

***Ancestral consultation: a comparative study of Ancient Near Eastern
and African religious practices with reference to 1 Samuel 28:3-25***

by

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DECLARATION

I, Mulaudzi Nkhumiseni, student 27539972, declare that *Ancestral consultation: a comparative study of Ancient Near Eastern and African religious practices with reference to 1 Samuel 28:3-25* is my own work and that all the sources I used have been acknowledged by means of a complete bibliography.

Signature:

..... at date/...../.....

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SUMMARY

The main purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between the African and the Ancient Near Eastern tradition with regard to the ancestral consultation. 1 Samuel 28:3-25 was used as a point of departure. This text was used because it is the only text in the Hebrew Bible that shows the act of consulting the dead except those texts explicitly condemning the act.

The study was divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 focused on the introduction and the research problem. Chapter 2 focused on the study of 1 Samuel 28:3-25 and this was done via an intratextual and intertextual analysis. The intratextual analysis of 1 Samuel 28:3-25 focused on the interrelatedness of the text on its literally level. This was done by means of a morphological, syntactical and structural analysis. The intertextual analysis focused on 1 Samuel 28:3-25 in relation with other texts in the Hebrew Bible, especially with reference to the practice of ancestral consultation.

In Chapter 3 the main focus was on the Ancient Near Eastern tradition with regard to ancestral consultation and thus focused upon extratextual material. In this chapter, Mesopotamian and Israelite cultural practices were mainly considered. Customs relating to the act of consulting the dead were studied. It included funerary customs, death and mourning rites, the place and role of the dead in society. The study concluded that the act of ancestral consultation in the Ancient Near East was part of their religion. In Ancient Israel, however, it was prohibited by Yahwistic religion.

Chapter 4 focused on ancestral consultation in African tradition. In this chapter, personal knowledge and experience were also important. Ancestral consultation in Africa is still a living tradition. The role of the ancestors was studied and also the role that the living have in relation to their ancestors. In this chapter the role of Christianity in Africa played a pivotal role because Christianity shaped African religion of today. It is clear from the study that African Christianity still pays tribute to their dead relatives as they are believed to be closer to God. Both Christians and those who practice traditional religion agree on the role of the ancestors.

In Chapter 5 the researcher brought together the information in Chapters 1 to 4. In that sense it can be regarded as the climax of the investigation into ancestral consultation as an ancient and modern cultural and religious practice. This chapter contains a comparison between African and Ancient Near Eastern tradition regarding ancestral consultation. The chapter indicates that there is a lot to compare between the two traditions, but one needs to consider the differences in time, religious perceptions, geography, economic and political background of the two traditions. This should especially be considered in evaluating the Ancient Near Eastern tradition because it is in the “archive”; we can only read and learn about it with reference to available sources, while African tradition is an existing one.

In Chapter 6 the researcher summarised the main findings of the study with special reference to the research problem as discussed in the first chapter.

TABLE OF CONTENT	Page
Chapter 1	10
Introduction.....	10
1.1 Introduction and the research problem.....	10
1.2 Aim of the research	15
1.3 Methodology	16
1.4 Study objectives	17
1.5 Expected results	18
Chapter 2.....	19
An intra- and inter-textual analysis of 1 Samuel 28:3-25	19
2.1 Text and translation: 1 Samuel 28:3-25	19
2.2 Introduction.....	22
2.3 The placement of 1 Samuel 28:3-25 in the whole book of 1 Samuel	24
2.4 Morphological analysis	24
2.5 Syntactical analysis	25
2.6 Segmentation and structure.....	25
2.7 Schematic presentation of structure	26
2.8 Exegetical discussion of 1 Samuel 28:3-25	27
2.8.1 Desperate times in Saul's life.....	27
2.8.2 Saul with the medium at Endor	33
2.8.3 Saul asks for help from <i>Sheol</i>	36
2.8.4 Saul's last supper before his death	38
2.9 Conclusion	38
Chapter 3.....	40
Ancestral consultation in the Ancient Near East	40
3.1 Introduction.....	40
3.2 Worldview of the Ancient Near East	40
3.3 History of the ancestral veneration in Ancient Near Eastern traditions.....	42
3.3.1 Mesopotamia	42
3.3.1.1 Who were the Mesopotamians?.....	42
3.3.1.1.1 Sumeria	43
3.3.1.1.2 Babylonia.....	43
3.3.1.1.3 Assyria	44
3.3.1.2 Cult of the dead in Mesopotamia.....	45
3.3.1.2.1 Death and the funerary customs	45
3.3.1.2.2 The role of the ancestral veneration and the ancestors	46
3.3.1.2.2.1 Feeding of the ancestors.....	46
3.3.1.2.2.2 The power they had over the living	47

3.3.1.2.2.3	A place where they stay	48
3.3.2	Egypt	49
3.3.2.1	Historical background of Egypt.....	49
3.3.2.2	Cult of the dead in Egypt.....	50
3.3.3	Israel	55
3.3.3.1	Historical background of Israel	55
3.3.3.2	Funerary customs in Israel.....	56
3.3.3.1.1	Death and mourning customs	56
3.3.3.1.2	Burial customs	58
3.3.3.3	Israel's understanding of <i>Sheol</i> /Underworld	59
3.3.3.4	Necromancy.....	60
3.3.3.5	Ancestral veneration	61
3.3.3.6	Yahwism and ancestral consultation	62
3.4	Conclusion	63
Chapter 4	64
	Ancestral consultation in African tradition.....	64
4.1	Introduction.....	64
4.2	The history of ancestral consultation in Africa.....	64
4.3	African understanding of funerary customs.....	66
4.3.1	Death	66
4.3.2	Mourning and funerary customs.....	67
4.3.3	The dead and their world.....	70
4.3.3.1	The world of the dead	70
4.3.3.2	The living dead	71
4.3.4	The calling and the role of the medium/ <i>N'anga</i>	74
4.3.4.1	Their calling.....	74
4.3.4.2	The responsibilities of the mediums/ <i>N'anga</i>	75
4.3.5	Worship/veneration of God and the ancestors	77
4.3.5.1	Worship of God/ <i>N'wali</i>	77
4.3.5.2	Veneration of the ancestors	79
4.4	Christianity in Africa	80
Chapter 5	84
	Ancestral consultation and the comparison between African and ANE traditions.....	84
5.1	Introduction.....	84
5.2	Death.....	84
5.3	Mourning and burial customs	85
5.3.1	Mourning customs.....	85
5.3.2	Burial customs.....	86

5.4	The dead and their world	87
5.4.1	The world of the dead.....	87
5.4.2	The living dead.....	88
5.5	The calling and the role of spirit mediums	90
5.6	Worship of God/ <i>Nwali</i>	91
5.7	Veneration of the ancestors.....	91
5.8	Conclusion	93
Chapter 6	94
	Survey of the study and conclusion	94
6.1	Introduction.....	94
6.2	Survey of the study	94
6.3	Conclusion	95
	Bibliography.....	97
	ADDENDUM 1: MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS.....	105
	ADDENDUM 2: SYNTACTICAL ANALYSIS.....	119
	ADDENDUM 3: SEGMENTATION AND STRUCTURE OF 1 SAMUEL 25:3-25.....	125

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction and the research problem

This study is concerned with the comparison of a specific Ancient Near Eastern/Biblical and a traditional African religious practice. The study was developed when the researcher was reading the narrative in 1 Samuel 28:3-25 where Saul consulted the dead Samuel via a female medium. The researcher is aware of consultation of the dead as part of African traditional religion. Reading about consultation of the dead in the Hebrew Bible is quite surprising, as the practice is not part of traditional Biblical religious teachings.

Ancestral consultation or consultation of the dead is a living tradition in many of the African cultures today. This practice takes various forms depending on one's culture.¹ Reading the African traditional literature about the ancestral consultation and other religious practices, as well as reading the Bible, has led the researcher to research the problem in this study. Reading 1 Samuel 28:3-25 was very surprising if one were aware of the African traditions and what African people believe.

Africans were a very religious people even before Christianity, Islam and other “book” religions came to the continent. This is confirmed by Thomas in his book “African Traditional Religion in the Modern World” in which he outlines that African people have been practicing their religion for centuries. “African religion is the spiritual force that has been operating in the lives of African people for thousands of years. It was in existence for thousands of years before the Hebrew people gave birth to the Abrahamic faiths – Judaism, Christianity, and Islam”.²

In 1 Samuel 28:3-25 we read about Saul using dead Samuel as a medium between himself and God. Saul consulted the dead Samuel in order to find out about the future plans of God for his life and the battle against the Philistines. Saul did this only after he had failed to get answers from God through “traditional” Biblical avenues: divine oracles, *Urim*, dreams and the prophets (1 Samuel 28:6). When Saul could not get any answers from God, his only solution was to consult a “diviner”, knowing that through her he would receive answers (1 Samuel 28:7). It is extremely ironic that Saul reverted to this measure just after the narrator told us that Saul himself removed such people from the country (1 Samuel 28:3)!

¹ Nürnberger, 2007:21.

² Thomas 2005:5.

This type of consultation with ancestors is mostly practiced in African traditions.³ It is seldom found elsewhere in the Bible except where we hear about the worshipping of the God of the ancestors/forefathers (Exodus 3:6), when God condemns the practice (Exodus 22:18, Leviticus 19:31, 20:6, 27, Deuteronomy 18:10-12, Jeremiah 27:9-10), and where God condemns Israel for having other gods except Him (Exodus 20:3-6).

In African traditions such things are practiced every day, even by those who call themselves “Christians” since it is difficult to separate tradition and religion.⁴ Some Christians such as the Zionists read the Bible from the perspective of African spirituality.⁵ The more you live your African tradition, the more you practice African religion since it is difficult to separate tradition and religion. The two are so intertwined that it is impossible to speak of one without the other. It is very difficult for any other religion to take African people away from their tradition. Stayt views religion and tradition in African people as closely related when he maintains that “the direct relationship with their dead ancestors is a much more personal factor in their lives and is the basis of their religious ideas”.⁶ It is clear that there is a very close relationship between the African people and their ancestors to the extent that it is difficult for them to just abandon their religion. It is also clear that the basis of African religion is the relationship between the living and their ancestors. One cannot talk of African people and their religion without including the ancestors. Ancestors are the central role-players in African religion because they are mediators between the living and the Supreme Being.

The researcher grew up in the Venda area and the Venda tradition has formed a strong part of his character. This influence was laid down in childhood. After reading the Biblical text as well as literature on the subject of ancestral veneration and understanding the practice better, the researcher started to wonder whether one can compare the two religious practices, the ancient and the modern.

When comparing the two traditions it was discovered that there are many similarities on how things are done in the modern tradition, and how they were done in the ancient tradition in terms of social and religious practices. Some similarities include the arrangement of marriages, communities, religious practices and family settings. This research will focus on only one aspect, namely

³ Stayt, 1968:230-261; Krige & Krige 1965:231-249; Garbett 1969.

⁴ Gelfand, 1964:38 remarks: “Quite a lot of Africans who have become Christians consult both Church and the *nganga* when they are in trouble for they do not see any contradiction in accepting Christianity and believing in power of the spirit elders” (cf. also Nürnberger, 2007:40-43).

⁵ Van Zyl, 1995:430 remarks “To them the God of the Bible is the same as the traditional African god”.

⁶ Stayt, 1968: 240.

ancestral consultation. It should be regarded as a small test case that might open the way for studies of much greater scope.

As part of who they are and where they come from, there are some African traditional churches that accept these types of ancestral practices.⁷ They allow this practice because of who they are as Africans and they believe that their ancestors are still role-players in their daily lives. These churches call and refer to those who are dead as not literally dead, but the “living dead”. The living-dead is the term used generally in African communities referring to the ancestors. This is because of the belief of what happens after death in that the dead may not be with us but they still exist, as is implied in the story of Samuel. Many Africans justify their ancestral consultation by referring to 1 Samuel 28:3-25.

There are many people who have difficulty in understanding how the Bible and the Christian faith should relate to their African traditional religious system, their beliefs and practices. Such people believe that those who are dead can still do many things for them such as harm or bless them: “...still exerting a powerful influence on their living relatives”.⁸ “They make their will known and express their displeasure in the form of droughts, barrenness or other mishaps in the lives of their descendants”.⁹ According to Van Zyl, Zionists believe that the ancestors “serve to make the world and life as a whole a ‘sacred realm’”.¹⁰ It is part of African belief that through the “living dead” God can communicate with his people. This is not only in the African context but also in the Ancient Near East context, including Israel as maintained by Spronk in his book “Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East.”¹¹ Spronk also maintains that “ancient funerary customs point to a belief in some kind of continued existence of life after death...There are also indications of an Israelite belief in the dead being able to help or harm the living”.¹²

The ancestors in Venda are called *vhadzimu/midzimu* meaning “gods”; the same words are used by Shona speaking people of Zimbabwe.¹³ The word *midzimu* shows that they are very close to *N’wali* who is God in the sense that they directly communicate with Him. There is a relationship between

⁷ Van Zyl, 1995:428:431.

⁸ Stayt, 1968:240.

⁹ Nürnberger, 2007:29.

¹⁰ Van Zyl, 1995:430.

¹¹ Spronk, 1986:237-257 remarks that the cult of the dead also existed in ancient Israel. They had funerary customs that they performed during funerals and after the funerals to honour the dead. Ancient Israelite funerary customs point to a belief in some kind of continued existence of life after death and there are also indications of an Israelite belief in the dead being able to help or harm the living depending on how the funerary customs were performed during the funeral. The unhappy spirits of the dead can bring harm to the members of the family and on the other hand the happy and resting spirits will bring good fortune for their descendants. There is also an indication that there is still some form of communication between the living and the dead where the living could wish to call up the dead through necromancy. The spirits of the dead were referred to as “those who are knowing.”

¹² Spronk, 1986:251.

¹³ Lan, 1985:31-42.

the living and the “living dead” and the living should maintain the relationship through rituals¹⁴. The living dead work as the intermediaries between God, *Nwali*, and the living. The living people do not speak directly with God but they speak through gods or the ancestors. This is confirmed by Turuki when he said: “The space between God and the human beings is filled by gods, divinities and spirits, who are sometimes called the intermediaries.”¹⁵ They are not only intermediaries but they also preserve morality within their descendants. They punish family members who do not conform to the societal living standards.

When people die they immediately become ancestors. Many people are of opinion that those who die and leave descendants behind are the ones who become the ancestors after death.¹⁶ Though they all become ancestors, there are stages that they need to go through before they become one. According to Sibisi, “the recently deceased are not yet on the state of ancestors”.¹⁷ This is to claim that people do not just become ancestors without going through stages of the underworld. The descendants help with carrying the name of their dead father or mother until they attain ancestral status. If one dies without descendants, they (the dead) are easily forgotten because there would be no one to call to them as ancestors. The VhaVenda people can consult from both a patriarchal and a matriarchal perspective. The patriarchal ancestors are called *mudzimu wa thohoni* while the matriarchal ancestors are called *mudzimu wa damuni*.

The respect that the African people give to their ancestors is what we see Saul doing to Samuel by bowing down (cf. “...and he bowed his face down and prostrated himself”; 1 Samuel 28:14). This was a sign of respect and worship that the Israelites showed to their elders and to God during worship (Exodus 34:8; Joshua 5:14; 1 Samuel 24:9).

In the African tradition, specifically the Vhavenda culture, when a person dies an aunt *Makhadzi* will hand the dead person over to the ancestors and then *Makhadzi* will have special petitions with which she addresses the deceased. VhaVenda people view death as not literally “death”, but a journey to join others who have proceeded: “...to them (Vendas) death is a transition between life

¹⁴ Gelfand, 1964:33-34 remarks “The link between living and dead is very close...The Mashona love and revere their dead and turn to their *vhadzimu* in the same way as the Christians turn to God...The guardian spirits are easily upset if religious ritual is omitted; for instance, a burial at which prescribed ritual had been forgotten would certainly arouse the wrath of the spirit and the guilty family would be punished...”.

¹⁵ Turuki, 1999:171. Ikenga-Metuh, 1991:67 remarks “They act as intermediaries between God and members of their families, they jealously maintain discipline in their families, and may inflict severe punishment on those members whose behaviour threatens the existence and progress of the family”.

¹⁶ Lan, 1985:35 remarks “People who die childless cannot become *midzimu* because they have no descendants to look after or to act as mediums for them. When such a person dies she or he becomes a *ngozi* who wanders through the villages angry and malicious, bringing harm and destruction for no other reason than its unquenchable fury and spite. To prevent this, childless people are buried with a rat, a plank or a seedless maize cob tied to their backs. This object takes the place of a child and will keep the *ngozi* still” (cf. also Gelfand, 1964:32-33).

¹⁷ Sibisi, 1975:48-50.

on this earth and life in the spirit world, where the dead continue the lives begun on earth”.¹⁸ This shows the closeness of the life a person lives on earth and the life he/she is going to live in the world of the living dead. The very thin line that one needs to cross to be in the other life is “death”. *Makhadzi* or anyone in the family has to kneel when offering petitions to the dead as a sign of respect to the ancestors. This is the sign of respect that even the living people have to show when showing respect to the father or elderly people. Kneeling is a sign of respect in both African and Ancient Near Eastern traditions, as maintained above.

In African tradition it is believed that consulting the living dead will lead to their faith in God, who has power over the world of the living and the dead. The ancestors are believed to be under the supervision of Almighty God and that through them, God can communicate with the living. For Samuel to be able to speak to Saul was only possible because of the supervision of God. “By God’s power and special permission, Samuel’s actual spirit was presented to pronounce final doom upon Saul...God stepped in and brought up Samuel, who pronounced doom upon Saul”.¹⁹ Therefore, if it was not for God’s intervention, Saul would not have been able to see Samuel. God then allows Saul to know about his death using the dead Samuel.

Saul believed that because God would not communicate with him through dreams, the *Urim* or the prophets as the “official” mediums, he had no choice but to consult the living dead. Saul believed that Samuel still had the same power he had before he died and that is the reason he consulted him even though he was dead. Saul believed Samuel could still be a prophet from the grave. This is confirmed when Saul said “find me a woman who can talk to the spirits of the dead” (1 Samuel 28:7). This shows the strong faith Saul had in the diviner and the power of the dead. Could it be an indication that Saul believed that Samuel would be able to help him from the grave because the dead still have the same or even more power than they had during their time on earth? This is the question that needs to be dealt with in this study. The researcher is of the view that in both Ancient Near Eastern and African traditions it is believed that the dead can still be helpful in the lives of the living. The dead are closer to the Almighty. They become the ones that take the petitions of the living people to the Almighty.

“The Venda like all other Africans, believe that after death the deceased receive power and force and they are regarded as being nearer to God, than the living”.²⁰ The people may be dead but they still have power which enables them to communicate with the living. The dead are able to affect the living in a good or a bad manner depending on how the living people treat the dead. For them (the

¹⁸ Stayt, 1968: 240.

¹⁹ Unger, 1981: 405.

²⁰ Munyai, 2007:5; cf. Ikenga-Metuh, 1991:61-66.

dead) to be near to God is to be able to take the prayers of the living to God and they are able to speak to God on behalf of the living.²¹

If the above discussion is valid, and Samuel was able to take Saul's prayers to God, then African beliefs about the dead might help modern readers to understand how people of the Ancient Near East thought about how they should relate to their dead relatives because they are now living closer to God.

According to Mbiti ancestors can talk. In his book he wrote that "the living dead are bilingual, and they speak the language of men, with whom they lived until recently; and they speak the language of the spirits and of God, to whom they are drawing nearer ontologically".²² This kind of understanding about the living dead serves as the basis of the relationship with God and the living people. For the ancestors to serve as intermediaries between God and living people they have to understand and know the languages of both the living and God.

1.2 Aim of the research

The broad aim of the research is to investigate if a comparative study between African and Ancient Near Eastern religious practices, as they relate in ancestral consultation and the role of the ancestors in the lives of the living, can help modern readers to better understand the Biblical text in its original context. In Africa consulting ancestors is a general practice as mentioned in the introduction. But the question that one should ask is how, where, and when it was done in the Biblical and the Ancient Near Eastern world. It is the aim of this study to investigate how, where, and when it was done in the Ancient Near East. A text like 1 Samuel 28:3-25 certainly points to the reality of the practice in Biblical times, whether condemned by Biblical tradition or not.

The specific aims of the research are: first, to investigate 1 Samuel 28:3-25 in its original context by conducting a comprehensive intra-, inter- and extra-textual analysis of the text; second, to investigate the phenomenon of ancestral veneration in modern African tradition; third, to investigate whether modern African social practice can aid interpreters in understanding and reconstructing the social world of the Ancient Near East in general, and Ancient Israel in particular. Although not a primary aim, a spin-off of the research might be to reflect upon the phenomenon of ancestral consultation in modern African Christianity.

In doing the research, the researcher will also pay attention to the property with which Saul was expecting answers from God before consulting Samuel through the woman at Endor, namely the

²¹ Nürnberger, 2007: 29.

²² Mbiti, 1969:82.

Urim. The function of the *Urim* might be related to the African medium property that is used when consulting the dead. In Venda it is called *Thangu*. The aim is to find out if and how these properties might relate to each other, how the *Urim* functions in Old Testament texts and whether similar properties were in use in the Ancient Near Eastern tradition.

The study might have implications in two directions: from the modern to the ancient as indicated above, but also from the ancient to the modern. It is the aim of the researcher to find ways in interpreting 1 Samuel 28:3-25 in an African context where there are many parallels with the Biblical worldview and where people are using this text to justify what they are doing. The other aim is to investigate other Biblical texts with regard to the ancestors as a medium between God and human beings. The researcher would also like to examine the use of the word אלהים in 1 Samuel 28:13, referring to the spirit of the dead. Why did Saul fail to find answers from שמים, *shamaim*, “heaven”, and went to the שאול, *Sheol*, “underworld?” Thus the study will also touch upon spatial issues and the worldview of the people of the Ancient Near East and contemporary Africans.

1.3 Methodology

This study will focus upon comparing two traditions (African and Ancient Near Eastern) regarding the phenomenon of ancestral veneration and consultation.

The point of departure for the entire study will be a complete exegetical study of 1 Samuel 28:3-25.

The structure of the study will be as follows:

Chapter 1: consists of the motivation for the study, the research problem, the methodology that will be used and the aims of the study.

Chapter 2: deals with the text itself. The method that will be used is, in the first place, an intratextual analysis.²³ It is the researcher’s wish to understand the text itself before moving on to other interpretations and comparisons. The features that will be dealt with in this chapter include: the demarcation of the pericope, morphology, syntax, structural analysis, conspicuous literary features, and genre. This analysis will aid the researcher in interpreting the text, evaluating different translations, and deciding upon his own, best possible translation. In the second place, Chapter 2 will also focus upon intertextual perspectives.²⁴ A study will be done on the theme of ancestral

²³ The intra-textual analysis is also called the literary analysis of the text. This analysis features morphological, syntactical, structural and genre analysis. This analysis helps the reader to understand the structure and intent of a text (Prinsloo, 2003:402; Viviers, 2006:3; Schäder, 2010:4). According to Van Zyl, 2008:140 the intra-textual analysis is a methodological approach which scrutinises the text under discussion by any available valid means.

²⁴ The inter-textual analysis pays attention to the text within its own and broader literary context. Prinsloo defines the inter-textual analysis as the literary relationship between the texts on different levels, from the immediate to the most

eneration in the the Old and the New Testaments. This chapter will thus also go beyond the immediate context of 1 Samuel 28:3-25 in an attempt to understand in the broader context of the biblical tradition.

Chapter 3: focuses on the Ancient Near Eastern tradition with regard to ancestral consultation, and thus contains mainly extratextual information.²⁵ The study includes the socio-religious context on the Ancient Near Eastern communities taking Israel as the main focuss. This is done to understand the Ancient people's reactions towards their ancestors and ancestral consultation.

Chapter 4: deals with the African understanding of ancestral veneration. This chapter is important since the study is about the comparison of the two traditions. This will be done by discussing some of the African scholars who wrote about ancestral veneration. This chapter will also try to study Christianity in Africa and its response to ancestral veneration.

Chapter 5: focuses on a comparison of the African and the Ancient Near Eastern traditions. It is an important chapter because after studying both traditions, one must decide if and how a valid comparison of the two traditions can be made and to see where and how they relate. This chapter will be used as a summary of the whole study, again with reference to the research problem, methodology and aims of the study. The contribution of the researcher's specific analysis to the broader study field will be considered, shortcomings of the study will be reflected on, and opportunities for further studies will be mentioned.

Chapter 6: serves as a summary of all the insights gained from Chapters 2 to 5 of this study. This is to summarise all the main points of those chapters and it will help when the researcher has to conclude the study at the end of this chapter.

1.4 Study objectives

The objectives of this study are, therefore, the following:

1. To make an exegetical analysis of 1 Samuel 28:3-25, using structural analysis as a point of departure.

remote textual affinities of any given text (2003:402; cf. Viviers, 2006:4). "Scripture is compared with scripture" (Van Zyl, 2008:140). In the case of this study, the inter-textual analysis will use both the Old and the New Testament as point of departure, and discuss these texts in the context of Ancient Near Eastern literature.

²⁵ Extra-textual analysis refers to the cultural, social, and political environment as backdrop for the interpretation of a specific text (Prinsloo, 2003:402). This analysis attempts to construct a real-world scene for the text (Van Zyl, 2008:141). In this study the extra-textual analysis will focus on the social and the religious life of the Ancient Near East.

2. To study inter- and extra-Biblical texts related to 1 Samuel 28:3-25 to determine if there are descriptions and/or condemnations of the practice of ancestral worship and the use of mediums in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Near Eastern literature.
3. To investigate how ancestral consultation features in modern African religion and/or African Christianity.
4. To compare 1 Samuel 28:3-25 in the light of Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern parallels with African traditions on the practice of ancestral consultation.
5. To propose a (preliminary) method that can be used when comparing Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical social and religious traditions that no longer exist, and modern social and religious traditions with the purpose to use the modern practice to inform our understanding of the ancient practice.

1.5 Expected results

The study should be regarded as a small test case which might have much wider implications. On the one hand the chosen Hebrew text addresses one religious practice that at first seems strange in the Biblical context. But there are also other “strange” social and religious practices, e.g. the levirate marriage and determining God’s will via the *Urim* and the *Thummim*, which modern readers find difficult to conceptualise. Once one realises that similar social and religious practices are currently “alive” in African tradition, one also realises the possibilities for comparative studies. This study is thus about responsibly using the modern to inform the ancient. It might, however, also work the other way round. The ancient might have implications for the way African people can and should read stories that they found in the Bible and apply it in their context. The research might point to other study areas in this field that can be developed and help modern readers of the Bible to understand the ancient world.

