" (cf. Ps 18:5; 116:3) and to the use of חרצבות in Isa 58:6. The final *mem* of למותם can be regarded as enclitic.

[2] Read with BHS עוונמו instead of עינמו. In this way we get a completely synonymous parallelism. The change of the original text may have been caused by the fact that the parallel between "heart" and "fat", both denoting the inner part of man (cf. Exod 29:13.22), was not understood anymore. The wordpair heart/fat is an indication of the insensibility of the wicked with regard to justice (cf. Ps 119:70).

[3] Many scholars point to similar lines in Ugaritic mythological texts. KTU 1.5:II.2-3 describes the gaping jaws of the god of death, Mot, as "a lip to the earth, a lip to heaven . . . a tongue to the stars". In the same way the voracious gods Shahar and Shalim are described in KTU 1.23:61-62: "one lip to the earth, one lip to heaven and there did enter their mouths . . .". However, the relation between these Ugaritic texts and Ps 73:9, as assumed, e.g., by H. Ringgren, VT 3(1953),267-277 and M. Manatti, "Les adorateurs de Môt dans le psaume LXXIII, VT 22(1972),420-425, is probably just formal; cf. H. Donner, ZAW 79(1967),336-338 and Irsigler 1984:252-253. On the other hand these Ugaritic parallels do help us in so far as they show that v.9 speaks metaphorically of the gluttony of the wicked; cf. A. Caquot, *Semitica* 21(1971),40. To this is added the element of pride (cf. v.8 and Job 20:6). It is interesting to note that a combination of both elements is also found in a Babylonian wisdom text describing the vicissitudes of life and men's reactions towards them: "When starving they become like corpses, when full they oppose their god. In good times they speak of scaling heaven, when they are troubled they talk of going down to hell" (*Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* II,44-47). Krašovec 1984:49-51 rightly points to the antithetic parallel between v.9 and v.25: the absolute surrender to one's god as opposed to the arrogance of the wicked (cf. also v.11).

[4] Read with Irsigler 1984:24-27 לכן ישבעו מהללם ומום לא ימצו למו (*lākēn*

11 And they say: "How can God know;
would the Most High have any knowledge?"
12 Behold, thus are the wicked:
always at ease, they increase their riches.

II 13 However, it was in vain that I kept my heart pure
and washed my hands in innocence.
14 I am stricken all day long;
I am punished every morning.

15 If I had said: "I will speak like them[1]",
behold, I should have betrayed the generation of thy sons.
16 And I thought how to understand this;
it was a wearysome task in my eyes.
17 Until I went into the sanctuary of God:
I perceived their future[2].

IIIa 18 Truly, Thou dost set them in slippery places;
Thou dost make them fall to ruins.
19 How dreadful they are in a moment:
they disappear, perish, are wiped out!
20 They are like a dream after awakening, o Lord;
on awakening Thou dost despise their image.

IIIb 21 When my heart was embittered
and I felt sharply stabbed in my kidneys,
22 I was stupid like cattle, ignorant,
like a beast; I am with Thee![3]

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yiśbaʿû mah^{a}lālām w^{e}mûm lō yimṣaʾû lāmô. The most important change of the consonant text is the addition of a *lamed* in **מהללם**. We have to assume a scribal error (haplography), which was probably caused by the rarity of this word, that only occurs here and in Prov 27:21. This admittedly hypothetical reading fits the context very well, when we take into account the fact that v.10 is clearly parallel to v.6 which has the same beginning (לכן) and end (לנו). As v.6, v.10 introduces the proud reaction of the rich to their welfare described in the previous strophe.

[1] The verb ספר pi. is the common term for telling of (the deeds of) YHWH (cf. also v.28). It is very likely, therefore, that v.15a refers to v. 11 which describes the wicked as speaking of YHWH. This implies that כמו has to be interpreted as "like them", viz. the wicked. The use of this uncommon form may have been influenced by the repeated למו in the previous verses.

[2] Cf. the use of *ʾuḫryt* in KTU 1.17:VI.35; see p.79, n.8 and p.152 above.

[3] בהמות is usually taken together with the last two words of this verse: "I was a beast with Thee", i.e., in the sight of YHWH. However, as was rightly remarked by M. Manatti, "Sur le quadruple *avec toi* de Ps.LXXIII 21-26", VT 21(1971),59-67, it is very likely that this exceptional expression has the same meaning in vv.22.23 and 25b (it is not necessary to assume a fourth occurence in v.25a as proposed by Manatti). Because "I am with you" parallels "I did not know" in v.25a we regard it as the formulation of the sudden break through of a new and better understanding.

23 I am always with Thee;
Thou dost seize my right hand.
24 Thou dost guide me by your counsel
and afterwards there is glory: Thou wilt take me.

IIIc 25 Who is there for me in heaven?
I am with Thee; I desire nothing upon earth.
26 Would my flesh and my heart fail,
the rock of my heart,
my portion is God forever.

27 For, behold, they who are far from from Thee perish;
Thou destroyst all who wantonly turn from Thee.
28 But as for me, to be near God is good for me;
I make the lord YHWH my refuge
I shall tell of all thy works.

Ps 73 has a clearly marked and well-balanced strophical structure[1]. After the heading (v.1) come three stanzas. The first and the last stanza are built up of three substanzas. The middle stanza as well as the substanzas with exception of Ic and IIIa contain two strophes. There is also a remarkable regularity in length; when we count the verses we come to the following pattern: 1//2.2/2.2/3//2.3//3/2.2/2.2. So stanza III mirrors stanza I.

All stanzas are clearly marked by אך (vv.1.13.18) and the end of stanzas I and III by הנה (vv.12.27). The substanzas of stanza I are indicated by לכן (vv.6.10). A clear marker of strophes in Ps 73 is כי (vv.4.21.27). Characteristic of the form of this Psalm is the fact that many important words are repeated, whereas this repetition often indicates a contrast (cf. v.2 against v.28; v.9 against v.25; v.15 against v.28; and v.17 against v.24)[2]. We can finally notice the inclusion of the complete poem by v.2 and v.28 (cf. also ואני in vv.2 and 23), the inclusion of stanza I by רשעים (vv.3.12) and of stanza III by the repetition of the idea formulated in the first substanza (vv.18-20) in the last strophe (vv.27-28).

This formal structure perfectly corresponds with the contents of Ps 73.

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[1] There appears to be a great amount of agreement in recent studies of the strophical structure of Ps 73. Cf. L.C. Allen, "Psalm 73: An Analysis", *Tyndale Bulletin* 33(1982),93-118 with a survey of earlier research (pp. 93-100). Allen proposes the following structure: vv.1-4.5-12.13-17.18-20.21-28; cf. also B. Renaud, RHPhR 59(1979),543-544: vv.1.2-3.4-12.13-17.18-26.27-28; K.J. Illmann, SEA 41-42(1976-1977),123-124: vv.1-2.3-12. 13-17.18-20.21-26.27-28; Krašovec 1984:39-40: vv.1.2-12.13-17.18-22.23-28; Schelling 1985:31: vv.1/2-3.4-12.13-17/18-26/27-28. The structure of Ps 73 was also elaborately discussed by Irsigler 1984:84-90.140-352. In his opinion, however, the study of a strophical structure is of minor importance for the interpretation of this Psalm, because it would not lead to a better understanding of the way it is built up (pp.291-293). He even maintains that a well-balanced strophical structure can only be forced upon the text (cf. p.292, n.7). Instead, he restricts his study of "mehrzeilige Einheiten" to a "Gliederung in Ein-, Zwei- und Dreizeiler": vv.1.2-3.4-5.6-7.8-9.10-11.12.13-14.15-17.18.19-20.21-22.23-24.25-26.27-28 (p.292).

[2] Cf. Schmitt 1973:292; Irsigler 1984:287-288; and esp. Krašovec 1984:38-59.

It begins with an axiom derived from traditional wisdom. This is questioned by the poet's observation of the prosperity and pride of the wicked (stanza I) opposed to his own undeserved suffering (stanza II). According to the last stanza the problem is solved by the poet's insight into the real situation of the wicked and the faithful. Now he really understands, by personal experience (cf. the use of טוב in v. 28a with v.1a!).

As was stated above, Ps 73 shows many similarities to the book of Job[1]. Ps 73:2-12 has a parallel in Job 21:7-34 and vv.13-16 describe in short Job's struggle for justice and truth. At first glance the answer given in Ps 73 might also have been given by one of Job's friends, who represent the traditional wisdom. For it seeks the solution in paying attention to the people's future (v.17; mark the use of the conventional words בין and אחרית). Like Job's friends the poet is convinced of the fact that the wicked shall end badly (vv.18-20.27; cf. Job 18; 20 etc.). However, to this solution, which was rejected by Job (ch.20), the poet of Ps 73 adds a confession of trust in lasting communion with YHWH (vv.21-26.28). In its turn this confession is very similar to what is said by Job in 19:25-27[2].

The assumed parallel with Job 19 is best illustrated by vv.25-26 in which the poet states that all that matters is this lasting communion with his god: "My portion is God forever"[3]. As stated in Job 19:26-27 a person's physical state cannot be decisive here[4] (cf. the use of the verb כלה in Ps 73:26 and Job 19:27[5]). Like Job, the poet of Ps 73 had only come to this relieving insight after a hard and painful struggle (vv.21-22). The main difference from Job is that the poet of Ps 73 apparently had the possibility of thinking things over[6]. This may explain why he came to some sort of compromise between the traditional statements of Job's friends and Job's daring unconventional words. The poet of Ps 73 contemplates longer on the hope for a lasting communion with his god formulated here as "being with Thee". It is first contrasted with all other human desires (vv.25-26) and, finally, the difference from the fate of the ungodly is noted (vv.27-28).

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[1] Cf. Luyten 1979:73-80.

[2] Cf. Luyten 1979:77-80 and Gese 1982:172-174.

[3] Cf. Von Rad 1971:241ff. and his *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, I,3rd ed., München 1960, pp.416ff. who sees a development of this expression from Num 18:20, "YHWH is my part" expressing the economical state of the Levite to the deep religious feeling of Ps 16:5 and 73:26.

[4] Cf. the remark of Gese 1982:174: "Die Transzendenz der Gottesbeziehung übersteigt die Grenzen physischen Existierens".

[5] Cf. Luyten 1979:79 and Irsigler 1984:249.

[6] Cf. Luyten 1979:81 calling Ps 73 a commentary on the book of Job.

Like Job, the Psalmist primarily concerns himself with the relation to his God and not with ideas about the afterlife. There can be no doubt, however, that the latter are influenced by the former[1]. There are clear references to the hope for a beatific afterlife. They are prepared by the descriptions of the way the wicked will end. According to vv.18-19 their death is dreadful and in v.20a they are compared to a dream fading away (cf. Job 20:8). To this description of their death as it can be seen by the living v.20b adds a new element: "on awakening God shall despise their image"[2]. This has a clear parallel in Ps 49:15, "In the morning their stature shall be devoured"[3]. This parallel shows that Ps 73:20b refers to the expected desperate situation of the wicked in the world of the dead. They cannot hope for God's help in the netherworld (cf. Ps 69:34 and 102:18 speaking of God who does *not* despise the prisoners and the poor). It is important to note that this verse ascribes to God an active role towards the dead.

The idea of God "awakening" is not uncommon in the Old Testament (cf. Ps 7:7; 35:23; 44:24; and Job 8:6) and can be seen against the background of the ancient Near Eastern anthropomorphic conception of gods sleeping now and then[4]. The connection of this metaphor with the netherworld in Ps 73: 20b, however, also associates it with the sun leaving the dark world of the dead (cf. Ps 84:12 and Isa 60:1-2). It is very interesting to note that in Hos 6:3 the Israelites using the metaphor of revivification of the dead by YHWH speak of YHWH's coming out which is as sure as dawn. This leads us to the assumption that the help of God according to Ps 73:20b, which is missed by the wicked dead, concerns a rescue from the miserable situation in the netherworld. So this verse can be regarded as the negative counterpart of the hope as expressed in the inscription of Uriyahu.

