

THE MEANING OF
נפש מת
IN
THE OLD TESTAMENT

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THE MEANING OF נפש מת
IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

BY
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In memory of my mother

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ABBREVIATIONS.

- AEDH = Muss-Arnolt, W., Assyrisch-Englisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch.
- AEL = Lane, E. W., An Arabic-English Lexicon.
- AH = Delitzsch, F., Assyrisches Handwörterbuch.
- AHK = Abhandlungen des Hamburgischen Kolonialinstituts.
- AUA = Turun Yliopiston Julkaisuja — Annales Universitatis Aboensis.
- BASOR = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
- BE = The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Series A: Cuneiform Texts.
- BH = Biblia Hebraica.
- BKBR = Zimmern, H., Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Babylonischen Religion.
- BMS = King, L. W., Babylonian Magic and Sorcery.
- ChAG = Conti Rossini, K., Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis epigraphica edita et glossario instructa.
- CGI = Gordon, C. H., Comprehensive Glossary. Ugaritic Handbook III.
- ChW = Levy, J., Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim.
- CT = Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum.
- Ges.-B. = Gesenius, W., Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament, bearbeitet von Fr. Buhl.
- HAT = Handkommentar zum Alten Testament, herausgegeben von W. Nowack.
- HbAT = Handbuch zum Alten Testament, herausgegeben von O. Eissfeldt.
- HAW = König, Ed., Hebräisches und Aramäisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament.
- HB = The Holy Bible according to authorized version (A.D. 1611) with an explanatory and critical Commentary, edited by F. C. Cook.
- HBA = Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Altertums für gebildete Bibelleser, herausgegeben von Ed. C. Aug. Riehm. Zweite Auflage besorgt von Fr. Baethgen.
- HChW = Fürst, J., Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch.

- HEL = A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, based on the Lexicon of W. Gesenius, edited by Fr. Brown, S. R. Driver and Ch. A. Briggs.
- HW = Siegfried, C. und Stade, B., Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament.
- ICC = The International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, under the Editorship of S. R. Driver, A. Plummer and Ch. A. Briggs.
- JAI = The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
- JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society.
- JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature.
- K = Kuyunjik Collection in the British Museum.
- KA = Kansatieteellinen Arkisto.
- KB = Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.
- KKHS = Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den Heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testaments sowie zu den Apokryphen, herausgegeben von H. Strack und O. Zöckler.
- LLAe = Dillmann, Chr. Fr. Aug., Lexicon Linguae Aethiopiae cum indice Latino.
- LS = Brockelmann, C., Lexicon Syriacum.
- LVTL = Koehler, L.—Baumgartner, W., Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros.
- MSFO = Suomalais-ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia — Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne.
- NHChW = Levy, J., Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim.
- PEF = Quaterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund.
- OrNS = Orientalia, Nova Series, Roma.
- PRE = Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, herausgegeben von A. Hauck.
- R = Rawlinson, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.
- SO = Studia Orientalia.
- SSPhR = Studien zur semitischen Philologie und Religionsgeschichte Julius Wellhausen zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag am 14 Mai 1914 gewidmet, herausgegeben von K. Marti.
- ZATW = Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Nachbiblischen Judentums, herausgegeben von H. Gressmann.
- ZDMG = Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

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INTRODUCTION.

The interpretation of the expression נפש מת has caused great difficulties to students of the Old Testament. It has been translated in many different ways, e.g. the 'ghost of the dead,' a 'dead body,' 'somebody dead,' 'one dead,' a 'dead soul.'¹

In the following the expression is studied against the background of old Hebrew cosmic conceptions, consideration being given to the use of NPŠ in other Semitic languages.

A remark must be made concerning the age of the Old Testament text. There are various conceptions of the chronology of the different passages. At any rate a great deal of the content is older than the written text, and though it may be of a certain interest to scrutinize the use of the expressions with regard to the age of the passages, in this case it is not of great help. Old expressions can easily be mixed in rather young passages whereas, of course, an old idea can be expressed in a younger *usus loquendi* according to more recent conceptions. The Old Testament was composed between 1000 and 100 B.C., and at this time the original idea behind certain expressions may very well have fallen into oblivion though the old wordings in some cases are still current. Old customs too can be in vogue and old rites performed in exactly the same way as they have been originally though conceptions have changed and the execution is given an interpretation which differs greatly from the primary idea in the custom.

About thinking and acting in protosemitic time only hypotheses can be advanced. Unfortunately, they are merely conclusions drawn by what is today termed logical thinking.

¹ *vide infra*.

It is very important in this work to determine the difference between נפש and רוח. But though the words were originally used in quite different senses even when the idea of writing down the oral traditions came, both, in addition to the original one, were used in derived senses, depending to a great extent on new cosmic conceptions. The comparison with corresponding expressions in other tongues outside the Semitic sphere, however, has been left out of consideration.

The Semitic type of mind, such as it appears in the construction of the languages belonging to this group, deviates much from *e.g.* Indo-European ways of thinking. Words and expressions in different groups of languages often do not fully correspond in meaning, though they seem to refer to the same ideas. For that reason the study presented below deals exclusively with the Semitic world.

CHAPTER I

The sense of NPŠ.

In order fully to elucidate the expression **נפש מה** a minute study of the meaning of **נפש** is required. It has been given different senses such as 'the breathing substance or being,' 'breath,' 'soul,' 'throat,' 'appetite,' etc.¹

A study of the different dictionaries of the Semitic languages establishes that the sense of the word common to all these languages is 'soul.'²

Akkadian: *napištu*

Ugaritic: *npš*

Hebrew: **נפש**

Aramaic: **נפש**

Syriac: *nefšā*

Arabic: *nafsun*

South-Arabian: *np/fs*

Ethiopic: *nafes*

A theory quoted by almost all scholars dealing with problems of primitive thought is that man very early thought that the difference between the living and the dead was breath — or lack of it. Then at a certain stage of civilization, when the belief arose that everything in nature was animated by spirits, man identified breath with this spirit. Thus the word used for

¹ cf. dictionaries and Briggs in JBL XVI, p. 17.

² Akkadian: AH and AEDH, *sub voce*; Ugaritic: CGI, *sub voce*; Aramaic: ChW and NHChW, *sub voce*; Syriac: LS, *sub voce*; Arabic: AEL, *sub voce*; South-Arabian: ChAG, *sub voce*; Ethiopic: LL Ae, *sub voce*.

'breath' came to signify the 'power' vivifying the body.¹ The sequence could as well have been the reverse. The 'power' in life could have been thought to manifest itself in the breath. There is no way of knowing the proper order (if there was any at all) in which the sense of the term has developed.

One more theory can be suggested. Regarding the Semitic languages the word NPŠ may never have meant 'breath.' In Ugaritic, Gordon does not give *npš* in this sense.² Muss-Arnolt in his dictionary gives instances for the various ways of using *napištu*, but though he also suggests the sense 'breath' for it, he presents no example of the word used in this sense.³ Delitzsch, in his turn, makes no mention at all of 'breath' in this connection.⁴ According to Conti Rossini, in South-Arabic, *np/fs* does not seem to take the sense 'breath.'⁵ The Arabic word for 'breath' is *nafasun*. The word for 'soul' is *nafsun*. The verb *nafasa* from this root is denominated and *nafasun* takes the same form as inf. I of it.⁶ According to old Semitic conception NPŠ was the active element in all vital functions, of which breathing was one. Not the breath, then, was the difference between living and dead, but the breathing. In the dead man was aware of a lack of motion; he missed the vivifying potency.⁷

The development 'breath' > 'soul' may be the correct one. But as far as written evidence from the most remote times is concerned there is no proof of it. It is, of course, striking that there should originally have been no word for 'breath,' but neither of these two theories can be proved. In historical times, however, NPŠ is always used in the sense given below.

The sense of **נְפֶשׁ** in the Old Testament is only a 'mysterious potency.' Even when the word seems to be used in a transferred meaning a careful study will show that it is always used in this same way: a 'potency.'

¹ Tylor, 'Primitive Culture I,' p. 432 sqq.

² GGI, *sub voce*.

³ AEDH, *sub voce*.

⁴ AH, *sub voce*.

⁵ ChAG, *sub voce*.

⁶ AEL, *sub voce*.

⁷ *vide infra* p. 23 sqq.

The word for this potency in the body nowadays is *soul*, but when נפש is translated by this term it must not be taken in its modern sense. The word *soul* may be justified only if it is understood simply — to quote Frazer — as "the unknown principle of life about which philosophers have disputed from the days of Plato and Aristotle to the present time, and to all appearance are likely to dispute till life on earth is extinguished by some final cosmic catastrophe, unless in the meantime science should crown its long series of victories over nature by discovering the origin of life." ¹

Pedersen gives a very fine definition of the conception of the *soul*. It runs as follows: "The soul is constructed with a view to action, but the presupposition of its being able to act is that the construction is firm. The best characterization of the soul is as an organism, which at any time centres and ranges itself round a point of gravity. This point of gravity is the centre of force in which action is created, and this centre must be firm and strong; otherwise the soul must not be stiff but pliable, so that it subordinates itself to its centre." ²

The above ought to make clear that the *soul* was conceived of as material.

In the Old Testament נפש cannot be found in any context where it is not translatable by *soul*, taken in the above-mentioned sense.

נפש — a necessity to the body.

Being the word for the life-giving potency in the body נפש was used in instances where modern European languages would use 'life.' It must, however, be kept in mind that according to the Semitic conception 'life' depended on נפש. When the question was one of life in any way, say, the risking of life, in danger, etc., this was expressed by נפש נפש. נפש was the 'principle of life' and thus when נפש was in peril or

¹ 'The Fear of the Dead I,' p. 6.

² 'Israel . . . , I,' p. 145.

destroyed life was in danger or extinguished. If somebody tried to effect the death of somebody else he 'sought his **נפש**.'

II Sam. XVIII: 13

אִוְעִשִׂיתִי כַנְפֹשׁוֹ
שָׁקֵר

But if I had acted treacherously against his *life*... (*heuk*)

I Kings XIX: 2

כִּי־כַעַת מַחַר אֲשִׁים
אֶת־נַפְשְׁךָ כַנְפֹשׁ אֶחָד
מֵהֶם

... if I make not thy *life* as the *life* of one of them by tomorrow about this time. (*jet. loam*)

I Kings III: 11

וְלֹא־שָׁאַלְתָּ נֶפֶשׁ אִיבִיךָ

Thou hast not asked the *life* of thine enemies. (*heuk*)

Ps. XIX: 8

מְשִׁיבַת נֶפֶשׁ

... restoring *life* (*sielu*)

Lament. I: 11

לְהַשִּׁיב נֶפֶשׁ

... restore *life*

Jos. IX: 24

וְנִירָא מְאֹד לְנַפְשֵׁינוּ

Therefore we were sore afraid for our *lives*. (*heuk*)

Ezek. XXXII: 10

וַחֲרָדוּ לְרִגְעִים אִישׁ
לְנַפְשׁוֹ

And they shall tremble at every moment, every man for his own *life*. (*heuk*)

I Sam. XXVI: 21

יקרה נפשי בעיניך

My life was precious in
thine eyes.*heuk*

cf. Akkadian: *kīma uknê napištī ina pānika lēqir* — like lapis lazuli may my life be precious in thy sight.¹

I Kings XIX: 3

וילך אל-נפשו

...and he fled for his life

heuk

II Kings VII: 7

וינסו אל-נפשם

...and fled for their life

cf. Akkadian: *ana napšāti* (pl) (*w*)*ašû*²

II Sam. XXIII: 17

הדם האנשים ההלכים
כנפשותם... the blood of the men who went
... at the risk of their lives*heuk*

I Kings II: 23

כנפשו דבר אדניהו
את-הדבר הזה

... at the cost of his life ...

heuk

Prov. VII: 23

ולא ידע כריכנפשו הוא

.... and knoweth not that it is
at the risk of his life*heuk*

Lament. V: 9

כנפשנו נביא לחמנו

We gat our bread with the
peril of our life.*heuk*

¹ K 163 + 218 (IV R 57). Rev. (King, BMS, Nr. 12).

² e.g. Sanherib Prisma VI. 23 (I R 37—42).

II Sam. XIV:7

ונמתהו כנפש אחיו . . . that we may kill him, for the
 אשר הרג life of his brother whom he
 slew *soul*

Jon. I: 14

אל-נא נאבדה Let us not perish on
 כנפש האיש הזה account of this man's *soul*.
 (meaning, for killing Jonah)

Cook comments on this: "for doing what may touch his life." ¹

Given below are some examples showing that נפש was of the greatest importance to the body. Its presence was a pre-requisite for life and the absence of it was equivalent to death.

II Sam. I: 9

עמדנא עלי ומתתני Stand, I pray thee, upon me, and
 כי אחוני השבץ כירכל slay me, for anguish (?) is come
 עוד נפשי כי upon me, because my soul is yet in *soul*
 me.

Jer. XV: 9

אמללה ילדת השבעה She that hath borne seven languisheth.
 נפחה נפשה באה שמשה She hath blown out her soul, her sun *soul*
 בער יומם has gone down while it was yet day.

Lament. II: 12

בהשתפך נפשם When their soul was poured out *soul*
 אל-חיק אמתם into their mothers' bosom.²

Isa. LIII: 12

תחת אשר הערה . . . because he hath bared his *soul*
 למות נפשו soul to death³

¹ HB VI.

² cf. *infra* p. 31.

³ The accepted rendering of this text 'poured out' (Orelli KKHS IV - V: "ausgeschüttet seine Seele, als deren Sitz das Blut gedacht ist) does not correspond to the Hebrew. Cf. HEL, sub ערה.

Gen. XXXV: 18

ויהי כצאת נפשה
כי מתה As her *soul* was departing,
for she died.

I Kings XVII: 21

יהוה אלהי תשב-נא
נפש-הילד הזה על-קרבו O Lord my God, I pray thee, let
this child's *soul* come into him
again.

and v. 22

ותשב נפש-הילד
על-קרבו ויחי ...and the *soul* of the child came
into him again, and he revived.

To kill some one was to hit him in his *נפש:נפש* (cf. Gen. XXXVII: 21; Deut. XIX: 6, 11; Lev. XXIV: 17, 18; Jer. XL: 14; Num. XXXV: 11, 15, 30; Jos. XX: 3, 9.) and with *רצח* (cf. Deut. XXII: 26).

The same method of expression is found in other Semitic languages:

In Akkadian: *e.g.**napištu*

- with *quttû*, *bullû*, — 'to destroy one's own or
hulluqu somebody else's life.'
with *tabāku* — 'pour out life (shed blood)'
with *bullutu* — 'to keep somebody in life'
with *eṭēru*, *gamālu* — 'to save one's own life or that
of somebody else.'
with *šūzubu* — 'save, rescue.'
with *šakānu* — 'give up the *ghost*, die,'

In Ugaritic: ¹

3 Aqht 24—25

— — — — *tṣi . km* — "Let his *soul* go out like
rh . npšh . wind."²

¹ Gordon, 'Texts in Transliteration.'² Gordon, 'A Comprehensive Translation . . .,' p. 93.

line 36

yṣat . km . rḥ . npš(h)

— "(His) soul goes out like a wind."¹

1 Aqht 92

btlt . ʿnt . k(rḥ npšh)

— "The virgin ʿAnat (has caused his soul to go out) like (wind)."²

and in Arabic:³

ḥaraġat nafsuḥu

— "His soul went forth."

sālat nafsuḥu

— "His blood flowed."

nafsun sā'ilatun

— "Flowing blood."

dafaqa nafsahu

— "He shed his blood."

𐎶𐎠 — blood.

In his translation of the Babylonian Creation Story *Enūma eliš*, Tablet IV line 18, Heidel comments on the expression 'to pour out the life of some one,' *tubuk napšatsu*, saying that the pouring out (*i.e.* shedding) refers "to blood, the seat of the element of life."⁴

It is a common idea that man at an early stage of culture identified blood with the vital force. The usual explanation of this theory is that primitive man realized that the consequence of a great loss of blood was death. Another conception which situates the vital force in the blood is supposed to be of a later date.

It has been supposed that both beliefs are represented in the Old Testament.⁵

¹ *op. cit.*, p. 93.

² *ibid.*, p. 96.

³ AEL, *sub voce*.

⁴ 'The Babylonian Genesis,' p. 37 n. 71.