Chapter 2

An intra- and inter-textual analysis of 1 Samuel 28:3-25

2.1 Text and translation: 1 Samuel 28:3-25

Hebrew	English translation
3 וַשְׁמוּאֵל מָת וְיִסְפְּדוּ-לוֹ כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל	<i>And Samuel was dead, and all Israelites had mourned him</i>
וַיִּקְבְּרוּהוּ בְרָמָה וּבְעִירוֹ	<i>and had buried him in Ramah, his own city.</i>
וַשָּׂאוּל הִסִּיר הָאֲבוֹת וְאֶת-הַיִּדְעָנִים מִהָאָרֶץ:	<i>And Saul had chased the mediums and the spiritists from the land.</i>
4 וַיִּקְבְּצוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיָּבֹאוּ וַיַּחֲנוּ בְּשׁוּנֵם	<i>And the Philistines had gathered and came and camped in Shunem.</i>
וַיִּקְבֹּץ שָׂאוּל אֶת-כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל	<i>And Saul gathered all Israelites</i>
וַיַּחֲנוּ בְּגִלְבֹּעַ	<i>and encamped in Gilboa.</i>
5 וַיֵּרָא שָׂאוּל אֶת-מַחֲנֵה פְּלִשְׁתִּים	<i>And Saul saw the camp of the Philistines</i>
וַיִּירָא וַיַּחְרַד לְבוֹ מְאֹד	<i>and he was afraid and his heart trembled greatly.</i>
6 וַיִּשְׁאַל שָׂאוּל בַּיהוָה	<i>And Saul asked from Yahweh,</i>
וְלֹא עָנָהוּ יְהוָה	<i>but Yahweh did not answer him –</i>
גַּם בְּחֻלְמוֹת גַּם בְּאוּרִים גַּם בְּנְבִיאִים	<i>neither in dreams, nor via the Urim or the prophets.</i>
7 וַיֹּאמֶר שָׂאוּל לְעֲבָדָיו	<i>And Saul said to his servants:</i>
בְּקִשׁוּ-לִי אִשָּׁת בַּעַלְת־אֹב	<i>“Find me a woman who is a necromancer</i>
וְאֶלְכָה אֵלֶיהָ וְאִדְרָשְׁהָ-בָּהּ	<i>so I’ll go to her and inquire of her.”</i>
וַיֹּאמְרוּ עֲבָדָיו אֵלָיו	<i>And his servants said to him:</i>
הִנֵּה אִשָּׁת בַּעַלְת־אֹב בְּעֵין דּוֹר	<i>“Behold! There is a woman, a necromancer, in Endor.”</i>
8 וַיִּתְחַפֵּשׂ שָׂאוּל וַיִּלְבַּשׂ בְּגָדִים אֲחֵרִים	<i>And Saul disguised himself and put on other clothes,</i>
וַיֵּלֶךְ הוּא וּשְׁנֵי אַנְשֵׁים עִמּוֹ	<i>and he went, and two other men with him,</i>
וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶל-הָאִשָּׁה לַיְלָה	<i>and they went to the woman at night.</i>
וַיֹּאמֶר קְסַמ־נָא לִי בְּאֹב	<i>And he said: “Please consult for me a spirit,</i>
וְהַעֲלֵי לִי אֶת אֲשֶׁר-אֹמַר אֵלֶיךָ	<i>and bring up to me the one I’ll name to you.”</i>
9 וַתֹּאמֶר הָאִשָּׁה אֵלָיו	<i>And the woman said to him:</i>

הנה אתה ידעת את אשר עשה שאול	<i>“Behold! You know what Saul did</i>
אשר הכרית את־האבות ואת־הידעני מן־הארץ	<i>when he cut off the necromancers and the spiritists out of the land!</i>
ולמה אתה מתנקש בנפשי להמיתני	<i>Why are you setting a trap for my life to bring about my death?”</i>
10 וישבע לה שאול	<i>And Saul swore to her</i>
ביהוה לאמר	<i>by Yahweh saying:</i>
חַי־יְהוָה אִם־יִקְרָךְ עֹן בְּדָבַר הַזֶּה	<i>“By the life of Yahweh if you are punished for this thing!”²⁶</i>
11 ותאמר האשה	<i>And the woman asked:</i>
אתמי אעלה־לך	<i>“Who to bring up to you?”</i>
ויאמר את־שמואל העלי־לי	<i>And he said: “Bring up to me Samuel!”</i>
12 ותרא האשה את־שמואל	<i>When the woman saw Samuel</i>
ותזעק בקול גדול	<i>she cried out in a great voice.</i>
ותאמר האשה אל־שאול לאמר למה רמיתני ואתה שאול:	<i>And the woman said to Saul: “Why did you deceive me? You are Saul!”</i>
13 ויאמר לה המלך אל־תיראי כי מה ראית	<i>And the king said to her: “Do not fear! Indeed, what do you see?”</i>
ותאמר האשה אל־שאול	<i>And the woman said to Saul:</i>
אלהים ראיתי עליי מן־הארץ:	<i>“A divine being I see coming out of the ground!”</i>
14 ויאמר לה מה־תארו	<i>And he said to her: “What is its form?”</i>
ותאמר איש זקן עלה	<i>And she said: “An old man is coming up,</i>
והוא עטה מעיל	<i>and he is wrapped with a robe!”</i>
וידע שאול כי־שמואל הוא	<i>And Saul knew that it was Samuel.</i>
ויקד אפים ארצה וישתחו	<i>And he bowed down his face on the earth and prostrated himself.</i>
15 ויאמר שמואל אל־שאול	<i>And Samuel said to Saul:</i>
למה הרגזתני להעלות אתי	<i>“Why have you disturbed me by bringing me up?”</i>
ויאמר שאול צר־לי מאד ופלישתים נלחמים בי	<i>And Saul said: “I am in a great distress for the Philistines have a war against me,</i>

²⁶ The implication of the oath formula is that Saul swore in Yahweh’s name not to punish the woman in spite of his earlier prohibition of necromancers.

וַאלֹהִים סָר מֵעָלַי וְלֹא־עֲנֵנִי עוֹד	<i>and God has turned away from me and no longer answers me –</i>
גַּם בְּיַד־הַנְּבִיאִים גַּם־בְּחִלְמוֹת	<i>neither through the prophets, nor by dreams,</i>
וְאֶקְרָאָה לְךָ לְהוֹדִיעַנִי מָה אַעֲשֶׂה:	<i>so I have called upon you to make known to me what to do.”</i>
16 וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁמוּאֵל וְלָמָּה תִּשְׁאַלְנִי	<i>And Samuel said: “So why do you ask me?</i>
וַיְהִי סָר מֵעָלַיךָ וַיְהִי עָרֶךָ	<i>Yahweh has turned against you and became your enemy.</i>
17 וַיַּעַשׂ יְהוָה לוֹ	<i>And Yahweh did to you²⁷</i>
כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר בְּיָדִי	<i>what he had said through me:</i>
וַיִּקַּע יְהוָה אֶת־הַמַּמְלָכָה מִיָּדֶךָ	<i>Yahweh has torn the kingdom out of your hands</i>
וַיִּתְּנָהּ לְרֵעֶךָ לְדָוִד	<i>and given it to your neighbour – to David.</i>
18 כַּאֲשֶׁר לֹא־שָׁמַעְתָּ בְּקוֹל יְהוָה	<i>Because you did not obey the voice of Yahweh,</i>
וְלֹא־עָשִׂיתָ חֲרוֹן־אָפוֹ בְּעַמְלֵק	<i>and did not carry out his fierce anger against the Amelekites,</i>
עַל־כֵּן הִדְבֵּר הַזֶּה	<i>therefore this thing</i>
עָשָׂה־לְךָ יְהוָה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה	<i>Yahweh has done to you this day.</i>
19 וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה גַּם אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל עִמָּךְ בְּיַד־פְּלִשְׁתִּים	<i>Yahweh will give both Israel together with you in the hand of the Philistines.</i>
וַיִּמָּחַר אִתָּהּ וּבְנֵיךָ עִמִּי	<i>Yes, tomorrow you and your sons will be with me,</i>
גַּם אֶת־מִחְנֵה יִשְׂרָאֵל יִתֵּן יְהוָה בְּיַד־פְּלִשְׁתִּים:	<i>also the army of Israel Yahweh will give to the hand of the Philistines.”</i>
20 וַיִּמְחַר שָׂאוּל וַיִּפֹּל מְלֵא־קוֹמָתוֹ אֶרְצָה	<i>And immediately Saul fell full length on the ground,</i>
וַיִּכָּא מְאֹד מִדְּבָרֵי שְׁמוּאֵל	<i>and he was filled with fear because of Samuel’s words.</i>
גַּם־כַּחַ לֹא־הָיָה בּוֹ	<i>Also strength was not in him,</i>
כִּי לֹא אָכַל לֶחֶם	<i>because he had not eaten food</i>
כָּל־הַיּוֹם וְכָל־הַלַּיְלָה	<i>the whole day and the whole night.</i>
21 וַתָּבוֹא הָאִשָּׁה אֶל־שָׂאוּל	<i>And when the woman came to Saul</i>
וַתִּרְאֵהוּ כִּי־נִבְהַל מְאֹד	<i>and saw that he was greatly disturbed,</i>
וַתֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו הִנֵּה שָׁמְעָה שְׁפָחָתְךָ בְּקוֹלְךָ	<i>she said to him: “Behold! Your maidservant has obeyed your voice,</i>

²⁷ I follow the suggestion in BHS’ textcritical note (following the Septuagint) that לך should be read in stead of לו.

וְאֲשִׁים נַפְשִׁי בְּכַפִּי	<i>and I have put my life in my hand,</i>
וְאֲשָׁמַע אֶת־דְּבָרֶיךָ	<i>and I obeyed your words</i>
אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ אֵלַי	<i>when you spoke to me.</i>
22 וְעַתָּה שְׁמַע־נָא גַם־אֶתָּה בְּקוֹל שַׁפְחָתְךָ	<i>And now please listen even you to the voice of your maidservant,</i>
וְאֲשָׁמָה לְפָנֶיךָ פֶּתִלְחָם וְאֹכֹל	<i>and let me put before you some food and eat,</i>
וַיְהִי כֵךְ כַּח	<i>so that in you may be strength</i>
כִּי תֵלֵךְ בַּדֶּרֶךְ	<i>when you go on the way.”</i>
23 וַיִּמָּאן וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא אֶכַל	<i>But he refused and said: “I will not eat!”</i>
וַיִּפְרְצוּ־בּו עֲבָדָיו וַנְּסִיחָאֲשָׁה	<i>And his servants joined the woman in urging him,</i>
וַיִּשְׁמַע לְקֹלָם	<i>and he listened to their voices,</i>
וַיָּקָם מִהָאָרֶץ	<i>and he stood up from the ground,</i>
וַיֹּשֶׁב אֶל־הַמִּטָּה:	<i>and he sat on the couch.</i>
24 וְלֵאשָׁה עֵגֶל־מֵרֵבֶק בַּבַּיִת	<i>The woman had a fattened calf in the house,</i>
וַתְּמַהֵר וַתִּזְבַּחַהּ	<i>and she hurried and slaughtered it,</i>
וַתִּקַּח־קִמַח וַתִּלְשׁ וַתַּפְּהוּ מִצּוֹת	<i>and she took flour and kneaded it and baked him unleavened bread.</i>
25 וַתַּגִּשׁ לְפָנֵי־שָׁאוּל וְלְפָנֵי עֲבָדָיו וַיֹּאכְלוּ	<i>And she put before Saul and his servants and they ate.</i>
וַיָּקָמוּ וַיֵּלְכוּ בַלַּיְלָה הַהוּא	<i>Then they rose and went in the same night.</i>

2.2 Introduction

In Chapter 1 it has been indicated that this chapter will be conducted using intratextual and intertextual methods. This chapter will focus on the main text which is 1 Samuel 28:3-25. The intratextual analysis will include demarcation of the pericope, morphological analysis, syntactical analysis, stichometric analysis and structural analysis so that the readers may understand 1 Samuel 28:3-25 in its own context. The morphological study will be conducted in order to understand the use of the words in this chapter and the rest of the study. As part of the intratextual analysis the morphological analysis will be done word for word and will be fully analysed. This will be done in order to gain insight into the chapter before one starts with the intertextual analysis of the text.

Intertextual affinities between 1 Samuel 23:3-25 and other Biblical texts will also be considered. In this part of the research the researcher will look at the texts that condemn the practice and to those that seem to justify the practice. Thus the chapter focuses on the interpretation of 1 Samuel 28:3-25, taking into consideration that many studies on the text have previously been conducted. It is also important though for one to study other texts in interaction with 1 Samuel 28:3-25. The intra- and intertextual analyses will prevent the researcher from imposing views (maybe incorrect views) on 1 Samuel 28:3-25 that will lead to the misinterpretation of the text.

1 Samuel 28:3-25 tells about the last fight that Saul is going to encounter as king of the Israelites. The narrator starts his introduction by telling us about the death of Samuel and that the Israelites had mourned for him (v 3). We are already being told of the death of Samuel in chapter 25:1. Virtually the very same words are used again in 28:3a.

1 Samuel 25:1	1 Samuel 28:3a
<p>וימת שמואל ויקבצו כל ישראל ויספדו לו ויקברו בביתו ברמה</p>	<p>ושמואל מת ויספדו לו כל ישראל ויקברו ברמה ובעירו</p>
<p>Now Samuel died; all Israel assembled and mourned for him. They buried him in his home in Ramah</p>	<p>Now Samuel had died. And all Israel had mourned for him and buried him in Ramah, his own city</p>

This second obituary is meant to remind us of Samuel's death that when we read about Samuel we should not forget that he is dead. We are also told of the funerary custom that we are going to deal with in the coming chapter, which is the mourning custom. The mourning for Samuel was what one can call the "communal mourning" since all the Israelites had assembled and mourned for him. The Hebrew word קבץ used for assemble here also mean "to gather". We are also told that by the time all this was happening Saul had chased all those who practiced necromancy out of the land.

The researcher would like to divide this section in the following way: vv 3-7 are the introduction of the pericope. This starts by telling us about the death of Samuel and what Saul had done to the necromancers as indicated above. In these verses we also hear about Saul trying to find someone who could help him to find answers regarding the outcome of the impending battle since he failed to get an answer from God. Vv 8-14 tell us that Saul went to Endor because he was told that there he could find someone to help him. Vv 15-19 are the verses where Samuel told Saul what was

going to happen to him and his sons. Vv 20-25 can be regarded as the conclusion of the pericope. The woman prepared food for Saul and his servants and after eating they went back to join the other soldiers.

2.3 The placement of 1 Samuel 28:3-25 in the whole book of 1 Samuel

The placement of this text where it is, does not reflect good order because chapter “28:3-25 disturbs the orderly account of the Philistine campaign”.²⁸ The story was interrupted by chapter 29 and 30 because the death of Saul, though predicted in chapter 28, happened in chapter 31 of 1 Samuel. The death of Saul which was proclaimed in chapter 28:19 was fulfilled in 31:6. The right order of the story would be to place chapter 31 before chapter 29. If we are to place chapter 31 before chapter 29 even geographically it would make sense. The reason why it is not in order is that in 1 Samuel 29:1 the Philistines are still at Apheq in the Sharon which is before Shunem, a place where 28:4 says they have arrived. The Philistines are said to have arrived at Shunem in 29:11. To the researcher chapters 29 and 30 of 1 Samuel seem to be the continuation of Samuel 28:2.²⁹ This is also supported by Tsumura who argues that 1 Samuel 28:3-25 chronologically follows chapter 30.³⁰ According to Newsome, the event in 29:1-11 seems to have happened prior to that of chapter 28.³¹ The story of David and Achish continues in chapter 29:1-30:31; then the story of Saul comes back again. The sudden turn of the narrator comes in as a way of telling us that Saul is about to do something bad. Though the chapter seems not to be in order, Newsome, amongst others, regards chapter 28 as the climax of the larger unit which began in chapter 16 which describes the taking over of Saul’s kingship by David and that it is about to end with the death of Saul in chapter 31.³² Arnold proposed that the story was used by the Deuteronomistic historian as a means of characterising the ill-fated king.³³ This, in the end, can be proven correct looking at how Saul lived his life throughout the book. He was disobedient to God who called him. His kingship was taken from him in a shameful manner and was given to David his enemy as we read in 1 Samuel 15.

2.4 Morphological analysis

A complete morphological analysis of the text is provided in ADDENDUM 1.

The morphological analysis in this study refers to the classification of every word in 1 Samuel 28:3-25. The words have been classified within three categories which are: verbs, nouns and

²⁸ Blenkinsopp, 2002:49.

²⁹ Cf. McCarter, 1980:420.

³⁰ Tsumura, 2007:615.

³¹ Newsome, 1982:86. Robinson, 1993:141 remarks “The account of Saul’s visit to the witch of Endor interrupts the narrative, for ch. 29 follows 28:2.”

³² Newsome, 1982:85.

³³ Arnold, 2004: 199.

relation words. This classification helps the reader to understand each and every word within the context of 1 Samuel 28:3-25, where the research will be focused. The nouns include proper nouns, personal names and adjectives. The relation-words category includes prepositions, adverbs, conjunctions and object markers. It is important to have this section in the study so that one can understand the actions within the text and within the context in which everything happened. It is also important to have the morphological analysis of the text to help the researcher with the proper and contextual translation of the text.

2.5 Syntactical analysis

A complete syntactical analysis of the text is provided in ADDENDUM 2.

Syntactical analysis is the study of how words have been arranged to form phrases, clauses and sentences. This study has been divided into two syntactical systems: the ancient one and the modern one. The ancient analysis in this study is referred to as the Masoretic analysis. It is called Masoretic because it was developed by a group of Jewish scholars who played an important role in the development of the Hebrew Bible from the fourth to the ninth centuries AD. This is the group of people that added vowels to the consonantal text in order to preserve the correct pronunciation, interpretation and public reading of the Hebrew text. The second section of the syntactical analysis focuses on the modern analysis which is referred to as the linguistic analysis. This section is divided into four subsections. These subsections are demarcation of the kernel sentences, classification of kernel sentences, categorisation of kernel sentences according to type, and parallel translation.³⁴ All these sections played a crucial role in the analysis of syntax of 1 Samuel 28:3-25.

2.6 Segmentation and structure

A structural analysis of the text is provided in ADDENDUM 3.

This section is important in this study because it helps the researcher to divide 1 Samuel 28:3-25 into small sections. The text is divided into stanzas, strophes, and cola. This is done with special reference to the Masoretic disjunctive accents. A parallel translation is provided for every colon. This analysis helped the researcher when demarcating the pericope into small sections and when deciding on the relationship between the textual units. It makes the structure of the text clear and easy to follow.

³⁴ Cf. Prinsloo, 2008.

2.7 Schematic presentation of structure

1(3-7)	Narrator's introduction (<i>Desperate times in Saul's life</i>)
1.1(3-4)	Saul camps at Gilboa and the Philistines camp at Shunem
1.2(5-6)	Saul is terrified, enquired of God and did not find an answer from God
1.3(7)	Saul talking to his men
1.3.1(7a)	Saul asking where he can find a medium
1.3.2(7b)	He was answered by his men
2(8-14)	Dialogue between Saul and the medium (<i>Saul with the medium at Endor</i>)
2.1(8)	Saul commands the medium to call Samuel for him
2.2(9)	Medium is afraid that she might be killed
2.3(10)	Saul's promise to the woman
2.4(11-12)	Woman finds dead Samuel
2.5	Dialogue between Saul and the woman
2.5.1(13a)	Saul asks what she sees
2.5.2(13b)	Woman tells Saul what she sees
2.5.3(14a)	Saul asks what he looks like
2.5.4(14b)	Woman tells Saul what he looks like
3(15-19)	Samuel announces Saul's death (<i>Saul asks help from Sheol</i>)
3.1(15)	Samuel wakes up from the dead
3.1.1(15a)	Samuel is angry with Saul for disturbing his sleep
3.1.2(15b)	Saul gives the reason why he woke Samuel up
3.2(16-19)	Samuel gives the details about the future of Saul and his army
4(20-25)	Dialogue between Saul and the medium (<i>Saul's last supper before his death</i>)
4.1 (20)	Saul is prostrated on the ground
4.2 (21-22)	Woman wants Saul to eat before he can go
4.3 (23)	Saul does not want food
4.4 (24-25a)	She prepares food for them and they eat
4.5 (25b)	They rise up and go

The structure of this narrative can be summarized as follows:

A Narrator's introduction (vv 3-7)

B Dialogue between Saul and the medium (vv 8-14)

A Samuel announces Saul's death (vv 15-19)

B Dialogue between Saul and the medium (vv 20-25)

2.8 Exegetical discussion of 1 Samuel 28:3-25

2.8.1 Desperate times in Saul's life

Stanza 1 (v 3-7): The narrator starts by mentioning the death and burial of Samuel whose death was mentioned in 25:1. The only difference between 25:1 and 28:3 is that in 25:1 the narrator says *...and buried him in his house at Ramah*, while in 28:3 the narrator writes *...and buried him in Ramah, his own city*.³⁵ Samuel's death is emphasised here to remove all doubts that people might have as the story proceeds. This information is necessary for the readers to understand the story. This information is used as a reminder to the readers before getting into the text that Samuel had died during the consultation time. Baldwin regards this as the second obituary and argues that it was used to link the actions of Saul when he was desperate and deprived of the great prophet's guidance which he had earlier rejected.³⁶ This introduction also makes it clear that the Israelites had mourning customs since they gathered to mourn for their dead prophet Samuel as indicated in 1 Samuel 25:1. It is not clear in this chapter how the customs were performed but what is clear is that they were observed. In Chapter 3 of this study the researcher will outline the customs and their role in the lives of the Israelites. The placement of the death of Samuel in 1 Samuel 25:1 and 1 Samuel 28:3 was described by Polzin as a faint praise to the man who played a crucial role in guiding Israel on the royal path it travelled.³⁷

The introduction also links the death of Samuel to what Saul had done when he prohibited all the necromancers and spiritists. The readers are reminded of what they read in 1 Samuel 25:1 about Samuel's death. The death and burial of Samuel are significant to the whole of chapter 28 and what is presented throughout this passage. The additional information about Samuel's death is placed here to provide information for the coming scene.³⁸ According to Blenkinsopp the story was placed here because of what must be known to make sense of what follows.³⁹

³⁵ Ackroyd, 1971:211 is of the view that there was a slip in translation where the right translation or word is "in his own grave". Omanson and Ellington's understanding of "Ramah his own city" was that Samuel did not own the city, they made this clear when they write: "The Hebrew does not mean that Samuel owned Ramah but rather that it was Samuel's hometown" (2001:569). This idea can get strong support from 1 Samuel 25:1 which says *בביתו ברמה*.

³⁶ Baldwin, 1988:159.

³⁷ Polzin, 1989:217.

³⁸ Edelman, 1991:240.

³⁹ Blenkinsopp, 2002:51.

Saul had barred mediums from the land and made the practice illegal because he was a king and he was following the commandments of God (Leviticus 19:31; 20:6; 26; Deuteronomy 18:10-11). It is for the first time in verse 3 that we are told about the removal of the אֹרֵב⁴⁰ “mediums” and the יִדְעֵנִי “wizards” from the land of Israel. The text does not say how and when the mediums and wizards were removed from the land of Israel, but what is clear is that it was during the kingship of Saul. Arnold⁴¹ considers not knowing when and how the necromancers and the wizards were removed from Israel as the “gaps” that we can fill using the Deuteronomistic history and the Mosaic Law. The Mosaic Law is helpful in this section because it forbade mediums, wizards, and necromancers. The removal of the necromancers and wizards was an indication that the practice of necromancy and other religious practices related to the dead was a well-known practice in the ancient world and specifically Israel.

According to Blenkinsopp the reason behind Saul putting the mediums and the wizards out of business, was to enforce the observance of Deuteronomic-Mosaic law.⁴² Saul had to drive them out because his only intention was to please Yahweh and Yahweh alone. This, in the researcher’s view, happened when he was still on good terms with Yahweh. The implication of the Deuteronomistic-Mosaic law is that “Samuel’s spirit could illegally be consulted by any Israelite”.⁴³ Not only Samuel’ spirit but also other spirits of the dead were prohibited from being consulted. The Law of Moses prohibited consulting fortune tellers and mediums.⁴⁴ Saul proved his faithfulness to Yahweh by taking action against necromancy and other forms of religious malpractice by expelling from Israel those who practised it.⁴⁵ This serves as a good introduction to the whole story in chapter 28 as it shows us that all the actions committed by Saul were against God’s law and the law that Saul himself enforced.⁴⁶ Saul was so confused and fearful to the extent that the law of God did not matter any longer. He lost his faithfulness to Yahweh and hoped that the people he prohibited in the past would help him when Yahweh seemed not to be helpful.

In v 7 we see that Saul wants to go against his own conviction about the necromancers. It is shocking to learn that Saul, who expelled the אֹרֵב “necromancers” from the land, is the one who wants to שָׂאֵל “inquire” from them. When Saul went to seek help from the necromancer he was going against the law of God and his own conviction about the laws of God. Prophetic guidance and

⁴⁰ Leneman, 2010:177 states: “The word אֹרֵב itself means ghost or necromancer (depending on the context in which it is found), yet passages that literally mean ‘consult a ghost’ are understood to mean ‘consult one who calls up ghosts’”.

⁴¹ Arnold, 2004:200-201.

⁴² Blenkinsopp, 2002:51.

⁴³ Edelman, 1991:240.

⁴⁴ Omanson and Ellington, 2001:569.

⁴⁵ Ackroyd, 1971:211 (cf. also Chafin, 1989:216-17).

⁴⁶ Blenkinsopp, 2002:51.

the ability to determine the divine will was crucial to him before he could engage in a war. Lacking these two important aspects has led him astray to such an extent that he felt consulting the dead would be a solution. In this case, Saul should have realised that all those things which were happening were caused by sin, which he had committed to in 1 Samuel 14:37-38. Saul went on to take a route used by his servants when Saul was terrified by the evil spirits in 1 Samuel 16:14-16. The words אֹרֵב “necromancer” and יִדְעָנִי “the wizards” are commonly used in parallels with the word מוֹת “dead” as in Deuteronomy 18:11 and Isaiah 8:19. The אֹרֵב is someone who calls up the spirit of a dead person in order to reveal the future of the living. The word יִדְעָנִי comes from the verb "to know" and it refers to the persons who were believed to be able to consult the dead.⁴⁷ It is only here in 1 Samuel 28:7 that we find a combination of the word אִשָּׁת בַּעֲלַת־אֹרֵב , *a woman who is a necromancer*, in the whole Bible. The term בַּעֲלַת (f) or בַּעַל (m) if used in front of any noun normally signifies “mistress or master of”.⁴⁸ This combination as used in this chapter signifies that the woman at Endor was a mistress of necromancy.

1 Chronicles 10:13-14 states that the cause of Saul’s death was because he consulted the spirits of the dead instead of asking God. One can argue that the “woman” referred to in 1 Chronicles 10:13 is the woman that Saul had consulted at Endor. This is because in the Hebrew Bible we are not told about any other אֹרֵב that Saul had consulted which ultimately led to his death. Saul’s death happened just after he had visited Endor for the consultation of the dead Samuel. This shows a very close relationship between necromancy and the dead because necromancy is a way in which the living can consult the dead.

In this stanza it is clear that both armies had set up camp, and the Philistines had stationed themselves at Shunem⁴⁹ (v 3a) which is around 7 kilometres north of the town of Jezreel. Saul had camped with the Israelite army on the mountains of Gilboa (vs 3b) on the south of the Jezreel valley.⁵⁰ The army of the Philistines seems to have been bigger than the Israelite army because when Saul saw the Philistine army he was frightened and terrified (vs 5) because it was a big army. The army of the Philistines when they fought against Israel’s army were fully prepared and they brought a big and frightening army. When Saul looked at the army of the Philistines he was יָרָא “afraid” and חָרַד “trembled”. These two verbs were used to express the great fear in Saul’s heart.⁵¹ This was not the first time Saul was frightened by the Philistine army. In chapter 17 the whole army of Israel, including Saul himself, was frightened by the Philistine army. In chapter 13 Saul fought

⁴⁷ Omanson and Ellington, 2001:570.

⁴⁸ Leneman, 2010:177.

⁴⁹ Shunem is a place associated with the story of Elisha in 2 Kings 4, it was about 32 km north of Aphek. By going thus far shows that they were determined and ready to take Saul’s kingdom (cf. Baldwin, 1988:158).

⁵⁰ Ackroyd, 1971:211.

⁵¹ Omanson and Ellington, 2001:571.

against the Philistines while other Israelites were too scared and in chapter 28 one can only ask questions such as “what happened with the Saul of chapter 13?”

In v 6 Saul tried to שאל “inquire” from God for a solution and he failed to get answers from God because God did not ענה “answer” him. The verb שאל is the legitimate verb used to inquire from God. It was used in 1 Samuel 10:22; 14:37; 22:10; 23:2 to inquire from God. The verb is closely related to the etymology of *Sheol* since *Sheol* is often suggested to be a place of inquiry, referring to the practice of necromancy.⁵² Saul was expecting answers from הלום “dreams”, אורים *Urim* and נביאים “prophets”. These three were the legal ways in which a person could get answers from Yahweh as mentioned in Jeremiah 18:18 and Ezekiel 7:26. Saul had tried first to use the proper ways of finding the truth before he proceed along the wrong path. Not finding answers from these three ways gives him reason to fear because it was clear that Yahweh had abandoned him and David was no longer in his corner to help him win the battles as he did with the Philistines in chapter 17.⁵³ Yahweh answered David by *Urim* (23:6-12), by prophets (22:5), and also by dreams (23:6-5) and when Saul tried to get answers from Him, “the Lord did not answer him” in any of these three legal ways.⁵⁴

Dreams: הלום is the Hebrew word for “dream”. Lower defined this dream as “a series of thoughts, images, or emotions occurring during sleep”.⁵⁵ The Old Testament understanding of dreams is that they have three different origins which are: a natural origin as maintained in Ecclesiastes 5:3, divine origin like the one in Genesis 28:12, and others with an evil origin found in Deuteronomy 13:1-2 and Jeremiah 23:32. This was a way in which God would communicate with His people telling them what would happen to them in the future, and these were the legitimate methods for the revelation from God (Genesis 37:5-9; 40:1-41:36; Numbers 12:6; 1 Kings 3:6). This was the major role of dreams in the Old Testament. The other role of dreams concerned the prophetic functions.

Dreams were used to foretell the events that would happen in the future. This includes Joseph’s dreams about his brothers in Genesis 37, the dreams that Joseph interpreted while in Egypt and Pharaoh’s dreams in Genesis 40-41. These dreams were interpreted by wise man like Joseph in Egypt (Genesis 40-41) and Daniel in Babylon (Daniel 2). Those who interpreted dreams were highly esteemed in the Ancient Near Eastern world.⁵⁶ Not everyone was able to interpret dreams in the Ancient world but special people like Daniel and Joseph could interpret dreams. These were the dreams used by God to warn his people of upcoming event in their lives.

⁵² Tsumura, 2007:617.

⁵³ Edelman, 1991:242.

⁵⁴ Polzin, 1989:218.

⁵⁵ Lower, 1975:162.

⁵⁶ Lower, 1975: 163.

In 1 Samuel 28:3-25 Saul was expecting the divine dreams to tell him about the results of the conflict he was about to engage in. He could not get into this conflict without finding a divine will about it. This proves the role of dreams in the Old Testament and the Ancient Near East as of high importance. The story of Saul failing to find answers from divine dreams shows that one needs to be in good standing with God who provided those dreams. Saul failed to receive a dream because he was not in good standing with God who provides divine dreams.