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[1] Cf. Westermann, *Ausgewählte Psalmen*, p.105: "Der Gegensatz Diesseits-Jenseits wird hier als solcher verneint und an seine Stelle tritt der Gegensatz mit Gott-ohne Gott".

[2] For צלם denoting the shadowy state of the dead cf. Ps 39:7.

[3] So there is no need to emend the MT; against BHS and R.J. Tournay, RB 92 (1985),191-194 who translates "tu méprises leur stupide apparence".

[4] M.H.E. Weippert, NedThT 37(1983),284-287 refers in this connection to Atrahasis I.ii.57-84; *Enuma Eliš* I:59-69; V:125-130; VI;51-52.54 and to an old Babylonian prayer to the gods of the night. Cf. also the Hittite myth of Telepinus (cf. ANET, p.127a).

Substanza IIIa (vv.18-20) describes the end of the wicked as it is perceived by the Psalmist. The consistent antithetic structure of this Psalm indicates that in substanza IIIb this is contrasted by the positive situation of the faithful who do have a future. This hope is based on the covenantal relationship with YHWH: "I am with Thee". The twice repeated expression "with Thee", i.e., with YHWH, is very exceptional in the Old Testament. Whereas the Old Testament often expresses the belief in YHWH being with man[1], the reverse is attested only in Gen 5:22.24; 6:9; Exod 33:21; 34:28; I Sam 2:21; 25:29; Zech 14:5; and Ps 139:18[2]. It appears to be said of very prominent people: Enoch, Noah, Moses, Samuel, David, and even the heavenly saints. The closest parallel to Ps 73 speaking of being with God is Ps 139:18b, in which the poet expresses the close relation to his God with the words "when I awake[3] I am still with Thee". We may compare this to Ps 17:15, "I shall see thy face in righteousness, on awakening I shall be satisfied with thy image". We already saw that something similar is said in Job 19:26-27. All four texts (Ps 17:15; 73:23; 139:18; and Job 19:26-27) describe the close relation between the faithful and YHWH which is characteristic of Israel's heroes of faith as they are described in the Old Testament. An important element of this close relation between the faithful and YHWH is that it cannot be easily broken.

I Sam 25:29 speaks of being "in the bundle of the living with God". The context shows that this blessing primarily concerns protection against enemies, but it is understandable that this expression has been used in later Jewish and Christian traditions as an indication of afterlife with God (cf. Talmud Shabbat 152b and the old Latin translation of Sirach 6:16).

Gen 5:24 explicitly speaks of the relation with YHWH reaching beyond the border of death (see pp.267-268 above). YHWH's taking Enoch from this world is the consequence of the fact that Enoch "walked with Him". It is hardly coincidental that this combination of "being with God" and God

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[1] Cf. H.D. Preuss, ThWAT I, cols.485-500; D. Vetter, THAT II, cols.325-328; and R. Albertz, *Persönliche Frömmigkeit und offizielle Religion*, Stuttgart 1978, pp.81-87.

[2] Cf. W. Grundmann, ThWAT VII, pp.779-780; H.D. Preuss, ThWAT II, col.490; R. Winling, "Une manière de dire le salut: être avec Dieu", RSR 51(1977), 89-139; and A. Meinhold, ThLZ 107(1982),253.

[3] There is no need to emend the MT (cf. BHS) because of the clear parallel in Ps 17:15 (see below). The Psalmist probably refers to YHWH's protection against dangers symbolized by the night (cf. Ps 3:6 and 23:4).

"taking" the faithful also appears in Ps 73:23-24[1]; especially if we take into account the fact that v.23 emphasizes that this communion with God must be everlasting (cf. also v.26b). The poet probably expects for himself something similar as what had happened to Enoch. It becomes clear what precisely he thought this would be, when we see that vv.23-24 are contrasted with v.20b. This can be compared to the parallel passage in Ps 49:15-16: after the description of the wicked who perish in the world of the dead (cf. 73:20b) it is said of the poet himself that he is expected to be rescued from the netherworld as he is "taken" by YHWH. So Ps 73:24b probably also refers to the hope of being released from the netherworld and not being left there (cf. v.20b)[2]. Of course, death will take him away from the world of the living (cf. the use of the verb לקח in Jer 15:15; Ezek33:4.6;and Prov 24:11), but he hopes for his God to take him from the world of the dead. In this regard there is a clear difference between the hope for beatific afterlife according to Ps 73 and the traditions about the assumption of Enoch and Elijah: whereas Enoch and Elijah are said not to have experienced death, the poet of Ps 73 expresses the same hope as Uriyahu, viz. to be rescued from the netherworld, i.e., after death[3].

The assumption that "to be with YHWH" can refer to beatific afterlife is supported by ancient Near Eastern conceptions of blissful afterlife as being with the gods. The closest parallels come from Canaan: the cyclical conception of beatific afterlife as a regular release from the netherworld is described as "counting the years with Baal" (KTU 1.17:VI.28) and "eating and drinking with Hadad" (KAI 214:17)(see p.158 above). We also have to note, however, a basic difference between these ancient Canaanite conceptions and Ps 73: whereas the positive expectations of the Canaanites are clearly related with monthly and annual rituals for the dead, the Yahwistic hope is primarily based on the intimate and everlasting nature of the relation with YHWH.

A comparison with the way beatific afterlife is described in the Wisdom of Solomon is also very illuminating. As in Ps 73 this expectation is based on the hope for a lasting communion with God; cf. Wisdom 3:1, "The souls of the just are in God's hand". In the book of Wisdom, however, we find nothing of a resurrection of the dead or of God taking the faithful from the netherworld. Instead, it uses the conception of the immortal soul. This can be ascribed to Greek influence . Nevertheless, we notice the same principle, viz. lasting communion with God. The difference from conceptions such as those in Dan 12 and Ps 73 is merely a matter of how things are worked out. Then foreign conceptions, be it Greek or Canaanite, could be used.

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[1] Cf. Irsigler 1984:270.

[2] We cannot agree with Ramorosan 1984 who sees a difference between the conceptions of beatific afterlife in Ps 49 and Ps 73, the former stating that the just dwell for a certain period in the netherworld, the latter assuming no intermediate period.

[3] Cf. Schmitt 1973:302.

It has become clear that in Ps 73 the first stichos and the last word of the second strophe of substanza IIIb refer to hope for a beatific afterlife. This indicates that probably the whole strophe has to be interpreted within this framework. The hope that God will seize one's right hand (v. 23b) has been compared to the annual Babylonian enthronement ritual in which the god legitimizes the king by seizing his hand[1]. This may offer a plausible background of Isa 45:1, but within the context of Ps 73 it is much more likely that we have to do with the common way of expressing the hope for help from one's god. For this we have clear parallels in Mesopotamian prayers[2]. In the Old Testament this meaning of "to take the (right) hand" is attested in Isa 41:13; 42:6; and Jer 31:32. This last text shows that there is probably no basic difference between this statement and the following one in v.24a about God guiding the faithful. For it is said here that God "took them by the hand and led them out of Egypt (cf. also Ps 139: 10 for the wordpair נחה/אחז). Like Jer 31:32, Ps 73:23b-24a probably refers to the hope that God will lead the faithful out of a situation of distress (cf. the use of נחה in Ps 31:4-5; 107:30; and 139:10), which includes a stay in the netherworld, be it metaphorically or literally. For both interpretations we have parallels in the literature of Israel's neighbours[3].

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[1] Cf. H. Gressmann, *Der Messias*, FRLANT 43, Göttingen 1929, pp.60-61; E. Würthwein, "Erwägungen zum Psalm 73", in *Festschrift für A. Bertholet*, ed. W. Baumgartner et al., Tübingen 1950, pp.532-549; esp. pp.542ff.; Kraus, *Psalmen*, pp.671-672; and Schmitt 1973:273-274.

[2] Cf. J.A. Soggin, ThWAT III, col.660; De Moor 1978A:138; and Schelling 1985:120. See for Mesopotamian parallels M.-J. Seux, *Hymnes et prières aux dieux de Babylonie et d'Assyrie*, Paris 1976, pp.142.179.464.

[3] Cf. *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* IV,4-8: "He (i.e., Marduk) restored me to health, he rescued me *[*from the pit*]*, he summoned me *[*from*]* destruction . . . he pulled me from the Hubur river, . . . he took my hand (cf. ANET, p.600);

A perfect illustration of this is the hand pictured below the inscription of Uriyahu. As was demonstrated above, this probably represents the hand of YHWH seizing the deceased to deliver him from the distress of the netherworld.

The first two words of v.24b have always greatly troubled the exegetes. These words have been interpreted in many ways. אחר can be regarded as the preposition "with" and כבוד as the glory of the faithful[1]. It is also possible to translate אחר as "towards"[2]. A third possibility is to take it as "behind" and interpret כבוד as the glory of YHWH. Ps 73:24b would then describe something like Exod 33:18-23[3].

If possible, the interpretation of these enigmatic words has to be based on the analysis of the structure of this Psalm, because this has already proved to be of great help for its exegesis. In the first place we note the chiastic structure of the strophe to which v.24b belongs[4]. The clear parallel with Gen 5:24, "being with God" next to God "taking" Enoch, shows that v.24b is closely connected with v.23a. We also mentioned the parallel between v.23b and v.24a through the word-pair נחה/אחז. Secondly, אחר in v. 24b can be explained satisfactorily when it is regarded as indicating one of the antitheses which are characteristic of this Psalm, viz. the contrast between the end (אחרית) of the wicked (v.17b) and the end of the faithful[5]. The difficult grammatical construction of v.24b can be explained if we assume that the relation with אחרית is not just formal, but that אחר has the same (temporal) meaning. The connection with v.17b also indicates that כבוד has to be interpreted as referring to the faithful describing their ultimate fate as opposed to that of the wicked (vv.18-20). Instead of corruption they receive glory. Real glory can only be the gift of God (cf. Ps 3:4; 62:8; and 84:12) and has to be distinguished, therefore, from the glory

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cf. also the following prayer: "Ergreif seine Hand, dass dein Knecht nicht vernichtet werde" (cf. A. Falkenstein and W. von Soden, *Sumerische und Akkadische Hymnen und Gebete*, Zürich/Stuttgart 1953, pp.263-264). The Egyptians prayed to Re that he would take the hand of the deceased in order to take him with him on his way out of the netherworld; cf. W. Barta, LÄ IV, col.164.

[1] Cf. Schmitt 1973:298-301.

[2] Cf. Irsigler 1984:44-50.

[3] Cf. A. Caquot, *Semitica* 21(1971),50.

[4] Cf. Westermann, *Ausgewählte Psalmen*, p.104.

[5] Cf. Irsigler 1984:49 and Krašovec 1984:51-56.

which is based solely on one's richness[1]. For the glory of the rich "does not go down after him" when he dies (Ps 49:17-18). And the words of the poet of Ps 73 who knows that he will always be with his God (v.23a) are the counterpart of the sceptical remark of Koheleth: "And afterwards (אחריו) to the dead" (Eccles 9:3). Instead, the Psalmist appears to hope to be taken away from the dead to be with his God.

With regard to the relation to Canaanite conceptions of afterlife it is worth quoting Von Rad on Ps 73: "Hier ist also eine Jenseitshoffnung. Dass im Bereich der Kanaanäischen Mythologie eine solche mindestens da und dort lebendig und also Israel auch bekannt war, ist längst erkannt . . . Dass Israel zu dieser mythologischen Auferstehungshoffnung keinen Zugang fand, das ist sein Ruhm. In den Kreisen dieser Spiritualen aber hat sich etwas anderes ereignet. Absolut unmagisch und unmythologisch wuchs hier eine Zuversicht, die sich allein aus der Gewissheit der Unzerstörbarkeit einer Lebensgemeinschaft ergab, die Gott angeboten hatte"[2]. Von Rad is right in characterizing the hope in YHWH after death as "absolut unmagisch und unmythologisch", but it cannot be maintained any more that the poet of Ps 73 was not influenced by the Canaanite mythology of death and the Canaanite cult of the dead. The hope of being with YHWH resulting in YHWH taking the faithful from the netherworld has a clear parallel in the Canaanite belief in the relation of the *rpʾum* with Baal. We even found a trace of the same cyclical conception of afterlife in the description of the fate of the wicked.