⁵ Karsten, in 'The Origins of Religion,' p. 53—54 referring to an unpublished manuscript by Schur.

Gen. IX: 4

אך בשר בנפשו דמו
לא תאכלו

But flesh with the *soul*
thereof, which is the blood
thereof, shall ye not eat.

Lev. XVII: 14 b

כי נפש כל־בשר דמו
הוא

For the *soul* of all flesh
is the blood thereof.

Deut. XII: 23

רק חוק לבלתי אכל
הדם כי הדם הוא הנפש

Only be sure that thou eat not
the blood: for the blood is the
soul.

These passages stand for the belief that the blood was נפש, which idea is supposed to be the older one. The other conception is represented by

Lev. XVII: 14 a

כי־נפש כל־בשר
דמו בנפשו הוא

For the *soul* of all flesh
is its blood with its *soul*
(i.e. its blood and *soul* together.)

Gen. IX: 5

ואך את־דמכם
לנפשותיכם אדרש

And surely your blood of
your *souls* will I require.¹

Jer. II: 34

גם בכנפך נמצאו
דם נפשות אביונים
נקיים

Also in thy skirt is found the
blood of the *souls* of the poor
innocents.

¹ Strack, KKHS I, understands ל in לנפשי as "Dativ der Zugehörigkeit." It can also be understood as 'with consideration for your souls.' cf. Ges.-B. לנפשי "in Beziehung auf mein — — — Leben," *sub voce*, — Gunkel, HAT I, translates: "Aber euer eigen Blut will ich heimfordern."

Lev. XVII: 11

כִּי נֶפֶשׁ הַבָּשָׂר
בְּדָם הוּא

For the *soul* of the flesh
is in the blood.

The examples which might support the opinion that the old Hebrews identified the blood with נֶפֶשׁ may be understood as a mode of expression emphasizing the importance of the blood as being the place where נֶפֶשׁ resides.¹

The same can be said of the corresponding expressions in other Semitic languages.²

Discussion of the possible existence of two different conceptions and their chronology is outside the scope of the present work. But, presupposing their existence and allowing that the older is the one which identifies the blood with נֶפֶשׁ, this term cannot originally have meant 'breath.'³

נֶפֶשׁ — referring to tears.

In Hebrew the verb שָׁפַךְ (pour out, pour), in connection with נֶפֶשׁ, can be used in different senses. When Hannah says: הוֹשִׁיעַ נַפְשִׁי יְהוָה וְאֶשְׁפַּךְ אֶת־נַפְשִׁי לִפְנֵי יְהוָה⁴ there is no question of her dying. According to primitive conception some of the life-giving power is situated in the secretions of the body.⁵ The tears she had shed in crying (v. 10) contained, according to the conception of her time, some of her נֶפֶשׁ. Here it means a kind of sacrifice to or covenant with the godship.⁶

¹ Grüneisen, 'Der Ahnenkultus und die Urreligion Israels,' p. 38. — If נֶפֶשׁ is, as is supposed here, *vis vitalis*, it cannot be said to 'reside' anywhere. The blood, the breath, the heart, the brain, and any vital organ or element are essential to life, but not the seat of life.

² *vide supra*, pp. 27—28.

³ *vide supra*, pp. 21—22.

⁴ I Sam. 1: 15.

⁵ Van der Leeuw, in 'Phänomenologie der Religion,' p. 257, states that the 'soul power' was considered to exist in all corporeal parts, including such substances as were emitted by the body. *vide also pp. 258 sqq.*

⁶ cf. Robertson Smith, 'The Religion of the Semites,' p. 319.

cf. Job XXX: 16

עלי תשתפך נפשי

My soul pours itself out upon me.

Budde gives the translation: "Und jetzt ist in mir ausgeschüttet meine Seele."

and he comments on it: "Die Seele zerfließt wohl in Tränen, wegen der Leidenstage, die ihn ergriffen haben..."¹

Ps. XLII: 5

ואשפכה עלי נפשי

(When I remember these things)

I pour out my soul upon me. *sydan.*

The translation and comment given by Baethgen run:

"Daran will ich gedenken und mein Herz bei mir ausschütten."²

"Das Herz oder die Seele ausschütten heisst: allen den Gedanken, welche die Seele bewegen, freien Lauf lassen, vgl. I Sam. I: 15, Thr. II: 19, Ps. LXII: 9, CII: 1, CXLII: 3."

"עלי besagt dass der Erguss der Klage ein innerlicher, nicht lautbarer ist; es hat etwa dieselbe Bedeutung wie בקרבי XXXIX: 4; vgl. Hos. XI: 8."³

When נפש in this context is understood as 'tears,' being the substance which contains some of the 'principle of life,' עלי offers no difficulty. It is no inward crying. על is taken in its sense 'upon,' and the tears are rolling upon the face. This fully explains עלי = upon me (contra "in mir" and "bei mir").

It is not beyond doubt that Lament. II: 12⁴ is to be translated as mentioned above. The children may have asked for bread and wine 'shedding tears' on their mothers' bosom.

¹ HAT II₁, — cf. also Hölscher (HbAT): "meine Seele zerfließt in mir." In his comment on this passage he says that it means to pour out from oneself the soul in sobs, complaint or weeping. Consequently *hitpa'el* would be "the soul is poured out" ("die Seele wird hingegossen"), viz. man is 'soulless' from suffering (Der Mensch ist vor Schmerzen "see-lenlos").

² Schmidt (HbAT) gives almost the same interpretation: "Daran will ich denken und in mir ausschütten meine Seele."

³ HAT II₂.

⁴ *vide supra*, p. 26.

So much for the interpretation of **וַעַי** in this connection by 'tears' As for the power in tears, it can be mentioned that Dr. Seligmann claims tears to be a means of protection against 'the evil eye.' "Die Tränen halten in Posen den bösen Blick ab; deshalb muss die Braut auf dem Wege zur Kirche recht viel weinen. Darauf beruht auch wohl ein Schutzmittel in Bengalen, das darin besteht, dass man dem Kinde in den Kleinen Finger beisst. Das Kind wird naturgemäss vor Schmerz anfangen zu weinen, und jemand, der Schmerz empfindet und Tränen vergiesst, pflegt nicht beneidet zu werden."¹

In Kalevala the bride is made to cry by sad songs about her future life as a wife and daughter-in-law, and finally she is repeatedly told

<p>"Itke, itke, neiti nuori, Kun itket, hyvinkin itke! Kun et itke itkettäissä, Itket toiste tullessasi."²</p>	<p>Weep thou, weep thou, youthful maiden, When thou weapest, weep thou sorely; If thou weapest not yet freely, Thou shalt weep when thou re- turnest."</p>
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The extensive weeping at Jewish weddings may also be called to mind. It seems to belong to a custom which probably springs from the fear of 'evil-minded spirits' active on critical occasions.³

As for interpreting Hannah's words as referring to a covenant with God, it must be recalled that blood is sacrificed to God and also employed as a safeguard against the 'evil eye.'⁴ If blood can be a phylactery against the 'evil eye' and sacrificed to God, and if tears being a secretion of the body can be a safeguard against the 'evil eye,' it can also be applied to the purpose suggested above.⁵

¹ 'Der böse Blick . . . II,' p. 207.

² Chapt. XXII. 'Morsiamen hunnutus ja itkettäminen, li. 359—362; 367—370; 375—378. — English translation by Kirby. — cf. Harva, AUA, Ser. B. Tom. IX, pp. 5—6 and 128 sqq.

³ For marriage as an occasion where evil spirits were feared cf. e.g. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose I*, p. 7 sqq.

⁴ Seligmann, 'Der böse Blick . . . II,' pp. 217—218.

⁵ cf. Hämäläinen, MSFOu XLVII, pp. 75 and 83.

Something similar can be found in other connections. It is already known that hand-shaking in greeting is a kind of covenant. Parts of different bodies where נפש is particularly active touch each other. To this same covenant often belongs kissing and rubbing noses. Not unusual is the shedding of tears.¹ The Old Testament offers instances where tears are shed in greeting.²

נפש — the carrier of emotions and animal instincts.

Examples have been given above showing that נפש was conceived of as the potency on which life depended. Being thus the essential element in man, נפש was supposed to be the carrier or subject of emotions and animal instincts.

נפש experiences emotions and what is in the mind

Ex. XXIII: 9

ואתם ידעתם את-נפש הגר For you know the *soul* of the stranger.

———— is bitter, troubled and feels sorrow

Judges XVIII: 25

מרי נפש .. bitter of *soul*

Job X: 1

במר נפשי .. in the bitterness of my *soul*

Job XXVII: 2

המר נפשי .. who hath (made my *soul* bitter) vexed my *soul*

¹ Frazer, 'Folk-Lore in the Old Testament, II,' pp. 82—93.

² Gen. XLV: 2, 14 sqq. XLVI: 29; I Sam. XX: 41.

————— feels delight

Ps. LXXXVI: 4

שמח נפש עבדך Rejoice the *soul* of thy servant.

————— likes, feels sympathy

Isa. XLII: 1

רצתה נפשי .. in whom my *soul* delighteth

Cant. III: 1—4; I: 7

שאהבה נפשי .. whom my *soul* loveth

————— longs for

Ps. XLII: 2

נפשי תערנ אלך אלהים My *soul* longeth for Thee, o God.

————— is nauseated, loathes

Num. XXI: 5

נפשנו קצה בלחם הקלקל .. and our *soul* loatheth this light bread

————— is delighted in good things (food)

Isa. LV: 2

ותתעננ בדרשן נפשכם .. and let your *soul* delight itself in fatness

————— feels a desire to eat

Deut. XII: 20

כי־תאווה נפשך לאכל בשר .. because thy *soul* longeth to flesh

Mi, VII: 1

אֹתָהּ נִפְשִׁי .. my *soul* desired (of the firstripe fruit)

————— feels hunger and thirst

Isa. XXIX: 8

וְרִיקָה נִפְשׁוֹ .. his *soul* is hungry
נִפְשׁוֹ שׁוֹקֵקָה .. his *soul* is thirsty

cf. Akkadian:

šigi napištija lā taplahu 'The anger of my *soul* thou didst not fear.'¹

נפש Referring to the whole of the being.

a) **נפש** provided with a suffix.

In full accordance with all that has been said is the fact that when **נפש** is provided with a suffix, it refers to the person's self and thus is the equivalent of a personal or reflexive pronoun. This, however, is true with certain limitations. Many scholars misunderstand this characteristic of the term and attempt to represent **נפשי**, **נפשך**, **נפשו** etc., 'my 'נ'; 'your 'נ'; etc., by 'I', 'you', etc. In most of these cases it is important to refer to the essential meaning of the word.²

Two examples show what an indiscriminate translation by the English personal pronoun of **נפש** with a suffix leads to.

Cant. V: 6

נִפְשִׁי יָצָאָה בְּדַבְרֵי

has caused difficulties to the commentators because of the use of **נפש** in it. Johnson comments on this passage as follows: "A.V. 'my soul failed when he spake. 'R.V. 'My soul had failed me

¹ K 2852 + K 9662 I 31.

² Ges.-B., *sub voce*.

(mgn.: Heb. *went forth*) when he spake.' This is taken to mean (in line with the renderings of EVV) that the speaker had fainted when she heard her lover's voice. Cf., for example, A. Harper, C.B. (1920) *in loc.* On the other hand, however, we may not dismiss too readily the view (sponsored by F. Hitzig, K.e.H. (1855), *in loc.*) that the consonantal text of the last word should be associated with the Arabic *dabara* e.g. IV, 'to turn back;' for this seems to fit the context much better than the foregoing traditional interpretation, if we then take the sentence as a whole to mean 'I myself went out on his turning back.'¹

Whatever the expression נפשי יצאה is supposed to mean in this context, the word, without doubt, stands for the *soul*, not for the girl as a whole.

In the language נפש is the subject of emotions and animal instincts, but not of physical actions as far as the whole person is concerned. It has already been mentioned that נפש was a pre-requisite for life, and life includes all kinds of motion. This way of employing נפש seems to be very comprehensible. In the time of primitive man science had not yet detected the connection between the nervous system and physical actions. Once man was in possession of נפש he was able to move, and he did so instinctively and automatically without paying any attention to it. The movement was an evidence of נפש's being in the body. It was however, his body that moved. But emotions and instincts were something different from visible movements. They were felt inwardly, and the subject of the feeling was thought to be נפש. For instance, the *soul* feels hunger and is filled. By eating man fills his *soul*. The body performs the physical act of eating and the *soul* experiences satisfaction when its desire (hunger) is appeased.

Johnson's second example where he wants נפש with a suffix to stand for the personal pronoun in a similar way is

Judges IX: 17

וַיִּשְׁלַךְ אֶת-נַפְשׁוֹ מִנֶּגֶד

"A.V. 'and adventured his life far' (mgn. Heb. 'cast his life')
R.V. 'and adventured his life' (mgn. Heb. 'cast his life before

¹ 'The Vitality of the Individual . . .', p. 20 n. 1.

him'). This is taken to mean (as in E.V.V.) that Gideon hazarded or risked his life, i.e. and thus saved the people of Shechem from the Midianites (vide comm., *in loc.*); but a more likely meaning appears to be that he achieved this result because, as we should say, 'he flung himself to the fore.'"¹

The same holds true of this instance as above.

Johnson takes

Job XXX: 25

אם-לא בכיתי לקשה-יום
ענמה נפשי לאביון

to show the "poetic parallelism" in which such a form as discussed above "is balanced by another form with a corresponding pronominal element, i.e. a suffix or such as is involved in the inflexion of the verb."

His translation with comment runs:

"Wept I not for him that had a hard time?
Did not my **נפש** grieve for the poor?"

— the second stichos comes very close to meaning,

Did not I personally grieve for the poor
or Did not I myself grieve for the poor?"²

To weep is a visible action — to shed tears, whereas grieving is experiencing an emotion the carrier of which is **נפש**. The poetic parallelism is built up by two phrases expressing the sympathy Job had felt for the unfortunate. The construction of **נפש** with a suffix in the one case and the verbal form in the other may be an instance of some form of poetic licence where the author uses an older way of expression in the second stichos in accordance with the *usus loquendi* based on a conception from maybe older times.

¹ *ibid.*, p. 20 n. 1.

² *ibid.*, p. 20.

b) נפש indicating the individual.

נפש alone was frequently used simply to indicate somebody in possession of the life-giving power. When the Hebrew said נפש he often meant this idea, just as we do with 'somebody';¹ *aliquis*. But, *nota bene*, when it is used in this sense it always stands alone. As soon as it stands before another noun it takes the *status constructus* and is used in the sense *vis*. When the expression is used in the Codes, the thought behind the words is 'anybody' (in possession of the vital force).

It is, therefore, somewhat difficult to see the correctness of those translations which interpret נפש by 'one,' 'one of a kind.' König gives for נפש בהמה (Lev. XXIV:18) 'one of the species cattle.'² Aurelius mentions several passages where he presumes that נפש indicates 'one of a kind.'³

In Lev. XXIV:17

וְאִישׁ כִּי יַכֶּה כָּל-נֶפֶשׁ אָדָם

it is impossible to think of נפש as meaning 'one' (man). נפש here is a part of the whole expression דָּבַחַת נֶפֶשׁ נֶפֶשׁ (*vide p. 27*), and literally translated means: 'if anybody destroys the נפש of somebody' i.e. 'if anybody kills somebody.' The same expression is used in Lev. XXIV:18 where the question is one of killing a cow. The sense of this passage is: 'if anybody kills (destroys the נפש in) an animal, he must give in return *life for life*.' נֶפֶשׁ תַּחַת נֶפֶשׁ. In this later part of the passage נפש has exactly the same sense as in the former: 'a *life for a life*' — the '*life*' of the cow.

In Num. XXXI:46

וְנַפְשׁ אָדָם שֶׁשָׂה עֶשֶׂר אֱלֹהִים

can hardly be thought of as "'one' man." '...and of human *life*' is the correct translation. Here the concern is with human

¹ The English language uses 'body,' 'nobody,' 'somebody,' 'anybody;' the Hebrew uses נפש as representing the whole creature.

² HAW, *sub* נפש; Strack, KKHS I, too, gives the translation: "und wer ein Stück Vieh tot schlägt..."

³ 'Föreställningar i Israel om de döda...', p. 67 sqq.

life in general and נפש is 'the principle of life in human beings;' נפש is here used in the same way as when counting 'per capita.'