Urim: The Hebrew word אורִים, *Urim*, does not have a clear etymology in the Hebrew Bible. The אורִים in many instances in the Hebrew Bible is mentioned together with the תמים of which the etymology is not clear in the Hebrew Bible. These words were mentioned together in Deuteronomy 33:8; Leviticus 8:8; Exodus 28:30 and Ezra 2:63. *Urim* alone was mentioned in Numbers 27:21 and 1 Samuel 28:6 when Saul was expecting answers from it. There are some suggestions about the word that it might have been derived from the word אור meaning “light”.⁵⁷ If this is true, then the main function of the אורִים was to bring light to the people about the future. When Saul used them he was expecting light from the *Urim* about his future, but the *Urim* showed him only darkness. The *Urim* did not give the expected results because of the relationship between Saul and God. If the *Urim* failed to give answers because Saul did not listen to God, it means that the *Urim* are controlled by God though they are used by the priest.

The *Urim* and the *Thummim* were small objects used by Israelite priests to find out God’s will.⁵⁸ The use of *Urim* was the other way in which God would tell what was going to happen in the future of his people. These were the priestly tools used by the high priest to inquire from Yahweh (Numbers 27:21). The *Urim* and the *Thummim* would have Hebrew alphabets on them from which the priest would derive a meaning. The information provided by them would be useful among the Israelites. These two were used as a means of judgement exercised by the high priest (Exodus 28:30). During the post-exilic period the *Urim* and *Thummim* were still regarded as divinary devices and were used by priests in the temple and the holy of holies.⁵⁹

The *Urim* and *Thummim* were kept in a pouch on the high priest’s breastplate (Exodus 28:30). Saul could not get these pebbles because he had killed all the priests for assisting David (1 Samuel 22:17) and only Abiathar escaped who took the pebbles to David. The *Urim* were commonly used together with the *Thummim* as a way of communicating with God (1 Samuel 14:41; Exodus 28:30; Leviticus 8:8; Deuteronomy 33:8; Ezra 2:63; Nehemiah 7:65). According to Ellison,⁶⁰ “Thummim

⁵⁷ Kugler, 2009:719.

⁵⁸ Omanson and Ellington, 2001:571.

⁵⁹ Kugler, 2009:719-21.

⁶⁰ Ellison, 1975:850-852.

and Urim could only provide two answers which are: Yes or No”. They are said to have been two identical stones used in discovering God’s will to His people. There might have been many *Thummims* and *Urim*s in Israel because when Saul went to Gilboa, the other ephod was still with David (1 Samuel 30:7).

The use of the *Urim* in 1 Samuel 28:6 makes it clear that they were used in finding the divine will of God. It also makes it clear that this divine answer was not always obtainable but sometimes one received no answers from them since Saul failed to receive answers. Saul failed to get answers because God had already turned against him. Though the *Urim* and the *Thummim* were used by the Priests in Ancient Israel, God had final power over them. His reply would depend on the state of the relationship between Him and the one who contacted Him. This is all clear in the story of Saul that God did not reply to Saul’s wishes because of the sour relationship between them.

The prophets: 1 Chronicles 29:29 uses three different words that refer to the man who executes the prophetic act. The words are רֹאֵה meaning the “seer”, נְבִיא meaning the “prophet” and חֹזֶה meaning the “seer”. Here the focus will be directed towards נְבִיא as the one Saul failed to get answers from. The word has more than 300 occurrences in the Hebrew Bible. Prophets had an important role in the society of Israel; they were the ones who anointed kings as Samuel did when he anointed Saul (1 Samuel 10:1) and David (1 Samuel 16:13) to be the king of Israel. Prophets could also heal the kings when sick (Isaiah 38:21). The word “prophets” became the standard term by which those who were the intermediaries were known.⁶¹ These were people through whom God would speak to his nation telling them what was going to befall them. The prophets are the ones God uses to put His words in their mouths (Jeremiah 1:9); they were the mouthpiece of God.

During the time of Saul’s battle against the Philistines Samuel had died. Saul had relied on Samuel his entire life since it was Samuel who ordained him as a king. In this chapter we are not told which prophets were consulted and were denied the divine will because the next prophet that we are told about is Nathan (2 Samuel 7:2-17; 12:1-25) and that was after Saul’s death during David’s kingship. We can only speculate that God had brought other prophets into Israel after the death of Samuel, or they were working together with Samuel while he was still alive.

After failing to get answers via the above-mentioned methods, the only option left to him was to go against his own convictions and the laws of God. He had to find a woman who could help him consult with the dead. He wanted a woman through whom he could קַסֵּם “divine”. Since there was no woman within the borders of Israel who could help him, he had to find someone outside his own

⁶¹ Petersen, 2009:623.

territories. This shows that Saul was desperate because God was no longer on his side because he did not follow Yahweh's command when Saul failed to destroy the Amelekites in chapter 15. God's mission was to destroy everything which Saul did not do. In 1 Samuel 15:28 God took the kingship from Saul and gave it to his neighbour who was better than he was.

Saul was ready to consult the אֹבִיב “necromancer” whom he had prohibited before, and this was because of the serious military threat.⁶² Hoffner is of the opinion that there are three different views of the etymology אֹבִיב.⁶³ The first meaning of the word is that it refers to the bottle made out of skin which holds wine (Job 32:19). The word is used to refer to the ancestral spirit and the images (v 8) representing them. The word אֹבִיב in vv 3, 7 and 9 is used referring to the people who are able to consult the spirits of the dead. Holladay translated the word as “prophesying spirit of the dead”.⁶⁴ The Vulgate translates the word as the “sorcerer” referring to the people who help with the necromancy.

The second view on this word is that the word was derived from the sematic verbal root which is based on the Arabic verb “āba” which means “to return”. The theory was opposed by the fact that such a verbal root is not used in the older Semitic languages such as Akkadian, Ugaritic, Hebrew, Phoenician and the Aramaic.

The third view is a non-Semitic migratory word which is found in Sumerian (ab is opening), Akkadian (aptu), Hurrian and Hittite (a-a-bi, normally ayabi), Ugaritic (ēb) and the Hebrew (obh). All these words in their different languages have the same meaning: “medium” or “sacrificial pit”. This was a pit which was dug and through which the spirits of the dead were called up (1 Samuel 28:7). The Old Testament does not show how the pit was prepared but in 1 Samuel 28:13 the spirit of the dead Samuel came from the ground which one can assume was a prepared pit used for the calling of dead spirits. The spirits of the dead which are troubled and who speak from the ground (Isaiah 29:4) were referred to using the same words. The same word was used to refer to the necromancer who calls forth the spirits of the dead to get information (Leviticus 19:31; 20:6; 27; Deuteronomy 18:11; 1 Samuel 28:3, 9).

2.8.2 Saul with the medium at Endor

Stanza 2 (8-14): The stanza is mainly focused on what happened after Saul was told about someone who can help him. The stanza also talks about what happened at Endor when Saul found the woman and the help he was hoping for.

⁶² Hoffner, 1974:133.

⁶³ Hoffner, 1974:131.

⁶⁴ Holladay, 1988:6.

After Saul was told in v 7 about the woman at Endor, together with his servants he went there the same night. Saul הִפְשׁוּ “disguises” himself so that the woman may not recognise him. He knew that if he does not disguise himself, she would not help him because he was the one who expelled necromancers from Israel. Disguise was a normal behaviour during this time when people did not want their identities to be revealed (1 Kings 14:2; 20:38; 22:30). The other thing that might have forced Saul to disguise himself is that if along the way to Endor he should come across the enemy, they would not recognise him and also that the medium would also not recognise him.⁶⁵ According to Coggins it was too late for him to disguise himself because it hadn’t done him any good. The divine disfavour had reached its inevitable result in the death of Saul.⁶⁶ This is not a correct observation because Saul was not disguising himself from God or death, but from the woman at Endor and the enemy should he meet one along the way.

The practice that Saul was about to carry out was the same as that which the Philistines did in 1 Samuel 6:2 when they called upon their gods asking about the ark of the Lord. The act that Saul committed was depicted as sinful when rebellion was equated to the sin of קִסָּם “divination” in 1 Samuel 15:23. This was said to Saul by Samuel after Saul failed to complete God’s mission. Saul himself knew it was sinful and against the law of God; that is the reason why he expelled them from the land (1 Samuel 28:3b).

In v 9 the woman was not sure what to do mainly because she feared for her life and this is clear from what she said talking to Saul למה אתה מתנפש להמיתני “why then are you trying to trap me and get me killed?” Without knowing that she was talking to Saul, she asked him if he knew what Saul had done to the mediums. The woman was in respect of the royal decree and she did not want to violate that. She knew that going against the royal decree would be calling death upon herself. She thought it was a trap for her to be killed or was a way to find out if there is anyone who still practices necromancy. It is for this reason she started by reminding Saul of the danger he was putting her in for breaking the law of the king. This shows that the woman was practicing the קִסָּם within the borders of Israel and indeed she was an Israelite who adhered to the decrees of the king. Performing the קִסָּם could lead to her death. In this chapter Saul is the one who had made the law against the necromancy and yet he was the breaker of the law he enforced. This was happening at night which was the suitable time for such illicit consultation.⁶⁷

In v 10 Saul, under the authority of chieftaincy, gave a woman his word by שָׁבַע “swearing” that no עוֹן “punishment” shall come upon her for consulting the dead the king would ask for. Not being

⁶⁵ Klein, 2008:271.

⁶⁶ Coggins, 1991:56-57.

⁶⁷ Ackroyd, 1971:213 (cf. also Klein, 2008:271).

punished does not mean what she is doing is right, but because she is doing it for the king there would not be punishment. Saul swore to the woman in the name of Yahweh. Swearing by Yahweh's name was to say that Yahweh will not do anything about it.⁶⁸ For Saul to do that was against the third commandment of God: not using the name of Yahweh in vain (Exodus 20:7). At the time that Saul was swearing by Yahweh's name he had already been forsaken by Yahweh and he had no authority to associate Yahweh's name with his acts.

In v 11 the woman was convinced that nothing would happen to her and she wanted to do as Saul had asked and get answers from Samuel. This became clear when she asked אעלה-לך את-מי “whom shall I bring up for you?” and Saul answered by saying את-שמואל העל-י-לי “bring up Samuel for me”. “Saul's request that Samuel should be summoned is a reminder that it is he who is seen as the guiding spirit in Israel throughout this period”.⁶⁹ Since Saul knew that Samuel was a great servant of God in his lifetime that used to carry God's message to him, he hoped that Samuel's spirit would still be connected to Yahweh.

In v 12 we are not told of the practice or the rituals that the woman performed to get the dead person onto the scene. We are only told about the appearance of Samuel. When the woman saw that it was Samuel who was coming out of the ground, she realised that the person she was helping was Saul. The question that we can try to answer is, “why after all this conversation did she not recognise that it was Saul she was talking to?” The answer can be that she knew about the relationship between the two and Saul was the only person who could long for Samuel at times of war.

After realising that he frightened the woman, in v 13 Saul starts by making a promise to the woman that nothing will happen to her, so she should אל ירא “have no fear”. He might have done this to make the woman feel free to tell him everything that he wanted to know and what she saw. When the woman felt free she told him she sees a אלהים “a god”, a “godlike being”⁷⁰ עלה מן-הארץ “coming out of the earth”. The appearance of the dead Samuel was described as “a god”. The woman described him in such a way that Saul would recognise him by his dress code. Only two descriptions were used for Saul to know that it was Samuel: איש זקן “old man” and מעיל “robe”. He was buried with his prophetic robe מעיל. Polzin referred to this robe as a “robe of royalty”⁷¹ According to Beuken, “Saul recognises Samuel by this garment”.⁷² Samuel in this section is identified by his prophetic robe. By wearing his prophetic robe he could still execute his prophetic

⁶⁸ Edelman, 1991:244.

⁶⁹ Ackroyd, 1971:213.

⁷⁰ Hertzberg, 1964:219 (cf. also Beuken, 1978:9-10).

⁷¹ Polzin, 1989:219.

⁷² Beuken, 1978:10.

responsibilities from the grave. From the above statements one can say that people in the Ancient Near East were buried with their office or usual clothes so that their spirits may be easily identified. This was the robe that Saul tore in 15:27 which was described as the act of God taking the kingship way from Saul and giving it to David (28:17), which was fulfilled in chapter 31.

The woman only had to describe the appearance and Saul knew that it was Samuel, and before saying anything he “worshipped” the dead Samuel. ויקד אפים ארצה וישתחוו “and he bowed (קדד) down his face on the ground and he did obeisance/worshipped”. These are the words used when people are worshipping God. People were expected to show respect to their God by kneeling and bowing their faces down. Saul bows down in an act signalling humility, submission and a plea for mercy.⁷³ This was the first time that Saul bowed to anyone because he realised that it was time for him to do so because he had already been rejected. He only bowed down for Yahweh in 15:31 while people, like David in 24: 8, have been bowing for him. In the Old Testament text (Genesis 24:26; Exodus 34:8; 12:27; Numbers 22:31) the worship which Saul directed towards Samuel was directed to God and in 1 Samuel 24:9 it was directed towards Yahweh. He bowed for Samuel in the same way that he bowed for God. This was a sign of showing all respect and honour to the person because of his position. Edelman⁷⁴ understood this as a sign of learning on Saul’s part that there was a need of humility since this was the first time signalling humility, submission and a plea for mercy. Humility and submission are important during worship; the problem here is that this act of worship and obeisance was directed towards the spirit of the dead. Saul, instead of worshipping and submitting to God, is now giving all that to the dead Samuel.

Saul exhibited the same respect he had for Samuel during his days on earth. Saul still took Samuel as the prophet through whom he could know God’s future plans. According to Beuken this was the last time Samuel acted as a prophet.⁷⁵ The sign of worship was in honour of Samuel’s status even though he was dead. For Saul, Samuel being able to know the plans of God from the grave deserved honour.

2.8.3 Saul asks for help from *Sheol*

Stanza 3 (15-19): This is where Saul is told about what he was searching for. According to Conroy this is the “climax of the story”.⁷⁶ This was the final encounter between King Saul and Samuel who was dead by that time. Saul in this part speaks directly to Samuel without the help of a medium. The verdict was not what Saul was expecting but what God intended. On his appearance Samuel, before

⁷³ Edelman, 1991:247.

⁷⁴ Edelman, 1991:246.

⁷⁵ Beuken, 1978:3.

⁷⁶ Conroy, 1983:85.

saying anything, starts by asking Saul why he רגז “disturbed” him in his sleep. This shows that Samuel was resting and did not want to be disturbed. Samuel was dead and should have been allowed to rest because the place of the dead was to be peaceful and a place of rest (Job 3:13-19).⁷⁷ Bringing back Samuel from the world of the dead was an interference with the normal course of events.⁷⁸ Saul’s answer shows great distress caused by the upcoming battle against the Philistines and by the stress of feeling God’s absence in his life and not answering him by the usual ways (5-6). Since God was not responding through the usual and legal ways after consulting him, his last hope was Samuel (15b).

Samuel’s answer to Saul’s plea implies that the spirit of God was no longer with Saul because He had departed from him and has סור “turned” against him and Saul has become God’s ער “enemy”. Humphreys described Samuel’s answer to Saul as ‘terse announcement’.⁷⁹ Samuel, in his words, confirmed what Saul already knew: that God has turned away from him and why God has turned away from him. Samuel was not there to tell Saul what he should do but to tell him what will happen to him and his sons. Saul did not listen to God and that made him God’s enemy. It was no longer necessary for Saul to bring up Samuel because the verdict that Samuel brought was not new, but the same as the one given in 1 Samuel 15:28. In 1 Samuel 15:28 the name of the person to whom the kingship was given was not mentioned, but Samuel in this chapter makes it clear that the kingship was passed over to David (v 17). This statement comes as an emphasis on the verdict Samuel gave to Saul about his kingship in chapter 15. The message that Samuel had while he was still alive is the same message he gave even from death. The punishment that God is giving Saul is based on the disobedience that Saul showed on God’s mission to destroy the Amalekites. God was angry with them and He wanted to use Saul and his army to carry the anger of God to the Amalekites (1 Samuel 15:1-35).

The verdict that Samuel had for Saul and the Israelites was that the war that he was going to engage in was going to take his life and the lives of his sons. Samuel’s words were just a fulfillment of his own prophecy in 15:28. Saul’s disobedience did not only cost him his life and his kingship, but also the lives of his sons. The disobedience of the fathers compelled God to punish the children as well (Exodus 20:5; Deuteronomy 5:9). Saul and his sons were going to join Samuel in the place of the dead the day following the verdict. Saul might have been cut off from the plans of God but he was still going to join the dead people of God in *Sheol*, as we read in Samuel’s verdict in v 19. The view of the earth was that there was only one place of the dead which is called שאול. The good and the

⁷⁷ Baldwin, 1988:160 (cf. also Klein, 2008:272; Ackroyd, 1971:215). Robinson, 1993:143 states “It is assumed that the spirits of the dead were in a state of rest inside the earth (cf. Isa. 29:4) and they did not want to be disturbed”.

⁷⁸ Omanson and Ellington, 2001:577.

⁷⁹ Humphreys, 1982:106.

bad both go to the same place as Samuel (the good) and Saul (the bad). According to Robinson, both the man with the spirit of God and the man with the evil spirit would be in the same place after death.⁸⁰

2.8.4 Saul's last supper before his death

Stanza 4 (20-25): This is the conclusion of the whole narrative and Saul is shown as a powerless man after hearing the verdict. The man who was the tallest of all men among the Israelites (9:2) was down and powerless. This powerlessness symbolises the end of his life. In this stanza the authority that Saul had when visiting the woman has now gone because he is controlled by this woman.

When the woman came into the picture again she started by asking Saul to eat and when he declined, she used her authority and told him that he should start to listen to her as she had listened to him when she put her life in danger to help him. She is now the one who is telling him what to do because she listened to him when he came. The word שמע used here is imperative masculine singular. He had to listen to her because she listened to him first and put her life at risk (v 21). He was powerless because he had not eaten anything for the whole day and night. Miscall suggests that he was weak because he was fasting and his refusal to eat was because of his consternation.⁸¹

The woman showed hospitality by taking the עגל־מרבֵק “fattened-calf” that she had prepared for the king. This was a special meal because the woman slaughtered a fattened calf.⁸² The researcher views this calf as a sacrifice to honour Samuel for her response when needed. The act of honouring the dead Samuel involved Saul in an ancestral cult and this was also shared by Fischer: “it confirms that Saul was taking part in an ancestral cult”.⁸³ This was the last royal meal that Saul had in his life and this prepared him for the journey to the dead.⁸⁴ This meal was described by Fischer⁸⁵ as a “counterpoint” to the meal that Saul had after being ordained as a king over Israel (1 Samuel 9:12). This was the last recorded meal that Saul had before his death. It was prepared for him so that he may have strength to get to the battlefield where his death was said to happen. After having the meal Saul and his servants went back to the camp to join the other soldiers.

2.9 Conclusion

It has been made clear from the introduction that this chapter will utilize intratextual and intertextual methods to elucidate the meaning of 1 Samuel 28:3-25 in its immediate and broader

⁸⁰ Robinson, 1993:143.

⁸¹ Miscall, 1986:170.

⁸² Ackroyd, 1971:216.

⁸³ Fischer, 2001:40.

⁸⁴ Chafin, 1989:221.

⁸⁵ Fischer, 2001:39.

context. The intratextual analysis was necessary in that it paves the way for the researcher to the intertextual analysis and also for the extratextual perspectives that will follow in the next chapter. In the study some of the important aspects such as *Urim*, dreams and prophets were investigated. This was done in the search for their useage within the Israelite and the immediate context. The study of morphological analysis, structural analysis and syntactical analysis was conducted on how best the text can be demarcated. This was done to help the researcher in the extra-textual analysis so that one may not read anything untoward into the text. This chapter links up with the following chapter. While this chapter mainly focused upon 1 Samuel 28:3-25, the next will investigate the implications of the text in the broader Ancient Near Eastern context.

Chapter 3

Ancestral consultation in the Ancient Near East

3.1 Introduction

After studying 1 Samuel 28:3-25, the researcher realised that it is also important to look at the broader context of Israel which is part of the Ancient Near Eastern tradition. In Chapter 2 the researcher concentrated on the immediate context of the text and Chapter 3 helps us to understand the cultural and traditional religions in the Ancient Near East. This chapter will study the funerary customs in the Ancient Near Eastern traditions. This will include an understanding of death and all that comes after death, including ancestral veneration in the Ancient Near East. In this chapter the Ancient Near Eastern traditions will refer to Mesopotamia, Egypt and Israel. The chapter will also investigate the Yahwistic views about ancestral consultation. This chapter can mainly be regarded as an extratextual analysis where the whole Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near Eastern context will be investigated with regard to ancestral veneration.

3.2 Worldview of the Ancient Near East

Each and every society has its own view of space and physical place. According to Prinsloo space can refer to a physical place, but often society attaches certain connotations to space.⁸⁶ Space has an emotional undertone; it contributes to the atmosphere of the story. Space plays an important role in the narrative because it reflects the immediate context of the narrator.⁸⁷ Concepts of space (and time) are subtexts that are cultural constructs. Constructed in and by cultures, they arise and change in unison with other elements in a culture.⁸⁸ Cosmology is part of a cultural heritage which is as old as the religion itself.⁸⁹ Every story that is narrated is narrated within a particular context and that context should help us understand the people's worldview. People's worldview can be influenced by religion and the tradition in which they live. The worldview is very complex because it is not the same worldwide but differs in terms of context. It is for that reason the researcher considered it important for this study to also investigate how the people of the Ancient Near East understood their worldview. Their worldview will help the reader to gain insight into the people of the Ancient Near East and their religion.

Matthew summerises three dimensions of space: "First space" is the physical space, the concrete space that can be mapped by those who live in it. "Physical space" is continuously redefined by

⁸⁶ Prinsloo, 2006:740.

⁸⁷ Prinsloo, 2005:458-459.

⁸⁸ Flanagan, 2002:4 (cf. also Matthews, 2003:12).

⁸⁹ Bottéro, 2001:77.

human presence and individual interpretation of the ideology of place. “Second space” is the imagined space. This is where space touches upon the psychological, ideological, religious and philosophical dimensions of human behaviour. “Third space” is the space lived by people and is where social groups confront space and reflect upon the ideology of the society.⁹⁰ This shows that space is not only that which we can see and touch, but also that which we can imagine. His third view of space shows that there is a connection between the space that we see and the one we can only imagine. The space lived by people is where they practice their religions and ideas. People of the Ancient Near East did not only live in their space but they also had their own imaginations of that space. This served them well in understanding and practicing their religion and their God.

According to Wyatt space should be interpreted according to one’s context and situation. His interpretation of Ancient Near Eastern space is with two axes which are horizontal and vertical. Within the two axes there are four directions which are:

- (i) East: the Eastern side is from where the sun rises and turning towards the East means facing the sun.
- (ii) West: when one faces the East, it means the West is behind us and still in the future.
- (iii) South: this is the right side and associated with good.
- (iv) North: is on the left side and is associated with bad or danger. The left side is where the gods who have have dangerous power dwell.⁹¹

This was important to the ancient people in order for them to know which direction is more important than the other. For them East was the direction where the new dawn comes from. West was where their future lies. The Southern part was a place from where they always expected good things because it was on their right-hand side. North was the place of dangerous gods. It was a place where they would not go since it was associated with dangerous powers that might harm them.

The Mesopotamian understanding of the universe had six levels. There are three levels of heaven and three levels of earth as maintained by Bottéro.⁹² The Mesopotamian worldview helps us understand their religious background and the context from which their religion was developed. The

⁹⁰ Mathews, 2003:12-13 (cf. also Prinsloo, 2005:458-460).

⁹¹ Wyatt, 2001:35-36.

⁹² Bottéro (2001:77) described the levels of the heaven and of the earth by saying at the very top there was an “upper heaven” where *Anu* reigned. The upper heaven was then followed by the “intermediary heaven” where there is a seat of *Marduk* surrounded by the celestial gods (the *Igigi*). The last is the “inferior/lower heaven” which is inhabited by the stars and constellations, the images and the reflections of gods. On the levels of the earth there was the “upper earth” which is the inhabited earth. Under the inhabited earth there was an “intermediate earth” which was the *Apsû*, the universal fresh water and the residence of *Éa*. The sixth and the bottom was the “lower earth” which is the headquarters of the *Anunnaki*, the infernal gods. This is the place where humans meet after death. In Egypt the lower earth is understood as having seven gates (cf. Wyatt, 2001:76).

upper heaven was a place where the throne of the main god was placed. There was also an intermediary heaven occupied by Marduk and the *Igigi* (celestial) gods. The inferior heaven was the reflection of gods and people could see it. The earth also had three levels, one of which was the one they occupied. This was a place where they practiced their religion and other day-to-day practices. The most important one in this study is the lower earth because that is where the ancestors live. This helps us to understand ancestral practices in the Mesopotamian context.

The Israelites have demarcated their universe with three levels which are heaven, earth and the underworld/netherworld. Heaven is the realm of the gods; earth is meant to be inhabited by humans, while the netherworld is the world of the dead. The earth lies horizontally at the centre of the sphere. Below, above and around the earth is the “cosmic ocean”. The earth is at the centre of everything and it intersects and extends down into the chaotic waters below, and the same plane extends upwards to heaven. At the centre of the earth there is a temple which puts people close to God. Through the temple cult people would be in communication with God and would allow the benefits of cult to reach God so that the power of God would be transmitted downwards as blessings. The moral interpretation is that when people ascend they are drawn closer to God and when they descend they sink down into the depth and the reality of death. Moving far from the temple is equivalent to being far from God, and to be near the temple is to experience God’s presence.⁹³

3.3 History of the ancestral veneration in Ancient Near Eastern traditions

This section is important to this study because it gives us the background of ancestral worship in Ancient Near Eastern traditions. The researcher will focus on Ancient Mesopotamia, Ancient Egypt and Ancient Israel.

3.3.1 Mesopotamia

3.3.1.1 Who were the Mesopotamians?

Although it is not in the scope of this study, it is important to look at the area that the Mesopotamians occupied and also the cultures that constitute part of Mesopotamia in order to avoid the isolation of other important aspects. The history of Mesopotamia has had many changes along the ages with changes of political leaders and the incorporation of new cultures within the broader culture. Mesopotamia is the term coined by Greek historians meaning “the land between the rivers” because through time people who lived in Mesopotamia had no name for their own country; they only called it “the land”. There is no clear indication of who first occupied the land of Mesopotamia

⁹³ Wyatt, 2001:55, 76-78, 161; Prinsloo, 2005:741-744.

but the study reveals the influence of the first inhabitants' language on the Sumerian language. The rivers surrounding Mesopotamia are the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers. They are also called the Twin Rivers and they cut through this region. The Mesopotamian cultures include cultures such as Sumer, Babylon, Assur and Persia. Geographically, ancient Mesopotamia occupied the greater part of what in modern day is called Iraq and other parts of Syria, Turkey and Iran. The cities in ancient Mesopotamia were built using mud because clay was a natural resource easily accessible to everyone. The Mesopotamian society's economic life was based primarily on agriculture and other sources of income that supplemented agriculture. They traded in wool, hair and leather with foreign countries and their main agricultural crops were cereals and palms.⁹⁴

3.3.1.1.1 Sumeria

The origins of the Sumerians are not known before they settled in Mesopotamia at around 3000 BC. Their tradition shows that they came from the south, coming through the Persian Gulf and they founded their settlements close to the Gulf. Their language cannot be assigned to any known family of languages and it does not fit into any of the Semitic group of languages. Sumerian has been a living language since the third millennium BC. This language competed with the Akkadian language for survival. The Sumerian language adopted many words from the Semitic Akkadian and in the Sumerian language we found some marks of the language of the first inhabitants of Mesopotamia. Akkadian is better understood than Sumerian because of its relation to well-known languages such as Arabic and Hebrew. During the last part of 3000 BC the language ceased to be a spoken language but was still in use as a liturgical and literary language up until the Christian era. The Sumerians used cuneiform in their scripts and it was used for both Sumerian and Akkadian. They organised themselves in city-states which were surrounded by villages and the countryside. The majority of people preferred to live in the cities rather than in the villages. The economy of the land was sustained by irrigation agriculture and herding.⁹⁵

3.3.1.1.2 Babylonia

Babylonia also played a crucial role in the development of the Mesopotamian culture. It was situated in the southern part of modern Iraq in the area between Baghdad in the north and the Persian Gulf in the south. The Tigris and Euphrates Rivers were the main source of water for the Babylonians. The capital city of Babylonia was Babylon. The civilisation of the city came about during the late 4000 BC and early 3000 BC and was the site of the world's first urban civilisation. The city of Babylon and the country at large experienced two climaxes of the country's political

⁹⁴ Oppenheim, 1964:74-142; Nemet-Nejat, 2002:11-15.