For several reasons the poet of Ps 73 could no longer deny that YHWH does "work wonders for the dead" (Ps 88:11). He was forced to come to this conclusion because of the tension between his absolute trust in his God and the negative experiences of life. The belief in YHWH having power over life and death could only lead to the conclusion that death is not the end of the communion with YHWH. This idea was prepared already in the traditional wisdom by proverbs like Prov 12:28 and 15:24[3]. As the relation of Ps 73 with both the sayings of Job and the opinion of his friends shows, it would be wrong to distinguish too strictly between a traditional wisdom which restricts its hopes to this life and later reactions to this extending the hope towards the beyond.

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[1] Cf. J.W. McKay, SJTh 31(1978),168-169.

[2] Von Rad 1971:245; cf. also his *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, I, pp. 419-420 and Kraus, *Theologie der Psalmen*, p.219.

[3] See for the difference of opinion among scholars with regard to the interpretation of these proverbs p.312, n.1 above. It has been demonstrated on p.23 below that Prov 14:32 probably has nothing to do with the afterlife, but for Prov 12:28 and 15:24 this relation cannot be excluded.

Finally, it should be noted that a Psalm like Ps 73 which is related to the wisdom literature could probably more easily take over elements from folk religion than cultic Psalms[1]. On the other hand we should not disregard the apparent reticence in this matter: the accent is on YHWH and not on the afterlife itself. And there is no trace of the Canaanite belief which connects its hope for beatific afterlife with the myth of Baal and with monthly and annual cultic ceremonies. So in this respect Von Rad is certainly right when he speaks of "unmagisch und unmythologisch". The relation with the Canaanite conceptions of afterlife, however, is more complex than he assumed.

3.5.2.4. PSALM 49

Ps 49 discusses the same problem as Ps 73 and also arrives at similar conclusions. The close relation between these Psalms is indicated by the fact that they use the same keywords; cf. אחר(ית) in 49:14 and 73:17.24; לקח in 49:16 and 73:24; and כבוד in 49:17-18 and 73:24. The rare form שתו appears in both Ps 49:15 and 73:9. Other words appearing in both Psalms are בהמה/בער (49:11.13.21 and 73:22), בקר (49:15 and 73:14), בלה (49:15 and 73:19), and בין (49:21 and 73:17).

The relation between Ps 49 and Ps 73 can be compared to the relation between Ps 73 and Job 19. The poet of Ps 49 appears to be less involved in the problem he describes. He regards the matter with more detachment. It has been assumed that in Ps 49 the insights of Ps 73 have been further developed. Duhm states: "Der Dichter kennt wie der von Ps 73 eine Unsterblichkeitslehre, die nur dem Frommen gilt . . . der von Ps 73 hat die Lehre in den heiligen Mysterien seiner Religion kennengelernt, unser Autor behandelt sie als etwas Feststehendes"[2].

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[1] Cf. Von Rad, *Weisheit in Israel*, p.31 for the connection of wisdom with the common citizen and ibid., pp.240-244 on the difference between wisdom and cult.

[2] B. Duhm, *Die Psalmen*, 2nd ed., Tübingen 1922, p.140; cf. also Coppens 1957:17.

The difficult Hebrew text of Ps 49 is regarded by many scholars as more or less corrupted. And the structure of this Psalm has presented many problems to its commentators too[1]. Nevertheless, it appears to be possible to give a translation which mainly adheres to the MT and to discern a well-balanced strophical structure:

Ia 2 Hear this, all you peoples;
give ear, all who inhabit the world,
3 all mankind, every living man,
rich and poor alike!

4 My mouth shall speak wisdom;
the meditation of my heart is insight.
5 I will incline my ear to a proverb;
I will solve[2] my riddle with the lyre.

Ib 6 Why do I have to be afraid[3] in the days of evil?
(why) does the guilt of my past[4] surround me?
7 There are those who trust in their wealth
and boast of their great richness.

8 However, no man can ransom himself;
he cannot pay his price to God:
9 the ransom of their life is too precious.
And forever will stop (their boast)[5]

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[1] Cf. the survey of the numerous scholarly complaints about the Hebrew text by Casetti 1982:17-18 and ibid., pp.24-25 on the different proposals with regard to the structure of Ps 49.

[2] Although the expression פתח חידה appears only here in the Old Testament, there is no need to emend the MT as proposed by a number of scholars (cf. the survey by Casetti 1982:274), because a similar expression occurs in Akkadian: *pirišti petû*, "to open a secret"; cf. AHw, p.860.

[3] This phrase is usually regarded as a positive statement: there is no need for man to be afraid. Casetti even thinks of a quote of the people mentioned in v.7 (pp.179-180). In the Psalms, however, quotations are clearly marked. It is also more likely that v.6a is meant negatively, i.e., as a reversal of the common expression of trust: "I shall not fear" (cf. Ps 46:3).

[4] Literally "my footprints"; cf. Casetti 1982:177.

[5] The interpretation of vv.9-10 and their relation to the context is a vexing problem. According to BHS v.9 is a gloss, but this would still leave us with the problem of the positive statement in v.10. We tentatively suggest a connection of v.10 with v.9b. This ancient interpretation (cf. the survey by Casetti 1982:201) is supported by the following arguments: 1. v.9a is closely related to v.8 by the use of the word פדיון (cf. v.8a); as the third stichos of this verse it applies the general statement of v.8 to the people mentioned in vv.6-7; 2. in the same way, by the use of a common term, v.9b is connected with v.10 (לנצח/לעולם); 3. the use of tristicha appears to be characteristic of this substanza (cf. vv.11-12); 4. the verb חדל is also used to indicate

10 that one would live forever
and never see the Pit.

11 For one sees wise men die;
at the same time the fool and the stupid perish;
and they leave their wealth to others.
12 Their graves[1] are their eternal homes,
their dwellings for generation to generation;
people will call their names on earth[2].

IIa 13 Yea, a man with wealth does not abide;
he is like the beasts that are destroyed.
14 This is the way of those who have confidence for themselves
and the end of those who have delight in their own words.

15 Like sheep they are placed in Sheol;
death shall pasture them;
the just shall rule over them.
In the morning their stature shall be devoured[3];

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the stopping of people's boasting in Isa 24:8; 5. as in v.19b, the assumed quotation begins with an *imperfectum consecutivum* (ויחי). The construction is admittedly uncommon. Maybe the word we have to add in our translation has fallen out in the Hebrew text after וחדל (we can think of the word הללם, "their boasting"; cf. v.7). It would explain why v.9b is relatively short. This word would have been preceded by a *lamed*, because the verb חדל is normally constructed with the preposition ל. We might assume, therefore, a case of *homoioarkton*.

[1] Read קברם instead of קרבם; cf. BHS.

[2] Verse 12b is usually translated as "they name lands with their names". The context, however, points to a meaning parallel to v.11b. Just as v. 11a and v.12a describe the dying of man, both v.11b and v.12b tell us what is left of man: his possessions, which he has to leave to others, and his name. The exceptional form אדמות can be explained as a grammatical peculiarity of this Psalm; cf. also the uncommon form חכמות in v.4. According to Dahood, *Psalms*, I, p.299 these words have the Phoenician feminine ending; cf. also the forms אדמת and חכמת in KAI 26:I.13 and 145:3.

[3] The proposed emendations to this "corrupt" verse are numerous (cf. BHS). It appears, however, to be possible to retain the MT except for just one minor change: read יצורם, "their stature" instead of *Ketibh* וצירם and *Qere* וצורם; cf. J.C. de Moor, in *Bewerken en bewaren*, Fs K. Runia, Kampen 1982, p.44, n.52 who proposes to read לבקר יצרם; cf. also UF 1(1969), 187, n.148. This word also appears in Job 17:7 where it is used in a similar context. For Job tells how he is in the power of death: "my stature is like a shadow". Apparently a scribe has erroneously changed the *waw* and *yod* of this rare word in Ps 49:15. Thereupon לבקר was connected by the Massoretes with the first part of this verse. Sheol as a devourer is a well-known conception in the Old Testament; cf. Isa 5:14; Hab 2:5; Ps 141:7; Job 15:30; Prov 1:12; and Eccles 6:7 (cf. Tromp 1969: 107-110.125-128). See for this use of the verb בלה Lam 3:4. See for the grammatical construction GK §114h. Interpreted in this way Ps 49:15 has a clear parallel in Ps 73:20 (see p.321 above).

Sheol is its ruler[1].

16 However, God will ransom my life;
He will surely[2] take me from the hand of Sheol.

IIb 17 Do not be afraid when a man becomes rich;
when the glory of his house increases.
18 For at his death he shall take nothing;
his glory shall not go down after him.

19 Though he may bless his soul during his life:
"They praise you because you do well for yourself"[3],
20 yet it[4] shall go to the generation of his fathers,
who shall never see the light.

21 A man with wealth, but who does not understand,
is like the beasts that are destroyed.

We notice the following strophical structure: 2.2./2.2.2//2.2.1/2.2.1. Ps 49 consists of two stanzas of equal length, viz. ten verses. Each stanza is divided into two substanzas which in their turn consist of three strophes with the exception of the first substanza. This corresponds with the contents of this Psalm, because this first part (vv.2-5) is clearly separated from the rest as its prologue. Substanza Ib can be regarded as an elaborate description of the problem of Ps 49; the solution which was promised in Ia is given in IIa (vv.13-16). This leads to a correction in IIb (vv.17-21) of what was said before in Ib.

The proposed structure is confirmed by a number of formal indications. The stanzas are marked by inclusion: כל-ישבי חלד (v.2b)/בני אדם (v.3a) is paralleled by אדמות in v.12b; the beginning of the second stanza (v.13) is nearly literally repeated at the end (v.21)(cf. Ps 8). As markers of the beginning of a new strophe or substanza can be mentioned למה (v.6), אח (v. 8), אך (v.16) and the imperative of v.17. The סלה-signs in vv.14 and 16 mark the end of the first and last strophe of substanza IIa. The middle strophe of this substanza (v.15) is characterized by the external parallelism via שאול (inclusion). The assumed relation between IIb and Ib is illustrated by the many words they have in common: ירא (vv.6a and 17a), רב (vv.7b and 17b), אשר (vv.7b and 17a), איש (vv.8a and 17a), יקר (vv.9a.13a and 21a), נפש (vv.9a.16a and 19a), נצח (vv.10a and 20b), and ראה (vv.10b and 20b).

Casetti bases his interpretation of this Psalm on a quite different analysis of the structure[5]. As a starting-point he takes the equal length of the lines in vv.6-10 and vv.16-20. This would point to a close relation between these two parts of the Psalm. In his opinion this is confirmed by the use of many similar words (cf. the remarks above on the relation between substanzas Ib and IIb). According to Casetti vv.11-15 consist of longer lines, viz. tristicha, whereas he also notices a difference in style between these verses and vv.6-10.16-20. This analysis is used by Casetti as an argument for the theory that Ps 49 is built up of different layers. The "Grundpsalm" would be vv.11-15.21; the prologue (vv.2-5) and vv.6-10.16-20 would have been added later as a reaction to the pessimistic view of the poet of vv.11-15. We cannot agree with the method of the structural analysis by Casetti, nor with the results of this analysis. Whereas Casetti bases his analysis on the counting of letters, we seek regularity in the number of substanzas, strophes and, to a lesser degree, verses in larger units. So we prefer a less strict approach (see the remarks on this subject on pp.216-217 above). With regard to the strophical structure this leads to a more satisfying result showing a clear coherence of the whole Psalm.