Lev. XXII: 11 seems to have been somewhat wrongly understood. נפש קנין is not "'one' slave." The passage runs:

וּכְהֵן כִּי־יִקְנֶה נֶפֶשׁ קִנְיִן כֶּסֶפּוֹ

This means: 'if a priest buy a slave with his money,' but it is not literally יִקְנֶה — buy; נֶפֶשׁ — one; קִנְיִן — slave; כֶּסֶפּוֹ — for his money. נֶפֶשׁ does not belong to קִנְיִן, but the words קִנְיִן כֶּסֶפּוֹ form one expression in this sentence. Ges.-B. gives this expression the meaning "Erwerb des Geldes, gekauft."¹ So in this sentence נֶפֶשׁ means 'somebody,' a 'living being.' קִנְיִן is *status constructus* of קִנְיִן and must consequently be followed by its determining word. He has bought a נֶפֶשׁ as his property. If the words נֶפֶשׁ קִנְיִן belonged together in one expression קִנְיִן must take *status absolutus* (קִנְיִן). In fact Aurelius gives this word in *status absolutus*, but this is not in accordance with the Hebrew text. The correct translation runs: "But if a priest buy any נֶפֶשׁ with his money." It is not 'buys one slave,' but 'buys any נֶפֶשׁ with the purchase of his money.' Consequently the sense of the passage is: "If a priest buy a slave with his money" for, a man whom one buys with the purchase of one's money is the same as a slave. This in any case does not justify the interpretation of נֶפֶשׁ by 'one.'

נֶפֶשׁ can indicate an individual, but it never takes the place of 'one,' 'one of a kind.' It emphasizes the fact that the subject referred to is in possession of vitality and not the 'units' of that vitality. Aurelius seems to have arrived at a false conclusion in declaring (apart from contradicting himself)² that נֶפֶשׁ can also indicate the unit of lifeless things.

¹ sub קִנְיִן; HEL: "Thing got or acquired, acquisition, thing acquired by purchase."

² 'Föreställningar i Israel om de döda . . .,' pp. 67, 68, 68 n. 1.

CHAPTER II

חיה and נפש

When נפש is understood in the way mentioned in the previous chapter the attention of the reader must be drawn to the fact that the term stands for the longer expression: נפש חיה, or נפש החיה. It will be proved that this means literally the 'principle of life,' *vis vitalis*. נפש alone means nothing else than *vis*, a kind of mysterious inexplicable potency. Only when the reference is quite obvious can the limiting definition be dropped and נפש alone represent the whole idea. In the expression נפש (ה) חיה its last part defines the first part to a certain extent. But it also happens that חיה is implied alone representing the whole expression.

Ps. LXXVIII: 50

לא־חשך ממות נפשם
והיתם לדבר הסניר

.. he spared not their נפש from death,
but gave their חיה over to pestilence.

Ps. CXLIII: 3

כי רדף אויב נפשי
וכא לארץ חיתי

For the enemy has persecuted my
נפש, he hath smitten my חיה down to
the ground.

Job XXXIII: 18

יחשך נפשו מני־שחת
והיתו מעבר בשלה

He keepeth back his נפש from the pit,
and his חיה from perishing by the
sword.

Job XXXIII: 22

ותקרב לשחת נפשו
 וחיתו לממתים

Yea, his **נפש** draweth near unto the grave, and his **חיה** to the destroyers.

Job XXXIII: 28

פדה נפשי מעבר בשחת
 וחיתי כאור תראה

(He hath delivered) He will deliver my **נפש** from going into the pit, and my **חיה** shall see the light.

Job XXXVI: 14

תמת כנער נפשים
 וחיתם בקרשים

Their **נפש** dieth in youth, and their **חיה** is among the unclean.

Job XXXIII: 20

וזהמתו חיתו לחם
 ונפשו מאכל תאוה

So that his **חיה** abhorreth bread, and his **נפש** food of desire.

Job XXXVIII: 39

התצוד ללביא טרף וחית
 כפירים תמלא

Wilt thou hunt the prey for the lion or fill the **חיה** of the young lions.

cf. Prov. VI: 30

לא יבזו לנגב כי יגנוב
 למלא נפשו כי ירעב

Men do not despise a thief, if he steal to satisfy his **נפש** when he is hungry.

The three last instances show that **חיה** and **נפש** can both imply the carrier of instincts and emotions.¹

Budde comments in his translation of Job XXXIII: 20: "**חיה** ist hier zwar auch Synonym zu **נפש** aber in anderer Bedeutung als v. 18 u.s.w., für Lebenstrieb, Gier, Esslust; ebenso XXXVIII: 39, wo es **נפש** nicht neben sich hat, in der Verbindung **חיה מלא** wofür Jer. XXXI: 25, Prv. VI: 30 **נפש מלא**—"²

¹ cf. *supra*, p. 33 sqq.

² HAT II₁.

Budde's comment deviates from the leading idea in this work. **נפש** is not 'Lebenstrieb, Gier, Esslust;' it is the active potency in these instincts.

חיה (ה) חיה the full expression for vis vitalis.

Where **חיה** appears in the Old Testament in connection with **נפש** it has been taken as an adjective. Koehler,¹ Ges.-B., 'Siegfried und Stade'² class the expression under **חי** as the masc. form of the adjective of which **חיה** forms the fem. But **חיה** in this expression is a noun, though in construction it is the fem. form of **חי**.³ As such it is considered by Fürst and Briggs⁴ too. The former of these scholars deals with the expression **נפש חיה** under **חיה** and he too claims that **חיה** here is a noun.⁵ He draws the attention to the fact that **חיה** is used parallelly with **נפש**.⁶ The above-mentioned suggestion that **נפש** and **חיה** stand, either of them separately, for the whole expression, agrees with this statement and explains the reason for this fact. **חיה** is 'vitaly,'⁷ and since **נפש** is the mysterious power which causes life, **נפש חיה** means literally *vis vitalis*, 'principle of life.' — The same expression is found in Arabic: *nafsu-l-hajāti* (the soul of life).⁸

This circumstance appears more distinctly in Gen. I: 21. The Hebrew way of thinking is more obvious here because **חיה** in this case takes the definite article **החיה**, which emphasizes the use of **חיה** in its quality of a noun. The same can be said of Gen. IX: 10; Lev. XI: 10, 46, where **חיה** takes the definite article in this same expression.

Johnson makes a distinction between **חיה** in Gen. II: 7 and the other cases where it appears in connection with **נפש**. There

¹ LVTL.

² HW.

³ The fem. form is used in other words connected with the idea of vitality, such as **נפש**, **רוח**, and **נשמה**; cf. **ארץ** 'Mutter Erde.'

⁴ JBL XVI, p. 19.

⁵ HChW.

⁶ So also LVTL, sub II **חיה**.

⁷ vide e.g. HAW, sub II **חיה**.

⁸ AEL, sub 'nafsūn.'

he wants it to be an adjective, whereas he declares that here the expression "is used with a collective force to denote creatures of the 'animal' world in the narrow sense, i.e. other than man." In the latter case according to him **חיה** is a noun "(lit. 'living thing', i.e. 'animal')".¹

The instances, however, where **נפש חיה** appears, do not clearly show the reference to the animal world. On the contrary they are distinctly used in the sense given above to the expression: 'principle of life.' There is no point in making a difference in the use of **חיה** in this expression in different cases.

Gen. I: 20

ויאמר אלהים ישרצו המים
שרץ נפש חיה ועוף יעופף
על־הארץ על־פני רקיע
השמים

And God said: The water may push out a swarm of **נפש חיה** and fowl may fly above the earth in the open firmament of the heaven.

Gen. I: 21

ויברא אלהים את־התנינים
הגדלים ואת כל־נפש החיה
הרמשת אשר שרצו המים
למינהם ואת כל־עף כנף
למינהו

And God created the great whales and every **נפש החיה** that moveth which the waters brought forth after their kind and every winged fowl after his kind.

Gen. I: 24

ויאמר אלהים תוצא הארץ
נפש חיה למינה בדמה ורמש
וחית־ארץ למינה

And God said: Let the earth bring forth **נפש חיה** after its kind, cattle and creeping thing and beasts of the earth after its kind.

Gen. I: 30

ולכל רמש על־הארץ
אשר־יכו נפש חיה . . .

..And to every thing that creepeth upon the earth wherein there is **נפש חיה** . . .

Gen. IX: 10

ואת כל־נפש החיה אשר
אתכם בעוף בבהמה ובכל־
חית הארץ אתכם

And God made a covenant with Noah and with all **נפש החיה** that is with you in the fowl, in the cattle, and in every beast of the earth with you.

¹ 'The Vitality of the Individual . . .', p. 23 and n. 2. — cf. HEL, *sub נפש* and Briggs JBL XVI, p. 19.

Gen. IX: 12

אות־הברית אשר אני נתן
ביני וביניכם ובין כל־נפש
חיה אשר אתכם

And God said: This is the

token of the covenant which I make
between me and you and every נפש
חיה that is with you.

Gen. IX: 15

ווכרתי את־בריתי אשר ביני
וביניכם ובין כל־נפש חיה
בכל־בשר

And I will think of my covenant
between me and between you and
between all נפש חיה in any flesh.

Gen. IX: 16

ברית עולם בין אלהים ובין
כל־נפש חיה בכל־בשר אשר
על־הארץ

An eternal covenant between God
and any נפש חיה in any flesh that is
upon earth.

Lev. XI: 10

וכל אשר אין־לו סנפיר
וקשקשת בימים ובנחלים
מכל שרץ המים ומכל נפש
החיה אשר במים שקץ הם
לכם

And all that have not fins and scales
in the seas, and in the rivers, of all
that move in the waters, and of any
נפש החיה which is in the water, they
shall be an abomination unto you.

Lev. XI: 46

ואת תורת הכהמה והעוף וכל
נפש החיה הרמשת במים
ולכל־נפש השרצת על־הארץ

This is the law of the cattle and of
the fowl, and of every נפש החיה that
moveth in the water, and of every
נפש that creepeth upon the earth.

Ezek. XLVII: 9

והיה כל־נפש חיה אשר־
ישרץ ...

And it shall be that every נפש חיה
which moveth

As for this same expression in Gen. II: 19

וכל אשר יקרא־לו האדם נפש חיה הוא שמו:

all commentators are of the opinion that it must be a later addition to the context which increases the difficulties of giving a good translation of this passage.

In Gen. IX: 12, 15 and 16 it is hard to realize why נפש חיה should refer to animals only. Noah was not the only human sur-

vivor of the Great Flood.¹ Having saved those whom he wanted to save God made a covenant with all of them, men and animals.

In Gen. I: 30; IX: 10, 15, and 16 it is clear that נפש (ה) חיה refers to the vital principle in a creature.

The translation of נפש (ה) חיה as 'living creature' is justified in the rest of the passages mentioned as a free interpretation. But the Hebrew thought behind the words is: the 'vital force,' 'the principle of life' taken as a whole for the living being.²

Pedersen describes how the whole of man is *soul*, how this potency fills every part of him. This leads the author — according to the conception of his time — to say 'and man became a נפש חיה,' although this means the active power in man which enlivens him. "The body is the soul in its outward form."³

¹ cf. Gen. VI: 18; VII: 1, 7, 13; VIII: 16, 18.

² In Gen I: 24 and IX: 10 וחיות הארץ; וחיות הארץ חיה may refer to 'vitality': 'any vitality on earth,' meaning in plants or anything living. — The present author hopes to deal with this interesting problem in an article to be published in the near future.

³ 'Israel... I,' p. 171 sqq.

CHAPTER III

𐤎𐤍 has never meant a part of the body.

Another translation given to 𐤎𐤍 is 'throat' or 'neck'. This interpretation of the word has been suggested only in Akkadian, Hebrew and Ugaritic. The first language in which this sense of NPŠ has been suggested was Akkadian.¹ Holma describes how the sense of the term has been developed from its meaning of 'life' to that of 'throat,' the throat being the part of man in which he is most easily mortally wounded.² But this constitutes no reason for the adoption of the suggested meaning. It is as easy to strike a man in the heart with a sword as to cut through his bronchial passage. Dhorme inspired by this new interpretation of the Akkadian *napištu* tried to trace the same sense in the Hebrew 𐤎𐤍. He too allows the sense 'throat' to be developed from *soul*: "l'âme, souffle vital et principe de vie" as being "l'organe par excellence d'où sort le souffle vital, le canal de respiration, à savoir la gorge et plus spécialement la partie visible de la gorge, le cou."³ After Dhorme, Dürr⁴ and Weill⁵ have added to the list of instances where the word might be translated in this way.

Dürr, however, makes objections against the presumption that 'throat' may be taken as the secondary sense of NPŠ. "Das ursprüngliche ist, wie auch H. Holma, Körperteile 41, annimmt

¹ Jensen, KB III₁, p. 143 n. °

² 'Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen,' p. 41.

³ 'L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps...' p. 19.

⁴ ZATW 1925, N.F. 2, p. 262 sqq.

⁵ ZATW 1926, N.F. 3, pp. 62—63.

und wie die einzelnen Uebergänge vom physischen zum geistigen Hunger und Durst der *nepes* usw. zeigen, die rein sinnliche Bedeutung = Gurgel, Kehle, dann Hals. Von hier aus tritt der "Atem" in die Erscheinung, die Kehle ist das Organ, darum *napištu* = Atem. Der Atem aber ist dem Altorientalen das Prinzip des Lebens, so wird dann *napištu* = Atem auch das Lebensprinzip und der Träger aller niedrigen Lebensfunktionen."¹

As regards the Ugaritic text, which has not been known for more than about twenty years, this interpretation has been a help, when the sense has been difficult to arrive at.² Finally Johnson, relying upon these translations agrees with Dürr in seeing "reason to believe that the original meaning of NPŠ was 'throat' or 'neck'." He is ready to understand "a transition in meaning to that of 'breath' (if this be the true sequence) . . . even though there be no certain example of its use in this way."³ Johnson has pointed out that in "Israelite thought psychical functions have close physical associations," which circumstance motivates the interpretation of נפש by 'throat.'⁴ But when the idea of *soul* is ascribed to primitive mind, it is presupposed that this is thought of as something material, a 'soul-stuff.'⁵

Some of the instances which have been taken to prove the meaning of *napištu* to be 'throat' will suffice to show the error in this way of understanding the word.

In CT. XVII. 9 the parts of the human body which are especially vulnerable to demons and evil spirits are enumerated. Regarding these a striking parallel can be found in the removing of Ištar's ornaments on her descent to the nether regions — almost the same parts being considered — and the same order of vulnerability being observed.

¹ ZATW 1925, N.F. 2, p. 269. — If the present author has understood Holma correctly, he is not of the same opinion as Dürr as regards the sequence of the meanings of the word, cf. *supra*.

² Gordon, 'Texts in Transliteration,' 67: I: 7; Albright, BASOR 83, 1941, p. 41 and n. 15.

³ 'The Vitality of the Individual . . .,' p. 11.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 9.

⁵ cf. *supra*, p. 23.

CT XVII. 9	Ištar's descent (CT XV 45—48; KAR Nr 1	
(IV R 29 Nr 2)	and p. 321) Obv.	
<i>qaqqadu</i>	1.42 <i>agû</i>	<i>qaqqadu</i>
	(crown)	(head)
<i>napištu</i>	1.45 <i>insabāte</i>	<i>uznā</i>
	(rings)	(ears)
<i>kišādu</i>	1.48 <i>erimmāte</i>	<i>kišādu</i>
	(necklace)	(neck)
<i>irtu</i>	1.51 <i>dudināte</i>	<i>irtu</i>
	(breast ornaments)	(bosom)
<i>qablu</i>	1.54 <i>šibbu aban alādi</i> ...	<i>qablē</i>
	(girdle with birth stones ¹)	(hips)
<i>qātu</i>	1.57 <i>šemirē</i>	<i>qātē ū šēpē</i>
	(bracelets)	(hands and feet)
<i>šēpu</i>	1.60 <i>šubat balti</i>	<i>zumru</i>
	(cloth for pudendum)	(body)

No mention is made of Ištar's garments so it must be supposed that she was dressed only in those ornaments, which can be



Clay figurine. Andrae, 'Die Archaischen Ischtar-Tempel in Assur', picture 39, p. 54.