⁹⁵ Nemet-Nejat, 2002:1-15. Oppenheim, 1964:31-63; Crawford, 2004:1-134.

power (first under Hammurabi of Babylon around 1800 BC, then under the New-Babylonian king Nebuchadrezzar around 600 BC). In both periods extensive building projects were undertaken in the great city of Babylon which largely changed Mesopotamia.⁹⁶ The city of Babylon is referred to in the Hebrew Bible approximately 300 times. The city was referred to as the *Sheol* because of its greed to take over other nations (Habakkuk 2:5). During the time of Second Isaiah the city was depicted as the symbol of the evil oppressor. The city of Babylon in the book of Daniel is shown as the city with many capabilities but that could still be destroyed because of its disobedience to God. Babylon in Psalm 137:1 describes the life of the Israelites in exile. In many cases Babylon was shown as the ungodly city which faced God's wrath (Jeremiah 1:14; 6:1, 22-23). Although the city of Babylon was seen as the evil city in the eyes of Yahweh, He used the city to execute his holy wrath over Israel.

3.3.1.1.3 Assyria

Assyria was situated in the northern part of Mesopotamia. The Assyrian state was an absolute monarchy. The state and its kingship were essentially a native development. The Assyrian king was the sole legislator and he could make any law that suited him. No discussion was entered into about the king's laws and decrees since he was the sole legislator. The only supreme legal authority above the king was the Assyrian god, Asshur.⁹⁷

The Assyrian heartland was in the centre of Assyria and it had a triangular shape. This centre was formed by the Kurdish mountains, which are some of the highest mountains in Assyria in the north and the Tigris River to the West. This was the main river in Assyria. The Upper Zab River to the East joins the Tigris at the southernmost tip. Assyrians had four great cities which were Asshur, Nineveh, Arbela and Calah and they were all within the triangle formed by the mountains and rivers.⁹⁸

The Assyrian state was centred on the army and warfare. They were, over the ages, regarded as the supreme political power in the Ancient Near East. The Assyrian army were composed of men called infantrymen; these were men equipped with spears, bows, slings, daggers, swords, maces and battle-axes. Within the group of infantrymen there were archers and they were very proficient with the bow and arrow. Their military strategies involved pitched battles, siege warfare and psychological warfare.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Oppenheim, 1964:31-35; 153-163; Nemet-Nejat, 2002:11-15.

⁹⁷ Grayson, 1992:749.

⁹⁸ Grayson, 1992:733. (cf. Miller and Miller, 1973:48-49).

⁹⁹ Grayson, 1992:747-748.

In terms of religious practices, the Assyrians were mainly influenced by the Babylonians. The Babylonian culture played a crucial role in the development of religion in Assyria. The Babylonians and Assyrians had two outstanding religious features which were polytheism and the cult. They had their chief god Asshur who was the king of gods, followed by the goddess Ishtar and the gods Ninurta, Shamash, Adad and Sin. The Assyrians were tolerant of other religions and religious practices. The Assyrians believed that they had a personal god who took their personal needs to the highest god. The Assyrians were expected to bring offerings to this personal god.¹⁰⁰

3.3.1.2 Cult of the dead in Mesopotamia

The culture and tradition of the Ancient Mesopotamia will be used in this part as a point of departure so that we can clearly understand the cult of the dead in ancient Mesopotamia. It is from this culture and tradition that we can understand the views of how the existence of the dead was pictured and viewed in Mesopotamia. In this section the researcher will focus on death and funerary customs, the role of the ancestors, the feeding of the ancestors by the living, and the place where the ancestors live.

3.3.1.2.1 Death and the funerary customs

Mesopotamians believed that death is an unavoidable stage of life. The archaeological findings show that the skeletal remains of *Homo sapiens* found in the place dated approximately 30 000 BC.¹⁰¹ Death was part of human concern in ancient Mesopotamia because they were always aware that they are going to die. Many graves of the ancient Mesopotamia have been found under the floors of houses and this is believed to have been a common way of burying people.¹⁰²

During the burial the corpse would be wrapped in a red pigment or mat, and placed in a wooden or clay coffin. Using the red mat or pigment supported the belief that there was still life after death and that one day life would be restored. People were buried with their belongings hoping that they would need them on their way to the afterlife. These goods were for the deceased themselves and for sacrifice to the deities which had control over the world of the dead. They were buried with their limbs or legs tightly flexed. During burial people were treated differently depending on their ages at the time death. Those who died at the old age and the older children were interred in cemeteries, whereas the newborn and the very young were buried in places other than cemeteries.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Grayson, 1992:753-754 (cf. also Roberts, 2006:333-334).

¹⁰¹ Kramer, 1988:94.

¹⁰² Cooper, 1992:23.

¹⁰³ Cooper, 1992:23-24 (cf. also Kramer, 1988:94-100; Pollock, 1999:199-204).

3.3.1.2.2 The role of the ancestral veneration and the ancestors

The central role of the cult of the ancestors was to ensure that the names of those who had passed on would be remembered and that their identities would be preserved. During food offerings to the ancestors their names were called out one by one. After the death of his father the eldest son would take the position of paterfamilias and become the leader during the rituals. The ancestral cult also brought a sense of belonging to those participating. By participating in these rituals they realised that there was still a strong bond between the living and their dead relatives. Every person was expected to know at least five generations that have passed on and the last would be the person's own parents. These kinds of rituals were performed in order to embrace the works done by the ancestors before they departed. The naming of the ancestors provided the structure of the family history and through that the connection with the past was maintained.¹⁰⁴

3.3.1.2.2.1 Feeding of the ancestors

The cult of the ancestors had been incorporated in the family religion and it was meant to be incorporated in a community that embraced several generations.¹⁰⁵ The people who played a role in family life through the ages have now passed on, so it was necessary for those who remained to embrace their foreparents. The dead were to be embraced by giving them food, water and by calling their names. Along the history of the ancient Mesopotamia we learn of the important role the living played in embracing their dead parents. Along history we also learn that the dead depended on the living for bringing them food and drink.

According to Spronk's analysis of the Gilgamesh epic XII: 102-153 it was clear that the dead were thought to depend on the living especially their descendants for their wellbeing in the hereafter.¹⁰⁶ This would constitute a problem to those who left no descendants behind because they would have no one to depend on for sustenance. Even if they had the power to influence the living to provide them with food and drink, they would not have been able to exercise that power.

According to Van der Toorn it is clear that bringing offerings to the dead was the responsibility of the eldest son because he was the one who succeeded his father in the paterfamilias. As the new head of the family he was to uphold the family and the ancestral spirits. The eldest son would perform all this with the advice of the family elders. It was advised that the offerings to the dead should be given on a day-to-day basis. The term used for the day-to-day care of the ancestors is

¹⁰⁴ Van Der Toorn, 1996:53-54.

¹⁰⁵ Van Der Toorn, 1996:48.

¹⁰⁶ Spronk, 1986:102.

kispu ginû, meaning “regular funerary offering”.¹⁰⁷ Spronk is of the opinion that the grave, which was the entrance to the netherworld, was the proper place to bring food and libation offerings to the dead. It is shown that in many families they would have a special room for that which is believed to have been connected with the grave. The so-called *bit kimti(m)* “house of the family” was the same building as the *bit kispi* “house of the funerary offerings”. The food which was to be brought after the funeral was not to be confused with the goods that were buried together with the body. The goods which were buried with the body were the personal belongings of the deceased. In some cases they would be given some of the things they were supposed to need in their life in the netherworld.¹⁰⁸

3.3.1.2.2.2 The power they had over the living

It is believed that it was unlikely that the ancestors would have been powerless. Staying with the gods would have given them divine power. With regard to the power that the spirit can have over the living, Spronk maintains that “it is the spirit of the dead, which can become active in the world of the living”.¹⁰⁹ The term used to refer to the spirit of the dead is *eṭemmu*. According to Spronk the dead person as *eṭemmu* was much like god.¹¹⁰ This shows the change of a person’s status after death in that he/she became like god. This also confirms that the power the person had could influence the lives of the living. The dead also had to be revered by the living and if not, the dead would have a bad influence over the lives of the living.

Van der Toorn’s understanding of the power of the dead is that “they exercised an authority over their descendants by protecting them from evil deeds and by disciplining them”.¹¹¹ The dead parents never lost their rights of being parents and would still exercise their full responsibilities from the grave. The integrity and the wellbeing of the family and the clan would still be protected by the ancestors as important leaders of the clan. The ancestors had authority over the reproduction in the family and to make sure that their names lived on. They would ensure fertility in the family. This did not happen because the ancestors entered the bodies of the living, but through the blessings that the dead would give to their descendants.

It was the responsibility of the ancestors to make sure that their descendants never lost morality and tarnish the names of their forefathers.¹¹² The living descendants were expected to have strong moral codes that would help them hold up the integrity of their forefathers. All those who would act

¹⁰⁷ Van Der Toorn, 1996:50-51.

¹⁰⁸ Spronk, 1986:104.

¹⁰⁹ Spronk, 1986:97.

¹¹⁰ Spronk, 1986:97.

¹¹¹ Van Der Toorn, 1996:62-65.

¹¹² Van Der Toorn, 1996: 63.

against the wishes of their forefathers would have to face the consequences. For the living to always have the blessings of the dead they would have to provide them with food and drink, and the dead would bless the living with peace. The *kispu ginû* played the most important role in maintaining a good relationship between the living and the dead.

3.3.1.2.2.3 A place where they stay

There was a common idea about the place of the dead and their place in Mesopotamia, and the idea was that the place is called the “House of the Darkness”.¹¹³ The idea that the place of the dead is called the house of the darkness shows that the sun could not reach the place. According to Paton, the place of the dead is called *Shu’âlu* which is related to the Hebrew *Sheol*.¹¹⁴ It was also called the “land of the dead” and some of the Old Testament poetic texts use “death” parallel with *Sheol* (II Sam 22:5f; Hos 13:14; Ps 115:17). This was a sign of the relationship between the land of the dead and death itself. The other name from the Sumerian is *Kigal* which can be translated as “great beneath” or “underworld”.¹¹⁵ The Hebrew translation used in Ezekiel 26:20 is ארץ תחתיות which translates to “lower land” or “underworld”. This relates to the three phases of the earth mentioned in 3.3. The place of the dead was the last phase which makes it the great beneath or the lower land as maintained in Ezekiel 26:20.

The Babylonian understanding of *Sheol* is that it is ruled by the god Nergal or Irkalla who is helped by his wife Ereshkigal, which means “mistress of the underworld”.¹¹⁶ The Babylonians personified the underworld as a hungry monster always ready to devour men. This is the place where both good and bad people would go when they die. The Babylonians believed that once a person enters the underworld he/she would never return.

Van der Toorn is of the opinion that the place is called “the house of my god”¹¹⁷ because this was where the god was believed to reside. In the two texts from the ANET quoted by Spronk, it is clear that the place where the dead lived had no light.¹¹⁸ This was because of the belief that they had to wait for *Utu*, the great lord of sun, to come with the light. And later on it was the son of *Utu* who had to continue with his father’s duty of bringing the light to the dead. It is not clear what had happened to *Utu*, the great lord of sun. It was also the responsibility of the son of the sun-god to bring light to the place of darkness. He was carrying out this responsibility mandated by his father, the sun-god, to bring light to the land of the dead. The light was taken to the underworld during the

¹¹³ Spronk, 1986:98.

¹¹⁴ Paton, 1910a:160.

¹¹⁵ Paton, 1910a:160.

¹¹⁶ Paton, 1910a:164-166.

¹¹⁷ Van der Toorn, 1996:59.

¹¹⁸ Spronk, 1986:98-99.

night when the land was in darkness and it was then that the dead would enjoy the light. And this was the time that the sun-god would travel the underworld to visit the dead ones.

The positive perception about the place of the dead was that the dead could still communicate with the living. In Tablet XII of the Gilgamesh Epic the spirit of the dead *Enkidu* was allowed to have a conversation with Gilgamesh. In this Table, *Enkidu* was telling Gilgamesh about the situation in the underworld. *Enkidu* himself could not leave the underworld but only his spirit was allowed to do so. *Enkidu* was not allowed to return to the world of the living because the underworld was also called “the place of no return”.¹¹⁹

In the underworld a person could not be given status because of the goods that they were buried with as funerary customs. It is to this place where their descendants had to bring food for their forefathers.¹²⁰ For the ancestors to enjoy a good stay in the world of the dead they had to rely on their descendants to bring them good food and drink at the right time. If the descendants failed to bring food to the dead, the spirits of the dead would come out of the underworld and do a lot of harm to the living for not taking good care of the dead.

3.3.2 Egypt

3.3.2.1 Historical background of Egypt

The history of Egypt begins with the invention of writing. Even though is no strong evidence of prehistoric Egypt, Grimal argues that towards the middle of the fourth millennium BC the Egyptian culture was already active.¹²¹ Egypt is generally known for the successive dynastic periods during its long and eventful history. The Dynastic Period extends from about 3100 BC to 332 BC. The Dynastic Period is divided into shorter periods: Early Dynastic Period from 3100 to 2686 BC, the Old Kingdom from 2686 to 2181 BC, the First Intermediate Period from 2181 to 2050 BC, the Middle Kingdom from 2050 to 1750 BC, the Second Intermediate Period from 1750 to 1567 BC, the New Kingdom from 1567 to 1085 BC, the Late New Kingdom from from 1085 to 715 BC and the Dynastic Period which was later followed by the Ptolemaic Period from 332 to 30 BC. This was during the time when Egypt was ruled by the Greeks and later by the Romans after 30 BC when the country was relegated to a province of the Roman Empire.¹²²

Egypt is a situated along the Nile River to the South West of Palestine and Syria. Between the borders of Palestine and Egypt there is no mountain range. In the ancient periods Egypt was viewed

¹¹⁹ Spronk, 1986:103.

¹²⁰ Van Derv Toorn, 1996:48.

¹²¹ Grimal, 1992:17.

¹²² Brewer and Teeter, 1999: xii-xv (cf. Grimal, 1992: 63-101;136-180)

as the gift of the Nile and without the Nile River Egypt would not exist. Egypt is the valley of the Nile and it is in this valley that the Egyptians cultivated agriculture. The Nile River was not used only to bring water to the cultivated land, but was used as a highway for boats since they did not have wheeled conveyances until the early New Kingdom around 1600 BC. The name “Egypt” is derived from the Greek *Aigyptos* which is the ancient name of Memphis, the capital of the country during the Old Kingdom. During the ancient period Egypt was divided into two major regions called Upper and Lower Egypt. The Upper region during the ancient times was known as Shemau and the Lower region was known as To-mehu which means “The Northern Land”.¹²³ Egypt was regarded as a fat granary where hungry nomads like Abraham went to find food (Genesis 12:10-20). During the time when Joseph was in Egypt, all countries went to Egypt to buy food (Genesis 41:57). During this time, Jacob’s family was situated in the Nile Delta until long after his death; his descendants were enslaved until God delivered them under the leadership of Moses and Aaron in the book of Exodus. After the fall of Jerusalem in 586 BC some of the Jews, instead of going to Babylon, went to Egypt (Jeremiah 43). Yahweh, through his prophets, advised the Israelites not to expect help from Egypt (Isaiah 30:1-7; 31:1; 36:6, 9; Jeremiah 42; 43:6 and Hosea 7:11). There are instances in the Old Testament where Egypt was depicted as an enclave for political refugees. According to 1 Kings 11:17-22 Hadad the Edomite, according to 1 Kings 11:26-40 Jeroboam, and according to Jeremiah 26:21-23 the prophet Uriah at some stage found refuge in Egypt. Egypt was also referred to as a place of wisdom and wealth in the Old Testament period (Isaiah 45:14; Daniel 11:43; 1 Kings 4:30). This is where the Israelites were threatened by Yahweh to return to Him, for if they did not turn to Him they would face His wrath (Hosea 11:5).¹²⁴

3.3.2.2 Cult of the dead in Egypt

The belief in the afterlife is among the fundamental concepts of Egyptian culture.¹²⁵ According to James, “the Egyptians were a particularly religious people obsessed with death and burial”.¹²⁶ The belief in the afterlife was developed when the solar religion of the Old Kingdom was superseded by the cult of Osiris. This view is based on the objects preserved in the tombs and temples of ancient Egypt. This is the basis of what the researcher will outline in the next section of this chapter. This shows that the belief in the afterlife was seen in many parts of Egypt as the basis of their religion. This was also confirmed by Kitchen who wrote that the belief in an afterlife was a leading feature of Egypt.¹²⁷ Every day-to-day practice of the Egyptians included a sign of afterlife existence. This

¹²³ James, 1979:17-96; Taylor, 2010:220-221; David, 2000:3-8; cf. Brewer and Teeter, 1999: xii-xv; 27-51.

¹²⁴ Miller and Miller, 1973:151-153; Higginbotham, 2007:206-226; Wilson, 1962:39-66.

¹²⁵ Muller, 2002:1.

¹²⁶ James, 1979:155.

¹²⁷ Kitchen, 1975:254.

practice seemed to have a very long history but it is not clear when it started. This was maintained by Baines, Lesko, and Silverman when they said that “funerary beliefs must have existed from a very early period”.¹²⁸ The belief in the afterlife in Egypt was based on the beliefs and expectations that after death people would belong to the hierarchic society with the king and nobles and would have a special place.

According to Taylor, human life was also viewed as part of the great scheme of creation, and was to be perceived cyclically, an experience which, like the endless re-emergence of the sun each dawn, could be expected to repeat itself through eternity. He also maintained that human life in Egypt was viewed as a series of changes and in stages which began at birth and passed through adolescence and maturity to old age and death. He also argues that to the Egyptians death was not seen as a bad thing or an end to life, but merely as a further change leading towards another type of existence.¹²⁹ This was also maintained by Frankfort when he said “in Egypt death was considered an interruption, not the end of life but a change in a man’s personality, not its annihilation”.¹³⁰ It is clear from the above that people in Egypt saw death as the line between life and afterlife. Death helped people to change their status to maintain another status in the afterlife. Death was interpreted as a journey that one takes to eternity. One could not reach eternity while still living on earth. Knowing that death was not the last stage of life helped people to understand why they would die. People had to be comforted by emphasising that even if life can be short, the afterlife is forever. This meant that the dead had their future in the eternal life. And their living descendants would be comforted knowing that death was not the end but the future for the dead; this kind of belief led the people of Egypt to develop a strong faith in eternal afterlife, rather than being obsessed with death itself.

Believing in the afterlife was the reason the Egyptians built great pyramids and the spectacular funerary monuments which have drawn visitors to their land from many countries. The great pyramids were built during the kingship of Cheops who was the second king of the Fourth Dynasty. On the east side of the great pyramid was the mortuary temple in which the funerary cult of the dead kings were practised. The temple had an offering table and the texts relating to the cult of the dead. Their belief in life after death was based on love that they had for their departed loved ones.¹³¹ Egyptians believed that loving someone continues beyond death.

¹²⁸ Baines, Lesko, and Silverman, 1991:44.

¹²⁹ Taylor, 2001:12.

¹³⁰ Frankfort, 1948:89.

¹³¹ Taylor, 2001:10-11.

The Egyptians always had faith that their dead relatives were still somewhere in the underworld watching over them. This was part of the funerary customs among the Egyptians. It was believed that the soul of the dead called *Ba* would live in the tomb during the day to visit the outside world at night and that it could transform itself into any form that would help to accomplish that purpose. At night the *Ba* would return to the tomb which was its proper home. The Egyptians had to meet the needs of the dead and to improve the quality of their existence in the afterlife. The belief in the afterlife led to the creation of many and different images for inclusion among the furnishing of the tomb in Egypt.¹³²

This kind of funerary custom was also mentioned by Olson: “Numerous tombs of various dates and styles, many containing carefully prepared bodies as well as a variety of funerary goods, reveal an ancient Egyptian belief in life after death”.¹³³ Some of these tombs would be prepared and decorated in a very special manner and it was during such preparations that the burial rites and rituals were performed. Along the ages in Egypt people were buried in different kinds of tombs depending on the status of the deceased. At the beginning of the Early Dynastic Period the kings were no longer buried in pit graves but they were buried in mud-brick tombs which had a structure on top for food to be placed, and below that was the actual burial chamber. This kind of burial continued to be used for the upper classes during the Old Kingdom and at this time pyramids were introduced for the king’s burial. During the Middle Kingdom, rock-cut tombs were introduced for wealthy local governors.¹³⁴

It is also believed that in Egypt they had mourning customs that were practiced. According to Taylor, a mourning custom “starts immediately after death, the female relatives of the deceased smear their heads with dust, and sometimes also the face, and then they leave the corpse in the house and themselves wander through the town and beat their breasts with garments girt up and revealing the breasts... and the males beat their breasts separately, these too with the garments up”. These actions were repeated during the funeral... In some cases during the New Kingdom period they would hire professional mourners”.¹³⁵

In Egypt the burial practices, according to Olson, were centred on three events: the construction of the tomb, the burial of the body, and the performance of cultic rituals to permit the deceased to attain the afterlife and remain there for eternity.¹³⁶ Roth is also of the same opinion and maintains that “rituals performed by the living for the dead were one of the principal ways that the ancient

¹³² Taylor, 2001:112.

¹³³ Olson, 2002:34.

¹³⁴ David, 2000:9.

¹³⁵ Taylor, 2001:188.

¹³⁶ Olson, 2002:34-35.

Egyptians insured their immortality after death”.¹³⁷ These rituals included preparation of the body before being laid to rest. The preparation of the body included special treatment which transformed it from the earthly corruptible body to a perfect and enduring eternal body ready for the underworld.¹³⁸ The ritual differed from time to time. This shows that the funerary rites and rituals played an important role if one had to acquire a good and wonderful eternal life. Without such rituals one could hardly have a good afterlife.

Family members of the deceased were the ones who were responsible for preparing for the journey and for the rituals of the dead. Frankfort is of the opinion that the bodies were carefully prepared and dressed and they were buried with their personal ornaments, toilet requisites, sometimes weapons or tools, and always with large pots and dishes containing food and drink.¹³⁹ He also maintains that all this food should not be regarded as a physical consideration, but a spiritual one. They were not to have a materialistic view of life but the spiritual view of food. Supply of the food to the dead was to help the dead to fully participate in all the responsibilities they have in the afterlife. During the height of the great Egyptian civilisation things started to change and this was achieved by providing tombs for the incorruptible mummies with texts incorporating the names of the deceased, and scenes that would help the dead to have food and drink by magical means.¹⁴⁰ At this time it was no longer necessary to provide food and drink for the dead by the family members, magical means would now provide it on behalf of the descendants. During that time the role of the tomb had diminished as the main focus of the funerary cult. During the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms objects placed in graves included jewellery, amulets, musical instruments and other objects, but during the Third Intermediate Period such items were much reduced, even for the special people in the community. Burial objects were only those which were meant for burial such as coffins and funerary papyri.¹⁴¹ This shows the dynamism in the Egyptian culture which was able to change with time. Culture and religion were not static but alive and adapted from time to time. This is clear from the substantial reduction in the funerary objects during the Third Intermediate Period.

The spiritual part of the deceased was called *Ka*, which denoted man's impalpable vital force and also meant his sustenance in plural.¹⁴² According to Taylor, *Ka* was the most important non-physical aspects of man.¹⁴³ Although non-physical the *Ka* had a very close relationship with

¹³⁷ Roth, 2002:147.

¹³⁸ Taylor, 2010:222.

¹³⁹ Frankfort, 1948:90.

¹⁴⁰ James, 1979:156. Cf. Taylor, 2010:233.

¹⁴¹ Taylor, 2010:233-237.

¹⁴² Frankfort, 1948:91.

¹⁴³ Taylor, 2001:18-19.

everybody since birth and he became the twin character of an individual. This means that the *Ka* was living in everybody. The *Ka* had a great role to play in funerary beliefs. He was the one who influenced the living to honour their dead parents. The *Ka* is associated with the life force of an individual. When the living feed *Ka* they keep the dead alive because the body could not receive nourishment. The *Ka* was important in maintaining the relationship between the living and the dead. The *Ka* was like an intermediary between the living and the dead.

According to Spence, in support of what Taylor mentioned, “(t)he dead man was practically in the mercy of the living subsistence in the otherworld. Unless his kinsmen continued their offerings to him, he was indeed in bad case for his *Ka* would starve...it was on behalf of the *Ka* that Egyptian tombs were so well furnished with food and drink, and the necessities, not to say the luxuries, of existence”.¹⁴⁴ The *Ka* was not expected to go hungry or be without water to drink, and all other things he might need for his existence. The *Ka* was dependant on the world of the living for food to be available and would only consume the essence of the foodstuffs placed on the offering table.¹⁴⁵ There was a table placed in the tomb for food for the *Ka*. The food to the deceased would, from time to time, be placed within the niches or alcoves of the tomb.¹⁴⁶ The table in the temple was not supposed to have any food on it. The descendants had to make sure that they continued to provide food for the *Ka* all the time.

The researcher’s understanding is that in many societies around the world it is a normal practice to provide something material for a dead person on the journey to the afterlife. According to Taylor the basic human needs for survival on this journey were food and drink, and funerary preparations were a major consideration at all times.¹⁴⁷ These preparations would differ in terms of a family’s social status; those who were poor would be buried with the food of a very low standard. The poorest graves would contain storage jars of stone or pottery filled with grain, water, beer or wine. Some people would place raw food rather than a cooked meal, but there was an exception to such cases. According to Spence the tombs of the Egyptians of higher ranks were elaborate and costly because of furniture placed inside the tombs for example chairs, jars, weapons, mirrors, and sometimes even chariots and wigs.¹⁴⁸ A person was to carry his/her status even to the grave and beyond and this was illustrated by the superior quality of the grave objects provided for him/her during burial.

¹⁴⁴ Spence, 1990:31.

¹⁴⁵ Taylor, 2001:95, 192.

¹⁴⁶ Spence, 1990:23.

¹⁴⁷ Taylor, 2001:92.

¹⁴⁸ Spence, 1990:29.

According to Higginbotham, after reaching certain stages the deceased also desired to become Osiris,¹⁴⁹ the god of the underworld.¹⁵⁰ The Egyptian belief of the underworld was that there was a special god for the underworld. The dead ones live under the leadership of Osiris who rules the underworld. What is clear here is that there were some stages that the dead should undergo until he/she became god. Taylor is of the opinion that “in order to reach this realm safely, the dead had to possess special knowledge: the names of the denizens of the underworld, the locations of paths, water ways and gates, and the necessary words and acts to pass these. This information was included in the Coffin Texts, into which were incorporated compositions now known as ‘guides to the hereafter’, which provided the inexperienced deceased with the information required to lead him safely to his destination”.¹⁵¹ The dead were able to read the information on the coffins using their passwords through the gates of the underworld. Those who failed to provide these passwords would not inherit the eternal life. This was also maintained by Silverman in Baines, Lesko and Silverman: “the concept of afterlife was originally limited to royalty. In time, however, the nobility and privileged classes came to have hope of attaining the same type of eternal existence...to qualify for entry into an eternal existence; one had to have lived an exemplary life on earth and to know the correct responses to make and actions to take when confronted by the gods and demigods of the underworld”.¹⁵² The lives lived on earth were important so that when one died one might find favours from the gods of the underworld. It was important for the living to know that one day they would have to face these gods and that would help the living how to conduct themselves on earth.

3.3.3 Israel

3.3.3.1 Historical background of Israel

Israel was a name given to Jacob by Yahweh at Bethel (Genesis 35:10). Jacob was blessed with twelve sons who were the ancestors of the Hebrew nation. His twelve sons were the heads of the twelve tribes of Israel. They inherited the land which was promised to Abraham by God (Genesis 12). The historical background of Israel can be studied using three accounts of the Hebrew Bible: Pentateuch, Deuteronomistic History, and Chronicler’s History. These historical stages of Israel were written during the exilic and post-exilic periods. The Pentateuch history begins with the creation accounts in Genesis 1-11. It continues with the ancestral pair of Abram and Sarah in

¹⁴⁹ According to Hart Osiris is the “God whose domain is Duat - the Egyptian underworld. He is depicted in human form...Osiris is described as the firstborn of the children of Geb and Nut, his birthplace being given as Rosetau, located in the Western Desert necropolis near Memphis, but really signifying the entrance into the underworld...as the ruler of the underworld he naturally ensures that the souls of the wicked and undesirable do not survive to live in his realm. In the law court Osiris sits on his throne holding his sceptres and supervises the judgement of the new applicants for paradise (1986:151-162; cf. also Wentz, 1992:410-411).

¹⁵⁰ Higginbotham, 2007:219.

¹⁵¹ Taylor, 2001:32.

¹⁵² Baines, Lesko, and Silverman, 1991:46-47.

Genesis 12:1. Israel was a chosen nation through Abram who was promised to have many children who would inherit Canaan as their land. Jacob and his children went to Egypt after a famine in their land. They became a great nation while in Egypt and they were enslaved under the new king who didn't know Joseph. God delivered them from the land of slavery under the leadership of Moses and Aaron. The book of Exodus elaborates much on this and on the account of their deliverance to Mount Horeb and their reception of the Law at Sinai (Exodus 1-20). The Deuteronomistic History is said to have been written in exile based upon a source written in the late 7th century BC under King Josiah. The main purpose of this history was to evaluate both kings, Judah and Israel, on the basis of religious consideration rather than political and social consideration. The Chronicler's history consists of two works which are found in the book of 1-2 Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah. This account speaks about the return from exile and the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the Temple. Israel is known for her United Monarchy under King Saul, David, and Solomon who was the last one to reign during the united monarchy.¹⁵³

3.3.3.2 Funerary customs in Israel

Since we do not have many resources in the field of Ancient Israel, the Old Testament will be the primary source. It is clear from many texts in the Old Testament that the Israelites had their own funerary customs such as burial (1 Samuel 31:12; 25:1) and mourning customs (1 Kings 13:30; Jeremiah 22:18; Isaiah 32:12). These funerary customs seemed to be conservative¹⁵⁴ because when you look throughout the history of Israel they were observed. The ancient Israelite funerary customs pointed to a belief in some kind of continued existence of life after death.¹⁵⁵ This part of the research will focus on "death, mourning and burial customs".