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[1] מזבל לו appears to be parallel to ירדו בם. For this reason we connect it with Ugaritic *zbl*, "lord"; cf. HAL, p.252b.

[2] We regard כי as an emphatic particle. The Massoretes appear to have seen it as a conjunction and, therefore, connected מיד-שאול with v.16a., maybe because of their interpretation of this verse as referring to the afterlife; cf. Coppens 1957:10 and Wächter 1967:196, n.75.

[3] The change of subject is best explained by taking v.19b as a quotation of supporters of the rich; cf. N.H. Ridderbos, *De Psalmen*, II, KVHS, Kampen 1973, p.145; Van der Ploeg, *Psalmen*, I, p.306; and Casetti 1982:242-247.

[4] תבוא probably refers to "his soul" in v.19; cf. Casetti 1982:248.

[5] Casetti 1982:25-34.

According to Casetti the proverb (משל) mentioned in v.5a refers to vv. 11-15, whereas the riddle (חידה) of v.5b denotes the solution to the problem given in vv.16-20[1]. It is better, however, to assume, as is indicated by the strophical structure, a connection between the proverb of v.5a and vv.13.21 in which man is compared (נמשל) to beasts[2]. It is important to note that the parallelism between v.5a and v.5b is not synonymous. The poet says that he wants to listen to the proverb and to solve the riddle. Apparently he wants to solve the riddle with the proverb. This tallies with the difference between the proverb and the riddle in the wisdom literature, as it is formulated by McKane: "The 'proverb' may initially present a barrier to understanding, but when it is intuited it throws a brilliant light on the situation it fits. The function of the riddle is to mystify and baffle; it is deliberately enigmatic"[3]. According to Perdue the riddle of Ps 49 is formulated in v.21 (in his translation): "Man is an ox, for he has no understanding; he is like fattened cattle who are dumb". The solution would have been given already in v.13: "A wealthy man cannot abide; he is like fattened cattle who are slaughtered"[4]. In our opinion Perdue's proposal can be improved in some points. First, it is not necessary to emend the MT. Then, there may have been a more logical order of the riddle and its solution. The riddle seems to be formulated in vv.6-7 directly after it was announced: "Why do I (who am righteous) have to be afraid, whereas wealthy men boast of their great richness". The proverb offering the solution is v.13, "a man with wealth does not abide", and in v.21, "A man with wealth, but who does not understand, is like the beasts that are destroyed". Together, vv.13 and 21 form a perfect proverb with a beautiful wordplay, viz. of the words לין (v.13a) and בין (v.21a).

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[1] Ibid., pp.273.275.

[2] Cf. Duhm, *Die Psalmen*, p.199; W.R. Taylor, *Interpreter's Bible*, IV, New York 1955, p.255; and Coppens 1957:8.

[3] McKane, *Proverbs*, p.23; cf. also T. Polk, "Paradigms, Parables, and *mĕšālîm*: on Reading the *mašal* in Scripture", CBQ 45(1983),564-583; esp. p.577 and H.-P. Müller, "Der Begriff 'Rätsel' im Alten Testament", VT 20 (1970),465-489.

[4] L.G. Perdue, "The Riddle of Psalm 49", JBL 93(1974),533-542; cf. esp. p. 539.

By the use of different negative particles this wordplay is emphasized, because in this way the change of ב and ל is stressed: בל-ילין is replaced by לא יבין[1].

This solution is characteristic of traditional wisdom: he who has no understanding is compared to beasts (cf. Job 18:2-3) and life is only given to people with understanding (cf. Prov 24:14 and the use of לין in Prov 15:31). To them is also given insight into the real situation of the wicked, who may seem to prosper, but will appear to be on the brink of (premature) death (cf. Ps 73:17).

Compared with Ps 73, this Psalm describes more explicitly what will happen to the wicked after death. What is hinted at in Ps 73:20b, "on awakening Thou dost despise their image", appears to have been worked out in Ps 49:15. There is no more hope for them after death, because for them death shall take the place of YHWH: "death is their shepherd". So they cannot hope to be guided by YHWH out of the situation of distress (cf. Ps 23:1.4). Instead, they shall be devoured by their shepherd himself[2]. The sarcasm of this statement becomes apparent when we realize that the poet may have had in mind positive conceptions of afterlife from Egypt and Canaan about a god guiding the dead as a shepherd[3]. To this is added that the morning shall bring no release from the netherworld, as expected by the Egyptians. Instead, the wicked rich are swallowed by the realm of darkness (cf. v. 20). Their fate is opposed to the post-mortal situation of the just, who shall rule over the wicked. But this only concerns the relation of the just to the wicked in the netherworld. What is more important here, is the belief that the just shall be taken from there by God (v.16b). Compared with Ps 73:24b this hope is more clearly expressed by adding "from the hand of Sheol".

In Ps 49 this hope with regard to life after death is opposed to the attempts of the rich to secure their well-being in the afterlife. This contrast is clearly indicated by the use of the verb לקח in v.18a: the rich man may try to take his glory with him when he dies, but he fails. On the other hand the glory of the faithful man (cf. Ps 73:24[1]) is that his God shall certainly take him from the netherworld.

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[1] Cf. Casetti 1982:85. He also noticed the transfer of the ו from the beginning in v.13 to the middle of v.21 (ibid., p.156). We tentatively suggest the existence of a proverb אם לא יבין כי בל ילין, "if one does not comprehend, one will not stand". A similar wordplay can be found in Isa 7:9.

[2] The same reversal of this metaphor can be found in Ezek 34:10; cf. N. Tromp, *Ons geestelijk leven* 45(1968-1969),245. Cf. also KTU 1.4:VII.15-20.

[3] Casetti 1982:131 mentions the Egyptian god Mechenti-irti in this role. J.C. de Moor, adds a reference to Baal Hadad (in *Bewerken en bewaren*, Fs K. Runia, Kampen 1982, pp.41-45). The same metaphor is attested on early Christian tomb stones; cf. T. Klauser, "Der Schafträger als Geleiter der Seele auf ihrer Jenseitsreise", in *Jenseitsvorstellungen in Antike und Christentum*, Fs A. Steiber, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 9, München 1982, pp.225-227 + Pl.12.

In v.18 we find a reference to the attempt to let the glory achieved during one's life continue after death by erecting a monument and securing a rich funeral with many grave-goods[2]. It takes up vv.11-12 describing the death of all men and telling what is left of them. In their turn vv.11-12 are a reaction to the boast of the rich (vv.9-10; cf. the repetition of ראה in vv.10-11). They may expect never to see the Pit, but instead they will have to admit that everyone dies and that very little will be left of them. Instead of eternal life comes the "eternal home", which is a well-known euphemism of the grave[3]. The eternal life they expect for themselves can be compared to the pretension of the oppressor of Isa 14 to live forever like the moon and like the sun, who returns every morning from his journey through the netherworld as the "son of dawn". Exactly this hope for beatific afterlife is denied in v.15: "In the morning their stature shall be devoured" and in v.20: "You shall go to the generation of your fathers, who shall never see the light". As v.16 shows, the possibility of leaving the netherworld is not rejected in itself. What matters here is the relationship with YHWH; only He can ransom one's life from death (v. 16a; cf. vv.8-9). It is this understanding of the implications of communion with YHWH with regard to one's death which distinguishes the wise man from the fool, who is like the beasts (cf. Ps 73:22) that are destroyed.

In both the description of what shall happen to the wicked after death and the way in which the hope of the faithful for YHWH with regard to the afterlife is formulated Ps 49 is clearly related to Ps 73. It is very likely that the poet of Ps 49 knew Ps 73 and has developed the ideas he found there. In the same way Ps 73 can be regarded as the continuation of the line of thought found in Job 19. So we come to the following sequence:

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[1] The relation between Ps 49:18 and Ps 73:24 was also noticed by Schmitt 1973:300-301.

[2] Cf. Ridderbos, *De Psalmen*, II, p.144.

[3] Cf. E. Jenni, THAT II, col.242; Casetti 1982:67-70; Spencer 1982:72; and E. Puech, RB 90(1983),485.

Job 19:25-27 - Ps 73 - Ps 49[1]. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to go beyond this relative dating. A date of these texts in the fifth or fourth century B.C. seems to be most likely[2]. So we have to assume that it took a long time before the hope for afterlife as expressed in the tomb inscription of Uriyahu was accepted in the more official Yahwistic literature.

3.5.2.5. PSALM 16

Other Psalms mentioned in connection with the hope for beatific afterlife are Ps 16 and Ps 17. As was remarked on p.313, n.5 above, it is doubtful whether Ps 17:15 originally referred to more than this life. Ps 16, however, is more promising in this regard[3]. We propose the following translation and strophical structure:

1 Preserve me, God, for I take refuge in Thee.

I 2 I say[4] to YHWH: "Thou art my lord;
I have no good apart from Thee."

3 With regard to the "saints" who are in the earth
and the "mighty" who only have delight in themselves[5]:
4 their sorrows are many,
they hurry back[6].

I will not pour out their libations of blood
and I will not take their names upon my lips.
5 YHWH is my alloted portion and cup;
it is Thou who holdest my lot.
6 The lines fall for me in pleasant places;
yea, the heritage is good to me.

II 7 I bless YHWH who gives me counsel;
yea, in the night my kidneys instruct me[7].

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[1] Cf. Coppens 1957:19.

[2] Cf. Schmitt 1973:249-252.302-309; Casetti 1982:285; Irsigler 1984:371; and Schelling 1985:221-222.

[3] Cf. Quintens 1979; Beuken 1980; and Kaiser 1980.

[4] אמרת is *scriptio defectiva* for אמרתי; cf. also נחלת for נחלתי in v.6.

[5] The י of חפצי can be interpreted as *yod compaginis*

[6] אחר מהרו, which is literally translated here, can be interpreted as denoting their being taken to the netherworld; cf. the Akkadian name of the ferryman who brings the dead across the river of death, Humut-tabal, "take away huriedly" (cf. D.O. Edzard, WM I/1, p.132).

[7] This unusual expression has a parallel in KTU 1.16:VI.26, "his gullet

8 I keep YHWH always before me[1];
truly, at my right hand; I shall not stumble.

9 Therefore, my heart rejoices
and my glory[2] exults;
yea, my flesh shall rest in confidence.
10 For Thou wilt not leave my soul in Sheol;
nor let thy faithful one see the Pit.

11 Thou wilt let me know the path of life.
Fulness of joy is in thy presence;
in thy right hand pleasures for evermore.

Ps 16 can be divided into a heading consisting of a prayer to God (v.1) followed by two stanzas each built up of three strophes[3]. This is supported in the first place by the inclusion of stanza I by the repetition of יהוה and אתה (vv.2 and 5) and of stanza II by the repetition of ימין (vv.8b and 11b); cf. also תמיד in v.8a paralleled by נצח in v.11b. Both stanzas begin in a similar way: "I say to YHWH: 'Thou art my lord'" (v.2a) and "I bless YHWH" (v.7a). And the end of stanza II reminds us of the last verse of stanza I, because it repeats the word נאם.

This analysis of the strophical structure helps us to get a clear overview of the contents of this Psalm. The prayer for help in v.1 is based on the trust of the Psalmist in YHWH. According to stanza I YHWH is unlike the "saints who are in the earth" (vv.2-3). The faithful poet is not like those who follow these other gods (v.4). He knows that YHWH is good to him (vv. 5-6). In the second stanza the continuity of the fellowship with YHWH is emphasized: YHWH shall not abandon the faithful one during the night (v.7), nor when he is endangered by death (v.10).

The element of trust is predominant in this Psalm. In this regard Ps 16 differs from Ps 49 and Ps 73, in which the troubles of the poet play a more prominent part. On the other hand we can notice some important parallels, viz. the use of חפץ (v.3; cf. 73:24); the calling of the names (v. 4b; cf. 49:12b); YHWH as "my portion" (v.5; cf. Ps 73:26); YHWH's counsel (v.7a; cf. 73: 24 ; cf. also the mentioning of the right hand in both texts); the glory of the faithful (v.9a; cf. 73:24); the rescue from Sheol (v.10a;

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instructed him" (*ywsrnn ggnh*); cf. J.C. de Moor, K. Spronk, UF 14(1982),189f.