¹ "Les 'pierres d'accouchement' étaient évidemment portées comme un talisman destiné à procurer aux femmes des couches faciles." Fossey, 'La magie Assyrienne...', p. 110.

considered as some form of amulets, *i.e.* she had only protected those parts of the body which were considered to be vulnerable to attack by evil spirits.¹ In every case the parts in the two enumerations are equal. Thus it can be concluded that *napištu* and *uznā* refer to the same regions. In CT. XVII. 9 the most apparent regions of *napištu* are aimed at and in the story of Ištar the 'ears' stand for those easily hurt parts.

In 'Maqlû'² the same parts of the human body appear again. Here different deities are enumerated as protecting the vulnerable parts of the body:

qaqqadu

pānu (corresponds to *napištu*. In the text only *pa* remains, but the complete word, almost with certainty, is *pa-[ni-ja]*).

kišādu

idā

zumru

irtu

šēpā

In CT XVII. 20—21, 80 *sqq.* (IV R 3b 9 *sqq.*) are mentioned the parts of a sick person's body that are to be bound. These are given in the same order: *qaqqadu*, *kišādu*, *napištu*, *mešrēti*.³

In Be, A vol. VI (1) Nr. 84,3 *sqq.*

6 *šiqil hurāšim ša uznīša* (4) 1 *šiqil hurāšim ša pāni napšātiša* (*na-ap-ša-ti-ša*).⁴

it is rather obvious that *napšāti* cannot stand for 'throat.' One person cannot have many throats. Holma *loc. cit.* explains *napšātiša* as *sg.*: *napšatu* — a parallel-form of *napištu*. Schorr suggests here 'nostrils' (Nasenlöcher).⁵

¹ cf. Van Buren, OrNS XIV, (1945) p. 23.

² 'Die Assyrische Beschwörungssammlung 'Maqlû' neu bearb. v. G. Meier, Tafel VI, 11. 1—8 p. 41.

³ Here *napištu* may be used to abbreviate the text as *mešrēti* (the members) covers more than one part (hands and feet). cf. *infra*, p. 50—51.

⁴ *vide infra* p. 51.

⁵ 'Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden...', II, p. 81; — Delitzsch, in 'Handel und Wandel in Altbabylonien,' suggests "Brust," but queries it. (p. 55 n. 58).

In the enumerations quoted above it is easily established that the other parts of the body are mentioned by their proper names. Only the anterior part of the head including the ears furnish any variation in expression: *pānu* (face), *uznu* (ear), and *napištu*. Besides it seems awkward to conceive of a separate enumeration of the front and the back of the neck as far as binding them is concerned, and the inside of the neck, the throat, cannot be bound. It is tempting from this to arrive at the conclusion that *qaqqadu*¹ stands for the back of the head, and that *napištu* in these cases refers to the anterior part of it. But this must be understood indirectly.²

In the illustrations (pp. 48, 51 and 55) the parts mentioned in the quoted texts are emphasized. Without doubt this has been done intentionally.

When *napištu* indicates the 'eyes,' 'nose,' 'mouth,' 'ears' or the whole face it refers to *napištu* in the sense it has been shown to hold, the *vis vitalis*. The particular organ which is named is mentioned as one of the corporeal parts in which the function of *napištu* is especially perceived. *Napištu* is not used in the sense of 'nose,' 'ears,' 'mouth' or 'eyes,' but as referring to the potency in the function of these organs, which are the organs of four of the senses. Thus *napištu* is never the word for a particular part of the body, but for the potency acting in this part.

It is striking that *napištu* when used thus only implied the anterior part of the head including the ears. The only explanation of this fact can be that the other parts enumerated are connected with copulation and childbirth. Hands and feet are thought to be especially sensitive. But in the function of

¹ The part of the head covered by hair, since the hair, containing much of the 'soul-stuff', (cf. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose I*, p. 161 sqq.) is especially vulnerable to evil spirits.

² (IV R 3b 9 sqq.) Fossey, in 'La magie Assyrienne.', translates line 11, *na-piš-ta-šu ru-kus-ma* (p. 218) "lie son corps" (p. 219) but on p. 466 he comments on this passage: "*napištu* designe proprement l'âme, et par suite la personne; peut-être aussi n'est-ce qu'un euphémisme pour désigner le membre viril, en sumérien ZI-PA-GIRI, vie-bâton-fondement." — This suggestion corresponds to the Arabic use of *nafsun* for *pudendum*. (vide AEL, *sub voce*.)



Andrae, 'Die Archaischen Ishtar-Tempel in Assur,' Pl. 28 c.

the organs of the other senses the action of *napištu* is more striking.

This explains the plural of *napištu* in BE,A Vol. VI (1) Nr. 84, 3 sqq.¹

'6 shekels gold on her ears and a total of 1 shekel gold on the rest of the organs for the senses.'

In this case it can be the eyes. To the eyes was ascribed a quite special power, and this is probably why in the pictures this organ is always most emphasized.² As Pedersen remarks, the word רִאָה — 'to see,' implies not only the function of the eyes, but practically any sensory function; heat, for example, was 'seen,' as were hunger and death.³

¹ *vide supra*, p. 49.

² *cf. infra*, p. 31, 'evil eye.'

³ 'Israel . . . I,' p. 100.

As for the medical text in K 191 II 27, where Kūchler suggests as the translation of *napištu* 'rectum,' or better 'throat,' this interpretation of the word need not be considered the only possibility.¹ *šāru*, by which word Kūchler understands "der Krankheitswind" is, of course, the evil spirit which has caused a disease. But spirits were supposed to be able to enter and leave a body by other ways too.

Baldensperger tells of a woman who "was struck dumb by terror, and ran into the house, but could show only by signs that something extraordinary had happened. Immediately a sheikh from Saknet Abu Darwish, near by, was fetched, who brought his sacred books — ghost-books — and, to begin with, administered a severe flogging to the patient; then, burning incense all the time, he began questioning — 'Who art thou?' (Ghost) (*out of the woman*) 'A Jew.' 'How cam'st thou hither?' 'I was killed on the spot.' 'Where art thou come from?' 'I am from Nablūs.' 'When wast thou killed?' 'Twelve years ago.' 'Come forth of this woman!' 'I will not.' 'I have fire here and will burn thee.' 'Where shall I go out?' 'From the little toe.' 'I would like to come out by the eye, by the nose, *etc.*' After long disputing, the ghost with a terrible shake of the body and the leg, fled by the toe."²

Another story is told by Curtiss: A young woman was possessed by an evil spirit. A "holy man commanded the spirit to come out of her. He replied, 'I will come out of her head.' 'But if you do,' said the holy man, 'you will break her head.' 'Then,' said the spirit, 'I will come out from her eye.' 'No,' said the holy man, 'you will destroy it.' At last he proposed to come out of her toe and this was permitted."³

Josephus once saw "Eleazar draw out a malignant demon by holding a ring under the nose of the possessed man, under the seal of which was one of the roots recommended by Solomon. By these means, with magical incantations, he drew out the evil demon through the man's nostrils."⁴

¹ 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Assyrisch-Babylonischen Medizin,' p. 91,

² PEF, 1893, p. 214, (Thompson, 'Semitic Magic...', p. 105.)

³ 'Primitive Semitic Religion to-day,' p. 152.

⁴ 'Antiquitatum Iudaicarum epitoma,' VIII § 46—49 (p. 98, l. 5 sqq.)
— English translation by Thompson, 'Semitic Magic...', p. 106.

Among the Assyrians mere glancing at a dead body could require a purifying ceremony. This is clear from a ritual tablet published by Zimmern:

"When a man looketh upon a corpse and the spirit (*etimmu*) seizeth upon him...

Thou must sanctify the dwelling (?), lay down *upuntu-meal*....."¹

Thus the spirit could enter through the eyes by the man glancing at the corpse.

Doughty tells of a man who intended to descend a well: "They stopped his ears with cotton (lest the demons, by those ingates, should enter into the man)."²

Furthermore the attention must be drawn to the very general practice of closing the eyes of the dead. The Jews do not only close the eyes, they also put a potsherd on each of the eyes of the dead.³ This last mentioned custom has been explained as a means of preventing the dead from finding their way back to the living.⁴ It has, however, also been regarded as a preventive against the passage of a spirit through the eyes.⁵

These instances will suffice to prove that the medical text⁶ does not necessitate the translation of *napištu* by 'throat.' The word here is taken in the same sense as in the examples mentioned above.

Further evidence for *napištu* as 'throat' Dürr finds in expressions for killing.⁷ The generally acknowledged translation of *parû* resp. *purru'u napišta* by "das Leben jemandes abschneiden" does not satisfy him. He takes instances such as

Sanherib Prisma (I R 37—42) V 60:

šiltahu pari' napšāte

and

¹ 'Ritualtafeln...', p. 164, Nr. 52. — English translation by Thompson, 'Semitic Magic...', p. 26.

² 'Arabia Deserta II' p. 190.

³ Bodenschatz, 'Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden...', IV, p. 174.

⁴ Frazer, JAI XV, p. 71.

⁵ Bertholet, 'Die israelitischen Vorstellungen vom Zustande nach dem Tode,' p. 3 and n. 3.

⁶ *vide supra* p. 52.

⁷ ZATW, 1925, N.F. 2, p. 264.

V R 9,85:

ina usšišu zaqti uparri' napištim

and he is of the opinion that "damit kann nur die Gurgel oder der Hals gemeint sein."

As a proof of this interpretation of the mentioned passages he refers to the pictures in Meissner's work (Bd. I Taf. Abb. 55) where the spear or arrow according to him always seems to be in the throat. "Always," however, is exaggerated, for only one of the men in the picture Dürr refers to seems to have a spear in his throat.

A most peculiar way of trying to convince the reader of the meaning 'throat' in such cases as this is his dealing with Enūma eliš IV 31, where Marduk in the assembly of gods "bei seiner Belehrung mit dem Schwerte den Auftrag erhält: *a-lik-ma nap-šá-tu-uš pu-ru'-ma* d.h. Geh, der Tiamat schlag den Hals ab! Dagegen spricht nicht, dass Marduk nachher tatsächlich den Leib der Tiamat mit dem gewaltigen Speere zerteilte." ¹

Against this it may be remarked that in the Old Testament are found instances of killing by thrusting of a sword through the abdomen. ²

Without doubt the expression mentioned by Dürr must be compared with the Hebrew פ' הכה פ' נפש ³.

The expression *kunuk napišti* (KB VI(1)46 Rev. 3.6.) is not "Halssiegel." The other suggestion Holma offers is more in accordance with what has been said above: "Talisman, Amulett." ⁴ The expression did not originate, as has been supposed, from the wearing of the seal around the neck. ⁵

The comparison with *kunuk kišādi* or *aban kišādi* ⁶ is no evidence for *napištu* meaning 'throat.' Dürr remarks that

¹ Heidel, 'The Babylonian Genesis,' p. 37, translates correctly: "Go and cut off the life of T'amat."

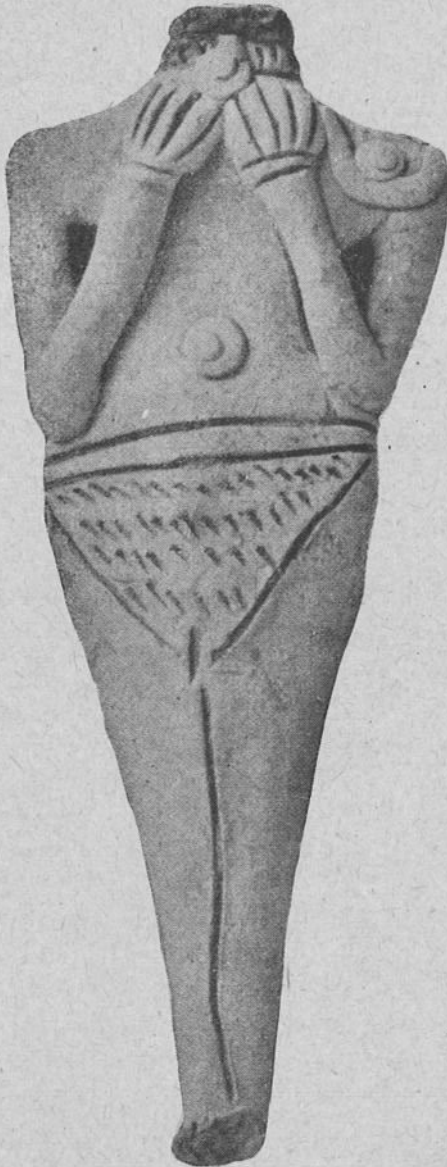
² II Sam. II: 23; III: 27; XX: 10.

³ *vide supra*, p. 27.

⁴ 'Die Namen der Körperteile . . .', p. 41.

⁵ Holma, *op. cit.*, p. 41, suggests a comparison with *kunuk kišādi*, "Halssiegel."

⁶ Dürr, ZATW, 1925, N.F. 2, p. 263, suggests the comparison with *aban kišādi*.



Clay figurine. Andrae, 'Die Archaischen Ischtar-Tempel in Assur,' picture 42, p. 55.

everybody knows how the Akkadians carried the seal and says that the circumstance of its being hung on the neck is enough to justify the interpretation of *napištu* in this connection by

'throat,' 'neck.'¹ But, although 'kunukku' is a seal, usually an inscribed stone, not every stone is a 'kunukku.' Hence, if 'abnu' (stone) cannot take the sense of 'kunukku' still less can *napištu* take the sense of *kišādu* (throat).

The ancient Assyrians believed in a countless number of demons and evil spirits, and they ascribed the origin of all accidents to them. Therefore everybody had to guard against them. One of the ways of protecting oneself against these dangerous potencies was the wearing of amulets, which seems to have been common in all layers of Assyrian society.² And apparently *kunuk napišti* was among these protective charms. — "Zauberzeichen" are signs and pictures carved into things or other surfaces, and supposed to have power to inflict harm or good upon a certain person or animal or even upon a thing.³

Fossey describes the 'seals' as being engraved in hard stone and he is of the opinion that if these cylinders were used as seals this was a secondary and derived usage.⁴

The above explains the differing expressions for apparently the same thing.

aban kišādi: a stone on the neck used as a phylactery.

kunuk kišādi: a stone furnished with some inscription worn round the neck and used as an amulet.

kunuk napišti: an inscription to ward off evil spirits.⁵

It must also be mentioned that *napištu* is not met with in the XV:th Tablet of the Series HAR-ra = *hubullu* where the parts of the body are enumerated. This fact shows that the Akkadians did not conceive of *napištu* as a part of the body.

Neither can the suggested translation of the Ugaritic *npš* by 'throat' be considered correct.

67:I:7

1. 6lyrt

1. 7 *bnpš . bn ilm . mt.*

¹ ZATW, 1925, N.F. 2, p. 263.

² Tallqvist, 'Maqlû,' pp. 19—20.

³ Haltsonen, KA II, 'Suomalaisista taikamerkeistä,' p. 2, and Reference, p. 1.

⁴ 'La magie Assyrienne...', p. 108 sqq.

⁵ cf. *infra*, p. 66.

Gordon translates this sentence: "thou shalt indeed go down into the throat of the god Môt."¹

This is again an instance where *npš* must be referred to one of the groups into which the activities of NPŠ in the body can be divided. *npš* is here the willing and deciding element in the body; one of the qualities ascribed to the *soul*. The translation of the passage, as will be suggested here, runs: 'Thou shalt be at the mercy of the god Môt.'

— Anat was threatened by death
'Because thou didst smite Lôtân, the writhing serpent
Didst destroy the crooked serpent

— — — — —

Verily thou shalt go down to the mercy of the God Môt.
(thou shalt depend on his will.)²

cf. the corresponding use of נפש in Hebrew:

Gen. XXIII: 8

אִם־יִשׁ אַתְּ־נַפְשְׁכֶם If it be your mind

Deut. XXI: 14

וּשְׁלַחְתָּהּ לַנֶּפֶשׁ .. then thou shalt let her go whither
she will

II Kings IX: 15

אִם־יִשׁ נַפְשְׁכֶם If it be your mind

Jer. XXXIV: 16

אֲשֶׁר־שַׁלַּחְתֶּם חַפְשִׁים
לַנֶּפֶשׁ .. whom ye had set at liberty at their
pleasure

Ps. XXVII: 12

אֶל־חַתְּנֵי כֹנֶפֶשׁ צָרִי Deliver me not over unto the will of
mine enemies.

¹ 'A comprehensive Translation ...' p. 38. — Albright, BASOR 83, 1941, p. 41, translates the same passage: "Verily I have (already) gone down into the throat of Death, son of the Gods."