3.3.3.1.1 Death and mourning customs

Death in all generations and races has entered the world in only one way (Genesis 3:19b). It is through the disobedience of Adam and Eve that people are dying. There are expressions that tell us in general that the person dies after a long or a short life. There are expressions used by Lewis to show that people die in different stages of life and such expressions are: *'sēbâ tôbâ* meaning "a ripe old age", *mēlē' yāmîm* "full of days", or if one's life is cut short, *qēšar yāmîm* "short of days".¹⁵⁶

In Israel it was a tradition that when a person dies the family and the whole community mourn him/her as they did when Samuel died (1 Samuel 25:1). The dead person was usually to be mourned for seven days (Genesis 50:10; 1 Samuel 31:13 and 1Chronicles 10:12) and when the Israelites

¹⁵³ Gottwald, 2008:118-138; Rowley, 1962:750-165; Miller and Miller, 1973:289-293.

¹⁵⁴ Spronk, 1986:237.

¹⁵⁵ Spronk, 1986:251.

¹⁵⁶ Lewis, 2002:176.

mourned for Moses and Aaron, it lasted for thirty days (Numbers 20:29; Deuteronomy 34:8). According to Segal, “mourning includes both private expression of grief and formal, public enactment of lamentation...Ancient Near Eastern custom valued precisely the converse: grief was to be displayed very publicly and loudly”.¹⁵⁷ Failing to show public grief for the dead was considered an insult to the dead and other grieving relatives. People were expected to grieve and mourn in respect for the dead, the family, the clan, and the nation (1 Kings 14:13; Job 27:15; Jeremiah 16:4,6; 22:18; 25:33; 34:5). The mourning in Israel was not only for the close relatives of the dead, but it had to be done by the whole community. Albertz and Schmitt maintained that “mourning rites highlighted not only the relationships of the bereaved to the dead but also the social relationships among the living”.¹⁵⁸ During this mourning period the whole community would come together uttering mourning cries such as הוי in 1 Kings 13:30; Isaiah 1:4 and הו הו in Amos 5:16. Mourning for the dead was an essential part of the burial ceremony with great weeping and shrill cries as shown in Jeremiah 4:8; 49:3; Joel 1:13. Israel had many different ways of mourning as maintained by Spronk:

The deceased was lamented with cries (cf. 1 Kgs 13:30; Jer 22:18; and Amos 5:16) and prominent persons also with special mourning songs, the so-called qina (cf. 2 Sam 1:17-27 and 3:33-34). Grief could also be expressed through one's clothing: the clothes were torn (cf. Gen 37:34 and 2 Sam 1:11), Sandals were taken off (cf. 2 Sam 15:30 and Micah 1:8) and probably also the turban (cf. Ezek 24:17.23), whereas one put on a sack clothes סק (cf. Gen 37:34; 2 Sam 3:31). When mourning one did not care for the body: people stopped washing and anointing themselves (cf. 2 Sam 14:2); instead, one sat or lay on the ground (cf. 2 Sam 13:31) or even rolled in ashes and dust (cf. Jer 6:26; Ezek 27:30; and Micah 1:10) and one put dust upon the head (cf. Josh 7:6 and 2 Sam 4:12); one let hair hang down (cf. Lev 10:6), tore it out (cf. Ezra 9:3) or cut (part of) the hair and beard (cf. Isa 22:12; Jer 41:5 and Job 1:20). The beard and the head could also be covered (cf. 2 Sam 19:5 and Ezek 24:17.23). Mourners beat themselves (cf. Isa 32:12) and cut themselves (cf. Jer 16:16 and 41:5). During the period of mourning one fasted (cf. 1 Sam 31:13 and Ezek 24:17.22).¹⁵⁹

There were different views on mourning since some people asked themselves why they should mourn for the departed. There were many people who believed that there was nothing in mourning. Many people associated mourning with the veneration of the dead, and others compared that with other kinds of religious practices, but nothing has led to convincing results. It would have been

¹⁵⁷ Segal, 2009:160.

¹⁵⁸ Albertz and Schmitt, 2012:435.

¹⁵⁹ Spronk, 1986:244 (cf. also Lewis, 2002:179-180).

better if they were compared to the dead because they had the appearance of the dead by neglecting to take care of their bodies and by not abstaining from all pleasures of life.¹⁶⁰

The researcher's understanding is that the mourning expression in the Old Testament was in sympathy with the family of the deceased and with the nation of Israel. The use of the Hebrew word אָבֵל shows the inner attitude of mourning and lamenting and this makes one believe that it was done with sympathy. When the Israelites mourned for the dead Samuel, it was for the whole nation of Israel for they had lost their prophet. It was like that when the Israelites mourned for Aaron and Moses; they had to mourn because the people who were leading them from the land of Egypt had died.

3.3.3.1.2 Burial customs

The burying of the dead person was necessary so that the corpse could be protected from the beasts. In order to maintain the dignity of the dead person they had to be buried (2 Kings 9:36; Hezekiah 29:5). Even those who had committed sins that led them to be killed, they also had burial rites which could not be taken away from them (Deuteronomy 21:22-23). God had instructed that the touching of a corpse would result in ceremonial defilement (Leviticus 21:1), but that did not stop people from burying their loved ones. The burial places of the Israelites were mainly associated with family, cities and regions. The grave of Joshua was at Timnath-serah (Joshua 24:30), and of David and Solomon in the City of David (1 Kings 2:10; 11:43). In some cases the ideal burial was a burial with one's ancestors in a tomb which was in the possession of the family (cf. Genesis 23; 2 Samuel 19:38; 1 Kings 13:22). Such a tomb must have been a luxury which not every family could afford. The very poor were buried in the anonymous graves of the ordinary people (2 Kings 23:6).¹⁶¹ Family members who were scattered all over had to come together to bury their family member (Genesis 25:9; 35:29).

There is also an account in the Old Testament of a mass burial (2 Samuel 21:2-4) and we also have one account in the Old Testament of a cremation (1 Samuel 31:13). In Israel the קְבוּרָה "burial" of the body in a קֶבֶר "grave" had to take place within a day of the person's death (Deuteronomy 21:23). This was done because of the fear that people may be defiled if they came in contact with the corpse. Spronk showed that "the deceased through burial is being re-united with his ancestors in the world of the dead." In the Old Testament the act of burial was to re-unite the dead with his/her forefathers who died before him/her. Expressions such as: "to be gathered to one's kinsmen" and

¹⁶⁰ Spronk, 1986:245.

¹⁶¹ Spronk, 1986:238.

“sleep with one’s fathers” may mean buried in the family graves”.¹⁶² Jacob asked his sons to bury him with his fathers (Genesis 49:29) and Joseph asked his brothers to carry his remains when they go back to the land of promise (Genesis 50:25). Death in ancient Israel was a way in which one could be united with one’s departed family members. The burial was believed to be a journey leading to uniting departed relatives. Along the history of Israel we learn a lot about the family tombs which were used to bury all family members when they died. Abraham bought a family tomb from the Hittites so that all his family members could be buried there (Genesis 23). The Old Testament does not provide any information regarding the treatment and the preparations of the dead body and the burial practices. The preparation and treatment of the body came later in the New Testament (Mark 16:1; Luke 24:1) where the corpse was wrapped in a linen cloth and anointed with spices.

3.3.3.3 Israel’s understanding of *Sheol*/Underworld

Sheol is the most commonly used word in the Hebrew Bible to refer to the place where the dead stays. *Sheol* in some texts of the Old Testament is described as a place where one goes down (Job 7:9; Numbers 16:30; Isaiah 57:9 Psalm 30:4).¹⁶³ In the book of Isaiah, *Sheol* is portrayed as the lowest and the deepest place which is far away from the heavens (7:11; cf. Deuteronomy 32:22). These expressions show that *Sheol* is the place in the depth. In some texts in the Hebrew Bible the *Sheol* is said to have gates¹⁶⁴ (Isaiah 38:10; Job 38:17). In the book of Job the Underworld is characterised by darkness (17:13. Cf. Isaiah 59:10, Psalm 49:20), dust¹⁶⁵ (Job 17:16; 21:26) and silence (Psalm 22:3; 94:17). *Sheol* accommodates both good men such as Jacob (Genesis 37:35) and bad men (Numbers 16:30). The complaint by the dead Samuel that Saul was disturbing him shows that *Sheol* is a place of rest (1 Samuel 28: 15). According to Niditch, the peace of the underworld is afforded only to those who have received proper burial.¹⁶⁶ The living had to make sure that they bury their dead relatives in a proper and honourable way so that they may have peace in the underworld. If they had not been given a proper burial, they would trouble the living until the living performed rituals to appease the dead.

When a person goes to the *Sheol*, the status that he had on earth does not matter anymore (Isaiah 14:9-11). The honour and power which they enjoyed on earth matter not the moment they enter this

¹⁶² Spronk, 1986:240.

¹⁶³ Paton, 1910a:161.

¹⁶⁴ This idea of *Sheol* having gates also continues to the New Testament (Christian era) (Mat 16:18).

¹⁶⁵ In Genesis 13:19 when God was punishing Adam and Eve he said “... for dust you are and to dust you will return.” NIV (cf. Lewis, 2002:183; Key, 1964:241-242).

¹⁶⁶ Niditch, 2010:20.

place of no return.¹⁶⁷ But this seems to contradict 1 Samuel 28: 15-19 where Samuel from the *Sheol* could still act as a prophet.¹⁶⁸ He was not deprived of the power and honour he enjoyed on earth and it was for that reason that Saul could still consult him.

The act of being deprived can be good news to the sufferer like Job. Knowing that there would be no more pain and sorrow from *Sheol* made Job feel that if the pains here on earth are unbearable it would be better when one dies (Job 3:15-19). Those who are in the *Sheol* have been deprived of the rights to praise God because God is the God of the living (Ps 115:17).

The Israelites' belief about *Sheol* was that it is out of Yahweh's control because it was not created by Him. It was considered a foreign land with its own gods and spirits of the dead. Yahweh created "heaven and earth" and there is nowhere in the Old Testament that we hear about Him creating *Sheol*. Yahweh, in the Old Testament (Genesis 11:5; Exodus 24:10; 1 Kings 22:19), is said to have heaven as his dwelling place but can still exercise his authority on earth.¹⁶⁹ It was during the time of the prophets that monotheism was emphasised and Yahweh was the only God. The prophets maintained that Yahweh's rule is unlimited and the whole world stood under his rule (Amos 1:3-2:3; 9:7). Their interpretation was "the whole world" included *Sheol*.¹⁷⁰ Deuteronomy 32:22 shows that His wrath goes even to *Sheol*, and Hosea emphasised that even the demons of *Sheol* obeyed the commands of Yahweh (13:14). According to Paton this was all "the extension of God's power"¹⁷¹ to *Sheol* which was not there from the beginning but only came later. People who went down to *Sheol* were considered to be far away from the face of Yahweh and they could not even try to worship him from there. According to Paton, the necessity of worshiping Yahweh ceased the moment one entered through the gates of *Sheol*.¹⁷² If then it is true that the moment one reaches the *Sheol* is out of Yahweh's control, then Yahweh ceases to be the Sovereign God. The researcher's understanding of Yahweh's authority is that nothing including the *Sheol* is beyond Yahweh's reach.

3.3.3.4 Necromancy

Necromancy certainly existed in Israel,¹⁷³ but was deemed illicit from very early on, and did not preoccupy Biblical authors or redactors.¹⁷⁴ The Old Testament is a testimony to the existence of necromancy (1 Samuel 28; 2 Samuel 16:12; Isaiah 8:19-20) even during the united kingdom of

¹⁶⁷ Hovey, 1885:51.

¹⁶⁸ Schmitt, 2008:9.

¹⁶⁹ Paton, 1910b:247-248.

¹⁷⁰ Paton, 1910b:256 "...*Sheol* was now believed to be included in his realm".

¹⁷¹ Paton, 1910b:257.

¹⁷² Paton, 1910b:248.

¹⁷³ Kim, 2003:13.

¹⁷⁴ Johnston, 1994:418.

Israel. This kind of practice was forbidden and outlawed¹⁷⁵ in the Old Testament (Deuteronomy 18:11; Leviticus 19:31; 20:27).

Leviticus 19:31 makes us see how bad necromancy was by making one unclean before God. In Leviticus 20:27 necromancers were not allowed to live and they were stoned to death and their clients were thrown out of Israel's. King Manasseh was one of the kings who were depicted as evil by committing "much evil". His sin was committing necromancy that caused Yahweh to be angry (2 Kings 21:6). During Josiah's reform everything was removed from Israel in fulfillment of the law (2 Kings 23:24). This should also help us to understand that the practise had been there from an early age. God could not condemn something which never existed. In 1 Samuel 28:3-25 it is clear that the only solution that Saul had after failing to get answers from God was necromancy. Saul knew about the ability the necromancers had in consulting the spirits of the dead.

This kind of practice in the history of Israel played a great role in the courts (1 Samuel 28; 2 Kings 21:5; 23:34; 2 Chronicles 16:12). This practice was considered a "stereotype" for non-Yahwistic practices. The text which can point to necromancy as a wide-spread form of divination is Isaiah 8:19. According to Schmitt, "necromancy was forbidden because it challenged the concept of prophecy with Yahweh as the one and only source of divination".¹⁷⁶

3.3.3.5 Ancestral veneration

The belief in immortality and worship of the dead were described and interpreted through funeral rites, human beliefs in the continuity of souls after death, and their transformation into powerful divine-like entities, perhaps into the image of God.¹⁷⁷ Ancestral worship is, according to Confucian texts, a cult directed towards the deceased father or mother with sacrificial offerings (Ana 2.5; 10.15), of food and drink (Ana 3:10), in a shrine or tomb (Ana 10.5; BFP 9, 18) for their remembrance (Ana 1.9; 4.21), or to consult or to seek favours from them (Ana 11.21; BH 5.6; 5.22).¹⁷⁸ This was also attested to from a biblical perspective by Bloch-Smith.¹⁷⁹ These ancestors were not just supplied with food offerings – they were indeed worshipped like gods.¹⁸⁰

The ancient Israelite funerary customs point to a belief in some kind of continued existence of life after death. There are also indications of an Israelite belief in the dead being able to help or harm

¹⁷⁵ Schmitt, 2008:2.

¹⁷⁶ Schmitt, 2008:12.

¹⁷⁷ Davies, 2008:287.

¹⁷⁸ Kim, 2003:2.

¹⁷⁹ Bloch-Smith, 1992:220 maintains: "Sacrifices including tithed food were offered to the dead at burial markers (Jacob in Gen 28:17-18), on hilltop (Jacob in Gen 31:53-54), in tombs (Isa 57: 8; 2 Chr 16:14; 32:33), at shrines (...Shiloh in 1 Sam 1:21; 2:19; and 20: 6, 29), and perhaps at *bāmôt* (Isa 53:9)".

¹⁸⁰ Van der Toorn, 1996:229.

the living.¹⁸¹ The dead are believed to have great insight about the future for those who are still alive. It is for this reason that after failing to get answers through lawful practices Saul went to the woman at Endor to help him find answers from the dead Samuel. The woman at Endor helped him to bring up Samuel from the grave. This encounter demonstrates the dead's prescient powers.¹⁸² It seems as if it were a normal practice to consult the dead if people failed to get answers from the lawful practices of Yahweh. In Isaiah 8:19 the Israelites forced the prophet Isaiah to enquire from the dead after Yahweh hid his face from them.

The ancestors were also to be taken care of by their living descendants. The caring of the ancestors by their descendants was important in the life of the Israelites. David failed to attend a royal banquet organised by Saul so that he could go to Jerusalem to attend his family sacrifices. 1 Samuel 20:6 refers to the annual sacrifices which took place in Bethlehem on behalf of the entire family זבחה ליהוה השנה. This sacrifice, according to Kim, suggests that it might have been ancestral worship.¹⁸³ Bethlehem was the place where he lived before and his ancestors were buried there.

3.3.3.6 Yahwism and ancestral consultation

Although many had practised ancestral worship and veneration in Israel, Yahweh never condoned these actions. Israelites had regulations and taboos regarding the relationship between the world of the living and the dead. The books of Leviticus and Numbers set out the purity laws and the priestly code of conduct towards the dead. The living should distance themselves from the dead (Leviticus 21:1-3, 11; Numbers 6:6-7; 19:11, 14, 22; 31:19). Contact with the dead could result in impurity and the time that they should take to purify themselves would discourage them from having contact with the dead. Consultation with the dead was prohibited by the priestly writers who were promoting only the religion of Yahweh in Israel. They wanted only Yahweh to be consulted for any reason, not the spirits of the dead. Necromancy was ruled out by Yahweh because interrogating the dead was a threat to strict monotheism and because Yahweh was considered the only source of oracles and revelations.¹⁸⁴ Yahwism considered ancestral consultation to be distrust in Yahweh and it was not to be done by any Israelite.

Saul's banishing of the necromancers from the land is also a clear indication that this kind of practise was not allowed in Israel (1 Samuel 28:3). Psalm 16 also condemns bringing libations and

¹⁸¹ Spronk, 1986:251, Bloch-Smith, 1992:221.

¹⁸² Bloch-Smith, 1992:221.

¹⁸³ Kim, 2003:5-9.

¹⁸⁴ Schmitt, 2008:9-11.

invoking the names of the dead, while Sirach 7:33 and Tobit 4:17 do not condemn it. Schmitt consider this act as a “Holy duty”.¹⁸⁵

The poet in Psalm 16 speaks of inheritance which, according to Van der Toorn, is spiritual: it is Yahweh. The poet who speaks here is the temple servant; as a priest he had ‘no portion or inheritance’ (Deut 18:1-2; Num 18:20; Ezek 44:28-30), which means that he lived off the income of the temple.¹⁸⁶

In Psalm 106:28 the people of Israel are accused of following and worshipping the foreign god Baal Peor and having eaten the offerings of the dead. In verse 29 the wrath of God fell on them because of their actions. Yahweh, from the start, never gave necromancy room among the Israelites and this is clear if one reads the priestly laws. By not giving room to necromancy to be practiced among the Israelites one can conclude that Yahweh Himself was threatened by this act. It would encourage the people of Israel to consult mediums often whenever they found themselves in the same situation as Saul. To avoid this Yahweh had to condemn the practice through the priestly laws, as depicted in the book of Leviticus.

3.4 Conclusion

All the intended subjects have been investigated in this chapter. The understandings of death and afterlife have been investigated from Mesopotamia, Egypt and Israel. From the material used one can conclude that the belief in the afterlife within these three traditions was part of their religious practices, they knew about it and practiced it. They all had their different ways of practicing this “kind” of religion. The common understanding between these traditions about the ancestors and the place where they lived was that they lived in the underworld. In Mesopotamia and Egypt it was a normal practice while in Israel it was forbidden. In all traditions, it was the responsibility of the living descendants to feed their ancestors. They were fed with food, drinks and anything they would need on their journey to the underworld. Proper burial was also important for the deceased to have a good eternal life. Among the Israelites ancestral veneration was practiced despite it having been forbidden by Yahweh. Israelites were expected to consult Yahweh as their only God. Yahweh had forbidden this kind of practice because He does not want His people (the Israelites) to follow the kind of practice. This does not make Yahweh appear inferior, but confirms that He is a God who protects His people from following other traditions and religious practices. Those Israelites who follow these practices were promised to face God’s wrath.

¹⁸⁵ Schmitt, 2008:10.

¹⁸⁶ Van Der Toorn, 1996:210-211 (cf. also Niehr, 2003: 143).

Chapter 4

Ancestral consultation in African tradition

4.1 Introduction

The preceding three chapters focused on 1 Samuel 28:3-25 and the Ancient Near Eastern traditions, mainly on the religious aspect of ancestral religion. Chapter 4 is part of an intra-textual analysis; the study will focus on African tradition regarding ancestral veneration. As it concerns African religion it will take a closer look at the VhaVenda ancestral practices. In this chapter the researcher will analyse life after death and the role that the ancestors play in the lives of the living. At the end of the chapter the researcher will also look at the Christian understanding of ancestral religion since many Africans now follow Christianity as their religion.

4.2 The history of ancestral consultation in Africa

The history of ancestral consultation in Africa is studied within the ambit of African traditional religion. This is because ancestral consultation is not the center of African traditional religion but one of the important aspects of the African traditional religion. African traditional religion has become the centre of study in many institutions around the world since the late 20th century. Many are interested in this study to correct the mistakes of the missionaries when they approached Africa. The missionaries viewed Africa as a dark and unreligious continent. There are many people around the world, even here in Africa, who view African traditional religion with “disdain”.¹⁸⁷ Many people lack respect for this religion because they view it as a non-authentic religion.

The African traditional religion has no founder, compared to Christianity, Islam and other religions which have specific founders. After reading a lot about African religion the researcher has come to believe that African religion has been revealed to the African people by God. God has revealed this religion through everyday experiences in the lives of Africans. The everyday lives of African people are influenced by their religion. Their languages, food, music, games and many aspects of African people’s lives are part of what they believe. According to Mbiti,¹⁸⁸ African traditional religion is found first: in the rituals, ceremonies and festivals of the people. African people celebrate all memorable events in the lives of individuals as well as the community. All these celebrations are associated with religious beliefs. The rituals performed in African people’s lives are associated with

¹⁸⁷ Dopamu, 1991:19.

¹⁸⁸ Mbiti, 1991:69-75. Dopamu, 1991:22 states: “African Traditional Religion has no written literature or sacred scriptures or creedal forms. It is an essentially oral tradition. All we know of the religion, therefore, comes to us through oral traditions, myths and legends, stories and folk-tales, songs and dances, liturgies and rituals, proverbs and pithy-sayings, adages and riddles”.

their religion. When the community gathers for celebrating marriage, initiations or any other event that may call for celebration, it is done with the influence of religion. Second: African religion is found in the shrines, sacred places and religious objects. In many African families there are shrines associated with the departed members of their family. It is through these shrines that they offer sacrifices for the deceased family members. These shrines and sacred places and are regarded as very special for the family religion. Not just anyone is allowed to enter these places because if one enters without permission one may face consequences. Third: music and dance are an integral part of African religion. Songs and dances in the African community are a reflection of their religious understanding and belief. Their musical instruments, such as the drum flute and others, are used in venerating their ancestors and worshipping God. African people express their religion through singing and dancing and the instruments they use are religious instruments. Fourth: African religion is found in proverbs, riddles and wise sayings. The religious beliefs of African people are contained in their proverbs and wisdom sayings. Fifth: African religion is found in the names of people and places. Sixth: it is found in myths and legends. And lastly, it is found in their beliefs and customs. These prove that everything about African people is religious. African people do not just give names to their children but they are influenced by religious events and circumstances that they are facing at the time of birth.

Mbiti's understanding of the history of African religion is also shared by Isichei¹⁸⁹ who said that African religion is not a historical religion because it begins with the true fictions of mythology. Africans have always believed in God and their religion was relativistic and with no covenant. They also believe that each and every tribe among the Africans has its own religious way. Mbiti also maintains that linking the name of a child to the proverbs is a clear indication that African traditional religion is part of daily life among African people.

These views from Mbiti show that the lives of Africans are an inextricable part of their religion and that the lives of African people have been influenced by religion. Religion in African people is responsible for shaping the community and an individual's life and understanding of life. African religion includes their beliefs in the afterlife and the part that ancestors play in the lives of the living. In this study the researcher would like to investigate the role of ancestral consultation in the lives of African people. Though African religion was not a written religion people live, eat and drink this African religion. From the birth of a child until death, African traditional religion plays an important role in the lives of African children. In Africa, religion and everyday experiences are so intertwined to the extent that one cannot draw a line between the two. This was confirmed by

¹⁸⁹ Isichei, 2004:3-11.

Onunwa when he said that traditional religion was indeed society itself as there was no clearly defined distinction between the sacred and the profane.¹⁹⁰

4.3 African understanding of funerary customs

4.3.1 Death

In African traditions death is not the first step in life but birth is the first step. It is through birth that the generations grow in numbers. When the child is born a name is given to the child and the birth rites should be performed for that child so that they may comply with the social standards of the traditions. As the child grows, she/he is expected to go through the initiation rites to prove the maturity of the child and to attain active status of the child in the community. When the maturity status has been proved within the community, the child as a mature adult can enter into marriage and become procreative and productive for future generations.¹⁹¹

The final stage in life that everyone is expected to go through is death. Death is the line that divides the land of the living and the dead. Although people are aware of death, they are still concerned about it because sooner or later they are all going to face it and it brings loss and sorrow to their families and the community. There are death rites and taboos that the family and the community perform for the dead relative and the family member.¹⁹²

When the person gets to a point where there is no hope in his life because of illness, the relatives are expected to always be at his bedside nursing him/her while waiting for his/her death. The relatives who stand at the bedside should include the brother and the eldest son of the sick man or woman. The main idea of them being there is to investigate the cause of the illness. Those who should be there but fail to attend without valid reasons are liable to be suspected of the cause of the illness and death.¹⁹³

There are causes of death linked to African traditions which may cause death at any stage of a person's life. Death may be caused by sorcery, witchcraft and evil magic. After death in many communities or families the close relatives try to find out the cause of death which in Venda is called *u tungula* meaning "to investigate". Death can also be caused by the spirits. The spirit of the dead person may cause someone to die. The spirits of those who did not receive a proper burial and were neglected by the relatives may cause death. Death may also be caused by a curse. Breaking the taboos and oaths of the family and the community may cause death in the family. Death may

¹⁹⁰ Onunwa, 1991:79.

¹⁹¹ Cf. Mbiti, 1969:145.

¹⁹² Mbiti, 1969:149 (cf. also Munyai, 2007:46-47; Imasogie, 1985:52-65; Krige and Krige, 1965:159-175).

¹⁹³ Stayt, 1968:1961 (cf. Mbiti, 1969:149-159; 1970:253-254; Lan, 1985:31-42).

also come naturally. God is believed to be the one who calls old people from the land of the living. Old age is not regarded as the main cause of death in many communities; but spirits, curses and sorcery are seen to be the main causes of death.¹⁹⁴ African people believe that not every death is a natural death but may have been caused by other influences in life. In many cases close relatives who might be jealous of something the dead person owned may cause that person's death.

Death is when the body ceases to function, the soul departs and the eye breaks. God is the one who takes the soul away from the body and allows death to take place, and even kill people because he wants them to join Him and live with Him. The death of those who leave their descendants behind is regarded as an act of God.¹⁹⁵

4.3.2 Mourning and funerary customs

After death the family of the deceased and the community are expected to mourn¹⁹⁶ for the dead. This is done in solidarity with the mourning family and the descendants of the deceased. Within the VhaVenda¹⁹⁷ culture the mourning period continues for as long as the cause of the death is not clear. They do not stop mourning until the cause of the death has been discovered. "A diviner is often consulted concerning the cause of the death, especially if it did not appear to be a natural consequence of old age".¹⁹⁸ After the burial the close family relatives shave their heads and they shave again after they have visited the diviner for finding out the cause of the death. They also wash all the blankets and clothes in the house.

During the mourning period the children are usually taken away from the home of the deceased and stay with an aunt until the funeral. The Venda people are expected to mourn for their deceased but they do it in a very low tone. They do that with a belief that they cannot bring him/her back. The weeping of the mourners may hinder the deceased from having a good journey to the new life. Those who cry before and during the funeral are stopped immediately for the sake of the dead. The Venda people mourn with the hope that the dead are starting a new life.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ Mbiti, 1975:111-112.

¹⁹⁵ Mbiti, 1970:154-155

¹⁹⁶ Sundermeier, 1998:77-78 describes the mourning rituals as "social and legal institutions which regulate the position of the survivors and restore the damaged equilibrium of the community" and again as "an elementary, non-verbal means of communicating spiritual tension... ritual also conveys the religious beliefs of the community, which everyone knows about and finds plausible."

¹⁹⁷ Vhavenda people speak Tshivenda as their language. They occupy the northern part of the Limpopo province. The Vhavenda King (Thovhela) is Tony Mphephu Ramabulana. Their main towns are Thohoyandou and Makhado (Louis Trichardt).

¹⁹⁸ Thorpe, 1991:65.

¹⁹⁹ Munyai, 2007:49-51.

The mourning period is a period when the family and friends pay their last respects to the deceased. They can do this by bringing something that can help during the funeral preparations, either small or big as long as it would be helpful; it can just be a coin. The grave should be prepared within 24 hours of death. The brother starts digging the grave and other men of the community may join and help him.