[1] According to H. Bardtke, in *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruch*, Fs J. Ziegler, ed. J. Schreiner, Würzburg 1972, pp.24-25 the expression (י)לנגד, which is also used in Ps 18:23; 39:2; 50:8; 54:5; 86:14, is a "vorsichtige Formulierung". The poet speaks cautiously of the communion with his God.

[2] There is no need to change כבוד, "glory", into כבד, "liver", as proposed for this text and also for Ps 7:6; 30:13; 57:9 and 108:2 by P. Stenmans, ThWAT IV, col.22 and Wolff 1977:104. J.W. McKay, "My Glory - A Mantle of Praise", SJTh 31(1978),167-172 has demonstrated that כבוד has a special meaning in this context. It denotes "something like a faculty of joyous praise that is God-given and is exercised in reaction to God's vivifying and glorifying activity" (p.172). Cf. also Gese 1977:47, n.4.

[3] Cf. Van der Lugt 1980:228-231.

49:16); and the hope not to see the Pit (v.10b; cf. 49:10b). Such a large number of similarities shows affinity of mind, but it does not prove that Ps 16 also refers to the hope for YHWH after death.

A famous *crux interpretum* is the identity of the "saints" in v.3[1]. The construction of the first strophe shows that these saints are opposed to God[2]. The words spoken to them can be regarded as a negative statement: they are not in heaven like the other beings called "saints" (cf. Ps 89: 6-8 and Zech 14:5), but "in the earth". We have to assume that ארץ denotes in this context the netherworld[3]. Just as we have Anunnaki both in heaven and on earth in Babylonian mythology, so we have *rpʾum* who are "celestials" and *rpʾum* who dwell in the earth. So we also have "saints" in Israel who are both above and below[4]. Apparently the "saints" of Ps 16 are comparable to the oppressor of Isa 14 who is said to have fallen from heaven and to have been cut down to the earth. The assumed association with deified dead is supported by the fact that these "saints" are called "mighty", because the same word is used as an epithet of a venerated dead hero in the Phoenician inscription of the fifth or fourth century which was discussed on pp.210-211 above.

The cult of these mighty saints is described in v.4aB-4b. The libations of blood, which are only mentioned here in the Old Testament, can be explained as sacrifices of life, that is in the blood (cf. Lev 17:14), to the dead[5] and the calling of the names of the dead is an essential element of the cult of the dead (see p.191 above).

In the Old Testament the term קדשים can denote the lower deities surrounding YHWH[6]. Ps 16 seems to point to the fact that prominent dead could be reckoned among YHWH's host (cf. the traditions about Elijah and Elisha discussed on pp.260-261 above). This idea probably has its roots in Canaanite religion. For, as we saw, in Canaanite conceptions of afterlife the royal dead are often pictured as lower deities.

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[1] Cf. the survey by Beuken 1980:376-379; in his opinion they denote a category of Israelites.

[2] Cf. H.-P. Müller, THAT II, col.601.

[3] Cf. De Moor 1971:184 (with older literature) and M. Ottosen, ThWAT I, cols.430-431. See for the identification of the קדשים with inhabitants of the netherworld also E. Zolli, "Die 'Heiligen' in Psalm 16", ThZ 6 (1950),149-150 who speaks of mighty dead; Coppens 1957:16-17: chthonic deities; and Eaton 1976:163: "deities which are in the dust".

[4] Cf. the remark on Ps 89:8 on p.164 above relating this text to the calling up of the *rpʾum*.

[5] See for parallels Morgenstern 1966:126-128 and Widengren 1969:407-408.

[6] Cf. H.-P. Müller, THAT II, cols 600-601 and Mullen 1980:192-193.

The interpretation of ארץ in v.3 as denoting the netherworld also sheds new light upon v.6a, "The lines fall for me in pleasant places". This is part of the last strophe of stanza I describing the joy of being close to YHWH. To express this communion with YHWH the poet uses the metaphor of YHWH as one's landed property: "YHWH is my portion" (v.5a; cf. Ps 73:26)[1]. Now the uncommon expression נעמים can be explained here as balancing ארץ in v.3. For we know that in Ugaritic texts *nʿmy*, "loveliness" is used as a euphemism for the netherworld (see p.204 above; cf. also Ezek 32:19). So when it is taken literally, it offers a perfect antithetic parallel to the mention of the netherworld in v.3[2]. The parallel line speaking of the "heritage" could be explained in the same way, because in the Ugaritic text KTU 1.4:VIII.14 *ʾarṣ nḥlth*, "the land of his heritage", denotes the place where the god of the dead, Mot, lives. But this interpretation is less certain, because in Ps 16 נחלה forms a wordpair with חלק (cf. Num 18:20). The mentioning of חלק in v.5a may have caused the use of נחלה in v.6b.

Stanza II emphasizes the continuity of both close communion with YHWH (v. 8a) and the joy connected with it (v.11b). The faithful man knows that YHWH is with him when he is threatened by death (cf. v.7b; "in the night" is probably a metaphor of death[3]; cf. Ps 23:4 and also the use of מוט, "to stumble" (v.8b), in connection with death in Ps 13:4-5). This indicates that v.10 probably refers to rescue from death and not to the afterlife[4]: YHWH will not leave the faithful man in the power of death (v.10a), nor bring him there (v.10b). Also the expression "to know the path of life"

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[1] Cf. Von Rad 1971:241-243. Apparently the expression "YHWH is my portion" (v.5a) has been worked out in vv.5b-6; cf. Van der Ploeg, *Psalmen*, I, p. 107. The clear parallel with Ps 73:26 shows that it is unlikely that the poet thought of real land, as assumed by Beuken 1980:379. The interpretation as a metaphor is also supported by the mentioning of YHWH as "my cup" as an expression of salvation (cf. Ps 116:13) next to "my portion"; cf. also Ps 11:6 for the shorter formula מנת כוסם.

[2] Cf. De Moor 1971:191 and Van der Lugt 1980:229.

[3] Cf. F.M.Th. Böhl, *De Psalmen*, I, Tekst en Uitleg, Groningen 1946, p.128. For this reason the morning is associated with the hope to overcome death, be it literal (cf. Ps 49:15) or metaphorical (cf. Ps 30:4.6; 90:14; and 143:8).

[4] Cf. Barth 1947:152-155.

(v.11a) denotes in the first place the possibility of escaping death, i.e., preventing premature death (cf. Prov 2:19 and 5:6)[1].

There is reason to assume, however, that v.11aB-b goes one step further. The perspective has changed here. The previous verses spoke of the relation of the faithful man to YHWH (cf. v.8: "YHWH before me", "at my right hand"). Now this is reversed[2]. The poet says: " I am in thy presence" and "in thy right hand". This points to an even closer communion with YHWH. All depends now upon the faithfulness of YHWH himself. This leads us to the assumption that we may take נצח in v.11b more literally than תמיד in v.8. It is the same thought of the lasting communion with YHWH on which the hope for YHWH after death was built in Ps 73. The many similarities between these two Psalms (cf. especially the use of the terms חלק and כבוד) even suggest that the poet of Ps 73 knew Ps 16. It could have been a Psalm like this (we can also think of Ps 139) which helped him to solve the problem of the seemingly unhappy fate of the faithful. For he tells us that he gained his new insight in God's sanctuary (73:17a)[3]. So Ps 16 may have prepared the way for Ps 73 and, indirectly, for Ps 49[4].

3.5.3. THE APOCALYPTIC VISION OF DANIEL 12:1-3

An important result of our study of the texts about the individual hope in YHWH after death is that this was described, be it reluctantly, as the hope of being taken away by YHWH from the netherworld. This implies that the distance between texts like Ps 49:16 and 73:23-25 and the vision of the resurrection of the dead in Dan 12 is not as great as has been assumed by some scholars (see p.75 above). It can be demonstrated that these texts no less than the metaphor of the resurrection of the nation have strongly influenced the apocalyptic vision of Daniel[1].

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[1] Cf. K. Seybold, "Der Weg des Lebens", ThZ 40(1984),121-129.

[2] Cf. Beuken 1980:381.383 and also the remark of Bardtke with regard to v. 8 quoted on p.335, n.1 above.

[3] Cf. Kraus, *Psalmen*, p.262 who maintains that Ps 16 was recited in the sanctuary and was probably written before the exile.

[4] Cf. Quell 1925:40; Böhl, *De Psalmen*, I, p.129; Martin-Achard 1956:122-123; Kraus, *Psalmen*, p.270; and Cox 1982:12 who calls this Psalm "pregnant of future theological development". We cannot agree with Coppens 1957:14 that Ps 16 would describe as certain what is only suggested in Ps 73.

We propose the following translation and stichometric arrangement of Dan 12:1-3:

1 At that time shall arise
Michael the great leader
who defends the sons of your people.
And it will be a time of distress
such as has never been since they became a nation[2]
until that time.

But at that time your people shall be delivered,
everyone who is found written in the book.
2 Many of those who sleep in the land of dust[3] shall awake;
some to everlasting joy
and some to the reproach[4] of everlasting abhorrence.

3 And the wise shall shine
like the brightness of the firmament
and those who turned many to righteousness
like stars for ever and ever.

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[1] Cf. Moore 1983:29: "The Apocalyptist who wrote this passage brought together elements from both prophetic and sapiental circles to fashion an explicit statement about the resurrection of the dead and the immortality of ...righteous souls". The same idea is formulated by Schilling as follows: "Bei Daniel fliessen gleichsam der mystische und der eschatologische Weg der Jenseitshoffnung in eins zusammen" (1951:64). It should be remarked, however, that in our opinion these two ways cannot be as clearly distinguished as is assumed by these authors.

[2] מהיות גוי is usually interpreted more generally as a reference to the first nation in this world after the flood; cf. O, Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel*, KAT 18, Gütersloh 1965, p.170 and Kaiser 1977:156, n.253. Plöger does not exclude the possibility that only the nation of Israel is meant here. This restricted interpretation (cf. Deut 26:5!) is strongly supported by the external parallelism within the first strophe between (בני) עמך and גוי.

[3] The expression אדמת-עפר has presented many difficulties to the translators. Already in the Versions we find the tendency to reverse the word order here. S. Talmon, *Textus* 1(1960),167-168 assumes a conflation of two readings. The most simple solution is to assume that עפר qualifies the אדמה as consisting of dust (cf. GK §131d) and distinguishes it in this way from the אדמה mentioned in 11:39. This "land of dust" is the netherworld (see p.303+n.2 above).

[4] Most scholars regard לחרפות as a gloss; cf. BHS and esp. Alfrink 1959: 367-368. It would have been inserted as an explanation of the rare לדראון. However, a plausible explanation of the text according to the MT can be derived from the use of חרף in Judg 5:18 where we read חרף נפשו למות, "to stake one's life". This leads to the assumption that in Dan 12:2 the noun חרפות is also connected with the preposition ל followed by a reference to a miserable death (cf. Isa 66:24).

The main problem with regard to the interpretation of this pericope is the fact that it is not clear who are meant in v.2 with "many of those who sleep in the land of dust". The proposals made in the history of research range from all the dead to a selected group of very pious Jews[1]. The "many" in v.3 certainly refers to a different group of persons. For it is very unlikely that some of the people who were "turned to righteousness" would have been resurrected to the "reproach of everlasting abhorrence"[2]. When we look at the immediate context of Dan 12:2 we see that (ה)רבים is a vague term often used to denote certain groups of participants in the events at the time of the end (cf. 11:33.34.39.44; 12:4.10). There is no reason to assume that the author had a particular group in mind. Because he does not use the article, it is even possible to assume that he is being deliberately vague here[3]. But this does not explain why the prophet speaks only of "many" and not of all the dead to be raised[4]. A comparison with the Ethiopic book of Enoch can be of help here. In the 22nd chapter, which can be dated ca. 100 B.C.[5], we are told that there are different places in the netherworld for the dead awaiting the final judgement. The dead who shall receive eternal bliss are separated from those who are to be damned. But there is also a separate place for the wicked who have been punished already during their lives. They shall not be resurrected and judged, because they have already received what they deserve (v.13). This conception offers a plausible background for Dan 12:2[1]: not all dead shall be resurrected, only those who did not receive their proper reward before death.