² 67: I: 1—7.

In Hebrew Dhorme suggests that Jonah in II: 6 uses **נפש** in the sense of 'throat.' When Jonah cries out **אפפוני מים עד-נפש** according to Dhorme he is saying: "les eaux m'ont environné jusqu'à la gorge."¹ Johnson, too, is of this opinion and he renders the passage

"Water encompassed me up to the neck (**עד-נפש**)
The deep surrounded me.
Reeds were entwined about my head."

He compares this verse to

Ps. LXIX: 2

הושיעני אלהים כי באו	Save me, O God; for the waters are
מים עד-נפש	come עד-נפש

At the same time Johnson expresses his doubt whether a similar interpretation is warranted in the case of

Ps. CXXIV: 4, 5²

v. 4

אזי המים שטפוני נחלה	Then the waters had overwhelmed
עבר על-נפשנו	us, the stream had gone over נפשנו

v. 5

אזי עבר על-נפשנו המים	Then the proud waters had gone over
הזרונים	נפשנו

Regarding Jonah, if **נפש** is to be supposed to refer to a part of the body it is hard to see why it should be 'throat' or 'neck.' This interpretation can only have originated in the translations of the Akkadian texts mentioned. When the water encompasses someone up to the throat it is not as dangerous as when the water reaches the mouth; then life is in danger. In verse 8 **נפש** is used in the sense of *soul*. The translation of **נפש** in v. 6 by 'neck' and in v. 8 by *soul* seems awkward.

Jonah tells how his life was in danger by the encompassing water and how the reeds were entwined about his head. And when his *soul* (**נפש**) was pining away he thought of God.

¹ 'L'emploi métaphorique des noms...', p. 19.

² 'The Vitality of the Individual...', p. 10 and n. 3.

Thus by **נפש** the reference is not to the 'mouth' either, but to the *soul*, which was in danger. Water encompassed Jonah up to his *soul* since he was near drowning.

The same can be said about Ps. LXIX: 2. It is somewhat hard to see why Johnson hesitates to understand **נפש** in Ps. CXXIV: 4, 5 in the same way as in the passages already mentioned. Ps. CXXIV: 4, 5 are similar to the other instances where Johnson considers 'throat' to be the correct translation. It seems as if they ought all to be interpreted in the same way. **נפש**, however, takes the sense of *soul* in them all.

The same sense 'throat' Johnson accepts also for

Isa. V: 14

לכן הרחיבה שאול נפשה ופערה פיה לבלרחק	Sheol hath widened its throat and opened its mouth without limit. ¹
--	---

cf. Hab. II: 5

. אשר הרחיב כשאול נפשו והוא כמות ולא ישבע

In these two examples **נפש** must be understood neither as 'mouth' nor as 'throat.' It is taken in the sense of the carrier of physical instincts and emotions and refers to the *soul* as the feeler of the appetite. The *soul* (as the feeling potency) makes room for more food; the *soul* makes itself wider in order to be able to swallow 'without limit.'

In this connection it is advisable to suggest a comparison with the Ugaritic

127: 11

<i>npšh . llhm . tptḥ</i>	"His appetite she opens to eat." ²
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npš is here used in the same way as **נפש** in Hab. II: 5

In addition to the examples mentioned above Johnson accepts the translation of **נפש** by 'throat' or 'neck' in Job XLI: 13; Ps. CV: 18; Prov. XXIII: 7 a; Jer. IV: 10 and ("with some hesitation") Ezek. XXIV: 21, 25.

¹ *ibid.* p. 10.

² 'A Comprehensive Translation,' p. 81. — *tptḥ* probably here in the sense of 'prepare.'

It can be of interest to glance at these instances.

Job XLI: 12—13

מנחריו יצא עשן כדוד נפוח ואנמן	Out of his nostrils cometh smoke, like a pot that is heated and 'aboil'
נפשו נחלים תלהט ולהב מפיו יצא	His נפש setteth coals ablaze, and a flame cometh out of his mouth.

The accepted rendering of **נפש** in this context is 'breath.'

Johnson, however, considers that "the reference to 'mouth' in the parallel stichos (as in Isa. V. 14, above) suggests that **נפש** may well have the meaning 'throat.'"¹ As for this suggestion it can only be said that it constitutes a problem as to how 'the throat' could 'set coals ablaze.' Briggs renders this passage: "his passion or fury kindleth coals," classing the use of **נפש** in the group where **נפש** is considered to be the subject of the emotions and passions.² Briggs' remark that "we should hardly look for a primitive meaning of a word in such a passage" is superfluous. The interpretation he gives seems to come nearest the original thought. His **נפש** kindles the coals through the wind which arises by his passionated breathing. *Nota bene*, the soul (**נפש**) is the factor which causes the breathing.

Ps. CV: 18

ענו בכבל רגליו ברזל באה נפשו

Whatever Joseph might have wished to do, the fulfilment of his desire was held in constraint, since he was bound with iron fetters. Thus his body and his *soul* were chained.³

Prov. XXIII: 7 a

כי כמו־שער כנפשו כן הוא

For this example Johnson refers to Weill without giving any comment of his own. Apparently he is ready to accept the interpretation given by this scholar.⁴ Weill, very much im-

¹ 'The Vitality of the Individual . . .,' p. 11, n. 2.

² JBL, 1897, XVI, p. 30.

³ Schmidt (HbAT) comments that **נפש** in this passage is taken in its *original* sense of 'throat.'

⁴ 'The Vitality of the Individual . . .,' p. 10, n. 3.

pressed by the result Dürr has obtained, adds this instance to the list advanced by the latter. He condemns the general translation as a "pis-aller" and in changing **שַׁעַר** to **שֵׁעַר** ("hair")¹ he suggests: "la ladrerie de l'avare, c'est comme un cheveu dans la gorge."²

The text seems to be corrupt, making it difficult to give an accurate translation.³ Weill's interpretation, based on the Egyptian Hieratic Papyri (the 'Doctrine of Amen-em-ope'), is not convincing. Ges.-B. accepts the reading **כַּם וְשֵׁעַר** (Syr. *kām*) and renders it: "selbstsüchtig u. berechnend ist er."⁴ In HEL it is written

כְּמוֹ-שֵׁעַר בְּנַפְשׁוֹ בֶן הוּא

and translated: "as he has calculated in his soul, so is he." It is, however, considered dubious in the dictionary.⁵

Gressmann⁶ gives the Hebrew and the translation of the Egyptian text side by side.

c. 11

- | | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|--|
| 23 ₆ | אֵל תִּלְחַם אֶת־לֶחֶם רַע עֵין | a | Sei nicht gierig nach der Habe eines geringen Mannes |
| | וְאֵל תִּתְאוּ לִמְטַעַמְתּוֹ | b | und sei nicht hungrig nach seinem Brote. |
| 23 ₇ | כִּי כְמוֹ (שֵׁעַר בְּנַפֶּשׁ) כִּן־הוּא | c | Die Habe eines Geringen, die ist ein Unwetter für die Kehle, |
| | (וְכִמוֹ מַר בְּצוֹאֵר) | d | und sie ist bitter (?) für den Hals. |
| | לֵךְ אֶכּוֹל וְשֵׁתָה יֹאמֵר לְךָ | e | Wenn er sie auch mit falschen Eiden erwirbt (?) |
| | וּלְכוּ בְלִעְמָךְ | f | |

¹ cf. BH, note *ad locum*.

² ZATW, 1926, N.F. 3, p. 63.

³ cf. BH, note *ad locum*.

⁴ sub II **שֵׁעַר**.

⁵ sub II **שֵׁעַר**.

⁶ ZATW, 1924, N.F. 1, p. 277.

⁷ In point of fact the Hebrew text in 'd' above was added by Gressmann. No such text existed in the original. (*op. cit.*, note *ad locum*).

There is no reason to believe that **נפש** here means 'throat.' In XXIII:6 **עין רע עין** corresponds to "geringer Mann," and **למעמתיו** to "seinem Brote." Nobody, however, would think of translating the Hebrew expressions by the corresponding ones in the Egyptian context. Apparently **שער בנפש** corresponds to "ein Unwetter für die Kehle." It must be admitted that the present author is unfamiliar with the Egyptian language, and hence cannot dispute whether "Kehle" is the correct rendering of the Egyptian word. But even if this be the case, it constitutes no reason for translating **נפש** by 'throat.' The reading **שער** (storm) makes sense. Thus the translation of the expression would be: 'a storm in his **נפש**.' This agrees very well with the Hebrew conception that **נפש** was the carrier of emotions.

For as '(with) a storm in his **נפש**,' so is he;
 Eat and drink, saith he to thee;
 But his heart is not with thee.

Gressmann omits the suffix of the third person, because he takes **נפש** as referring to the person addressed. But it seems to be correct to conceive of **נפש** as belonging to the person spoken of. Translating the passage in the way suggested, no change of the Hebrew text is called for.

In a note, *ad locum*, Gressmann understands the expression as "wie ein Unwetter in deiner Gier, so ist es (scil. **לחם**)."

Jer. IV: 10

וּנְנֵעָה חֶרֶב עַד־הַנֶּפֶשׁ

The meaning again is that life is endangered. 'The sword reached to the **נפש**' which means: the sword almost made an end of life.

Ezek. XXIV: 21, 25

in v. 21 **מחמל נפשכם**¹
 and in v. 25 **משא נפשכם**

Johnson hesitates to accept 'throat' as the interpretation for **נפש** in these passages. Dürr has here taken up the explanation

¹ Possibly to be read **מחמד**; cf. BH, note *ad locum*.

advanced by Dhorme. Dhorme is of the opinion that since these two words are synonyms **מהמל** must be connected with the Arabic *hamala* (**משא** from the verb **נשא** 'carry; *hamala* means 'carry.') He comes to the conclusion that these two words mean simply: 'what you wear on your neck' *i.e.* ornaments. He compares it to the Akkadian *hurāšu ša pāni napsāti* (the gold which is in front of the throat) and *kunuk napišti* (the seal on the throat). But as has been shown 'throat' was not an adequate translation for *napištu* here.¹ The Hebrew expression is to be understood: 'what is carried upon **נפש**, **נפש** taking the same sense that has been given for the Akkadian expression Dhorme takes as a comparison.²

There is little doubt that **כתי הנפש** in Isa. III: 20 can be interpreted in the same way. Dhorme's explanation is that the breath of flowers was enclosed in the box;³ so also Marti.⁴

Pedersen, too, seems to have come to the conclusion that **כתי הנפש** refers to a kind of amulet,⁵ but wrongly assumes that a "little box or case could be filled with soul, from the strength of which the owner draws."⁶ The difference is very minute but nevertheless exists. The thing was carried because it added security to its wearer since it was a protection for his **נפש**, but it was not a thing which added to the strength.⁷ — It can be mentioned that Dürr wants **כתי הנפש** to mean "Häuschen am Halse." He too, understands it as a kind of amulet, but wants **נפש** in this expression to mean 'neck.'⁸

As regards **נפש** — in this same verse — which has been translated by 'amulet' it does not exclude the same translation for **כתי הנפש**. HEL gives the former the meaning 'charms,' 'amulets worn by women.'⁹ The verb **נפש** means 'whisper,' 'charm,'

¹ *vide supra*, p. 49 sqq. and 56.

² 'L'emploi métaphorique des noms . . .', p. 19; Dürr, ZATW, 1925, N.F. 2, p. 268.

³ 'L'emploi métaphorique des noms . . .', p. 19.

⁴ 'Das Buch Jesaja'; *vide* Orelli, KKHS IV.

⁵ 'Israel . . . I,' p. 515 note to p. 170.

⁶ *op. cit.*, p. 170.

⁷ *cf. infra*, p. 66, 'evil eye.'

⁸ ZATW, 1925, N.F. 2, p. 268.

⁹ *sub voce*.

and has the same sense in Ethiopic.¹ Ges.-B. explains the word: "Amulete, als Bestandteil des Frauenputzes; entw. im allg. Zaubermittel od. ... summende Muscheln." The question here is one of different kinds of amulets. All the ornaments the daughters of Zion were threatened with being deprived of (v. 18—21) had originally been amulets.²

For Isa, XXIX. 8

והיה כאשר יחלם הרעב והנה אוכל והקיץ וריקה נפשו
וכאשר יחלם הצמא והנה שתה והקיץ והנה עין ונפשו שוקקה

cf. Num. XI: 6

ועתה נפשנו יבשה

Dhorme is certain that נפש is implied in the sense of 'throat,' the throat of the hungry one is 'empty' and of the thirsty man it is 'choked.'³

In his effort to show that the original sense of NPS was 'throat' Dürr wants expressions such as נפש רעבה, נפש שקקה to originate in the sensation of the palate.⁴ He takes צרת נפשו⁵ as 'the throat was choked' = 'anguish.' But the word צרה means 'anguish.'⁶ Moreover, if the physical sensation on such occasions is studied the feeling is one of shrinking inwardly rather than what Dürr wants it to be. In this connection it can be asserted that קצר נפש and האריך נפש cannot be taken for the short and long breath in anger and patience. On the contrary, when a person becomes angry his breath is long and deep. These expressions are to be taken so that נפש is long in patience and stands much, but lack of endurance is said to be a shortening of נפש.

¹ LLAe, *sub voce*.

² cf. *supra* p. 49, The gold on *napištu* — as has been mentioned — was not originally an ornament but an amulet protecting a certain part of the body where *napištu* is especially vulnerable.

³ 'L'emploi métaphorique des noms ...,' p. 19.

⁴ ZATW, 1925, N.F. 2, p. 265,

⁵ Gen. XLII: 21.

⁶ צרה is also the fem. form of the adjective צר which means 'narrow.' (*vide* dictionaries) But this sense of the adjective has nothing to do with the 'throat being choked.' "As the happy soul is wide, so the anguished soul is narrow." (Pedersen, "Israel..., I," p. 149)

It has been shown that נפש has always been used in the sense of *soul, vis vitalis*. Whenever it has seemed to stand for a part of the body, its real sense has been traced. Taken as a part of the human being it was not the name for a part of the body, which was already provided with a name of its own.

Why must new senses be invented for a word which has a given meaning! It has been pointed out above that נפש in the sense of *soul* does not refer to an abstract idea.¹ It was an invisible 'soulstuff' which was the bearer of instincts and emotions in the body. Familiarization is necessary with the thought that, in the mind of these peoples, בשר was the abode of נפש and the acting of בשר depended on the will of נפש. נפש governed the body. It was the word for the mysterious incomprehensible potency in man he could not grasp and explain.

Being a word common to all Semitic languages NPŠ must in every interpretation allow its real meaning to be traced.

The translation of NPŠ by 'throat' or 'neck,' as has already been mentioned, has been found in Hebrew and Ugaritic after having allegedly been discovered in Akkadian. It has besides been shown that this translation of NPŠ does not hold good even in this language.

As for the sense of 'breath' for נפש, Johnson mentions that there is "no certain example of its use in this way."²

Though the translation of NPŠ by 'breath' is in opposition to the ideas brought forward in this work it must, however, be admitted that 'breath' could make sense in many cases. It seems absurd to think that 'breath' can be accepted in no case, while the far-fetched 'throat' is tolerated.³

נפש as the *vis vitalis* in the being is thus a part of the living creature. But it is not a part of the body (בשר), which is very clear from the expression נפש and בשר.⁴ This discrimination is very important and all suggestions of interpreting NPŠ by a part of the body must be considered wrong.

¹ *vide supra*, p. 23.

² 'The Vitality of the Individual...', p. 11.

³ *contra* Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁴ Deut. XII: 23; Isa. X: 18.

נפש — a 'potency' not only in the body.

The realm of נפש, however was not confined to the body in which it had its abode. It could exercise its power through the eye, by the glance. The 'evil eye' is in Arabic *nafsun*. Thus the word referring to unlucky happenings is used in a malevolent sense. In this way it is still used by the Arabs. Doughty tells of a young man who "was 'fascinated!' He lamented, 'It is *nefs*, a spirit, which besets me;' and added, this was common in their parts — the work of the hareem, with their sly philters and maleficent drinks. — 'There, there,' he cries, 'I see her wiggle-wiggling! and she is ever before mine eyes. The woman was my wife, but last year I put her away; and am in dread, she has given me a thing to drink; whereof I shall every day fare the worse, whilst I live. The phantom is always in my head, even when I walk abroad, — wellah as we sit here I see her winding and wiggling!' ¹

Canaan mentions *harazat en-nafs* as a special kind of amulet worn against the influence of 'evil-minded potencies' ("Böse Seele"). ²

The only things to be afraid of and for which a charm is allowed are *nimlatun*, *humatun*, and *nafsun*; ³ *nafsun* here obviously taken in the sense of 'something evil-minded,' an 'evil spirit' or the 'evil eye.'