Burial is the commonest method of dealing with the corpse. Burial usually takes place after sundown and before sunrise. The procession starts with the men of the house carrying the corpse, with the women following behind. The brothers and the eldest son of the deceased are the ones that lead the procession with the help of the eldest sister. The body is then lowered into the grave and the eldest sister starts with throwing in a handful of soil; she is then joined by the relatives. The eldest sister throws a handful of soil saying, *muya wanu u edele nga mulalo* “may your soul rest in peace”. The phrase *ni edele nga mulalo* is found in many prayers addressing the ancestors and it is because of the fear that the living may wake up the ancestors which will cause trouble to the family.²⁰⁰

The term “*edela*” or “*lala*” is an idiomatic expression of peace. The ancestors should rest so that the living may experience peace and harmony in the family and the community at large. The ancestors will bring many blessings to their living descendants.²⁰¹ This term relates to the Venda expression *muthu o luga o lala* which means “a person is righteous when asleep”. The ancestors are always wished eternal rest because waking them will bring unrest in the family.

A deceased person is buried with some of his belongings which may be put on top of the grave. The belief behind this is that “the departed needs weapons to defend himself along the way to the next world, or food to eat on the journey, wives and servants to keep him company when he reaches there and other property to use so that he would not arrive empty-handed or remain poor”.²⁰² When rich people and kings died the family would kill his servant so that he may continue to serve the dead person in the underworld. People are buried with some of their belongings and all that is left will be given to his children. The belief is that he would still need the things that he used while in the land of the living. Some of the things that people are buried with are the things that they treasured the most while on earth. In this regard it is not clear how they dealt with women. The reason for this might be that African traditions are patriarchal traditions and women are considered of a low standard and are not considered in many practices.

²⁰⁰ Cf. Munyai, 2007:46-74.

²⁰¹ Krige and Krige, 1965:231.

²⁰² Mbiti, 1975:114 (cf. also Mbiti, 1969:159).

Usually after the burial, a tree is planted next to the grave to provide shade for the dead, or the deceased may be buried under the tree. The living dead are believed to be present during the death and burial of their relatives. The eldest sister should also address the ancestors and ask them to receive their dead one saying *tanganedzani nwana wanu, ri mu rumela ngeo hanu, mu vuleleni ndila* “receive your son/daughter, we send him/her to you, open ways for him/her”.²⁰³

At the time of death or just after, the funeral family members and the traditional healer perform the ritual called *u vhuisa hayani muya wa o lovhaho*, “bringing home of the spirit of the dead”. This ritual is performed by the family led by the traditional healer. This ritual is performed by the killing of a goat by drowning it. This is to show that the deceased’s blood was never spilt during his/her death. The family, relatives and the community share the goat showing the communal nature of the performance of the bereavement rituals. The goat should be eaten the same day and all bones should be collected and buried in a corner of the yard.²⁰⁴

The other ceremony of *u vhuisa* is “to bring home the spirit of a person who died far away from home”. This is done after the family realise that the ancestors are angry and are demanding to be brought home. In this ceremony a beast or a goat is killed. After having the meal all the bones of the goat are buried as though it were a person.²⁰⁵

A year after the death the family relatives and close friends gather again to perform a ceremony known as *u bvula* “undress”. After death the widow is expected to dress in black for a year. This is an important ritual because “these clothes symbolize the acceptance of one’s status (widowhood) that is occasioned by the death of a spouse”.²⁰⁶ During this period the widow should abstain from marriage and sexual intercourse because it is believed that she is still in mourning. The coming together of the family is to allow a widow to marry again and have sexual intercourse. The widow is relieved from the mourning customs; the ceremony symbolises the end of the mourning period. This is the time that the family arranges with the brother of the deceased to marry the widow and continue from where his brother left off. With regard to men it is not clear how they mourn but from the researcher’s observations it is noted men do not follow the same mourning customs after the death of a spouse.

²⁰³ Mbiti, 1969:149-155.

²⁰⁴ Radzilani, 2010: 40 (cf. Gelfand, 1962:134; Kohler, 1941:32-33).

²⁰⁵ Krige and Krige, 1965:132.

²⁰⁶ Radzilani, 2010:39.

4.3.3 The dead and their world

4.3.3.1 The world of the dead

When a person dies he/she no longer forms part of the living. It is believed that the land of the dead is very close to the world of the living. The world of the dead “is invisible but close to that of the living”.²⁰⁷

In many cultures in Africa the place of the dead forms a great part in the religious practices although it is invisible. When the spirit of the dead departs it finds a place of rest in something physical but the living cannot realise that the spirit of the dead is staying there. Rivers, mountains, lakes, forest, homestead, fields, cattle, sheep, dogs, chickens, wild animals, and all the things they find in their physical lives may be used as places where the spirits of the dead may reside.²⁰⁸ Gelfand also maintains that “the Shona people in Zimbabwe believe that after death the spirit of a person enters into a spiritual world in which it lives a life still closely bound to the earth. The spirits of their dead relations hover around their villages, in the house-tops, in the forests, on the hills, in the trees, in pools or in the depths of the earth”.²⁰⁹ “It is believed that the whole cosmos is filled with spirits. The spirits of nature are staying in forests, rivers, mountains, hills, etc...They can be ancestors or nature spirits”.²¹⁰ The spirits of the dead live with the living people everyday and they are all over the earth.

The spirits of the dead may be living all over the place but in Venda they are called *vhafhasi* “those of below.” This, in the understanding of the researcher, is because when they were buried they were laid below the earth.

In Venda there is a lake called *Fundudzi* which is connected with the ancestral spirits of the *Netshiavha* clan who is protecting the lake. The lake is believed to be a very spiritual site among the VhaVenda people. It is in this lake where music, sounding like a Venda flute, is often heard coming from the water. No one is allowed to swim or wash in this lake because the spirits of the dead may drag him/her under the water and he/she may never come back. This relates to the Shona people’s view of the spirits of the dead that they live in the forests and rivers; in this instance, they live in the lake. Where the spirits of the dead live is regarded as a sacred place among the VhaVenda people.

Few people believe that the place of the departed spirits is somewhere in the sky. Such people believe that their departed ones are associated with the moon and the stars. They do not associate

²⁰⁷ Mbiti, 1975:116.

²⁰⁸ Stayt, 1968:236-237 (cf. Mbiti, 1975:117).

²⁰⁹ Gelfand, 1964:32 (cf. Bucher, 1980:56-57).

²¹⁰ Theron, 1996:12.

with the sun because the sun would be too hot for them. Others believe that the dead immediately go before God who will then judge them and receive eternal punishment or eternal life. If they had lived a good life on earth they would join their already-departed relatives in a good place or go to a bad place where misery awaits them until God takes pity on them.

On the journey to the other world, the spirit should be accepted by the spirits of those who died long ago. The living people are the ones responsible for preparing a journey for the dead by asking the ancestors to receive the dead. In Venda the *Makhadzi* should call the ancestors by their names and ask them to receive their grandchild.

In other African cultures, as maintained by Mbiti, to make the journey less demanding the corpse is anointed with fat and milk is poured on the mouth and is wrapped with hide, to provide food and protect it (the dead) from the scorching sun of the desert. They also kill a bull for the grandfather of the deceased so that they would help the soul when it arrives in the next world.²¹¹ The death and the journey to the underworld should not always have many demands so that families that do not have much can still give their deceased relatives a dignified journey to the underworld. They can use the little that they have to give to the deceased person. The other belief is that the deceased person cannot journey alone but needs help from his/her ancestors who know the entire journey that he/she has to undergo until the final stage.

The spirits of the dead may also find a place to stay through reincarnation. This is discovered through divination which reveals that the soul of a newborn baby shares the spirit of a dead grandfather or grandmother.²¹² Through reincarnation it is said that the ancestor becomes a child. When the baby boy or girl is born shortly after the death of a close relative, the child is given the name of the deceased. In Venda *N'wana a u lilela dzin* means “a child cries for a name”. The child will never stop crying until it is taken to the traditional doctor for divination and given the name of the deceased.

4.3.3.2 The living dead

According to Mbiti the living dead are still in the process of dying; they are still in a state of personal immortality and their process of dying is not yet complete.²¹³ The living dead “are believed to have survived death and to be living in a spiritual world, but are still taking a lively interest in the family affairs of their families”.²¹⁴ “Proximate ancestors belong to the sphere of existential

²¹¹ Mbiti, 1969:159-165.

²¹² Mitchell, 1977:51-52.

²¹³ Mbiti, 1969:83. Sibisi, 1975:49 states: “The ancestors are more concerned with the day-to-day lives of the living.”

²¹⁴ Parrinder, 1976:58 (cf. also Stayt, 1968:240-242).

relevance. They had personal participants in the network of social relationships until very recently. One knows them. They are part of the family. They are superiors. The living and the deceased communicate with each other in some form or other”.²¹⁵ The departed members of the family still have interests in the issues that concern the family. In all situations they watch over their descendants. They are to be consulted when taking major decisions that will affect the future of the family.

According to Mbiti “they (ancestors) are the guardians of family affairs, traditions, ethics and activities”.²¹⁶ Lan regards the ancestors as “the perfect parents”.²¹⁷ According to Magesa “ancestorship implies moral activity”.²¹⁸ He is of the opinion that they will never be separated from their families, lineage and even the clan that they come from. They still remain part of the family even after death and they will still have the same relationship they had before. For example, a mother remains a mother and a father remains a father and so on. “The living dead have a spiritual power and act as intermediaries between the family and the spirits and guardians of family affairs and the traditions of the people”.²¹⁹ “...for the orderly maintenance of the world, the divinities and ancestors have laid down norms and set patterns or codes of conduct”.²²⁰ “The ancestors act as the guardians of the traditional ethics. Since they had lived exemplary lives on earth, they are concerned with preservation of these moral virtues whose foundation they laid when they were still alive”.²²¹ In this case the ancestors are regarded as the best guardians and act as the moral compass of the family and the community.

The living dead are believed to be the intermediaries between the living and God.²²² This means that the ancestors know the needs of men they have been living with and that the living ask from the ancestors and at the same time the ancestors have full access to the channel of communicating with God directly or indirectly through their own forefathers. This means that the living does not communicate with God directly but they communicate through their living dead. This is the channel that Venda people are still using even today. The VhaVenda believe that God is too high to access but ancestors are there as intermediaries between God and His people.

²¹⁵ Nürnberger, 2007:30.

²¹⁶ Mbiti, 1969:83.

²¹⁷ Lan, 1985:32.

²¹⁸ Magesa, 1997:48.

²¹⁹ Mitchell, 1977:49.

²²⁰ Dopamu, 1991:29.

²²¹ Uka, 1991a: 187.

²²² Uka, 1991b:45-46.

“The Venda like all other Africans, believe that after death the deceased receive power and force and they are regarded as being nearer to God than the living”.²²³ This is not to challenge God and His authority but they are always under the supervision of God. In Venda the living dead are called *mudzimu* (*vhadzimu* in plural) meaning “god(s)”. The living always maintains the relationship between them and the living dead.

The living dead are also called intermediaries. They are the intermediaries between God and the living. According to Turuki “the space between God and the human beings is filled up by the gods, divinities and spirits, who are sometimes called the intermediaries”.²²⁴

Mbiti speaks of the ancestors as “the best group of intermediaries between men and God”.²²⁵ This is because people feel that they cannot approach God directly because of their inferiority in the presence of God. This is derived from the social standard of African people that you cannot approach great people in the community directly but you have to go through someone. In the VhaVenda tradition a person is not allowed to speak to the Chief directly but there has to be one of the Chief’s servants who convey the message to and from the chief. Since God is spiritual, it was necessary to find some spiritual beings as intermediaries. Africans believe that the living dead have an easier way of approaching God than the living since they are spiritual beings. The living dead are deemed to be good intermediaries because they understand both the language of God and of the living that they used to speak while on earth.²²⁶

Munyai maintains that “the ancestors are representatives of *Ñwali* and act as mediators between him and their relatives”.²²⁷ In the VhaVenda *Ñwali* is not directly approached by the living but they go to *Ñwali* through the living dead. If the living people have something to tell *Ñwali* the living dead will tell *Ñwali* on their behalf by saying *Ri humbela ni ri swikise ha Ñwali* “please bring us before God”. “Some claim that even if a man should pray to the ancestral spirits the information or requests in prayers are still conveyed to *Mwari* (*Ñwali*)”.²²⁸ It is an African belief that *Ñwali* is the one who created people and He is the one who provides for them as they live. Everything that happens in people’s lives is still under *Ñwali*’s control. In Venda they say *Ñwali musika vathu* meaning “God the creator of people”. He is believed to be all knowing, all powerful, and all wise.²²⁹

²²³ Munyai, 2007:5.

²²⁴ Turuki, 1999:171.

²²⁵ Mbiti, 1969:83.

²²⁶ Mbiti, 1975:62-64.

²²⁷ Munyai, 2007:99 (cf. Shabangu, 2004:133-140).

²²⁸ Gelfand, 1973:111.

²²⁹ Uka, 1991b:43.

Radzilani maintains that “the relationship between the living and the dead has powerful moral and psychological implications and plays a vital role in the everyday life of many Tshivenda-speaking people, and many other African societies”.²³⁰ Failure to maintain the relationship with them may lead to moral decay since they are the protectors of morality in their descendants. The ancestors can also bring sleepless nights and sleepwalking if they feel ignored by their descendants.²³¹

4.3.4 The calling and the role of the medium/*Nanga*

4.3.4.1 Their calling

It is not easy for an African to become a *Nanga*.²³² People who want to become *Nanga* in Africa have to prove that they are possessed with a healing spirit and that the spirit has been passed on to him/her by the dead relative who was a *Nanga* himself. According to Mbiti “if after receiving a call to become a medium, a person does not obey it, people say that ‘the (divinity or spirit) troubles him so much that he goes mad’”.²³³ This shows that you cannot ignore the call to become a medium because the call comes from the ancestors. If one ignores the call the spirits trouble him/her until it is accept.

The *mudzimu* does not come only once in the dreams of the chosen one, but it comes many times until the person responds. It may reveal its desire of making the person a medium by making that person ill and the cause of the illness is only discovered when the parents or relatives consult a *Nanga*.²³⁴ According to Kohler the sick person does not take him/herself to the *Nanga* but members of the family go to consult on the person’s behalf.²³⁵ It is not possible for one to turn down the call from the ancestor to become a medium. The spirit will force itself into the person he/she has chosen until they do what the *mudzimu* wants. The *mudzimu* is so powerful that it can control the lives of the living.

According to Sibisi there are three types or sectors of spirits that divide the world of the dead. The first sector is that of the unborn spirits; the second sector is that of the recently deceased spirits; and the third sector is that of the ancestors.²³⁶ The spirits that possess the *Nanga* are believed to be the spirits from the third sector since they have reached the final stage in the ancestral world. These spirits usually possess the daughter and it is rare that it possesses the son and the reason behind that is not known. Women cannot be possessed by the spirits of their husbands because they do not

²³⁰ Radzilani, 2010:36.

²³¹ Sundermeier, 1998:198.

²³² Gelfand, 1964:53.

²³³ Mbiti, 1969:172.

²³⁴ Gelfand, 1964:99.

²³⁵ Kohler, 1941:9.

²³⁶ Sibisi, 1975:48.

share the same genealogy. During this time of possession a woman hears voices and in this way receives her power. She should avoid unclean situations and uses white symbols to emphasise her purity and her special association with purity of the ancestral spirits.²³⁷

The *Nanga* does not choose the kind of qualification he/she wants but the ancestral spirit which possessed him/her chooses for him/her. The first dream that comes to the *Nanga* after being possessed will tell him/her the kind of qualification, whether herbalist, diviner, or specialist diviner. The information may come in the form of a dream in which the student can see the kind of medication to use on someone sick. These kinds of dreams may continue until he/she becomes qualified.

The qualified *Nanga* who is practicing with the help of *mudzimu* “ancestral spirit” is regarded as the best and most skillful of all mediums.²³⁸ Those that inherit their skills from a relative bear the hallmark of quality and are looked upon with greater respect than those who acquired their skills in some other way.²³⁹ This kind of *Nanga* in Venda is referred to as *Dzokwe* because it is the best. According to Theron, “they fulfill a very important function in traditional African society. They provide the means of magic, and play an important role in the relationship between the living and their ancestral spirits”.²⁴⁰ Some of the VhaVenda families have their family mediums that help and lead the family in all spiritual journeys. These mediums also protect the family from witchcraft, magic and other spiritual threats against the family. If the medium fails to warn the family against the danger coming to harm the family, he/she can be replaced by the most capable one.

4.3.4.2 The responsibilities of the mediums/*Nanga*

The *Nanga* have many responsibilities within African traditions. They have a great role to play in the lives of individuals, families and the community. Parrinder with regards to the diviner’s responsibilities argues that “a diviner or soothsayer is a specialist who seeks to diagnose disease, or discovers the solution to problems, by means of inspiration or manipulations of objects through various techniques”.²⁴¹ The mediums use the ways which can only be understood by them alone. To the researcher this shows the special revelation they bring to the community and families, and should not be ignored.

²³⁷ Sibisi, 1975 48-50.

²³⁸ Gelfand, 1964:56-64.

²³⁹ Gelfand, 1964:99.

²⁴⁰ Theron, 1996:11 (cf. Mbiti, 1975: 156-157).

²⁴¹ Parrinder, 1968:103. Schoffeleers, 1994: 75 states: “...nganga appear to engage in a wide range of activities, including the manufacturing of charms, the preparation and administration of herbal medicines, divination/diagnosis, ritual healing, witch detection, and witchcraft eradication.”

The category of mediums usually falls under the category of medicine man in both training and duties. Their profession includes dealing with the living dead and the spirits of the dead. Mbiti's view on the duties and responsibilities of mediums is that they "link human beings with the living dead and the spirits".²⁴² Whenever there is mediation of the spirit mediums within family disputes, the resolutions reached through discussions among people themselves who are believed to have been reached with the help of the spirits.²⁴³

"The main function of diviners, mediums, oracles and seers is to find hidden secrets or knowledge and to pass the information on to the people".²⁴⁴ The diviners consult the living dead for the living to find out about the future. During the time of consultation the medium loses his/her being and becomes a tool of the spirit that is in him. The spirit in him will make a medium speak the language and the will of the spirit. Without the help of mediums, consulting the ancestors would be very difficult because the services of an expert are needed to know what they want to communicate to the living.

This communication is not only difficult but it is impossible without the help of the medium.²⁴⁵ The role of the *Nanga* is to be an intermediary between the Vhadzimu "spirits of the dead" and the living members of the family.²⁴⁶ The language of the ancestors cannot be understood by anyone except by the mediums because they speak in codes rather than in general language.

Lan in his book, "Guns and Rain", describes the role that mediums played in the Zimbabwe war against Britain. He said that the mediums played a great role during the guerrilla wars in Rhodesia, which is now Zimbabwe, against British colonial rule. When they met for the first time they were led by a female spirit medium called *Kunzaruwa* and her spirit name was *Nehanda*. The woman started by telling them what kind of food they should eat and which routes to take, the forests they should and should not use for their sleep, and where they should not fight in the forests. Due to the severity of the war, she was taken to Mozambique from where she still commanded the guerrillas. She is believed to have led the guerrillas in the war of liberation. *Vaititungamira muhondo yerusununguko* means "she led us in the war of liberation". The guerrillas were told that they should obey the ritual prohibitions that the mediums imposed so that they would be safe and be successful in the war. The other medium who helped the guerrillas in their war against the British authority was Chipfene. This medium led the guerrillas unarmed but was protected by the spirits. Without any gun in his hand the medium survived the entire war without injury. The commissioners who

²⁴² Mbiti, 1969:171.

²⁴³ Garbett, 1969:119.

²⁴⁴ Mbiti, 1975:154.

²⁴⁵ Nürnberger, 2007:31.

²⁴⁶ Gelfand, 1959:99.

were responsible for this area were also afraid of Chipfene. They offered rewards for his capture or death but this was to no avail.²⁴⁷

Within the Vha Venda people the mediums consult the ancestors with the help of *Ṱhangu*, “Divine bones”. The *Ṱanga* casts these divine bones to help his/her patients. *Ṱanga* does not make these bones but usually buys them from a man known for making them. Some get the bones from the river, or while walking on the road they may just pick them up, perhaps one or two per day until there are many. Some *Ṱhangu* collect bones of all kinds of animals: goats, beasts buck. The medium is not supposed to use them while they are still new because they are still believed to be blind and unable to see the truth.²⁴⁸

The set of *Ṱhangu* must undergo some treatments before they can be used, depending on the requirements of one’s calling. The mediums use these bones in order to reveal what the ancestors want from their living relatives. These bones should be placed in medicine that will make them and the *Ṱanga* who uses them strong.²⁴⁹ These are the bones that tell the medium how to heal the family or a person in cases of sickness. The *Ṱhangu* are believed never to lie; they always reveal the truth. The *Ṱhangu* are kept in a pouch which is divine.

4.3.5 Worship/veneration of God and the ancestors

4.3.5.1 Worship of God/*Ṱwali*

The word “worship” used in a religious sense refers to an active response of reverent devotion to God or to deities.²⁵⁰ This response takes on the form of worship which is eternalised through different acts and sayings. This kind of worship may take on a formal or informal format; it can be done by the community or by individuals with words or deeds to please God.²⁵¹ Every African person has a belief in a supreme being which is central to his/her religion.²⁵² All African people have their own names (Mwari in Shona, Ngewo by the Mende people of Sierra Leone, Unkulunkulu in Zulu, Kalunga among the Ovambo, etc.) that are tributes to God, and there are similarities in the qualities of these tributes to Him in every culture.²⁵³ Calling God by different names makes it clear that God is real in African communities. These names used in tribute to God are derived from the qualities and characteristics that African people aspire from God. These are the names given to God from within the context of each and every community.

²⁴⁷ Lan, 1985:3-8.

²⁴⁸ Gelfand, 1964:75.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Kohler, 1941:41.

²⁵⁰ Olowola, 1993:42.

²⁵¹ Mbiti, 1969:58.

²⁵² Mitchell, 1977:23.

²⁵³ Dopamu, 1991:25.

One may ask if African religion is polytheism or not. Within the Vha Venda community there is one mysterious and monotheistic deity who is called *Nwali* or *Raluvhimba*. *Raluvhimba* is identified by Vha Venda equal to *Mwari* of the Shona people of Zimbabwe. *Raluvhimba* is connected to the beginning and the creation of the earth and he is said to live in the heavens and is connected with astronomical and physical phenomena. “He existed from the beginning and is the author of life, of the visible world and men and the invisible spirits”.²⁵⁴ This shows that *Raluvhimba* does not have the beginning but is the beginning of everything that people can see and that they cannot see.

The general view is that the Bantu belief in a Supreme Being is associated with the sky and weather phenomena. Many people regard him as the creator and the molder of destiny.²⁵⁵ The Supreme Being is the creator of all things, the protector of all beings, and the giver of all goodness.²⁵⁶ *Raluvhimba* is always part of his people’s lives through bringing people rain and because he is part of thunder and storms, people ululate and celebrate when this happens.

Vha Venda, like other African traditions, believe that God exists but they do not think they can worship him directly but that they need the help of their ancestors. They pray to their ancestors who are believed to be very close to *Raluvhimba*. Prayers are not addressed directly to God but through the ancestors to God.²⁵⁷

In Venda there is a cave at Luvhimbi where *Raluvhimba* manifest himself. The cave is situated at the mountain called *Tsha-vha-dinda* meaning “place of the messengers”. *Raluvhimba* would visit this place from time to time. When he arrives at the cave, a great flame would appear on a platform of rock above the cave. His appearance would be accompanied by the sound of clanking irons, and these manifestations would be received by the people with shouts of joy and trilling, the cries taken up by people all over the country.²⁵⁸

The connection between *Raluvhimba* who is the sky god and the ancestors is clear when performing the rainmaking rites. The rites and rituals are performed and directed towards the ancestors so that they may take their requests to *Raluvhimba*. This is because people do not believe that ancestors can bring them rain but only the sky god can.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁴ Parrinder, 1968:33.

²⁵⁵ Stayt, 1968:230 (cf. Eiselen and Schapera, 1962:262-265).

²⁵⁶ Kalu, 1991:15.

²⁵⁷ Theron, 1996:6-7.

²⁵⁸ Stayt, 1968:231.

²⁵⁹ Eiselen and Schapera, 1962:266 (cf. Thorpe, 1991:35-38).

4.3.5.2 Veneration of the ancestors

Ancestral veneration is a living tradition in African communities including the VhaVenda. Ancestral veneration is based on the continuing relationship between the living and their ancestors. The VhaVenda ancestral religion includes sacrifices and prayers offered to the ancestors. Ancestors are at the base of the VhaVenda and other African ancestral religions as maintained by Turuki when he wrote: “the belief in the ancestors is the most fundamental religious creed and tenet”.²⁶⁰ The concept of ancestral veneration is built on the foundation, understanding and belief that the dead continue to live even after death. “Sacrifice to the spirits is indeed the center of much African traditional worship”.²⁶¹ This means that the good relationship should still be maintained between them and the living. This relationship is direct and the ancestors have more influence on their living descendants.²⁶² The relationship between the ancestors and their living descendants is the basis of the religious ideas within African traditions. There are traditional conducts that are prescribed for this relationship which the living should live by.²⁶³ This shows that in African traditional religion people are expected to adhere to a certain standard as a way of pleasing *Raluvhimba* and the ancestors. The researcher believes that these rules and standards that African people are expected to live by, are instilled in African people’s minds since this religion does not have a book of conducts like the Christian Bible and the Islamic Quran. African tradition is an oral tradition and it is through that tradition that Africans preserve their religious conduct.

According to Mbiti this understanding of the continuity after life should make us understand the importance of marriage in African communities, because if the person does not have any close relatives his/her name will just vanish and will never be remembered in human existence. This encourages people to get married and have sons who will carry the name of the father to the next generations. If a wife cannot give birth to sons then the man will have to marry another wife who will give birth to his sons so that the family name survives. Having sons is the only way of insuring that a person is not cut off from personal immortality and will continue to live after death. Ancestral veneration should be led by someone in the family who knows and can remember at least as far back as the fourth and fifth generations of the departed, and they should be known and be called by their names; to be recognised by name is extremely important to the ancestors. They should also remember the ancestor’s character, personality, words and some of the special incidents in life.²⁶⁴

²⁶⁰ Turuki, 1999:177.

²⁶¹ Olowola, 1993:39.

²⁶² Stayt, 1968:240.

²⁶³ Eiselen and Schapera, 1962:254.

²⁶⁴ Mbiti, 1969:25-26.

In Africa ancestors are not worshipped but venerated. According to Mbiti there is nothing here (in Africa) about the so-called “ancestral worship”.²⁶⁵ The veneration of the ancestors in Africa is usually led by the eldest person in the family. Some people, every time they slaughter a beast or make traditional beer, they offer some to the ancestors as special offerings. This can usually be done by pouring some of the beer down and say *Ndi zwa vhadzimu* “it is for the ancestors”. “In many parts of Africa, adult members of the family, and especially the heads of the families, pour out beer, water, milk or some other beverage on the ground for the spirits of the family”.²⁶⁶ People do this because they always want to share with their ancestors and believe that through sharing with the ancestors they receive more food and blessings and that the ancestors will listen to their petitions.

Within the VhaVenda tradition, ancestral veneration is led by the *Makhadzi* who is the sister to the father. The veneration is called *u phasa*. This is done as a way of communicating with the ancestors and it is done after the words of prayer to the ancestors. The *Makhadzi* would put water from a wooden cup in her mouth and forcefully eject the water sprinkling it on the ground. If the veneration is done on someone’s grave she starts by calling his/her name and then calls the names of other ancestors as far back as she can remember. When done with the sprinkling of water and the words of prayer on behalf of the family, the *Makhadzi* sometimes pours traditional beer, milk, grain, snuff or tobacco onto the ground and says *Inwani nothe* “drink together” as a way of pleasing the ancestors. VhaVenda does not only perform these rituals at graves but they can do that at home. They build a shrine and grow a certain bulbous plant next to the altar.²⁶⁷ This shows the closeness of the ancestors to their descendants and the special position of the ancestors in the family.

4.4 Christianity in Africa

The above statements show that African people have their own religion that connects them with God through their ancestors. The researcher believes that the African indigenous religion is ancestral worship. This in short is to say that Christianity is a foreign religion in Africa and does not have its roots in Africa. Christianity came to Africa searching for converts who could be the nucleus of the religion throughout African. Christianity has been here in Africa for many years now and has reached many communities, and has brought changes and developments in African people’s lives. Christianity is believed to have entered Africa through the northern parts of Africa, Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia. Since the fall of Christianity in Africa many developments have taken place. In the

²⁶⁵ Mbiti, 1969:26.

²⁶⁶ Mbiti, 1975:123.

²⁶⁷ Cf. Eiselen and Schapera, 1962:254-259; Stayt, 1968:249-251.

first half of the 20th century Christianity has expanded through the African converts and the efforts of foreign missionaries.²⁶⁸

Though Christianity has expanded, some Africans find it difficult to integrate Jesus Christ into their belief system because many still feel that Christianity is a foreign religion. For many Africans Christ is associated with Western traditions and the colonial history that have robbed Africa of her identity and also because the Christian perception of African indigenous religion.²⁶⁹ In South Africa Christianity is associated with apartheid because those who brought it practised apartheid.