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[1] Cf. the surveys by Alfrink 1959:358-362; Hasel 1980:277-280; and K. Koch, *Das Buch Daniel*, EdF 144, Darmstadt 1980, pp.239-242.

[2] There would be no problem here if one assumes that Dan 12:2 does not speak of a double resurrection, but only of the resurrection of the righteous to eternal beatific afterlife; cf. Alfrink 1959:362ff and the literature mentioned by Hasel 1980:279, n.94, to which can be added now A. Lacocque, *Le livre de Daniel*, CAT XVb, Paris 1976, p.179; L.F. Hartman and L.A. di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, AncB 23, Garden City 1978, p. 308; and Martin-Achard 1979:449. Cf. also Moore 1927:297-298 on the same interpretation in medieval Jewish literature. Against this interpretation it can be argued that the assumed separation of v.2bB from the rest of the verse is not in accordance with the poetical structure of the text, because the second strophe clearly ends with a tristichon.

[3] Cf. Martin-Achard 1981A:453.

[4] Dan 12:2 can be interpreted as a reference to the general resurrection of the dead, e.g., by regarding the preposition מן as explanatory: "many, those namely that sleep", or by assuming an inclusive sense of רבים; cf. the survey by Hasel 1980:277-278. One should be careful, however, about building theories upon such grammatical and lexical peculiarities.

[5] Cf. J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments Qumran Cave 4*, Oxford 1976, p.23.

The idea of being raised from death only to be punished is not new. We have already noticed something similar in Ps 49:15 and Ps 73:20: in the morning, i.e., at the moment when the dead have the opportunity to leave the netherworld together with the sun, they are despised and punished in the netherworld. A basic difference between Dan 12 and these Psalms is that eschatological hope has replaced the cyclical concept of beatific afterlife. In the apocalyptic vision resurrection from death is one singular event at the end of time. In this respect the vision of Daniel was prepared by Ezek 37 (cf. the eschatological element in v.14); Isa 25:8; and Isa 26:19. In fact, Dan 12:2-3 can be regarded as an interpretation of the latter text and also of other verses in the book of Isaiah[2]. Dan 12:2a is related to Isa 26:19a which speaks of the awakening of those who live in the dust; the word דראון (v.2bB) was probably derived from Isa 66:24 describing the end of those who rebelled against YHWH; and v.3 is clearly related to the fourth Servant Song (cf. ישכיל (Isa 52:13) with משכלים in v.3a and יצדיק לרבים (Isa 53:11) with מצדיקי הרבים in v.3b)[3].

Verse 3 describes a special group of those who have been raised to eternal life, viz. the wise (משכלים). Only the wise men mentioned in 11:32-33 can be meant. Their bringing many people to understanding (11:33) is described here as turning many to righteousness. In this way they are identified with the wise Servant of YHWH of Isa 52:13ff. Ruppert assumes a connection of their being described as stars with Isa 53:11a according to the LXX and 1QIs^a, "he shall see the light": "Während von dem erhöhten Gottesknecht gesagt wird, dass er Licht schauen wird . . ., werden die vollendeten gesetzestreuen Bekenner gleichsam selbst 'Licht' sein, leuchten"[4]. But it is also possible to keep to the MT here, if we assume that Dan 12:3 is literal interpretation of Isa 52:13: the wise shall be lifted up high and be like a star high up in heaven. The next question is now, of course, how the writer could come to such a surprising thought. Many scholars assume that the comparison of the resurrected wise men with stars is not to be taken literally[1]. Consequently, they see the resurrection prophesied here as a return in this world alongside those who had not passed through death[2]. However, there is no real support for this interpretation in the text itself. A very important argument in favour of a literal interpretation[3] can be derived now from the demonstrated fact of Canaanite influence upon the ancient Israelite conceptions of beatific afterlife. According to the Ugaritic literature the deified spirits of the dead who were resurrected together with Baal could be called stars (cf. KTU 1.19:IV.24-25 and 1.43: 2-3; cf. also Isa 14:13), just like the exalted dead in Egypt. The Ugaritic conceptions of the deified dead also show that the dead who were identified with stars could be regarded as members of the heavenly host as well (cf. also Job 38:7). It is very interesting to note that these elements recur in the Jewish intertestamental literature[4]. In the Ethiopic book of Enoch, which was already mentioned before in connection with Dan 12:2, we read in ch.104, which is not much younger than the book of Daniel itself[5], the following promise to the righteous dead: "You will shine like the lights of heaven and the gates of heaven will be opened for you" (v.2) and "Do not be afraid, you righteous, when you see the sinners growing strong and prospering in their desires . . . for you shall be associates of the host of heaven" (v.6; cf. Ps 49:16-18). It is said more explicitly in the younger 51:1-4: "And in those days the earth will return that which has been entrusted to it . . . and all will become angels in heaven". These examples could be multiplied with references from other Jewish literature of this period. The best known example is Matt 22:30, "At the resurrection men and women . . . are like angels in heaven"[1].

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[1] Cf. Kaiser 1977:75 and J.-C. Lebram, *Das Buch Daniel*, ZBKAT 23, Zürich 1984, p.135.

[2] Cf. H.L. Ginsberg, "The Oldest Interpretation of the Suffering Servant", VT 3(1953),400-404; Kossen 1955; Nickelsburg 1972:17-23; L. Ruppert, BZ 22(1978),214-215; and Fishbane 1985:493.

[3] In the description of the revelation of the Messiah at the end of time in IV Esdras 7:28-32 these two texts have also been connected; cf. De Moor 1978B:108.

[4] L. Ruppert, BZ 22(1978),215.

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[1] Cf. Grelot 1971:123-124; Stemberger 1972:277; Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel*, p.171; and Lebram, *Das Buch Daniel*, p.135.

[2] Cf. also Rowley 1955:127; C. Barth, *Diesseits und Jenseits im Glauben des späten Israel*, SBS 72, Stuttgart 1974, pp.89-90; and U. Kellermann, *Auferstanden in den Himmel: 2 Makkabäer 7 und die Auferstehung der Märtyrer*, SBS 95, Stuttgart 1979, p.64.

[3] Cf. Collins 1974:33-34; R.J. Clifford, BASOR 220(1975),26; and Martin-Achard 1979:439-440.

[4] Cf. Cavallin 1974:203-205 and Collins 1974:34-37.

[5] Cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, pp.48-49.

The sudden rise of this conception of beatific afterlife can be explained now as a revival of ancient traditions which were part of the folk religion of Israel. We have noticed several clear indications for their popularity in at least some circles of the Israelites (see the remarks on pp.225 and 260-261 above on the pretension of the oppressor in Isa 14:13 to be seated above the stars of El and on the idea of prominent dead joining the "host of YHWH" in the traditions about Elijah and Elisha). These ancient ideas appear to fit in well with the speculations in the apocalyptic literature about the mysteries of the beyond. Within this new framework they have lost much of their former threat to Yahwism, because the hope for beatific afterlife is no longer connected with the cycle of nature, as in Baalism, but with a break in history[2]. To this can be added the fact that the influence of Baalism had probably faded in the period after the exile. This may also explain why the name "YHWH of hosts" became more current in this period.

We already quoted the statement of Wied that belief in the resurrection of the dead did not arise out of the situation of distress of the Jews in the Seleucid period, but, instead, that the steadfastness of the Jews was based on their hope for the revivification of the dead (see p.74 above). This is confirmed now that it has been demonstrated that Dan 12:2-3 has its roots in the individual hope in YHWH rescuing the people of Israel from a situation of no-future (cf. Isa 26) and also in ancient Israelite traditions about beatific afterlife.

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[1] See for the association of the beatific dead with stars and angels also Pseudo Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* 10:5; 33:5 and the Syrian book of Baruch 51:10.

[2] Cf. Lacocque, *Le livre de Daniel*, p.175: "Pour Canaan, la survie était un fait de *nature*; pour Israel, c'est un phénomène *historique*".

3.6. CONCLUSIONS

The history of the ancient Israelite conceptions of afterlife is closely related to the struggle between Yahwism and Baalism. There can be no doubt about the belief in YHWH having power over life and death, but usually the Old Testament only speaks of YHWH saving the faithful from the power of death in this life, i.e., rescuing them from premature death. This reluctance to speak about help of YHWH after death is neither due to a lack of confidence in this matter nor to the fact that the Israelites would have lacked the natural human interest in life after death, but primarily to the fear of becoming entangled in the Canaanite religious ideas about life and death.

The Israelites were clearly familiar with the Canaanite belief in Baal rising from the netherworld every year and taking the deified spirits of the royal dead with him. This belief was not taken over by Yahwism, as was the case with other elements of Canaanite religion, because the very character of YHWH was at stake here. YHWH is not a god like Baal; He looks more like El. It would have been a blasphemy to assume that He could be dead, be it temporarily. The role of El as the one who revivifies the dead together with Baal would seem to suit Him better. But the adoption of this idea was excluded as well, because there was no room in Yahwism for such revivified dead who were venerated as gods. All attempts to seek advice or help from such mighty dead are rejected in the Old Testament.

The hope in YHWH after death as it becomes apparent in the later parts of the Old Testament is clearly distinguished from Canaanite beliefs in this matter. It is not based on some rule of nature as described in the myths, but it depends totally upon YHWH himself. This can be noticed already in the ancient traditions about the assumption of Enoch and the heavenly ascent of Elijah. These were certainly influenced by Canaanite and also Mesopotamian conceptions. Nevertheless, in both stories the decisive factor is the relation with YHWH. We also saw that it is characteristic of the belief expressed in the metaphor of the revivification of the dry bones in Ezek 37 that nothing is taken for granted here, as in Hos 6:1-3. The only thing Ezekiel can say here is: "Thou knowest" (v.3), just as all

Job can rely on is trust in his god. The Yahwistic - and we may add: Christian - principle of the belief in beatific afterlife is probably best formulated by the poet of Ps 73. It is the trust that the communion of the faithful with God shall last forever[1].

The way this ultimate trust in YHWH is formulated, however, was clearly and in the course of time more and more influenced by the ancient Canaanite and, indirectly, the Egyptian cyclical concept of beatific afterlife. In the apocalyptic literature we find the resurrected dead described in the same way as the Ugaritic deified dead. The basic difference, however, from the ancient Canaanite traditions is that the beatific afterlife is no longer related to the cycle of nature, but is placed now at the end of time. Death is no longer a power which has to be overcome every day, month or year, because death "shall be swallowed forever" (Isa 25:8).

With regard to Canaanite influence we have to distinguish between the official Yahwistic religion as we know it from the Old Testament and a more syncretistic belief in certain circles of the Israelite people. In the Old Testament we find many traces of ancient Israelite beliefs and practices closely related to Canaanite religion. We hear of necromancy and of a cult of the dead. It was also noticed that the folk traditions about Elijah and Elisha have some important elements in common with the Canaanite belief in the mighty dead. And the hope expressed in Hos 6:2-3 was clearly based on conceptions connected with Baalism. Apparently the ancient Canaanite traditions lived on as a kind of undercurrent in the folk religion of Israel[2]. This explains the revival of conceptions we know from the literature of Ugarit of the end of the Bronze Age as late as the second century B.C.[1]. The same may hold true for the tradition derived from Mesopotamian mythology about the assumption of Enoch. In the intertestamental literature it was elaborated far beyond the sober words of Gen 5:24.