The same holds good for the Ethiopic. According to Dillmann *nafes* is used in the sense of "spiritus coelestes vel daemones." ⁴ *manfas* means "natura incorporalis, angeli, daemones, genii." ⁵

It is not impossible that *napištu* in the expression *kunuk napišti* refers to this same idea. Thus the amulet was a stone furnished with some inscription against the 'evil eye.' ⁶

The same can be said of בתי הנפש. ⁷ Furthermore Prov. XXIII: 2 can be mentioned. The accepted rendering of בעל נפש

¹ '... Arabia Deserta II,' p. 384.

² 'Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel,' p. 127.

³ AEL, sub '*nafsun*.'

⁴ LLAe, sub voce ^{4d}

⁵ *ibid.*, sub voce ⁵

⁶ *vide supra*, p. 56.

⁷ *vide supra*, p. 63.

in this context is "given to greed." ¹ As a matter of fact this may be the simplest way to translate the expression into a European language. **נפש בעל** might conceivably be explained in the following way:

נפש, as the word for anything mysterious and the cause of astonishing phenomena, here stands for an enigmatic 'potency.' This can be understood if a short excursion to Morocco is allowed. Westermarck describes the belief in "spiritual beings" among the Moors who conceive "that if a person eats much without getting satisfied, there are *jnūn* ² in his body sharing the food with him." ³ — Thus **נפש בעל** would literally mean 'possessor of a **נפש**.'

נפש, in the sense of a potency able to exercise influence outside the body to which it belongs, need not always inflict harm.

Gen. XLIV: 30

וּנְפֹשׁוֹ קְשׁוּרָה בְּנַפְשׁוֹ

I Sam. XVIII: 1

וּנְפֹשׁ יְהוֹנָתָן נִקְשְׂרָה בְּנַפְשׁ דָּוִד
וַיֵּאָהֲבוּ יְהוֹנָתָן כְּנַפְשׁוֹ

In the first passage the verb **נפש** is taken in Kal part. pass., and in the other in Niphal which is a passive form too. Nöldeke refers to the Arabic *qasara* = 'to force,' ⁴ and Ges.-B. allows **קשר** in Kal to mean "1) binden, 2) sich verschwören." ⁵ Considering these interpretations of **קשר** nothing prevents understanding the passages mentioned to mean that the **נפש** of the one was 'charmed,' 'fascinated' by the **נפש** of his friend.

cf. also Gen. XXXIV: 3

וּתְדַבֵּק נַפְשׁוֹ בְּדֵינָה
וַיֵּאָהֲבֵה אֶת־הַנֶּעֶר

In this same connection attention can also be drawn to the Arabic word for serpent, *ḥabībun*. Nöldeke seems to be puzzled

¹ vide e.g. LVTL sub **בעל**

² The word (in plur.) in Morocco for those "spiritual beings." Westermarck, 'Ritual and Belief in Morocco I,' p. 262.

³ *ibid.* p. 270.

⁴ ZDMG, 40, 735.

⁵ *sub voce.*

by the fact that the word for this false animal is of the same root as the verb which expresses 'love.'¹ What was mentioned above, however, explains this. Not by chance was the serpent selected among all animals to tempt Eve and cause the fall of man. Among many people the serpent, owing to its shape, lacking arms and feet, is taken for the embodiment of an evil spirit. So folklore has given rise to the story of the fallen angel who, by a spell, was turned into a serpent. *ḥabībun* and *ḥubābun* for 'beloved' and 'serpent' mean in fact the same thing. The beloved is charmed, fascinated, *i.e.* subject to a spell. The serpent also was supposed to be subject to a spell.

"Throughout the Near East, from prehistoric times down to the present day, the inhabitants have been firmly convinced that supernatural beings, to use a general expression, are capable of inflicting grievous hurt upon them and that the maladies and bodily ills to which they are subject are directly due to this baneful power."²

But not only "maladies and bodily ills" were supposed to be caused by those "supernatural beings." Any incomprehensible phenomenon, be it the life in a living creature or be it anything deviating from the normal in man or animal, or in nature, was thought the result of a 'mysterious potency,' a *vis*. Different Semitic languages call these 'spirits' by different names. But the word used for this 'potency' in early Semitic times must be one found in all Semitic languages. NPS̄ seems to be this word.

Seligmann is of the opinion that the conception of the 'evil eye' was transferred from man and animal to supernatural beings such as deities, demons, and ghosts inclined to inflict harm upon man.³ Canaan, on the other hand, makes a distinction between the 'evil eye' and the 'evil soul.'⁴ The present investigation leads to a view deviating from both these theories. The translation of the word NPS̄ by 'evil eye' must originate in the conception that some people were supposed to be

¹ 'Neue Beiträge zur Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft,' p. 89.

² Thompson, 'Semitic Magic . . .,' p. 1.

³ 'Der böse Blick . . .,' p. 149.

⁴ 'Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel,' p. 32.

possessed by a NPŠ which, being evil-minded, could exercise its influence through the eyes, by the glance. Thus NPŠ was a 'universal potency,' if the expression may be allowed.

Rossini gives in his dictionary *mnp/fs*: "instrumentum vel structura ad aquam distribuendam per agros (cf. *tanaffasa diffidit aquam unda.*)"¹ which shows a conception of NPŠ in nature, notably, in water.

¹ ChAG, sub 'np/fs.'

CHAPTER IV

רוח

Now the question may arise: why should נפש be a 'potency' in the sense of a kind of 'spirit,' since the Old Testament mentions different kinds of spirits either possessing a proper name or expressed in connection with רוח, such as

Ex. XXVIII: 3	רוח חכמה
Num. V: 14	רוח־קנאה
I Kings XXII: 22, 23	רוח שקר
Isa. XIX: 14	רוח עוועים
Isa. XXIX: 10	רוח תרדמה
Hos. IV: 12; V: 4	רוח זנונים
Zech. XII: 10	רוח חן ותחנונים
Zech. XIII: 2	רוח הטמאה

As for the spirits with a definite name, it can easily be shown that such names are not common to all Semitic languages, and thus cannot descend from the most remote times.¹

The combinations with רוח need somewhat more detailed study.

The word RWH is found in all Semitic languages except Akkadian,² which leads to the theory that it did perhaps exist in this language at one time, but has been dropped very early on. As a substitute for RWH Akkadian has šāru (wind).

'Siegfried und Stade' indicate the difference between נפש and רוח as being that the former signifies the breathing through

¹ cf. Baudissin, PRE VI, p. 6, Thompson, 'Semitic Magic . . .', p. 1 and *supra* p. 68.

² cf. different dictionaries mentioned, p. 21 n. 2.

the nose whereas the latter stands for the same function through the mouth.¹ Another definition of רוּח given by Snaith runs as follows: "The root r-w-ch, from which the noun is derived, means primarily 'to breathe out through the nose with violence.' It is an onomatopoeic word, similar to *puach* and *naphach*, both of which mean 'to breathe out through the mouth with a certain account of violence,' or even 'to blow out...'"²

If 'the breathing out through the nose' is to be differentiated from 'the breathing out through the mouth' and if the word was originally onomatopoeic, the translation which gives it the sense of 'breathing through the mouth' must be correct. But, on the other hand, in addition to רוּח פה (Ps. XXXIII: 6), נשמת רוּח (חיים) כאפיו (Isa. XI: 4) expressions such as רוּח שפתים (Gen. VII: 22; II Sam. XXII: 16, Ps. XVIII: 16), רוּח אף (Job. IV: 9) are found in the Old Testament, which allows the presumption that the action has taken place through the nose too. Since in Ethiopic the only sense of the word is 'wind'³ and also in several places in the Old Testament it is found to have been used in this sense,⁴ it can be presumed that this was the original sense of the word. It is most probable, therefore, that NPS has the sense already given above, and that the transferred sense in which רוּח has been taken is the gentle wind which arises from breathing.

Relationship between נפש, רוּח and נשמה.

A greatly favoured theory regarding the relationship of the three terms נפש, רוּח and נשמה, is that God's רוּח produces נפש,⁵ causes נשמה.⁶

¹ HW, sub נפש.

² 'The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament,' p. 143.

³ LLAe, sub voce.

⁴ e.g. Ex. X: 13; Isa. XXVII: 8; Ps. XI: 6; CVII: 25; Prov. XXV: 23; Job. I: 19.

⁵ Grüneisen, 'Der Ahnenkultus...', p. 35.

⁶ Aurelius, 'Föreställningar i Israel om de döda...', p. 78.

This conclusion has been drawn from the Creation Story. God formed man, עפר מן האדמה, and from God's breathing into his nostrils man became a נפש חיה.¹ Stade is of the opinion that since this passage is of foreign origin and of more recent date it is no valid proof of the Old Hebrew conception.² But — once incorporated in the legends of the Old Testament the conception put forward there has been accepted, and is also referred to in other places³ such as

Isa. XLII: 5

... האל יהוה .. נתן נשמה לעם ... ורוח להלכים בה

Zech. XII: 1

... יהוה ... ויצר רוח-אדם בקרבו

Job XXVII: 3

כרכל-עוד נשמתי בי ורוח אלוה באפי

Cf. also Ezek XXXVII: 1—14 how by רוח from God the dead bones became alive. The same thought that man's life depended on God's רוח is expressed in

Gen. VI: 3

ויאמר יהוה לא ידון רוحي באדם לעלם

As was already mentioned נשמה has been supposed to be the result of נפש which was caused by God's רוח. According to Grün-eisen נשמה in its sense approaches רוח and נפש.⁴

נשמה occurs rarely in the Old Testament.⁵ It is not met with in Ethiopic, in Akkadian or South-Arabic.⁶ Though in its sense it comes near נפש and רוח it cannot originally have been considered a synonym for any of them. Moreover the combi-

¹ Gen. II: 7.

² 'Geschichte des Volkes Israel I,' p. 416 n. 1.

³ cf. Grüneisen, 'Ahnenkultus...,' p. 35, and Gunkel, 'Schöpfung und Chaos...,' p. 150 sqq.

⁴ 'Ahnenkultus...,' p. 25 n. 2.

⁵ Only a Canaanite, Aramaic and Arabic *isogloss*.

⁶ cf. dictionaries.

nation נשמת רוח is found in several places.¹ It can hardly be a misprint occurring in different authors.

Though instances such as

Jos. XI: 14

וכל שלל הערים האלה
וחבהמה בזוה להם בני
ישראל רק את-כל-האדם
הכו לפי-חרב עדי-השמדם
אותם לא השאירו
כל-נשמה

And all the spoil of these cities and the cattle, the children of Israel took for a prey unto themselves; but every man they smote with the edge of the sword, until they had destroyed them, neither left they any breath.

are found, there are also passages where נשמה is ascribed to animals too; e.g. in the story of the Great Flood all that had נשמת רוח חיים died, including animals.² — If the above-mentioned relationship between the three terms is to be accepted, surely נשמה cannot be a privilege of human beings. The sense given to נשמה in this explanation is that of 'breath;' and animals also have breath.

Another theory on the relationship between the terms mentioned will be suggested here.

נפש: as explained above.

רוח: originally 'wind,' then 'breathing:' the inhalation and exhalation, by which a wind is caused.

נשמה: what is exhaled: 'breath.'

These intermediary meanings of the terms have not prevented them from developing their sense so that רוח came to mean 'spirit' and נשמה *soul*, referring sometimes only to human beings.

This comes very near the theory accepted by Aurelius. A careful study of the Story of the Creation leads to the following result: God blew (יפח = breathed out through his mouth) the breath of life (נשמת חיים) into the nostrils (כאפיו) of man (through his nostrils man received the רוח from God. It was not enough for God to breathe out this נשמת חיים, man had also to breathe it in. Hence, man breathed in

¹ Gen. VII: 22; II Sam. XXII: 16; Ps. XVIII: 16.

² Gen. VII: 22.

as רוח the נשמה God breathed out) and man (עפר מן האדמה) became a נפש חיה.¹ By means of the qualities now obtained man continued this respiratory function. He inhaled רוח and exhaled נשמה since he had become a נפש חיה, which gave him the power to act thus. This leads to an unending circle. Since man was נפש חיה² he inhaled רוח and exhaled נשמה, but he was not נפש חיה without רוח. The beginning came from God. To be able to exhale נשמה God himself must be a נפש; Nature's most supreme and most mysterious נפש. This conclusion is not as fantastic as it appears considering that God created man in his own image.³

Now when man, by the נשמת (רוח) חיים of God, possesses נפש, he lives as long as it pleases God to allow this רוח to stay in his body.⁴

It has already been mentioned that יצא נפש etc., means 'to die.' Likewise יצא רוח can mean the same. But though 'killing' is expressed by נפש הכה פ' נפש cannot be replaced here by רוח and retain the same meaning. This would mean to 'ruin the mind of somebody.' The fact is, as Grüneisen emphasizes, רוח cannot die because it is not a personal being.⁵ It depends on somebody's breathing, originally on God's breathing.⁶

To prophets was given more of this divine רוח and thus they

¹ Gen. II: 7.

² Man was in possession of נפש חיה;

³ Gen. I: 26, 27; V: 1; IX: 6. — God, on several occasions, speaks of his נפש, e.g. Jer. V: 9, 29; VI: 8; IX: 8; XIII: 17. In Prov. VI: 16 there is a question of an 'abomination unto' God's נפש. In Jer. LI: 14 and Amos VI: 8 God swears by his נפש. In Isa. XLVI: 2 נפש is mentioned with reference to foreign gods. In Ex. XXXI: 17 God is said to הניפש. Furthermore Tallqvist, in his 'Akkadische Götterepitheta,' SO VII, p. 142, mentions "nap-šat naphar ilāni die Seele aller Götter," and he compares it with "Sol = anima totius mundi. na-piš-ti um-ma-ni Leben des Volkes." (Marduk)

⁴ Gen. VI: 3; cf. Job XXVII: 3; X: 12; Ps. CIV: 29, 30.

⁵ 'Ahnenkultus . . .,' pp. 26-27

⁶ Cf. modern medical language: on breathing, air containing oxygen (רוח) is drawn into the lungs. It is absorbed by the blood through the finest tissues in the lung. This gives נפש to the blood. The fact must be kept in mind that the idea of Gen. II: 7 is not an effort to solve inexplicable riddles in the world. This is an answer to the question: since man had — and thus was — נפש חיה, where did this נפש come from?

were better able than other people to proclaim God's will and intention, *i.e.* to prophesy.¹

Mood and mental dispositions could also be indicated by **רוח**, such as anger, pride, bitterness of mind, and so on.²

In many cases these same expressions were indicated by **נפש**; in some passages both **רוח** and **נפש** are used side by side

Isa. XXVI: 9

נפשי איתך כלילה אפירוחי בקרבי אשחרך

Job VII: 11

... אדברה בצר רוחי אשיחה במר נפשי

Stade is of the opinion that **רוח** implied the expression of stronger emotions than **נפש**.³ There is no point in searching for an intricate difference in sense in such expressions. The simplest explanation is that where this parallellism has occurred the older implication of the language can be traced, and this may be due to the fact that the original modes of speech had not dropped out of use and were especially useful in poetry.

רוח — secondary implication: different kinds of spirits.

The meanings of **רוח** have been traced above: originally 'wind,' later 'that which is breathed in (or out),' particularly God's **רוח**; then it was used to indicate mental disposition, and the power that drives its possessor, something superhuman.⁴

It was gradually personified, thought of as ruling the being it had entered into. An example of the complete personification of **רוח** is to be found in I Kings XXII: 21—24; the spirit of lying, **רוח שקר**.

¹ Num. XXIV: 2; I Sam. X: 6, 10; XIX: 20, 23; Isa. XLII: 1; LIX: 21.

² Isa. LXV: 14; Gen. XXVI: 35; I Kings XXI: 5; Ps. XXXIV: 19; Prov. XXV: 28.

³ 'Geschichte des Volkes Israel I,' p. 416.

⁴ In the prophets, and *e.g.* Judges III: 10; VI: 34; XI: 29; XIV: 6, 19; XV: 14.