Ischei's view was that "Christians at some times and places have felt that it was an overriding duty to obey the precept to preach the gospel to all nations".²⁷⁰ This shows that their interpretation of "all nations" included African. The message that they carried to Africa was that only those who are Christians will be saved and those who do not convert will face the eternal punishment. It is for that reason that many Africans converted to Christianity for fear of eternal punishment. African people were threatened by the doctrine that one is only saved by faith in Christ, the implication being that only Christians will be saved.

In African Christianity there are two different kinds of Christians which the researcher would like to look at: their views of ancestral worship and the African tradition. In African Christianity there are the protestant churches²⁷¹ and the African Initiated Churches (AIC).²⁷² The idea behind starting the AICs included the intention to indigenise Christianity and interpret and apply Christianity in a way that Africans can understand.²⁷³ The AICs Africanised or indigenised Christianity because they did not want to lose touch with their African tradition. The protestant missionaries believed that if one wanted to convert to Christianity one should first lose touch with his/her African tradition.²⁷⁴ The AICs did not want to lose their African beliefs in their ancestors or their dreams as a means of God's revelation and their healing systems.²⁷⁵

The AICs such as ZCC base their faith and belief system on the Hebrew Bible rituals and symbols. They believe in purification when they go to their holy place Zion City and they believe that some of the African rituals still play a great role in their Christian lives. It is their belief that the spirits

²⁶⁸ Mbiti, 1969:229-240.

²⁶⁹ Schoffeleers, 1994:73.

²⁷⁰ Ischei, 2004:141.

²⁷¹ These are the churches that one may call Mission Christianity as Mbiti (1976:236) has called them, or the mainline churches. They are the churches in Africa but with Western tradition and structures. These churches include among others the Dutch Reformed Churches, Reformed Churches in South Africa (GKSA), Lutheran Churches and many others.

²⁷² They are the churches started in Africa by Africans.

²⁷³ Mbiti, 1969:233 (cf. Theron, 1996:26).

²⁷⁴ Theron, 1996:22-23 (cf. Turuki, 1999:17-18).

²⁷⁵ Theron, 1996:26.

and the spiritual powers, along with their ancestors, still have a special relationship with the world of the living. They believe that the God they read about in the Bible is still the same God they believe in as Africans.²⁷⁶

The Zion churches were formed on the foundation of criticism by the protestant churches. They viewed the protestant way of worship as cold and very formal. The issue of racism from the white protestant churches also played a crucial role in the formation of the AICs.²⁷⁷

Some of these churches embrace the African tradition on how they worship and their dress codes. The Church of the Nazirites which was formed by Isaiah Shembe in 1910 embraces the Zulu culture, their dances and their dress codes. The church has many followers because people believe that Isaiah is the Black Christ because of the special revelation he brought to his people and the healing power he had before his death.²⁷⁸

Some of the reasons behind the formation of the AICs include the way in which the missionaries approached African traditional religions. The cult of the ancestors was confused with the cult of the spirits. Missionaries did not study African religion and could not understand it. They failed to find a distinction between the ancestral veneration and the superstitions among African people. This led them to confuse ancestral veneration with the cult of spirits which includes a form of superstition which is against the Christian faith and African religion. It is for this reason that the cult of the ancestors has not found a secure place in African Christianity.²⁷⁹ The researcher understands that if missionaries had studied ancestral religion well they would not have forced African people to forsake their own religion. The missionaries would have found a way to reconcile the two religions with different backgrounds and build a strong Christian religion which would easily have found a place in the African community. This would have been done by understanding the God that African people worship, and understanding that African people do not worship ancestors but venerate them.

What usually happens between the Christians of the African Initiated Churches and that of the mainline churches is that they undermine each other on the bases of their different worship services. The protestant churches sometimes regard the AIC members as non-Christians. The advent of the missionary churches brought many divisions within African communities because they failed to inculcate Christianity in Africa. This also led to the misinterpretation of ancestral veneration. The

²⁷⁶ Van Zyl, 1995:428-431. Isichei, 2004:197 states: “these Churches are an original and creative mix of traditional and biblical cultures...The Bible is often used as a ritual object, in much the same way as the prophet’s staff or healing water.”

²⁷⁷ Cf. Isichei, 2004:201-203.

²⁷⁸ Isichei, 2004:204-205.

²⁷⁹ Éla, 1988:18.

ancestral veneration was referred to as heathenism by those who brought the gospel to the continent.²⁸⁰

²⁸⁰ Cf. Oduro et al., 2008:1-13.

Chapter 5

Ancestral consultation and the comparison between African and ANE traditions

5.1 Introduction

In order to define the different forms of religion requires considerable care. This is because there are many factors to consider before one concludes anything about any religion. This study is about a comparison between the two different religions which are the African and the Ancient Near Eastern religions. These two religions are divided by time of existence, geographical distance, language and people's feelings towards these religions.²⁸¹ Understanding all the differences mentioned above will help the researcher to be more careful not to break any of the precepts of the two religions or fall prey to presuppositions. In this chapter the researcher will reconcile all the previous chapters in order to expand on the differences and the similarities between the two religions. This chapter will not put things in a parallel way but will offer possible similarities between the two religions.

5.2 Death

In both Africa and the Ancient Near East including Israel death is regarded as a reality. People in the Ancient Near East experienced death and people in Africa are still experiencing death every day. In both traditions death is viewed not as the first step in human life but the last on earth. Life starts with birth and there are traditional initiations after birth which the researcher is not going to concentrate on in order to limit the scale of the study. Within the African tradition death is sometimes viewed as “going home” or “resting” with the belief that wherever the dead are staying is a resting place.

Between the African and the ANE traditions there are expressions that show whether a person has died old or young. Expressions such as *sēbâ tōbâ* meaning “a ripe old age”, *mēlē' yāmîm* “full of days”, or if one's life is cut short, *qēšar yāmîm* “short of days” as referred to in Chapter 3, as well as the Venda expressions such as *Vho lalama* meaning “she/he lived enough”, *o tuwa a tshe mutuku* meaning “he/she died young”. In both traditions the death of an old person is accepted without question. Death in the VhaVenda tradition, as in the ANE in Egypt, is viewed not as a bad thing or the end of life, but as a change in the status of a human being. It was also considered as an interpretation of life but not the end of life. Death should not be viewed as total annihilation.²⁸² Death should be viewed as the journey that one takes into eternity and that it is the line that divides the world of the living and the world of the dead.

²⁸¹ Cf. Kamuwanga, 2007: 243.

²⁸² Taylor, 2001:12; Frankfort, 1948:89.

The researcher's understanding, based on the findings in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 regarding death, is that there is a very close relationship between the views of the African and ANE traditions. These two traditions both view death not as the first part in human life, but as the last step that one takes to the world of the dead. In both traditions death is not the total removal of a person from the relatives' lives, but the relationship continues even after death. Death is viewed as the separation line between the world of the living and the world of the dead and before crossing this line no one knows what happens in the world of the dead.

5.3 Mourning and burial customs

5.3.1 Mourning customs

The concept of mourning is evident in both traditions and has been practiced in the Old Testament period as early as Genesis 37. The practice of mourning customs starts immediately after death in both traditions. The mourning period is regarded as the time that the family and the community pay their last respects to the deceased. Mourning in Africa involves the community that the deceased was part of just as the Israelite community mourned for their prophet Samuel in 1 Samuel 25:1; 28:3. In the ANE and the Old Testament periods they had mourning periods which usually ran for seven days, except when they were mourning for Moses and Aaron which lasted for thirty days (Numbers 20:29; Deuteronomy 34:8). In African tradition the mourning period continues until they find the cause of death – in cases where death was not due to old age.²⁸³ This happens because of the belief that superstitions and witchcraft can take a person's life. The relatives visit the medium for help with regard to the cause of the death.

The VhaVenda people also mourn but they do it silently or in a very low tone. This is different from ANE Israel where mourning was done publicly and loudly, and not doing so was viewed as an insult to the dead and the whole community (1 Kings 14:13; Job 27:15; Jeremiah 16:4,6). This public mourning in the ANE would continue during the funeral and sometimes professional mourners would be hired.²⁸⁴ The VhaVenda practice of low-tone mourning is based on the belief that if they mourn loudly they may hinder the deceased from having a wonderful journey to the new life after death. During the mourning period, among the VhaVenda people, the mourners would shave their heads, which is similar to the Old Testament traditional mourning as maintained in Isaiah 22:12 where hair and beards were cut off.

The similarities in how the mourning customs are performed are found in both African and the Ancient Near Eastern traditions. The mourning period is important in both traditions and the length

²⁸³ Thorpe, 1991:65.

²⁸⁴ Taylor, 2001:188.

of the mourning period is determined by the cause of death. The mourning period is characterised by a certain type of dress code, and among the VhaVenda people the dress code of the mourning period is black; this black dress code symbolises the dark cloud in the family. In the Ancient Near East the mourners would wear torn clothes. Mourning in both traditions is part of the community where the deceased was living until his/her death. The community becomes part of mourning as a way of sympathising with the family after the loss of a family member. The family members participate in a big way in the mourning process by shaving their heads and beards. The difference between the two traditions is that in the VhaVenda culture people mourn in a very low-tone manner, while in the ANE traditions it had to be done publicly and loudly. The VhaVenda people, once they enter the house where there has been death they become silent in respect of the dead and the mourning family. In the ANE we hear nothing about the process of trying to determine the cause of death, while in Africa we hear about the consultation of a medium trying to find out the cause of the death. The process of finding the cause of the death lengthens the mourning period, while in the ANE the normal period is seven days.

5.3.2 Burial customs

In both the African and ANE traditions the dead person is buried in a prepared tomb. This is done to protect the body from wild animals and also to honour the dead person. In the VhaVenda tradition community men would gather two or three days before the funeral to prepare the grave of the deceased and these men are called *dziphele*. The burial is perceived as the handing over of the dead person to his ancestors. In both traditions the handing over is led by a close family relative. The handing over is done through burial in the family tomb, as in the Old Testament period (Genesis 23; 2 Samuel 19:38; 1 Kings 13:22). In the VhaVenda tradition some of the families have their own graveyard and only people from that tribe would be buried there. The royal families also have their own family graveyard called *zwifhoni* meaning a “sacred place/shrine”. The family would take the responsibility of preparing a burial place for their dead relative.

Deceased people are buried with their belongings that they loved the most while on earth. This is because of the belief that they might need some of the things they owned on their journey to the world of the dead. In the Old Testament people were buried in a cloth consistent with the positions they held in the community. Samuel was buried with his robe that he wore as a living prophet (1 Samuel 28:14). For many African people, including the VhaVenda, the dead are dressed when they are buried so that they may not feel cold on the world of the dead. These clothes are to protect the

body on the journey to the world of the dead. The act of dressing the dead is done within the VhaVenda by the close family members as was done in Ancient Egypt.²⁸⁵

The tools that the deceased are buried with are for the preparations for the journey to the netherworld. In Egypt²⁸⁶ people were buried with things such as weapons believing that they may need them along the journey to the netherworld; it is the same in the African tradition.²⁸⁷ The VhaVenda people are buried with seeds of different kinds hoping that they will be blessed by the deceased when they plough. The deceased are not only buried with the weapons but also with pots and dishes containing food that they would eat along the way. The tools that the person is buried with should also help him/her in the netherworld so that he/she may not go there empty-handed. This kind of burial custom differs and is based on the socio-economic standard of the deceased and of his family.

5.4 The dead and their world

5.4.1 The world of the dead

The spirits of the dead are said to join their ancestors in the spiritworld, *Sheol*, netherworld. The dead have their own place which, according to the Old Testament tradition, is called *Sheol* (Genesis 37:35). In Venda the place where the dead stay is called *Vhudzula vhafu* meaning "place of the dead". This place is believed to be under the earth. In 1 Samuel 28: 13 the spirit of the dead Samuel came up from שאול, *Sheol*, and this *Sheol* is under the earth. The woman at Endor said to Saul עלה מן-הארץ meaning "she saw the spirit of Samuel coming up from the earth." This shows that, even in Ancient Israel, *Sheol* was believed to be the place of the dead and the underworld. The spirits that came up from *Sheol* came from below.

The Mesopotamian word for the land of the dead is *Shu'âlu* which is related to the Hebrew *Sheol*. In the VhaVenda tradition dead people are buried in the pit but their spirits may still find a place to stay in the hills, forest, lakes or even in animals. The whole cosmos is the spiritworld and they can reside anywhere. Though they may stay in animals, trees, valleys or anywhere they want, they are still called *vhafhasi*, meaning "those of below", referring to the pit in which they were buried. The place of the ancestors in both traditions accommodates both good and bad people (Genesis 37:35; 42:38; Numbers 16:30-33).

²⁸⁵ Cf. James, 1979: 157-161; Taylor, 2010: 230-237.

²⁸⁶ Frankfort, 1948:91.

²⁸⁷ Mbiti, 1975:114.

Among the VhaVenda people there is a belief in reincarnation. This is when the spirit of the dead person finds a place to stay in a newborn baby. They believe that when the newborn baby cries continuously, he/she is crying for the name of the deceased relative and that name shall be given to the child. When the name is given to the child it is the process of reincarnating the dead person, and the child would stop crying. This shows that the resting place of the dead person can also be a newborn baby in the family.

The general understanding of the place of the dead is that it is the underworld. The place where the ancestors stay in both traditions is under the earth. This is because of the understanding that the spirit of Samuel came up out of the earth, and the VhaVenda naming the dead *vhafhasi*. From this one can argue that there is a close relationship between the two traditions with regard to the understanding of cosmology. This is the most important part to understand because a person should know the place of the dead when consulting them.

5.4.2 The living dead

The living dead in both traditions are believed to be alive existing in the netherworld. They are believed to have survived death and they can still do a lot for their living descendants. The spirits of the living dead, in both traditions, still have an active role in the lives of the living. Their active role in the lives of the living includes bringing good fortune for those who are treating them with respect and bad experiences to those who have forgotten about them. The living dead depend on their living descendants for their wellbeing in the netherworld. The living relatives are expected to provide their living dead with food, water or beer. The living dead are to be respected by their living descendants. This kind of respect to the dead is what we see when Saul knelt down and prostrated himself before the dead Samuel (1 Samuel 28:14).

When African people visit their ancestors or bring them food they kneel down and prostrate themselves to show respect to the dead. The living dead in Africa are believed to know the future of their descendants as maintained in Chapter 4. This is because they are so close to God and they can speak the language of God and that of the living. The ancestors are the ones who are mediators between the living and God on anything that happens in the lives of the living and when they ask things from God. The VhaVenda people cannot talk to *N'wali* directly but they do it through their ancestors.

The clear and important role of the living dead is that they know the future of their descendants. Saul visited the medium at Endor wanting her to help him to bring the dead Samuel to him so that he may ask him about the future. This was the same case when the Israelites forced the prophet

Isaiah to consult the dead about their future (Isaiah 8:19). What is clear here is that in Israel the ancestors were consulted after the living had failed to secure answers from God. The role of the living dead in Israel was confirmed by Pitard who said, “There is evidence that many Israelites thought that the dead continued to play an active role in the world of the living, possessing power to grant blessings to their relatives and to reveal the future”.²⁸⁸ Saul also believed that dead people could still reveal the future to him when he went to the woman at Endor to consult the dead Samuel, and indeed Samuel proclaimed the future to Saul. The researcher believes that when Saul went to Endor he knew what he was doing and he went there consciously.

Le Roux is also of the opinion that ancestors almost fulfilled a type of mediation between the clan and Yahweh and there seems to have been a good relationship between the Israelites and their ancestors.²⁸⁹ Although there was a belief in the relationship between the ancestors and the living in the Ancient Near East that one should not forget the written text of the Hebrew tradition which is the immediate proof that consulting the dead was forbidden by Yahweh Himself (Leviticus 19:28; Deuteronomy 18:11-12). Although we do not have direct access to the tradition of the Ancient Near East, the researcher believes that there was a relationship between the living and the dead and their role was to mediate between the living and Yahweh. In this regard the researcher fully agrees with Le Roux on the role of the ancestors. Samuel, in 1Samuel 28, performed his normal role in mediating between Saul and Yahweh because what Samuel said to Saul came from God.

The researcher’s understanding of the living dead is that in both traditions they had a great role to play in the lives of the living. They can still bring good and bad things in the lives of their living relatives. They can still know the future of their living descendants even from the grave. The living descendants are the ones who take care of ancestors hoping that they will be blessed by their ancestors. The researcher believes that descendants need to be in good standing with their ancestors so that they may be blessed. The role of the dead is important in maintaining a good relationship between the living and *Nwali*/God. The conclusion is that they should not ignore texts that forbade this practice among the Israelites, but to consider that Yahweh was a jealous God²⁹⁰ who would not want His own people to use other means to communicate with Him or to worship other gods, but that they should do so through prophets and priests.

²⁸⁸ Pitard, 1993:16.

²⁸⁹ Le Roux, 2003:138

²⁹⁰ Exodus 34:14 יהוה קנא שמו אל קנא הוא “*For thou shalt not bow down to no other god; for the LORD, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God.*”

5.5 The calling and the role of spirit mediums

The calling of mediums and the texts about ANE history are not clear in the Hebrew Bible. The calling of mediums is clear in the African traditions and cultures. In this section the researcher will not concentrate on the calling of the mediums, but will take a look on their roles.

The main responsibility of mediums is to help the living to speak to their ancestors. They are the mediators between the dead and the living. In both traditions it is impossible to have access to the world of the living dead without the help of the mediums. They play a major role in the lives of communities. Saul had to walk some distance to the medium of Endor to talk to the dead Samuel. He could not have spoken to Samuel without the help of the medium at Endor. Necromancy seems to have been a normal practice in the lives of Israelites until it was rejected or opposed by the religious groups that supported the worship of Yahweh.²⁹¹ The long walk that Saul took to Endor proves that mediators were important and that people could not consult the dead on their own and that they needed mediators.

In the VhaVenda tradition necromancy and the mediums still play a great role in the lives of their community where some of the families have their own mediums that they consult every time they want to inquire from the dead. In Venda they are called *vho-Riadvha* meaning “those who know” because they are believed to know more about the future because of their skill in interpreting dreams and the ancestral language. The mediums are the ones that help the communities and families to consult their ancestors.

The roles of mediums in the ANE, Old Testament and the African tradition are closely related to each other. One can argue that the mediums have the same responsibilities in both traditions of consulting the living dead for those who want to inquire from the dead. In both traditions it is impossible to consult the dead without the help of the mediums. In Africa they have the freedom to practise their calling while in Ancient Israel it was different because of the Mosaic Law that prohibited the act. Practising necromancy could lead someone to his/her death just as the woman at Endor feared for her life when Saul approached her. This shows that during the period when Saul was a king over Israel, consulting the dead was illegal. In Africa, Venda specifically, they have dice *Thangu* that they use to determine what the ancestors want, or their responses. These dice can only be interpreted by the mediums. It is not clear in the ANE what they used during the practice.

²⁹¹ Pitard, 1993:16.

5.6 Worship of God/*Nwali*

Though there was an ancestral consultation in the ANE as it is in Africa, the ancestors never deserved worship from the living. The Supreme Being was the one who deserved to be worshipped by the living. Among the Israelites Yahweh was the Supreme Being who was worshipped. Saul asked the dead Samuel about the verdict of Yahweh about his future as the Chief of Israel. This shows that Saul knew that Yahweh was superior to everything, even the dead Samuel. Saul relied on Samuel but his trust was in God.

The VhaVenda people practise ancestral consultation but they never lose sight of the Supreme Being who is called *Nwali* in Venda. The ancestors are the ones that pass on the pleas of the living to *Nwali* and *Nwali* will decide what to do. *Nwali* is the centre of the VhaVenda religion, as Yahweh is in the Israelite religion. They believe that *Nwali* as the Supreme Being is the creator of every human being and everything on earth. The Supreme Being nourishes the living with rain and many good things that happen in the lives of Africans. African people have been worshipping the living God even before the dawn of the gospel here in Africa.²⁹² The researcher understands that the VhaVenda religion dates back to long before Christianity and other religions came to Africa, and it is through this religion that the VhaVenda people worshipped God. God did not come to Africa but has been here all the time and has preserved the African people since the beginning. This is the role that Yahweh played in the lives of the Israelites. Yahweh is the one who preserved the Israelites in Egypt until they reached Canaan (Exodus and Joshua) and He continued to be with them in Exile (Daniel, Ezra-Nehemiah).

The worship of the Supreme Being is common in both traditions. In both traditions the Supreme Being is the author of life and the one who created the universe. The character of *Nwali* is related to Yahweh's character because in both traditions there is only one Supreme Being and one author of the heavens and the earth. Neither tradition ever worshipped ancestors, but they worshipped God because ancestors were venerated and not worshipped.

5.7 Veneration of the ancestors

The act of ancestral veneration in both African and ANE traditions include the offering of food and drink to the ancestors. This act was performed by the close relatives of the ancestors. The food and drink were placed on top of the the tomb or the shrine. This was also maintained by Le Roux who said practices to bring about ritual communication between the living and the dead as well as

²⁹² Adamo and Mafico in Le Roux, 2003:149 (cf. Phaswana, 2008:120-124).

sacrifices to the dead were not unknown in Israel.²⁹³ The people in Ancient Israel knew and practised ancestral veneration and they did this by bringing food for the ancestors.

The tomb is believed to act as an entrance to the world of the dead. In this regard Africans can also use an altar that they build at home with a tree planted on the shrine and to offer food and drink to the ancestors. This kind of act is to show that the living people connect with their dead relatives. The act of offering food to the ancestors should also be regarded as a sign of respect to the dead. In both traditions there is a belief that the dead depends on the living for their wellbeing in the world of the dead, and the living depend on the dead for their blessings.

The offering of food to the ancestors is done to receive favours from the world of the dead. The dead are believed to have a great influence in the world of the living. For the living to have favours or blessing from their ancestors, they have to offer them some food and drink and show them respect. If the dead feel that they have been forgotten, they have the power to bring harm to their living relatives. In both VhaVenda and the ANE the living would bring seeds to the shrine as offerings to the dead as a way of asking for fertility. This was fertility in terms of offspring and farming. The VhaVenda also use seeds during burial asking the dead not to take fertility from them. They believe that if the dead owned a farm, there is a possibility that after his/her death the farm might lose its fertility.

In Africa ancestral veneration is to maintain a good relationship with the dead. They believe that the ancestors are very close to God and if the living forgets about their ancestors, ancestors will not speak to God on their behalf. This kind of behaviour is not clear in the ANE, though one can conclude that the behaviour of Saul when visiting the dead Samuel shows that Saul believed that Samuel was close to God. The belief that the living dead have knowledge about the future is common in both traditions.

The custom of ancestral veneration is common in both African and ANE traditions. This is also maintained by Le Roux in Chapter 5 of her book.²⁹⁴ This can lead one to disagree with the reference to the act of veneration as ancestral worship. Van Der Toorn²⁹⁵ referred to the offering of food and libation as ancestral worship, but he was not able to distinguish between worship and veneration. The researcher is convinced that both in Africa and the ANE the ancestors were venerated and not worshipped. If ancestors were worshipped in both traditions, the Supreme Being would have lost His role and would have been replaced by the ancestors.

²⁹³ Le Roux, 2003:138.

²⁹⁴ Le Roux, 2003:117-150

²⁹⁵ Van der Toorn, 1996:229.

5.8 Conclusion

One can conclude by saying that even though there seems to be some similarities, the geographical distance, time and situations should be considered when one decides on any similarities. These are the two different religious systems which developed from different historical, social, political and religious contexts. From the findings of the study one cannot deny that African people have religious practices that resemble those of the Ancient Near East. This is supported by taking a look at 1 Samuel 28:3-25 and the whole of the Ancient Near Eastern tradition as denoted in Chapter 3. The characteristics of Yahweh resemble those of *Nwali* of the VhaVenda and the Mashona God. Yahweh is the one who created the universe and *Nwali* is the creator as VhaVenda called him *Nwali musika vhathu* meaning “*Nwali* the creator of human beings” or *Ramakole* meaning “the owner of the heavens.” From these entire characteristics one can see that there is a very close relationship between the African tradition and that of the biblical world. This relationship also extends to the role that the ancestors play in the lives of the living. This is also maintained by Le Roux in her comparison between the Lemba and the Israelites. It is clear from her analysis that even though there are other differences between the two traditions, there are also many similarities with regard to the ancestors. The differences in the roles of the ancestors and how they were consulted are clear from Le Roux’s analysis of the two traditions.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁶ Le Roux, 2003:119-150; 287-288.

Chapter 6

Survey of the study and conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This chapter serves as a summary of all the insights gained from Chapters 2 to 5 of this study. This is to summarise all the main points of those chapters and it will help when the researcher has to conclude the study at the end of this chapter.

6.2 Survey of the study

The main idea of this study was to investigate the relationship between the African and the Ancient Near Eastern traditions with regard to ancestral consultation. 1 Samuel 28:3-25 was used as a point of departure. This text was used because it is the only text in the Hebrew Bible that shows the act of consulting the dead except for those texts which spoke against the act.

The study was divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 focused on the introduction and the research problem. Chapter 2 was concerned with the study of 1 Samuel 28:3-25 and this was done via inter-textual and extra-textual analysis of the text. The intra-textual analysis of 1 Samuel 28:3-25 focuses on the interrelatedness of the text on its literally level. This was done by morphological, structural and syntactical analysis. The inter-textual analysis was the study of 1 Samuel 28:3-25 in relation to other texts in the Hebrew Bible. The Extra-textual analysis was the study of 1 Samuel 28:3-25 using other sources outside the Hebrew Bible. This study was to determine the role of ancestral consultation covering the whole of the study topic. It was found that the act that Saul committed can be considered ancestral consultation though other inter-textual and extra-textual analyses prove that the act was forbidden in Israel.

In Chapter 3 the main focus was on the Ancient Near Eastern tradition with regard to ancestral consultation. In this chapter, the histories of Mesopotamian, Babylonian and Israel were mainly considered. The customs relating to the act of consulting the dead were studied and these included funerary customs, death, the place of the dead and the like. The study shows that among ANE traditions, including Israel, there were practices relating to ancestral consultation. The act of ancestral consultation was practised in Israel but was prohibited by Yahweh, the Supreme Being of Israel. In other traditions in the ANE there are no indications of the prohibition of this practice. The dead were venerated by their living descendants and they could bring fortune or misfortune to the living relatives.

Chapter 4 focused on African tradition, more especially the VhaVenda tradition, and ancestral consultation. In this chapter, personal knowledge and experience was shown to be of importance. This practice in Africa in general was found to be a living tradition. The role of the ancestors was studied and also the role that the living have over their ancestors. The ancestors still play a major role in the lives of the living Venda-speaking people, as in many other African communities. Their role is seen in the everyday lives of the living descendants. Though the VhaVenda people venerate their ancestors, *Nwali* is still the Supreme Being worshipped and respected by all. Among the VhaVenda people ancestors were never worshipped but venerated. The ancestral veneration was done through food and drink offerings on the shrines or the graves of the dead relatives. In this chapter even Christianity in Africa played a pivotal role because Christianity shaped African religion as it is practised today. It was found that there are Christians who still acknowledge the role of their ancestors in their lives. This kind of Christianity is seen in many African Initiated Churches (AICs). This is because of the failure of breaking away from their tradition.

The last chapter (Chapter 5) could be regarded as the main chapter because it brought all that the researcher has done from Chapter 2 onwards together. This is where the comparison between African and Ancient Near Eastern traditions was done. This chapter makes it clear that there is a lot to compare between the two traditions but one would need to consider the time, religious, geographical, economic and political backgrounds of the two traditions. These backgrounds should be considered mostly in the Ancient Near Eastern tradition because this can be found in the archives; we can only read and learn about it while African tradition is an existing one. In this chapter, it was found that between these two traditions one can find many similarities and aspects that relate to each other. The background that had to be considered did not prevent one from seeing these similar aspects between these two traditions. In both traditions there is a Supreme Being that has to be worshipped and ancestors that have to be venerated. The Supreme Being in both traditions is the creator of heaven and earth and all that live in it. The ancestors are the agents of God since they work in God's order. From both traditions mediators are important when it comes to the consultation of the dead.

6.3 Conclusion

The reason for the study was to determine if the African traditional religion with regard to ancestral consultation can help modern readers of the Hebrew Bible to understand the story in 1 Samuel 28:3-25, or if this story can help modern readers understand African traditional religion.