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[1] Cf. with regard to the period of the New Testament and the early church R. Winling, "Une manière de dire le salut: 'être avec Dieu'", RSR 51 (1977),89-139 and "Une façon de dire le salut: la formule 'être avec Dieu - être avec Jésus Christ' dans les écrits de l'ère dite des pères apostoliques", RSR 54(1980),109-128, and with regard to modern theology Noort 1984:24-25 who quotes in this connection the famous words of K. Barth: "Der Mensch als solcher hat also kein Jenseits und er bedarf auch kein solches; denn Gott *ist* sein Jenseits" (*Kirchlich Dogmatik*, III/2, Zürich 1948, p.770); cf. also H. Thielicke, *Leben mit dem Tod*, Tübingen 1980, p.193 who states in connection with Ps 73:26: "(der Mensch) hat seinen todüberdauernden Bestand nicht in dem, was er 'ist', sondern er hat ihn in der Zuwendung Gottes. Hier deutet sich dann auch die Linie an, die sich zwischen diesem Weiterleben des Menschen über den Tod hinaus und dem neutestamentlichen Auferstehungsglauben durchhält".

[2] A similar phenomenon was observed in the religion of ancient Iran and India; see pp.127-129 above.

Now there was also room for the adoption of elements of the concepts of beatific afterlife from Egypt (via Canaan), Greece, and Persia.

A very interesting result of this study is that it is possible now to trace some elements of the Jewish and Christian conceptions of beatific afterlife back to Canaanite influence upon the religion of ancient Israel. We already noticed the identification of the resurrected dead with stars and angels. The attempt to prove the resurrection by referring to the revival of nature (see pp.9-10 above) may have its origin here as well. We can also mention in this connection the belief that prominent persons like martyrs would be resurrected to heavenly bliss shortly after their death without having to wait for the general resurrection at the end of time[2] and the belief that they would act as intermediaries between God and man[3] or as judges[4]. Finally, it has also become clear that the veneration of (beatific) saints in connection with annual feasts on their behalf among Jews, Christians, and Muslims goes back at least as much to the ancient beliefs of Syria and Palestine as to the Greek and Roman hero-cults[5].

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[1] Something similar can be assumed with regard to the emergence of the belief in demonic powers in this period; cf. Bailey 1979:32. This is confirmed by new information about the ancient Canaanite belief in demons; cf. De Moor 1981 and De Moor, Spronk 1984. These studies have established, e.g., that Leviathan in Isa 27:1 and Rahab in Isa 51:9 have to be regarded as demonacial powers and not as primordial monsters.

[2] Cf. K. Berger, *Die Auferstehung des Propheten und die Erhöhung des Menschensohnes*, Göttingen 1976, pp.109-124; esp. p.112 and Fischer 1978:97.

[3] Cf. Cavallin 1979:259.

[4] Cf. Berger, p.111+n.489 and W.H.C. Frend, "The North African Cults of Martyrs", in *Jenseitsvorstellungen in Antike und Christentum*, Fs A. Stuiber, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 9, Münster 1982, pp.154-167; esp. p.155. Cf. also Mark 9:2-13.

[5] Cf. Widengren 1969:419-426 who remarks that it must have been difficult for Muslims to take over Christian traditions about the cult of saints (p.425). We now assume that their feasts have common roots. Cf. Jeremias 1958:116-117 who assumes a pre-Jewish origin of the custom among Jews in the days of Jesus to honour the graves of holy men. He also speaks in this connection of folk religion.

ABBREVIATIONS

Cf. S. Schwertner, *Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete* (IATG), Berlin 1974 and *Abkürzungsverzeichnis. Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Berlin 1976.

Abbreviations not listed there:

ACF	*Annales du Collège de France*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, ed. W. Haase and H. Temporini, Berlin 1972ff.
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
EdF	*Erträge der Forschung*
GK	*Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar as edited and enlarged by the late E. Kautzsch*, 2nd rev. English ed. by A.E. Cowley, Oxford 1910.
GM	*Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion*
HAL	W. Baumgartner et al., *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, Leiden 1967ff.
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
KTU	M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*, I, AOAT 24, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976.
OBO	*Orbis biblicus et orientalis*
POT	*De prediking van het Oude Testament*
RS	Ras Shamra (tablets from)
SEL	*Studi epigrafici e linguistici*
SSR	*Studico storico religiosi*

Other abbreviations:

Fs	Festschrift, Studies in Honour of, etc.
Gilg.	Gilgamesh Epic
Il.	Iliad
LXX	Septuagint Version
MT	Massoretic Text
Od.	Odyssey
PyrT.	Pyramid Texts

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THEOLOGISCHE ACADEMIE
UITGAANDE VAN DE JOHANNES CALVIJNSTICHTING TE KAMPEN

BEATIFIC AFTERLIFE
IN ANCIENT ISRAEL AND IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor in de godgeleerdheid,
aan de Theologische Academie
uitgaande van de Johannes Calvijnstichting te Kampen,
op gezag van de rector drs. K.A. Schippers,
hoogleraar in de Praktische Theologie,
in het openbaar te verdedigen
op vrijdag 18 april 1986 des namiddags te 15.00 uur
in de aula van de Theologische Hogeschool,
Oudestraat 6 te Kampen

door
KLAAS SPRONK

geboren te Zijderveld

NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING

en

STELLINGEN

Promotor: Prof. dr. J.C. de Moor
Coreferent: Prof. dr. E. Noort

NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING

(De nummers in de marge verwijzen naar de hoofdstukken en paragrafen.)

1. Dit onderzoek naar de wortels van het joodse en christelijke geloof in een zalig leven met God na de dood begint met een beschrijving van de manier waarop in de loop der geschiedenis de oudtestamentische teksten met betrekking tot dit onderwerp zijn uitgelegd.

1.2. Het is duidelijk dat volgens de rabbijnse tradities en
volgens de uitleg van de kerk in de eerste eeuwen van onze jaartelling er geen twijfel over bestaat dat het Oude
Testament op velerlei wijze spreekt over de opstanding
1.3. der doden. Ook in de tekstoverlevering zelf vinden we
sporen van die overtuiging. Uit bepaalde accenten in de
vertaling of zelfs ook verklarende toevoegingen aan de
oorspronkelijke tekst kunnen we soms de overtuiging van
de vertalers aflezen dat de betreffende teksten betrekking hebben op de opstanding of een zalig leven na de
dood. Zelfs de Masoretische overlevering is niet vrij van
dergelijke invloeden.

1.4. De opkomst van het historisch-kritisch onderzoek van het Oude Testament veroorzaakte een kentering in de uitleg. Het werd duidelijk dat de skepsis van o.a. de Sadduceeën met betrekking tot de veronderstelde bewijzen in het Oude Testament voor een opstanding der doden gerechtvaardigd was.

1.4.1. De vergelijking van de oud-Israëlitische godsdienst met andere godsdiensten leerde dat men in het oude Israël vrijwel geen uitgesproken ideeën over een zalig leven na de dood had. Volgens Spiess, die in 1877 een baanbrekende studie over dit onderwerp publiceerde, stond het oude Israël in dit opzicht nog op één lijn met de primitieve volken. Het hogere inzicht met betrekking tot het hiernamaals zou pas veel later doorbreken.

1.4.2. Het wetenschappelijk onderzoek naar de oudtestamentische voorstellingen van het leven na de dood werd sterk beinvloed door de antropologische theorie van het animisme, volgens welke de oorsprong van de religie ligt in de verering van de gestorven voorouders. Aan het eind van de negentiende en het begin van deze eeuw woedde er een felle discussie over de vraag in hoeverre dit ook voor de godsdienst van het oude Israël gold. Voorstanders van deze theorie vonden sporen van een dodencultus in het oudtestamentische spreken over de "ziel", in oude rouw- en begrafenisgebruiken, in bepaalde wetten en instellingen zoals het leviraatshuwelijk, welke bedoeld zouden zijn om de dodencultus in stand te houden, en in bepaalde feesten zoals het Purim- en het Paasfeest. Het Jahwisme zou deze dodencultus langzamerhand hebben verdreven, maar er ook enkele elementen uit hebben overgenomen in het eigen concept van een zalig hiernamaals.

In de laatste decennia is een zekere herwaardering van deze oude theorieën waar te nemen. Daarbij speelt vooral de veronderstelde oud-Israëlitische verering van heroën een grote rol. Men ziet hier doorgaans een direkte relatie met het latere geloof in de opstanding der doden.

1.4.3. Wat betreft de mogelijkheid van vreemde invloed op de ontwikkeling van het oud-Israëlitische en het joodse geloof in een zalig leven na de dood zijn in de loop der eeuwen vele verschillende voorstellen gedaan al naar gelang de bekendheid van de onderzoekers met bepaalde culturen in het oude nabije Oosten. De laatste tijd is men het er wel over eens dat er waarschijnlijk in de periode vóór de ballingschap met name Kanaänitische beïnvloeding heeft plaatsgevonden en dat in de periode erna elementen uit de Perzische en ook de Griekse godsdienst zijn overgenomen.

1.4.4. In het moderne onderzoek is men het erover eens dat het Oude Testament over het algemeen een vrij negatief beeld geeft van de wereld der doden. Doorgaans wordt aangenomen dat het geloof in een zalig leven na de dood een vrij late ontwikkeling is. Als belangrijkste factoren achter de opkomst van dit nieuwe geloofsinzicht worden genoemd de individualisering van het denken en het probleem van het martelaarschap. Sommige geleerden zijn, deels op grond van de vergelijking van het Oude Testament met teksten uit Ugarit, van mening dat het geloof in zalig leven na de dood veel ouder is.

2. Om een antwoord te kunnen geven op de vraag of men kan spreken van een eigen karakter van de oud-Israëlitische voorstellingen van het leven na de dood is het noodzakelijk enig inzicht te krijgen in de voorstellingen van het hiernamaals bij de andere volken in het oude nabije Oosten.

2.1. In het oude Egypte kende men zeer uitgebreide en vaak ook tegenstrijdige voorstellingen van wat de mens te wachten staat na zijn dood. Men trof, voorzover men daartoe in staat was, zoveel mogelijk maatregelen om zich te verzekeren van een zalig leven na de dood en om te voorkomen dat men een tweede en onherroepelijke dood zou sterven. De hoop op een zalig leven met de goden betrof aanvankelijk slechts de koning maar werd langzamerhand gemeengoed. De hoop op een bevrijding uit het duistere dodenrijk was in de eerste plaats verbonden met de zonnegod. Aan de andere kant identificeerde men zich ook met de god van het dodenrijk, Osiris. Beide concepten werden later verweven.

2.2. In het oude Mesopotamië overheerste een negatieve opvatting van het leven na de dood. Elk mens wacht slechts het onzalige dodenrijk. Het epos van Gilgamesh leert de mens te berusten in het feit dat de dood onontkoombaar is. Slechts een roemrijke naam is sterker dan de dood. De mythen vermelden twee uitzonderingen op deze regel: Utnapishtim, die de zondvloed overleefde, werd zonder te zijn gestorven door de goden een zalig leven op de grens van de wereld der stervelingen en de wereld der goden toegestaan en van één der wijzen uit de periode vóór de vloed, Utuabzu, wordt vermeld dat hij in de hemel is opgenomen.

Een bijzondere positie wordt ook nog ingenomen door een aantal koningen welke na hun dood als goden der onderwereld werden vereerd.
De Perzen, die in de zesde eeuw v.Chr. de heerschappij in Mesopotamië overnamen, hebben een geheel eigen opvatting van het leven na de dood. Bij hen staat in deze het geloof in een gericht aan het einde der tijden centraal. Dan zal beslist worden over zaligheid of vernietiging. In de tijd tussen de dood van het individu en dit laatste oordeel zal de dode al wel iets ondervinden van wat hem te wachten staat. Een belangrijk element uit de Perzische religie van vóór de hervorming door Zarathustra is de verering van heroën als helpers van de mensen. Dit geloof bleef in een bepaalde vorm voortbestaan in de latere religie der Perzen.