As regards I Sam. XVI: 15, 16, 23; XVIII: 10; XIX: 20, 23, Snaith gives a somewhat puzzling explanation for the use of רוח in connection with יהוה and אלהים. In his argument concerning the development of the meaning of רוח, he says it originally started by having the significance of something superhuman, something abnormal, developing in time to a personified sense. But further development still revealed its being taken in the ethical sense 'evil,' while keeping its former significance of something 'good.' But once nothing evil could be supposed to come from יהוה the spirit which beset Saul was called רוח אלהים, in opposition to רוח יהוה, which was of positive qualities. He motivates רוח אלהים instead of רוח יהוה by the chroniclers intending אלהים to be understood in the profane sense, and he refers to Gen. XXXI: 53. This would merely evidence the fact that the רוח רעה did not come from the God acknowledged at that time.¹

Ringgren, referring to

Judges IX: 23

וישלח אלהים רוח רעה בין אבימלך ובין בעלי שכם

I Sam. XVI: 14

ורוח יהוה סרה מעם שאול ובעתתו רוח רעה מאת יהוה

I Sam. XVIII: 10

... ותצלח רוח אלהים רעה אל-שאול ...

I Sam. XIX: 9

ותהי רוח יהוה רעה אל-שאול

draws attention to the fact that רוח יהוה is not always 'good' and 'benevolent.'²

Linder takes רעה as a predicative: 'God's Spirit came evil over him.'³

Traces exist in the רוח רעה of an old conception in a newer cosmology. In older days a mental disturbance such as over-

¹ 'The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament,' p. 156 sqq.

² 'Word and Wisdom,' p. 168.

³ 'Studier till Gamla Testamentets föreställningar om Anden,' p. 14.

whelmed Saul would have been expressed by *נפש*.¹ This term is still used among modern bedouins for such abnormal occurrences.² But when יהוה became the one acknowledged God, such states were presumed to have their origin in his will, which is why the *רוח רעה* is said to be sent from him. It seems, however, as if the author either uses different expressions in order to achieve variation in the vocabulary or makes use of a terminology according with his time, when the old expression still existed and the new one had not entirely replaced it.

When David, by playing on his lyre, drives away the *רוח רעה*,³ he acts in accordance with the customary practice employed against evil spirits.⁴ This medicine is evidence showing that *רוח רעה מאת (אלהים) (יהוה)* was a new way of expressing old ideas.

This short survey of *רוח* shows that the use of the word for different kinds of spirits is secondary.

¹ cf. *supra* p. 66 sqq.

² cf. *supra*, p. 66, the story told by Doughty.

³ I Sam. XVI: 23, XVIII: 10; XIX: 9.

⁴ cf. I Sam. XVI: 16, and Kolari, 'Musikinstrumente ...' pp. 11 and 26 sqq.

CHAPTER V

נפש מת

The translation of **נפש מת** as 'one corpse'¹ can be declared wrong without the slightest hesitation.

The suggestion 'somebody dead,' a 'deceased person'² must equally be refused. **נפש** can stand for 'somebody,' *aliquis*, but only when the question is one of living beings.³ Apart from the impossibility of such a translation as regards grammatical construction (**נפש** fem., **מת** masc.), it is somewhat difficult to imagine the literal sense of such an interpretation: somebody living (= in possession of the principle of life) who is dead. The same can be said of Charles's suggestion 'a dead soul.'⁴

Johnson's explanation of **נפש מת** is worthy of a quotation and a discussion. From the "use of the term **נפש** to denote a *living* person it is no far step to its use with reference to a *dead* one, i.e. a 'corpse;' and indeed this step is actually taken. — — — — Accordingly, while one may speak of a **מת**, i.e. 'the **נפש** of one that is dead' (in short 'a dead body'), such a definition is usually found unnecessary, and it is sufficient to speak quite simply of a **נפש** when one wishes to refer to a 'corpse.' — — — — What is more, **נפש** thus offers an excellent example of the semantic polarization which is so interesting a feature of the Semitic languages; for — — — — at one extreme it may

¹ Aurelius, 'Föreställningar i Israel om de döda...', p. 69. — cf *supra* p. 39.

² e.g. Ges.-B., HEL, sub **נפש**.

³ *vide supra*, p. 38—39.

⁴ 'A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life,' pp. 38—39.

denote that vital principle in man which animates the human body and reveals itself in the form of conscious life, and at the other extreme it may denote the corpse from which such conscious life had departed.”¹

To prove the possibility of giving נפש these two contrary meanings Johnson refers to Nöldeke, from whom he takes some instances of this phenomenon, called *Aḏḏād*. — He has, however, made a rather unfortunate choice of examples:

ḡaunnun refers in fact neither to 'black' nor 'white.' Nöldeke shows in express terms that its real sense is no colour at all, but the coloration (...nur die (stark hervorstechende) Färbung...).²

Arabic 'abā 'to refuse' — Hebrew אבה 'to be willing.' Ges.-B. says of אבה.

Kal. "willig sein, wollen"

"Es ist m. Ausnahme v. Jes. I: 19, Hi. XXXIX: 9 (Sir VI: 33) immer m. einer Negation verbunden."³

This shows that the word is used in a refusing sense.

wataba 'to leap' — ישב 'to sit.'

It was a most unfortunate lapse to give this example. De Landberg presumes that the sense 'to sit' must be the original one, while that of 'jumping' could be a very ancient dialectal amplification of *šabba* and *šabā*.⁴ A study of the Arabic word and the derivations from the root shows that the original meaning 'to sit' can be traced.⁵

In spite of the fact that a common origin for the 'opposite senses' of the word in different Semitic languages can be traced, Johnson seems to have paid no attention to Nöldeke's remark that he takes into consideration only those words which have opposite meanings in one and the same language.⁶

¹ 'The Vitality of the Individual...', p. 25—26.

² 'Neue Beiträge zur Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft,' p. 94.

³ *sub voce*. cf. LVTL *sub voce*: "always accompanied by a negative, even Hi 39,9, Js I, 19".

⁴ 'Etudes sur les dialectes de l'Arabie Méridionale I,' p. 341.

⁵ cf. AEL, *sub voce*.

⁶ 'Neue Beiträge zur Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft,' p. 69. (p. 69 n. 3: "So führe ich also nicht auf, dass nur im Arabischen *wataba* nicht die, im Sabäischen und noch in heutigen süd-arabischen Dialekten erhaltene — — — gemeinsemitische Bedeutung 'sitzen' hat, sondern da 'aufspringen' bedeutet.")

In fact most of the words which seem to be *Addād* can be explained by tracing the way of thinking among ancient Semites. "That which interests the Israelite is not the strict limitation of the idea, but the determination of its peculiarity. This manifests itself in his language, and makes it practically impossible to translate a Hebrew account into any modern language. For us each word in its context has its definitely limited sense; but even though a special shade of meaning predominates, the Hebrew constantly feels the idea of totality acting through it. When the word *berith* is to be translated, now by right, now by duty, and now by law, etc., then in every one of these various connections it imparts to us a new sense. For the Israelite there is always the same idea underlying it; it only presents itself in various forms."¹

This ought to be enough to show that the word indicating the vital principle cannot be used for something lacking this principle.

Regarding the suggestion: 'the *soul* of the dead,'² no objections as to the words or the grammatical construction can be made. An examination, however, will show that another interpretation may be sought. Schwally understands *נפש מת* as the *soul* of the deceased still living after death. Only he does not know whether the *soul* is inside the body or hovering in its neighbourhood. It finally dies anyway when the body has fallen into decay.³

This conception is not in accordance with the interpretation which will be given below. Neither does Grüneisen accept it, but in proving the error in Schwally's idea he makes mistakes himself.

According to Grüneisen *נפש* in the expression dealt with here cannot refer to the *soul* of the deceased. He wants to show that *נפש* is only "das nackte Leben," "das pulsierende Leben," which takes its force from *רוח* and when *רוח* leaves the body consequently there can be no more *נפש-נפש*, having been taken to stand for the individual only refers to this individual,

¹ Pedersen, 'Israel . . . I,' pp. 111—112.

² Schwally, 'Das Leben nach dem Tode . . .' p. 7.

³ *ibid.*, p. 7.

now dead, "irgend ein Leichnam."¹ As Charles puts it: "the soul is the result of the indwelling of the spirit in the material body, and has no independent existence of its own. It is really a function of the material body when quickened by the spirit. As long as the spirit is present, so long is the soul 'a living soul' (נפש חיה) but when the spirit is withdrawn, the vitality of the soul is destroyed, and it becomes a dead soul (נפש מת), or corpse (Num. VI:6; Lev. XXI:11) — — — According to this view the annihilation of the soul ensues inevitably at death, that is, when the spirit is withdrawn."² This, however, cannot be considered correct.

נפש was not the word for 'life,' 'vitality,' but for the potency in 'vitality' [נפש (ה)חיה].³ If there was an inclination to understand everything as caused by some kind of power, נפש was this power. The later conception according to which נפש drew its force from God's רוח only gave an answer to the question: where did נפש come from?⁴ נפש (ה)חיה stood for *vis vitalis* and was considered an invisible ghostly creature. The 'soul-stuff' was understood to be material, and could not be supposed to disappear, to be dissolved into nothing at death. As explained by Grüneisen and Charles, the body (בשר) can be compared to an engine driven by steam (רוח), the function (נפש) of which ceases when the steam (רוח) is withdrawn. This, however, is not in accordance with primitive mentality. נפש always stands for the potency in some kind of action or energy.

König's 'corpse of a dead man' ("Leichnam eines Toten"), which he explains as a pleonasm,⁶ must equally be refused.

Regarding the expression נפש מת it must be repeated that נפש always took the sense of an inexplicable force, *vis*. The scope of נפש is here other than in the previous passages. There it was the power in life, vitality; here it is the power in the dead.

The attention may for a while be drawn to the theory put forward by Karsten. He says that the rites and customs in

¹ 'Ahnenkultus . . .', pp. 27, 45 sqq.

² 'A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life,' pp. 42—43.

³ *vide supra*, p. 40 and 42.

⁴ *vide supra*, p. 73—74.

⁶ HAW, *sub* נפש.

connection with death do not primarily concern the dead man or his ghost; they are directed against the "disease demon who caused death by entering into the body of the patient."¹ Elhorst, too, has declared that the behaviour of the mourners in the Old Testament is dictated by fear of the power which has invaded the environment.²

According to the Hebrew text it is not literally the power which has caused death that is feared. Were that so the expression would be *נפש המות*.

It is the power in the dead (body), *מת*. It is the mysterious potency raging in it, the visible result of which is noticed in the lack of motion and in the decay of the corpse. As a matter of fact it is the disease and death demon which is still supposed to hover around the body but which now is called 'the potency in the dead.'

The same system is followed here in the mode of expression as with *נפש (ה)חיה*.³ The thought is expressed either by *נפש* or *מת* alone or the fuller form *נפש מת* is used. A still longer form with the same sense is *נפש אדם אשר ימות*.⁴ These expressions occur in commands and restrictions and never refer to a particular person; this is why *מת* in the passages mentioned never takes the definite article.

Thus *נפש מת* and *נפש חיה* are used in quite analogous ways: *vis letalis* and *vis vitalis*.

Num. IX: 6

ויהי אנשים אשר היו טמאים לנפש אדם
ולא יוכלו לעשתהפסח ביום ההוא

Num. IX: 7

... אנחנו טמאים לנפש אדם

Num. IX: 10

... איש כיריהיה טמא לנפש....

¹ 'The Civilization of the South American Indians,' p. 183.

² SSpHR, p. 126 sqq.

³ *vide supra*, p. 40.

⁴ Num. XIX: 13.

The usual way of understanding נפש in this context is that the men had become unclean through contact with a dead person. It is not certain here whether נפש stands for the longer נפש מת or whether נפש is the factor in any other mysterious phenomenon. The possibility, however, is not to be excluded that נפש is to be understood here as the demon in a dead body.

Uncleanness is contagious. It is not only dead bodies that defile. Certain other defiling conditions are enumerated in Leviticus. It cannot be indisputably stated, therefore, that the men have become unclean through contact with a dead body. If נפש is considered the potency that causes strange phenomena, in this context the word can refer to any defiling state — a state of defilement being a deviation from the normal.

The blood is called נפש, and thus the context may refer to contact with blood. Bodily issues are defiling.¹ Leprosy has a name of its own. But if it adheres to some material thing, this is freed from its pollution in the same way as defilement is washed off from man.² The potency in a leper is a נפש (a disease demon).

Num. VI: 11

וּכְפַר עָלָיו מֵאֲשֶׁר חָטָא עַל-הַנֶּפֶשׁ

Here it is a question of the נפש in a dead person. The nazir had to make atonement for the sin that had come upon him when somebody had unexpectedly died in his presence and defiled his head; his hair being consecrated to God.³

Ezek. XLIV: 25

וְאֵל-מַת אָדָם לֹא יָבֹא לְטִמְאָה

In this passage מת stands for the full expression which excludes every thought of another kind of demon.

Num. XIX: 11

הַנֹּגַע בַּמַּת לְכָל-נֶפֶשׁ אָדָם וְטִמְאָה שִׁבְעַת יָמִים

In this passage, and still better in

¹ Lev. XII and. XV.

² Lev. XIII and XIV.

³ cf. v. 5.

Num. XIX: 13

כֹּל-הַנּוֹעַ בְּמַת בְּנֶפֶשׁ הָאָדָם אֲשֶׁר יָמוּת

the principal thought in the restrictions about corpses is most clearly conceived. 'He who toucheth 'one dead', במת, who is possessed of any potency of a man, he will be unclean for seven days,' (and v. 13), and 'everybody that toucheth 'one dead', a potency in the man . . .'. Here the thought of any other potency than the death demon is excluded.

In v. 13 יָמוּת can also be understood by 'is dying' (imperf.). A man was considered already to be possessed of the disease and death demon while he was dying, or to be dying because he was possessed of this demon.

Lev. XIX: 28

וְשָׂרַט לְנֶפֶשׁ לֹא תִתְנוּ כְּבָשָׂרְכֶם

This prohibition can hardly be limited to death demons only. The lacerations were a sort of covenant with,¹ or purification from,² mysterious and feared potencies and were also used on occasions other than those of mourning.³ The same rite is in question in

Deut. XIV: 1

בָּנִים אַתֶּם לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם לֹא תִתְגַּדְדוּ וְלֹא-תִשְׂמִי קָרַחַהּ בֵּין עֵינֵיכֶם לְמַת
and there the prohibition as regards death is clear. The intention in Lev. XIX: 28 can be taken as the same, but it can also have been meant in a broader sense.

Lev. XXI: 1

... אָמַר אֱלֹהֵיכֶם... לְנֶפֶשׁ לֹא יִשְׁמָא בְּעַמּוֹ

'He shall not through a נֶפֶשׁ become unclean among his people.' The question in this case can be of a נֶפֶשׁ in a dead man. It can, again, be of any other נֶפֶשׁ. The former is the more probable since in verse 2 are enumerated those persons, the nearest

¹ Robertson Smith, 'The Religion of the Semites,' p. 321 sqq.

² Karsten, 'The Civilization of the South American Indians,' p. 156.

³ I Kings XVIII: 28.

blood relatives, by whom he was allowed to be defiled, whereas high priests were forbidden to become unclean even through 'contact' with their deceased father or mother.¹

Lev. XXII: 4

והנגוע בכל-טמא-נפש

There is no reason here why **נפש** must be the **נפש** in a dead man. It was forbidden to eat of the holy things also to those who had come into contact with anybody (or maybe: anything) defiled by a **נפש**.²

Num. V: 2

וישלחו מן-המחנה כל-צרוע וכל-זוב וכל טמא לנפש

It is very unlikely that **נפש** here refers to the death demon. There were certain rites to be performed at the death of somebody, but nowhere is it mentioned that mourning people must be segregated.

Hag. II: 13

ויאמר חגי אסדינע טמא-נפש בכל-אלה היטמא

It is almost certain that **נפש** here does not refer to a death demon. None of the things Haggai mentions in v. 12 are unclean. But the sentence shows that everything becomes unclean when it comes into contact with anything that is defiled by a **נפש**.

In Num. VI: 6

כל-ימי הזירו ליהוה על-נפש מת לא יבא

Lev. XXI: 11

ועל כל-נפש מת לא יבא

the full expression is used.³

¹ Lev. XXI: 10—11.

² cf. p. 83 and Lev. XV: 2 sqq.

³ This passage is a clear proof of the correctness of the translation suggested in this work. Any **נפש** of a dead man. The passage needs no further comment.

Deut. XXVI: 14

ולא־נתתי ממנו למת

נפש מת in this passage is obviously the shorter form for נפש מת. It is to be understood neither as "for the dead" nor as "to the dead."¹ — 'I have not given thereof to the death demon' — understood as a sacrifice or a covenant.²

The same can be said of Deut. XIV: 1.³ and of

Ps. CVI: 28

ויאכלו ובחי מתים

¹ cf. Driver, '... Deuteronomy,' I.C.C.

² cf. *infra* p. 88.

³ *vide supra*, p. 84.

CHAPTER VI

The psychological background to the suggested translation of

נשם מת

In order to show that ancestral worship prevailed among the Israelites Lods has evidenced in a brilliant way that the mourning customs, which were the same rites as were performed on occasions of calamity or in the sanctuary, were a token of relationship to the superhuman. Thus these rites have constituted an important link in his demonstration of the prevalence of ancestral worship in biblical times.¹ Elhorst, on the other hand, claims that the mourning rites were due to the potency which had invaded the place and caused death.² It would lead too far from the main subject to examine each rite here. Whether it be the ghost of the dead or the potency in death, the behaviour towards it remains the same. Even if it is proved that mourning rites show an attitude towards something supernatural, this will not establish the suggested interpretation of the expression in question. It must be demonstrated that this supernatural being towards whom the rites were directed was not the ghost of the dead.

It must be left out of consideration that behaviour in mourning has been claimed to originate in real natural sorrow,³ the manifestation of which had gradually become a tradition.⁴

Of course man in the dawn of mankind must have been capable of human feelings as much as now. But fear most

¹ 'La croyance à la vie future et le culte des morts dans l'antiquité Israélite,' *passim*.

² SSPhR, p. 126 *sqq.*

³ Kamphausen, HBA II, p. 1712a.

⁴ Aurelius, 'Föreställningar i Israel om de döda...,' p. 87.

certainly was a stronger emotion than sorrow. Death, without doubt, was considered mysterious and threatening.

Grüneisen insists that each rite at mourning is to be explained according to one principle, and, following Frazer, he interprets the mourner's change of outward aspect as being a means of disguise from the ghost of the dead, the loud wailing having the purpose of driving away this evil-minded spirit.¹

The mourning rites cannot, however, be considered to follow one principle. Customs, especially at mourning, have a tendency to persist even after the original intention has fallen into oblivion. Though new ones appear the old customs are not dropped. Thus mourning rites among one and the same people can be explained according to different principles.²

The different rites in mourning have been interpreted in various ways, such as a sign of submission and humility,³ a disguise from the dead,⁴ a covenant with the ghost of the dead,⁵ or a sacrifice to the dead.⁶

These explanations all have one feature in common. The intention is in every case to safeguard against the ghost of the dead. Whether it is a sacrifice or a covenant, a disguise or a banishing of the spirit, it still shows the uttermost fear of the 'dead.' But why should the ghost of the deceased be feared? Why should some one who when alive had been loved and befriended be considered malevolent to the living?

According to Lippert primitive man was incapable of conceiving of death as a natural end to life. Since no outward apparent reason was conceivable to account for death, he believed in the existence of some hostile potency which entered the body to take away its life. The dead were taken to be death itself. Primitive man's belief, therefore, was that his *soul* always succumbed to the force of this potency's will, thus

¹ 'Ahnenkultus . . .', pp. 100, 115 *sqq.*; Frazer, JAI XV, p. 98 *sqq.*

² Bertholet, 'Die israelitischen Vorstellungen vom Zustand nach dem Tode,' p. 10; Elhorst, SSPhR, p. 118; Lods, 'La croyance à la vie future . . .', p. 80.

³ Schwally, 'Das Leben nach dem Tode . . .', p. 11 *sqq.*

⁴ *vide* note 1.

⁵ Robertson Smith, '.. the Religion of the Semites,' p. 321—323.

⁶ Schwally, 'Das Leben nach dem Tode . . .', p. 21 *sqq.*

placing his *soul* in an evil frame of mind and bringing on the desire to do evil. Even infirm persons and those falling ill of a sickness were believed to be possessed of this 'ghost creature.'¹

Another theory advanced by Jastrow is related to the above, but at the same time exhibits a difference. Primitive man, regarding life an active force, could understand its being assigned to something material. Material shapes were an essential embodiment of a power which could not be conceived of as a mere idea. This was illustrated in Jastrow's view of the struggle against disease. Illness, to primitive man, was an evil spirit that entered the body to struggle with the spirit or force of life. If the spirit of life won the fight, the malevolent spirit was expelled — and *vice versa*. Thus, if the evil force won, the spirit of life was expelled from the body. It was pictured, then, in the case of death, as hovering around the corpse, trying to regain entry. Unable to do so it was uncontrolled and so a source of danger to the living. From this the conflicting feelings towards the dead could readily be explained. On the one hand there was a natural sympathy for the helpless, the dead, the desire to care for those who were loved when alive, and against this the other feeling of a necessity to protect those still living from the evil spirits of the dead.²

Though theoretically both explanations show certain differences, in practice they result in the same conclusion — the spirit around the dead body is feared. But although the *soul* or spirit of life has been forcibly expelled from its abode, no explanation is offered as to why it should suddenly develop a feeling of malevolence. Why should the spirit suddenly turn against those it had befriended in life? Was it reason enough that it had been unwilling to leave the body?

As has been mentioned, Elhorst has emphasized that not the ghost of the dead but the power which had caused death was feared.³ But he says nothing of what happened to the *soul* at death. Karsten's theory on the disease and death demon gives

¹ 'Die Religionen der Europäischen Culturvölker . . .,' p. 7.

² 'Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions,' p. 198—200.

³ *vide supra* p. 82.

a good explanation of the supposedly evil intentions of the spirit in or near the corpse.

He distinguishes between the ghost of the dead and the disease demon which causes death. The latter absorbs the *soul* of the deceased and becomes more powerful in proportion to the spiritual power attained by the deceased in his lifetime. Thus it is not the ghost of the dead which is dreaded but the pernicious demon which, having got hold of its victim, is looking around for other prey. This theory gives an acceptable explanation of the sudden horror in the presence of a person loved and respected a few minutes earlier, now lifeless.¹ It also gives an answer to why the same rites as in mourning are performed on occasions where there is no question of death. It was the attitude towards anything enigmatic and supernatural.

Of course the explanation advanced by Karsten of what happened at death, as he says himself, holds good only for 'natural death.' In other instances the departure of life constituted no problem. Then the cause of death was obvious, and no one wondered that the *soul* was supposed to be turned into a malevolent demon wanting to take vengeance on the living for being deprived of the pleasures of life, so that these survivors had to take precautions against it.

When the killing involved bloodshed the outpouring blood contained the *soul* of the slain. The vapour rising from a big pool of blood may be noticed only in a cold climate, but the smell is the more intense in warm regions. This circumstance gives rise to the thought of a living factor in the blood, even when it is outside the body. The man's נפש is still there and in its evil frame of mind wants to inflict harm upon those who have deprived him of his life.

¹ 'The Civilization of the South American Indians,' pp. 183, 477; cf. Karsten, 'The Origins of Religion,' p. 289. — In 'Civilization . . .' the author adds: "Only by keeping this distinction in view can we understand fully the funeral and mourning customs which otherwise would, in many cases, seem hopelessly contradictory. Partly they seem to be expressions of a loving care of the departed relative, partly inspired by abject fear of the same spirit." (p. 477)

Grüneisen is of the opinion that there is life in the blood only as long as it streams out, but that this is extinguished as soon as the blood is covered with earth.¹ Almost the same is maintained by Lippert when he says that the *soul* is in the warm red blood.² Lods raises objections against this. נפש contained in the outflowing blood remains there. It cries as long as it is not covered by earth. "Il n'y a plus aucune trace de vie dans les taches de sang qui marquent les rochers de Jerusalem; et cependant elles appellent vengeance (Ez. 24: 7, 8). De même, dans le sang que la terre mettra à nu au dernier jour (Es. 26: 21) toute la vie aura cessé depuis longtemps; la nefesh qu'il contenait devrait donc, d'après M. Grüneisen, en avoir disparu, volatilisée, depuis des siècles. L'idée est autre: c'est que lorsque le sang est couvert, l'âme est fixée; elle est rendue inoffensive; mais elle y subsiste, puisque dès que le sang réapparaît, la vengeance est à redouter (Es. 26)."³

Among modern Jews the custom that a murdered man must be buried in his bloody clothes still prevails; if a woman dies in childbirth all the blood which streams out after death is considered נפש דם and must follow her to the grave.⁴

The *soul* of the killed, contained in the blood and turned into an evil spirit must be appeased by a sacrifice. This is known as a vengeance wreaked by the family of the killed on those who belonged to the murderer's family. The latter again, in order to satisfy the ghost of the newly murdered, continued *etc.* "C'est donc la crainte des âmes qui, dès une haute antiquité, peut-être même dès l'origine, inspirait la vengeance du sang chez les Sémites."⁵

When Cain had slain Abel the blood of the murdered brother cried for vengeance and God cursed Cain saying that the ground which had opened its mouth to receive the blood of his brother

¹ 'Der Ahnencultus . . .', p. 48.

² 'Der Seelencult in seinen Beziehungen zur Althebräischen Religion,' p. 60.

³ 'La croyance à la vie future . . .', p. 69.

⁴ 'Jore Dea,' שפתי כהן, and טורי זהב comment on § 375. Granzfrid, 'קצור שלהן ערוך,' § 197,9 and 11; Danzig, 'Chochmath Adam seu Compendium libri Jore Dea,' § 157, 10 and 11.

from his hand, would be barren for him and he should find no resting place upon earth. ¹

Only a couple of the instances of this kind of revenge in the Old Testament will be mentioned: Abner killed Asahel, and ² therefore Joab avenged the blood of his brother on him. Then ³ the dying David urged his son Solomon to take vengeance on Joab for having killed Abner and Amasa. ⁴

The blood revenge did not exclude the usual mourning rites. When David heard that Joab had slain Abner he asked Joab and all the people around him to rend their garments, gird themselves with sackcloth and mourn Abner. ⁵

As Buttenwieser remarks, the *soul* of the animals was also taken into consideration. ⁶ Unless sacrificed, their blood must be poured out and covered with earth. ⁷ The prohibition against eating animals with their blood (which contained their *souls*) ⁸ has been considered a mere fear of absorbing their *souls*. The interpretation, however, is near at hand that to eat such an animal was the easiest way to swallow the dreaded demon into which the *soul* of the killed animal had changed; or, if the animal had died a 'natural' death, the demon which had taken its *soul* in possession.

Animals not slaughtered in the required way were not only forbidden to be eaten, their carcasses were to be considered unclean. Anybody who touched them became unclean. ⁹ This evidently because of the dangerous demon into which their **שׁוֹנֵי** had turned.

When in the Old Testament somebody was condemned to death because of a trespass, this penalty was never prescribed as execution by bloodshedding; the sinner was either to be hanged, stoned or burnt by fire. ¹⁰

¹ Gen. IV: 8 sqq.

² II Sam. II: 23.

³ II Sam. III: 27.

⁴ I Kings II: 5.

⁵ II Sam. III: 30, 31.

⁶ JAOS 38—39, p. 313.

⁷ Lev. XVII: 13.

⁸ Ex. XXII: 30; Lev. XVII: 14; Ezek. IV: 14; XLIV: 31.

⁹ Lev. XI: 39.

¹⁰ Lev. XX: 14, 16, 27; Deut. XVII: 5; XXI: 21, 22; XXII: 24.

In this same connection it must be mentioned that also animals were made responsible for their doings. If a bull had been the cause of a man's death, it had to be killed. The execution, however, was to be performed by lapidation.¹

It was a common habit to bury the dead. This, as everywhere where burial in the earth is practised, was in order to confine the dangerous powers in or around the body to a certain place. The earth upon the body was the same as the earth upon the blood of the killed.²

A hanged man must be taken down and buried before sunset, for a hanged man brings down the curse of God.³ The expression that the hanged man brings down the curse of God is of course a recent interpretation of an old conception. Of old the demon in the hanged man was feared.

At night evil-minded spirits enjoyed their most favourable time for activity.⁴ This was, without doubt, the reason why, when the penalty of death had been inflicted upon a man, the living were in a hurry to get rid of his body before sunset. To be safe from the demon, after the hanged body had been taken down it was covered with a pile of stones,⁵ or it was thrown into a cave the entrance of which was closed with large stones.⁶

As has already been mentioned several times, all this was because the *soul* of the dead had turned into a malevolent spirit. The *soul* of the killed, now a disease and death demon, was looking for victims to deprive the survivors of the pleasure of life.

It can be mentioned that the animosity of the ghost of a man about to be killed was supposed to arise as soon as he was told his fate. His 'evil eye' was therefore feared and his face was veiled.⁷ The custom of covering the eyes of a prisoner condemned to death before his execution may originate in this

¹ Ex. XXI: 28—32.

² Schwally, 'Das Leben nach dem Tode . . .', p. 53.

³ Deut. XXI: 23; cf. Jos. VIII: 29; X: 26, 27.

⁴ Tallqvist, 'Maqlû', p. 16.

⁵ Jos. VII: 25, 26; VIII: 29; II Sam. XVIII: 17.

⁶ Jos. X: 26, 27.

⁷ cf. Seligmann, 'Der böse Blick . . . II,' p. 283—296.

conception; not, as has been declared, to save the prisoner from knowing the exact moment when he must die.

According to Jewish religion a suicide's family does not perform mourning rites.¹ This may be because the deceased obviously sought death himself and therefore no disease demon or death demon is to be feared, nor can it be supposed that his own *soul* turned into such. — Of course, according to later conceptions in the Old Testament suicide may have been considered a crime against God because, according to the Creation Story, God gave man his spirit and this was supposed to remain in man as long as it pleased God.² Therefore, suicide ran counter to God's will. This may be the reason why suicides are buried separately.

Catholics and protestants, at least in former times, did not ring church bells for the funeral of a suicide. Bell ringing was originally intended to drive away evil spirits. In the case of suicides, therefore, it would appear to indicate that there was no evil spirit to drive away. More recent times, however, consider that the ringing of church bells is performed in honour of the defunct and forbid this sign of reverence for those who have acted against God's will and intention.



Finally a way of using the word NPŠ must be mentioned. In Syriac, South-Arabic, and Aramaic this word has been employed in the sense of 'funeral monument.'³ This provides a very clear instance of how a word, in the course of time, comes to get a transferred meaning. The sense 'funeral monument' cannot be taken as derived from the supposed meaning of NPŠ = 'corpse.' When NPŠ is used for a tomb, this is to indicate that the place is haunted by a NPŠ, NPŠ being the *vis letalis* which has been confined to the tomb.

¹ 'Jore Dea,' § 345.

² *vide supra*, pp. 73—74.

³ *vide* dictionaries, *sub voce*.

Schwally says that the covering of the blood is the same as the covering of the *soul*. Following on from this, he maintains, the Aramaic נפשא meaning *soul* must have come to be used in the sense of 'tombstone.'¹ He comes very near the explanation advanced in the present work. The difference is, however, that Schwally speaks of 'die Seele' and here NPŠ is understood in the way explained above.

The same scholar mentions that the tombs are chalked on certain occasions and he understands this as decoration of the graves.² The reason for this is, however, that, at critical times, the place can thus be seen at a distance and can be avoided.



The above explains how נפש מת נפש has come to mean 'disease and death demon.' Wellhausen mentions *nafs* as "Totengeister," meaning the ghost of the dead, without any remark on how death had come about.³ Spencer declares that demons have taken their origin from the ghosts of dead people,⁴ but, to this must be added: from those who have not died a 'natural death,' if this be the real origin. Tallqvist, too, gives the same declaration as Spencer.⁵

¹ 'Das Leben nach dem Tode...', p. 52 n. 1.

² *op. cit.*, pp. 44—45, 51 sqq.

³ 'Reste Arabischen Heidentums,' p. 185 n. 3.

⁴ 'Principles of Sociology I,' p. 215 sqq., esp. p. 217.

⁵ 'Baabelin Manalassa,' p. 34.

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