2.3. De Hethieten hadden een somber beeld van het verblijf in het dodenrijk. Slechts de koning had de mogelijkheid aan dit treurige bestaan na de dood te ontkomen. Na zijn dood zou de koning voortleven als een god in een paradijsachtige wereld. Uitgebreide begrafenisrituelen moesten de koning verzekeren van dit zalige leven na de dood.

2.4. De woonplaats der gelukzalige doden is volgens de Griekse godsdienst het Elysium. In de tijd van Homerus geloofde men dat slechts enkele zeer vooraanstaande personen na hun dood daar zouden belanden. Met de opkomst van de mysteriereligies werd deze zaligheidsverwachting meer algemeen.
Een belangrijke rol in de ideeën met betrekking tot de doden speelde de verering van gestorven helden, heroën, welke als helper van de mensen of als middelaar tussen de goden en de mensen konden optreden.

2.5. In deze studie is veel aandacht besteed aan de voorstellingen van het leven na de dood in het oude Syrië en Palestina, omdat in dit gebied van Israël en zijn direkte omgeving de laatste tijd veel belangrijke nieuwe ontdekkingen zijn gedaan. Vooral de gegevens uit Ras Shamra (het oude Ugarit) en nabij gelegen plaatsen zijn hier beschreven en geëvalueerd.
Het blijkt dat in Ugarit de dodencultus een grote rol

speelde. Die dodencultus maakte het volgens de vele teksten over dit onderwerp voor een vooraanstaande groep van vereerde voorouders mogelijk om regelmatig het dodenrijk te verlaten. Dit geloof was verbonden met de idee dat de god van de vruchtbaarheid, Baäl, elk jaar stierf en afdaalde in het dodenrijk om aan het begin van het jaar (in de herfst) daar weer uit op te staan. De vooraanstaande doden zouden samen met Baäl het dodenrijk kunnen verlaten. Deze vergoddelijkte doden, met namē de gestorven koningen van Ugarit, worden "helers" genoemd vanwege de hulp welke zij aan de levenden zouden kunnen verlenen. Men stelde ze vaak voor als roofvogels en soms ook als sterren. Ook zouden ze deel uitmaken van zowel een onderaards als een hemels heirleger. Het is aantoonbaar dat bij de ontwikkeling van deze geloofsvoorstellingen gebruik gemaakt is van Egyptische en mogelijk ook Hethitische ideeën over dit onderwerp.

Hoewel het materiaal uit de rest van het oude Syrië en Palestina van deze periode minder overvloedig is, zijn er toch duidelijke aanwijzingen voor dat deze voorstellingen van het leven na de dood hier vrij algemeen waren. Dit blijkt ook uit de oudtestamentische gegevens over niet-Israëlitische voorstellingen van het leven na de dood.

Uit de manier waarop in Jes 14 de neergevelde overweldiger wordt beschreven blijkt dat deze zichzelf een eeuwig leven bij de goden had toegedicht. Verder zijn de oude tradities over de oorspronkelijke bewoners van Palestina duidelijk gebaseerd op de Kanaänitische verering van heroën en vinden we ook nog sporen van het geloof dat Baäl kon optreden als een god van het dodenrijk.

3.1. Uit de oud-Israëlitische rouw- en begrafenisgebruiken kan niet meer worden afgeleid dan dat men uitging van een voortbestaan na de dood. Van sommige koningen, die in het Oude Testament worden beticht van het feit dat zij het geloof in Baäl zouden zijn toegedaan, moeten we aannemen dat zij na hun dood werden vereerd.

3.2. Uit vele oudtestamentische teksten blijkt dat men de doden een bovennatuurlijke kracht en wijsheid toedichtte. Elk beroep op de doden is echter verboden, aangezien dit werd opgevat als een bedreiging van het vertrouwen op de ene God.

3.3. Het kan worden aangetoond dat zowel de oud-Israëlitische traditie over de wegname van Henoch als die over de hemelvaart van Elia verwant zijn aan niet-Israëlitisch geloofsgoed. Gen 5:22-24 kan worden beschouwd als een pendant van de Mesopotamische mythe van de ten-hemel-opneming van Utuabzu, terwijl de hemelvaart van Elia de climax is van zijn strijd tegen het Baälgeloof waarin de overwinning op de dood centraal staat. Bovendien is er reden om aan te nemen dat men geloofde dat Elia en ook Elisa na hun dood deel uit zouden gaan maken van een hemelse legermacht en in zoverre dezelfde functie zouden krijgen als de Kanaänitische heroën.

3.4. Israëls geloof met betrekking tot het hiernamaals blijkt in grote mate bepaald door de worsteling met het geloof in Baäl. Het duidelijkste voorbeeld hiervan is Hos 5:8-6:6, waarin een bepaalde groep Israëlieten de hoop op God formuleert met woorden die min of meer direkt van het geloof in de overwinning op de dood door Baäl zijn afgeleid (6:1-3). Dit wordt echter volstrekt afgewezen. In dit kader passen ook de verwerping van de koningsideologie in Jes 14 en de afrekening met het geloof in heroën in Gen 6:1-4.

3.5.1. Het geloof dat God sterker is dan de dood is nooit betwijfeld. Het komt het duidelijkst tot uitdrukking in de bede om redding van een vroegtijdige dood. Ps 103 laat zien dat deze hoop niet los staat van de verwachtingen met betrekking tot de hoop op Gods bijstand na de dood. De profetieen in Jes 53, Ez 37 en Jes 26 over de redding door God uit de dood moeten metaforisch worden opgevat, maar toch bieden ook deze teksten aanknopingspunten voor het geloof in een werkelijke redding uit de dood. Het is opmerkelijk dat men zich hier zeer behoedzaam uitdrukt. Klaarblijkelijk wil men niet in de fout vervallen van hen die in Hos 6:1-3 aan het woord zijn.

3.5.2. De oudste tekst waarin het geloof in de hulp van God na de dood expliciet ter sprake komt is de inscriptie uit de achtste eeuw v.Chr. op het graf van een zekere Uriyahu, waarin deze de hoop uitspreekt dat God hem zal redden uit het dodenrijk. In het Oude Testament is deze gedachte pas later en ook veel terughoudender tot uitdrukking gebracht. Daarbij ligt de nadruk op de hoop op de continuïteit van de relatie met God. Uit Job 19:25-27 blijkt dat het hier om de uiterste consequentie van een volledig vertrouwen op God gaat. In Ps 73 en Ps 49 nemen we een zekere consolidering van dit geloofsgoed waar. We kunnen constateren dat bij de uitwerking hiervan bepaalde elementen van het oorspronkelijk Kanaänitische geloof in de periodieke overwinning op de dood werden opgenomen.

3.5.3. Heel duidelijk is dit laatste ook in Dan 12:1-3, vooral in het feit dat de zalige doden met sterren worden vergeleken. Binnen het geheel nieuwe kader van de apokalyptiek blijkt nu plaats, naast elementen uit de Griekse en de Perzische godsdienst, voor vele elementen uit het oude geloof in Baäl en de daarmee verbonden verwachtingen. We moeten aannemen dat dit geloof, in termen van het Jahwisme geformuleerd, in bepaalde lagen van de Israëlitische bevolking bewaard is gebleven. Alleen zo kan men verklaren dat deze oude voorstellingen hun sporen hebben achtergelaten in de literatuur van de intertestamentaire periode en van het Nieuwe Testament.

STELLINGEN

I

De ontwikkeling van het oudtestamentische spreken over het lot van de mens na zijn dood is alleen te begrijpen tegen de achtergrond van de worsteling met het geloof in Baäl en de met deze god verbonden verwachting dat de dood steeds opnieuw overwonnen wordt.

II

Hoop op een zalig leven na de dood en verering van de doden hebben in het oude nabije Oosten nooit geleid tot een bagatellisering van de dood.

contra: O. Jager, *De dood in zijn ware gedaante*, Baarn 1984, blz. 48-49.

III

De *rp'um* genaamde vergoddelijkte doden konden volgens de teksten van Ugarit de concrete vorm van vogels aannemen.

IV

Helel ben šaḥar in Jes 14:12 is een verwijzing naar de verwachting van een eeuwig leven zoals de maan en de zon.

V

De hoop op God zoals verwoord in Hos 6:1-3 wordt in de volgende verzen verworpen, omdat de manier waarop hier over God wordt gesproken Hem tot een god als Baäl maakt.

VI

Via het Israëlitische volksgeloof hebben oude Kanaänitische geloofsvoorstellingen betreffende bovennatuurlijke wezens doorgewerkt tot in de intertestamentaire, nieuwtestamentische en vroegkerkelijke literatuur.

VII

Bij de discussie over de wenselijkheid van wetenschappelijk archeologisch onderzoek van graven moet men ook het feit in overweging nemen dat dit onderzoek in zoverre in dienst staat van degenen die daar ter aarde zijn besteld dat het mogelijk hun namen aan de vergetelheid kan ontrukken.

VIII

Het boek Job is in de ons overgeleverde vorm zowel formeel als theologisch een eenheid.

IX

De uitgave van een Nederlandse vertaling van het boek van Salibi, waarin deze de theorie ontvouwt dat het "ware land van Abraham" in het zuid-oosten van het Arabisch schiereiland lag, moet worden beschouwd als een ondoordachte daad van anti-Semitisme.

vgl. K. Salibi, *Het ware land van Abraham. Een nieuwe theorie over de oorsprong van het volk Israël*, Amsterdam 1985.

X

De veronderstelling van Evans dat Lucas het zogenaamde reisverhaal (Luc 9:51-18:14) heeft gestructureerd naar het voorbeeld van het boek Deuteronomium verdient meer aandacht dan zij tot dusver heeft gekregen, gezien ook het feit dat vooral bij Lucas Jezus Christus "de nieuwe Mozes" wordt genoemd (vgl. Hand 3:22 en 7:37).

vgl. C.F. Evans, "The Central Section of St. Luke's Gospel", in *Studies in the Gospel: Essays in Memory of R.H. Lightfoot*, ed. D.E. Nineham, Oxford 1955, blz. 37-53.

XI

De huidige nadruk binnen de geschiedeniswetenschap op het onderzoek van de lokale geschiedenis komt de bestudering van de kerkgeschiedenis ten goede voor zover men deze beschouwt als een theologisch vak, omdat het de identificatiemogelijkheden voor de huidige kerken vergroot.

XII

De uitspraken van de synode van Sneek (1942) over de onsterfelijkheid van de ziel en van de synode van Assen (1957) over het film- en bioscoopvraagstuk, welke zijn opgenomen in de bijlagen van de kerkorde van de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland, dienen te worden herzien.

XIII

Of recombinant DNA-onderzoek leidt tot verbetering van de schepping kan slechts beoordeeld worden aan door de Schepper gegeven maatstaven.

XIV

De combinatie van Bijbelteksten door het gebruik van verschillende leesroosters naast elkaar is zelden verhelderend.

XV

Uit het feit dat Kousbroek een theoloog "een tekstuitlegger die voor zijn verdriet op aarde is" kan noemen valt af te leiden dat in veel preken de vreugde welke intensieve Bijbelstudie steeds weer oplevert node wordt gemist.

vgl. R. Kousbroek, *De waanzin aan de macht. Anathema's 4*, Amsterdam 1979, blz. 82.

XVI

Berichten over contacten met doden en ervaringen van mensen op de rand van de dood kunnen niets bijdragen aan de christelijke hoop op een leven met God na de dood.

XVII

Goed bestuur kost niet alleen tijd, maar levert ook tijd op.

XVIII

Indien het juist is dat Archimedes tot het inzicht van de naar hem genoemde wet kwam toen hij in bad zat, moet dit niet alleen worden toegeschreven aan zijn waarneming van de verplaatsing van het water bij zijn plaatsnemen in het bad, doch ook aan de gunstige uitwerking van een warm bad op het denkproces.

Stellingen behorende bij het
proefschrift van K. Spronk, 1986

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