Looking at the textual evidence regarding ancestral consultation and all the mortuary/burial rites performed by both the Ancient Near Eastern and the VhaVenda people of today, one can conclude

that the African tradition can help readers to understand 1 Samuel 28:3-25 and the ancient world regarding ancestral consultation. This was also maintained by Fischer when he concludes that “Saul took part in an ancestor cult. This was confirmed by African practices of necromancy, which shed new light on the interpretation of this narrative (1 Samuel 28)”.²⁹⁷ If one considered the findings in Chapters 2 to 4, one can fully agree with Fischer’s findings that these two traditions are related and one helps in interpreting the other. This is because of the similarities between the two traditions. Reading this text from an African perspective and an ANE perspective it is clear that Saul’s act was to participate in an ancestral cult. Albertz and Schmitt were correct when they concluded that “honouring and remembering ancestors was an important aspect of building and maintaining family identity”.²⁹⁸ This was also a reality among the VhaVenda people where the honouring and remembering the ancestors were so important. The honouring of the dead in both traditions starts during the mourning period and continues long after the dead had been buried. The act of honouring the dead by the VhaVenda people should help us understand how it was done in ancient times since during that time there was a need to honour the dead by the living, as maintained by Albertz and Schmitt when they said, “burial gifts, such as food provisions, figurines, amulets, and post-mortem gifts all attest the need of the dead for care by the living”.²⁹⁹ This similarity should be borne in mind when considering the time and background of the text. In both traditions, care for the dead was important in maintaining the relationship between the living and the dead, and also to receive blessings from the dead. In both traditions the mediator is the one that helps people to consult the dead and not witches, as many, including Robinson,³⁰⁰ have said relating to the mediator at Endor. This is happening because people are failing to distinguish between a medium and a witch. The witches are the ones who bring misfortune to the people through magic, while diviners or mediums help people in a good manner, be it by consulting the dead on their behalf, or healing people when they are sick. This is the role that we see in both traditions. When Saul consulted the woman at Endor it was not to harm anyone but to help Saul know his future. This was confirmed by Fischer when he concludes that “the woman is not a witch but a diviner of ancestral spirit”.³⁰¹ Categorising the woman of Endor with the witches is to deprive her of her rightful role in the community and her calling as a diviner. The researcher believes and understands that these two categories do not correspond since they do not share the same responsibility in the community.

²⁹⁷ Fischer, 2001:41.

²⁹⁸ Albertz and Schmitt, 2012:471.

²⁹⁹ Albertz and Schmitt, 2012:471.

³⁰⁰ Robinson, 1993:141.

³⁰¹ Fischer, 2001:41.

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ADDENDUM 1: MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF 1 SAMUEL 28:3-25																				
		VERBS							NOUNS						RELATIONWORD			PRON SUFF		
Word	Cat	Root	Mn	Stem	Mode	P	G	N	Citat	Mn	Type	St	G	N	Citat	Mn	Type	P	G	N
וּשְׂמוֹאֵל	N/R								שְׂמוֹאֵל	Samuel	P.noun				ו	and	W.Cons			
מָת	V	מוֹת	Daed	Qal	Perf	3	M	s												
וַיִּסְפְּדוּלוֹ	R/V/N	סָפַד	mourn	Qal	Imperf	3	M	p							ו	And	W.Cons	3	M	S
															ל	To	Prep			
כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל	N/N								כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל	All Israel	Noun P.noun	Con	M	s						
וַיִּקְבְּרוּהוּ	R/V/N	קָבַר	Burry	Qal	Imperf	3	M	p							ו	And	W.cons	3	M	S
בְּרָמָה	R/N								רָמָה	Ramah	P.noun				ב	In	Prepos			
וּבְעִירוֹ	R/R/N								עִיר	City	Noun	Con	F	S	ו	And	W.Con	3	M	S
	/N														ב	In	Prepos			
וּשְׂאוּל	R/N								שְׂאוּל	Saul	P.noun				ו	And	W.Cons			
הַסֵּיף	V	סוּר	Put	Hiph	Perf	3	M	S												
הָאֵבוֹת	R/N								אֵוִב ³⁰²	necromecer	Noun	Abs	M	P	הַ	The	Article			
וְאֵת־הַיְדְּעָנִים	R/R/R/N								יְדְּעָנִי ³⁰³	wizards	Noun	Abs	M	P	ו	And	Article			
	/N														אֵת	Object marker				
															הַ	The	Article			
מֵהָאָרֶץ	R/R/N								אָרֶץ	Land	Noun	Abs	F	S	מִן	From	Prepos			
															הַ	The	Article			

³⁰² The word has three usages in the Old Testament i. “an אֵוִב spirit” ii. “Necromancy” and iii. “Necromancer” The first one is used referring to the spirit of the dead person rather than to the deified spirit of the ancestors. Necromancy is the practice of invoking the spirit of the dead and necromancer is the person who practices necromancy. In this chapter it appears again in vv. 7, 8 and 9. (Tsumura 2007: 619)

³⁰³ The literal translation of the word is “all knowing” and it occurs eleven times in the Old Testament. It occurs in parallel with אֵוִב. In two occasions it refers to the practices of necromancy (2 Kings 21:6 and 2 Chronicles 33:6) and the rest it refers to the necromancers themselves.

וַיִּקְבְּצוּ	R/V	קבץ	Gather	Niph	Imperf	3	M	P							ו	And	article				
פְּלִשְׁתִּים	N								פְּלִשְׁתִּי	Philistines	P.noun										
וַיָּבֹאוּ	R/V	בוא	Come	Qal	Imperf	3	M	P							ו	And	W.cons				
וַיַּחֲנוּ	R/V	חנה	Camp	Qal	Imperf	3	M	p							ו	And	W.Cons				
בְּשׁוּנֵם	R/N								שׁוּנֵם	Shunem	P.noun				ב	In	Prepos				
וַיִּקְבְּצוּ	R/V	קבץ	gather	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w.Cons				
שָׁאוּל	N								שָׁאוּל	Saul	P.noun										
אֶת־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל	R/N/N								כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל	All Israelites	Noun P.noun	Con	M	s	אֵת	---	Object maker				
וַיַּחֲנוּ	R/V	חנה	Camp	Qal	ImPerf	3	M	P							ו	And	w.cons				
בְּגִלְבֹּעַ	R/R/N								גִּלְבֹּעַ	Gilboa	P. noun				ה	The	Article				
															ב	In	Prep				
וַיִּרְא	R/V	ראה	Saw	Qai	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w.cons				
שָׁאוּל	N								שָׁאוּל	Saul	P.noun										
אֶת־מַחֲנֵה	R/N								מַחֲנֵה	Army	Noun	con s	B	S	אֵת	---	Object				
פְּלִשְׁתִּים	N								פְּלִשְׁתִּי	Philistines	P.noun										
וַיִּרְא	R/V	ירא	Fear	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w. cons				
וַיַּחְרַד	R/V	חרד	tremble	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w. cons				
לִבּוֹ	N/N								לֵב	Heart	Noun	Con	M	S					3	M	S
מְאֹד	R														מְאֹד	man y	adverb				
וַיִּשְׁאַל	R/V	שאל ³⁰⁴	Ask	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w. cons				
שָׁאוּל	N								שָׁאוּל	Saul	P.noun										
בְּיְהוָה	R/N								יְהוָה	YHWH	P.noun				ב	In	Prep				

³⁰⁴ The root שאל places a crucial role in this text. The root can be heard in the names of Samuel (שמואל) and Saul (שאוּל) and the sound of it can be heard from the noun Sheol (שאול). The root in the book of Samuel has been used in different ways. Firstly it was used by Hannah when asking for a son and receives Eli's blessings that "the Lord should fulfil your שאל 'request' (the literal translation would be 'ask') which you have asked of Him" (1:17). Secondly the root was used to refer to King Saul pointing out that it was the people who שאל "ask" the Lord for the king (8:10; 12:13, 17, 19). The root, according to Garsiel, connects Saul's name with his failure "to ask of" the Lord as he ought to. (cf. Garsiel 1983: 72-74).

וְלֹא	R/N								לֹא	Not	P.noun				ו	And	w. cons				
עֲנֵהוּ	V	ענה	answer	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S													
יְהוָה	N								יְהוָה	YHWH	P.noun										
גַּם	R														גַּם	Nor	negatio n				
בְּחֻלְמוֹת	R/R/N								חֻלּוֹם	dream	Noun	Abs	M	P	ב ה	In The	Prep Article				
גַּם	R														גַּם	Nor	negatio n				
בְּאוּרִים	R/R/N								אוּר	Urim	Noun	Abs	M	P	ב ה	From The	Prep Article				
גַּם	R														גַּם	Nor					
בְּנְבִיאִים	R/N								נְבִיא	Prophets	Noun	Abs	M	P	ב ה	From The	Article				
וַיֹּאמֶר	R/V	אמר	Say	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w. cons				
שָׂאוּל	N								שָׂאוּל	Saul	P.noun										
לְעַבְדֵי	R/N								עַבְד	Servant	Noun	Con	M	P	ל	To	Prep	3	M	S	
בְּקִשְׁרֵי	R/V	בקש	Seek	Piel	Impar		M	P							ל	To	Prep	1		S	
אִשָּׁה	N								אִשָּׁה	Woman	Noun	Con	F	S							
בְּעֵלְתֵי־אוֹב	N/N								בְּעֵלְתֵי אוֹב	Possess medium	Noun Noun	Con Abs	F M	S S							
וַאֲלֵכֶּה	R/V	הלך	Go	Qal	Imperf	1	B	S							ו	And	w. cons				
אֵלַיָּהּ	R/N														אֵל	To	Prep	3	F	S	
וַאֲדַרְשֶׁהָ־בָּהּ	R/V/R	דרש	Inquire	Qal	Imperf	1	B	S							ו ב	And From	w. cons				
וַיֹּאמְרוּ	R/V	אמר	Say	Qal	Imperf	3	M	P							ו	And	w. cons				
עַבְדָּיו	N/N								עַבְד	Servant	Noun	Con	M	P					3	M	S
אֵלָיו	N/N														אֵל	To	Prep	3	M	S	
הִנֵּה	R														הִנֵּה	beho ld					
אִשָּׁה	N								אִשָּׁה	Woman	Noun	Con	F	S							
בְּעֵלְתֵי־אוֹב	N/N								בְּעֵלְתֵי	Possess	Noun	Con	F	S							

									אוב	medium	Noun	Abs	M	S						
בשן	R/N								עין	En	P.noun				ב	In	Prep			
דור	N								דור	-dor										
והתחפש	R/V	חפש	Disguise	Hithp	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w. cons			
שאול	N								שאול	Saul	P.noun									
וילבש	R/N	לבש	Put	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w. cons			
בגדים	N								בגד	Cloth	Noun	Abs	M	P						
אחרים	N								אחר	Other	Adject	Abs	M	P						
ונלך	R/N	הלך	Went	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w. cons			
הוא	N								הוא	He	P.noun	Ind	M	S						
ושני	R/N								שנים	Two	Adject	Con	M	P	ו	And	w. cons			
אנשים	N								איש	Man	Noun	abs	M	P						
עמו	R/N														עם		Prep	3	M	S
ויבאו	R/V	בוא	Come	Qal	Imperf	3	M	P							ו	And	w. cons			
אלהאשה	R/N/N								אשה	woman	P.noun	Abs	F	S	אל	To	Prep			
לילה	N								לילה	Night	Noun	Abs	M	S	ה	The	Article			
ויאמר	R/V	אמר	Say	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w. cons			
(קסומי)	V	קסם	Devine	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S												
וקסמיגא	R/V	קסם	Devine	Qal	Imperf	3	F	S							נא	Now	Particip			
לי	R														ל	To	Prep			
באוב	R/N								אוב	Devine	Noun	Abs	M	S	ב	In	Prep			
והעלי	R/V	עלה	Bring	Hiph	imper		F	S							ו	And	w. cons			
לי	R														ל	To	Prep			
את	R														את		Marker			
אשר-אמר	R/V	אמר	Say	Qal	Imperf	1		S							אשר	What	interrog			
אלך	R/N														אל	To	Prep	2	F	s
ותאמר	R/V	אמר	Say	Qal	Imperf	3	F	S							ו	And	w.cons			
האשה	R/N								אשה	Woman	Noun	Abs	F	S	ה	The	Article			
אליו	R/N														אל	To	Prep	3	M	s
הנה	R														הנה	beho	Particle			

הַזֶּה	R/N								זֶה	This	Adject		M	S	ה	The	Article			
וַתֹּאמֶר	R/V	אמר	Say	Qal	Imperf	3	F	S							ו	And	And			
הָאִשָּׁה	R/N								אִשָּׁה	Woman	Noun	Abs	F	S	ה	The	Article			
אֶת־מִי	R/N								מִי	Whom	Pron				אֶת		Marker			
אָעֵלֶה־לָּךְ	R/V/N	עלה	Bring	Hiph	Imperf	1		S							ל	To	Prep	2	F	S
וַתֹּאמֶר	R/V	אמר	Say	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w.cons			
אֶת־שְׁמוּאֵל	R/N								שְׁמוּאֵל	Samuel	P.noun				אֶת		Marker			
הַעֲלִי־לִי	R/V	עלה	Bring	Hiph	Imper		F	S							ל	To	Prep	1		S
וַתֵּרָא	R/V/N	ראה	Saw	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w.cons			
הָאִשָּׁה	R/N								אִשָּׁה	Woman	Noun	Abs	F	S	ה	The	Article			
אֶת־שְׁמוּאֵל	R/N								שְׁמוּאֵל	Samuel	P.noun				אֶת		Marker			
וַתִּזְעַק	R/V	זעק	Cry	Qal	Imperf	3	F	S							ו	And	w.cons			
בְּקוֹל	R/N								קוֹל	Voice	Noun	Abs	M	S	ב	From	Prep			
גָּדוֹל	N								גָּדוֹל	Great	Adject	Abs	M	S						
וַתֹּאמֶר	R/V	אמר	Say	Qal	Imperf	3	F	S							ו	And	w.cons			
הָאִשָּׁה	R/N								אִשָּׁה	Woman	Noun	Abs	F	S	ה	The	Article			
אֶל־שְׁאוּל	R/N								שְׁאוּל	Saul	P.noun				אֶל	To	Prep			
לֵאמֹר	R/V	אמר	Say	Qal	const										ל	By	Prep			
לְמָה	R														לְמָה	What	Interrog			
רַמִּיהֲנִי	V/N	רמה	Deceive	Piel	Perf	2	M	S											1	S
וְאַתָּה	R/N								אַתָּה	You	Pron	2	M	S	ו	And	w.cons			
שְׁאוּל	N								שְׁאוּל	Saul	P.noun									
וַתֹּאמֶר	R/V	אמר	Say	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w.cons			
לָהּ	R/N														ל	To	Prep	3	F	S
הַמֶּלֶךְ	R/N								מֶלֶךְ	King	Noun	Abs	M	S	ה	The	Article			
אֶל־תֵּרָאֵי	R/V	ירא	Afraid	Qal	Imperf	2	F	S							אֶל	Upon	Prep			
כִּי	R														כִּי	For	Reason			
מָה	R/N								מָה	What	Pron									
רְאִית	V	ראה	See	Qal	Perf	2	F	S												
וַתֹּאמֶר	R/V	אמר	Say	Qal	Imperf	3	F	S							ו	And	w.cons			

האשה	R/N								אשה	Woman	Noun	Abs	F	S	ה	The	Article				
אל שאול	R/N								שאול	Saul	P.noun				אל	To	Prep				
אלהים	N								אלהים	god	Noun	Abs	M	P							
ראיתי	V	ראה	See	Qal	Perf	1		S													
עלים	V	עלה	Come	Qal	Perf		M	P													
מדהארץ	R/N/N								ארץ	Land	Noun	Abs	F	S	מן	From	Prep				
ניאמר	R/V	אמר	Say	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	Prep				
לה	R/N														ל	By	Prep	3	F	S	
מהתארו	N/N/N								מה תאר	What Appearance	Pron Noun	Con	M	S					3	M	S
והאמר	R/V	אמר	Say	Qal	Imperf	3	F	S							ו	And	w.cons				
איש	N								איש	Man	Noun	Abs	M	S							
זקן	N								זקן	Old	Adject	Abs	M	S							
עלה	V	עלה	Come	Qal	Perf		M	S													
והוא	R/N								הוא	He	Pron	3	M	S	ו	And	w.cons				
עטה	V	עטה	Wrap	Qal	Perf		M	S													
מעיל	N								מעיל	Robe	Noun	Abs	M	S							
וידע	R/V	ידע	Know	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w.cons				
שאול	N								שאול	Saul	P.noun										
כרשמואל	R/N								שמואל	Samuel	P.noun				כי	For	Reason				
הוא	N								הוא	He	Pron	3	M	S							
ונקד	R/V	קדד	Bow	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w.cons				
אפים	N								אף	Face	Noun	Abs	M	D							
ארצה	N								ארץ	Land	Noun	Abs	F	S							
ונישתחו	R/V	חווה	Prostrate	Hish	Imperf	3	M	P							ו	And	w.cons				
ניאמר	R/V	אמר	Say	Qal	Imperf	3	M	s							ו	And	w.cons				
שמואל	N								שמואל	Samuel	P.noun										

אֶל-שָׂאוּל	R/N								שָׂאוּל	Saul	P.noun				אֶל	To	Prep			
לְמָה	R														לְמָה	What	Interrog			
הַרְגִּיתִנִּי	V/N	רגז	Disturb	Hiph	Perf	2	M	S										1		S
לְהַעֲלוֹת	R/V	עלה	Bing	Hiph	const										לְ	To	Prep			
אֶתִּי	R														אֶת		Marker			
וַיֹּאמֶר	R/V	אמר	Say	Qal	imperf	3	M	s							וְ	And	w.cons			
שָׂאוּל	N								שָׂאוּל	Saul	P.noun									
צָרָלִי	R/N/N								צָר	Distress	Adject		M	S	לְ	To	Prep	1		S
מְאֹד	R														מְאֹד		adverb			
וּפְלִשְׁתִּים	R/N								פְּלִשְׁתִּי	Philistine	P.noun				וְ	And	w.cons			
נִלְחָמוּם	V	לחם	Fight	Niph	Perf		M	S												
בִּי	R/N														בְּ	In	Prep	1		S
וְאֱלֹהִים	R/N								אֱלֹהִים	God	P.noun				וְ	And	w.cons			
סָר	V	סור	Turn	Qal	Perf	3	M	S												
מִשְׁלִי	R/R/N														מִן	To	Prep			
וְלֹא-עֲנִי	R/R/V/ N	ענה	Answer	Qal	Perf	3	M	S							וְ	And	w.cons	1		S
עוֹד	R																			
גַּם	R														גַּם	Nor	conju			
בְּיַד-הַנְּבִיאִים	R/N/R/ /N								יָד נְבִיאִים	Hand Prophet	Noun noun	Con Abs	F M	S p	בְּ הַ	In The	Prep Article			
גַּם-בְּחֻלְמוֹת	R/R/R/ N								חֻלּוֹם	Dream	Noun	Abs	M	P	גַּם בְּ הַ	Nor In The	Conjun Prep Article			
וַאֲקִרְאָהּ	R/V	קרא	Call	Qal	Imperf	1		S							וְ	And	w.cons			
לָךְ	R/N														לְ	To	Prep	2	M	S
לְהוֹדִיעַנִי	R/V	ידע	declare	Hiph	Const										לְ	To	Prep			
מָה	N								מָה	What	pron									

אָנְשָׁה	V	עשה	Do	Qal	Imperf	1		S													
נֹאמֵר	R/V	אמר	Say	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S						ו	And	w.cons					
שְׁמוּאֵל	N								שְׁמוּאֵל	Samuel	P.noun										
וְלָמָּה	R/R													וְ	And	w.cons					
תִּשְׁאַלְנִי	V/N	שאל	Ask	Qal	Imperf	2	M	S						לְמָּה	And	w.cons			1	S	
וַיְהִי	R/N								יְהוָה	YHWH	P.noun			ו	And	w.cons					
סָר	V	סור	Turn	Qal	Perf	3	M	S													
מֵעַלְיָדָי	R/R/N													מֵעַל	From	Prep			2	M	S
וַיְהִי	R/V	היה	Happen	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S						ו	And	w.cons					
עָרֵי	N/N								עָרֵי	Adversary	Noun	Con	M	S					2	M	S
וַיַּעַשׂ	R/V	עשה	Make	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S						ו	And	w.cons					
יְהוָה	N								יְהוָה	YHWH	P.noun										
לֹ	N/N													ל	To	Prep			3	M	S
כַּאֲשֶׁר	N/N													כַּאֲשֶׁר		Reason	relative				
דִּבֶּר	V	דבר	Speak	Qal	Perf	3	M	S													
בְּיָדוֹ	R/N								יָד	Hand	Noun	Con	F	S	ב	From	Prep				
וַיִּקְרַע	R/V	קרע	Tear	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S						ו	And	w.cons					
יְהוָה	N								יְהוָה	YHWH	P.noun										
אֶת־הַמְּמַלְכָּה	R/N								מְמַלְכָּה	Kingdom	Noun	Abs	F	s	אֶת		Marker	Article			
מִיָּדָיו	R/N/N								יָד	Hand				מִן	To	Prep			2	M	S
וַתִּתֵּן	R/V	נתן	Give	Qal	Imper	3	F	S						ו	The	Article					
לְרֵשֶׁתָּהּ	R/N/N								רֵשֶׁתָּהּ	Neighbour	Noun	Con	F	S	ל	To	Prep		2	M	S
לְדָוִד	R/N								דָּוִד	David	P.noun			ל	To	Prep					
כַּאֲשֶׁר	R/N								כַּאֲשֶׁר	Because	Pron			כַּאֲשֶׁר	For	Reason					

לא־שמעתָ	R/V	שמע	Listen	Qal	Perf	2	M	S							לא	Not	Negat				
בְּקוֹל	R/N								קוֹל	Voice	Noun	Con	M	S	ב	In	Prep				
יְהוָה	N								יְהוָה	YHWH	P.noun										
וְלֹא־עָשִׂיתָ	R/V	עשה	Do	Qal	Perf	2	M	S							ו לא	And Not	w.cons negat				
חֲרוֹן־אַפּוֹ	N/N								חֲרוֹן אַף	Anger Face	Noun Noun	Con Con	M M	S S					3	F	S
בְּעַמְלֵק	R/N								עַמְלֵק	Amelek	P.noun				ב		Prep				
עַל־כֵּן	R/R														על כֵּן	All	Prep adverb				
דְּבַר	R/N								דְּבַר	Word	Noun	Abs	M	S	ה	the	Article				
זֶה	R/N								זֶה	This	Adject		M	S	ה	And	Article				
עָשָׂה־לָּךְ	R/V/N	עשה	Do	Qal	Perf	3	M	S							ל	To	Prep	2	M	S	
יְהוָה	N								יְהוָה	YHWH	P.noun										
הַיּוֹם	R/N								יּוֹם	Day	Noun	Abs	M	S	ה	The	Article				
זֶה	R/N								זֶה	This	Adject		M	S	ה	The	Article				
וַתֵּן	R/V	נתן	Give	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w.cons				
יְהוָה	N								יְהוָה	YHWH	P.noun										
גַּם	R														גַּם		conju				
אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל	R/N								יִשְׂרָאֵל	Israel	P.noun				אֶת		Marker				
עִמָּךְ	R/N														עִם		Prep	2	M	S	
בְּיַד־פְּלִשְׁתִּים	R/N/N								יָד פְּלִשְׁתִּי	hand Philistine	Noun P.noun	Con	F	S	ב	In	Prep				
וּמִחָר	R/R														ו מִחָר	And	w.cons adverb				
אַתָּה	N								אַתָּה	You	Pron	2	M	S							
וּבְנֵיךָ	R/N/N								בֵּן	Son	Noun	Con	M	P	ו	And	w.cons	2	M	S	
עִמּוֹ	R/N														עִם		Prep	1		S	
גַּם	R														גַּם		conjun				

את־מחנה	R/N								מחנה	Army	Noun	Con	B	S	אֶת		Marker				
ישראל	N								ישראל	Israel	P.noun										
נתן	V	נתן	Give	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S													
יהוה	N								יהוה	YHWH	P.noun										
בְּיַד־פְּלִשְׁתִּים	R/N								יָד פְּלִשְׁתִּי	hand Philistine	Noun P.noun	Con	F	S	ב	In	Prep				
וַיְמַהֵר	R/V	מהר	Hurry	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w.cons				
שאול	N								שאול	Saul	P.noun										
וַיִּפֹּל	R/V	נפל	Fall	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w.cons				
מִלֵּאֲקוּמָתוֹ	N/N/N								מֵלֵא קוּמָה	full stature	Noun Noun	con con	M F	S S					3	M	s
אֶרֶצָה	N								אֶרֶץ	Land	Noun	Abs	F	S							
וַיִּירָא	R/V	ירא	Fear	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w.cons				
מְאֹד	R														מְאֹד		adverb				
מִדְבָּרָיו	R/N								דְּבַר	Word	Noun	Abs	M	P	מִן	In	Prep				
שְׁמוּאֵל	N								שְׁמוּאֵל	Samuel	P.noun										
גַּם־כֹּחַ	R/N								כֹּחַ	Power	Noun	Abs	M	S	גַּם		conjun				
לֹא־תִהְיֶה	R/V	היה	happen	Qal	Perf	3	M	S							לֹא	Not	Negat				
בּוֹ	R/N														ב	To	Prep	3	M	S	
כִּי	R														כִּי	For	Reason				
לֹא	R														לֹא	Not	Negat				
אָכַל	V	אכל	Eat	Qal	Perf	3	M	S													
לֶחֶם	N								לֶחֶם	Food	Noun	Abs	M	S							
כָּל־הַיּוֹם	R/N/N								כָּל יוֹם	whole day	Noun Noun	Con Abs	M M	S S	ה	The	Article				
וְכָל־לַיְלָה	R/VN/ R/N								כָּל לַיְלָה	Whole Night	Noun Noun	Con Abs	M M	S S	ו ה	And The	w.cons article				
וַתָּבוֹא	R/V	בוא	Come	Qal	Imperf	3	F	S							ו	And	w.cons				

האשה	R/N								אשה	Woman	Noun	Abs	F	S	ה	The	Article			
אל שאול	R/N								שאול	Saul	P.noun				אל	To	Prep			
ותרא	R/V	ראה	See	Qal	Imperf	3	F	S							ו	And	w.cons			
כירנתל	R/V	בהל	Terrify	Qal	Perf	3	M	S							כי	For	Reason			
מאד	R														מאד		adverb			
ותאמר	R/V	אמר	Say	Qal	Imperf	3	F	S							ו	And	w.cons			
אליו	R/N														אל	To	Prep	3	M	S
הנה	R														הנה		Interject			
שמעה	V	שמע	Listen	Qal	Perf	3	F	S												
שפחה	N/N								שפחה	Handmaid	Noun	Con	F	S				2	M	S
בקולך	N/N/N								קול	Voice	Noun	Con	M	S	ב	In	Prep	2	M	S
ואשים	R/V	שים	Put	Qal	Imperf	1		S							ו	And	w.cons			
נפשי	N/N								נפש	Soul	Noun	Con	F	S				1		S
בכפי	R/N/N								כף	hand	Noun	Con	F	S	ב	In	Prep	1		S
ואשמע	R/V	שמע	Listen	Qal	Imper		M	S							ו	And	w.cons			
את דבריך	R/V/N								דבר	Word	Noun	Con	M	P	את		Marker	2	M	S
אשר	R														אשר		Relative			
דברך	V	דבר	Speak	Qal	Perf	2	M	S												
אלי	R/N														אל	To	Prep	1		S
ועתה	R/R														ו	And	w.cons			
שמענא	R/V	שמע	Listen	Qal	Imper		M	S							נא		interrog			
נסאתה	R/N								אתה	You	Pron		M	S	נ		conjun			
בקול	R/N								קול	voice	Noun	Con	M	S	ב	In	Prep			
שפחה	N/N								שפחה	Handmaid	Noun	Con	F	S				2	M	S
ואשמה	R/V	שים	Put	Qal	Imperf	1		S							ו	And	w.cons			
לפניך	R/N/N								פנה	Before	Noun	Con	B	P	ל	By	Prep	2	M	S

פת'לחם	N/N								פת לָחֵם	bit Food	Noun Noun	Con Abs	F M	S S							
וַאֲכַל	R/V	אָכַל	Eat	Qal	Imperf	1		S							ו	And	w.cons				
וַיִּהְיֶה	R/V	הָיָה	happen	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w.cons				
בָּד	R/N														ב	In	Prep	2	M	S	
כֹּחַ	N								כֹּחַ	Strength	Noun	Abs	M	S							
כִּי	R														כִּי	For	Reason				
תֵּלֵךְ	V	הֵלֵךְ	Go	Qal	Imperf	2	M	S													
בְּדֶרֶךְ	R/N								דֶּרֶךְ	Way	Noun	Abs	B	S	ב	In	Prep				
וַיִּמָּאֵן	R/V	מָאֵן	Refuse	Piel	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w.cons				
וַיֹּאמֶר	R/V	אָמַר	Say	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w.cons				
לֹא	R														לֹא	Not	Negat				
אָכַל	V	אָכַל	Eat	Qal	Imperf	1		S													
וַיִּפְרָצוּבָּו	R/V	פָּרַץ	Urge	Qal	Imperf	3	M	P							ו ב	And In	w.cons prep				
עֲבָדָיו	N/N								עֲבָד	Servant	Noun	Con	M	P					3	M	S
וְגַם־הָאִשָּׁה	R/R/R/ N								אִשָּׁה	Woman	Noun	Abs	F	S	ו גַּם הַ	And The	w.cons conjun article				
וַיִּשְׁמַע	R/V	שָׁמַע	Listen	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w.cons				
לְקוֹל	R/N/N								קוֹל	Voice	Noun	Con	M	S	ל	To	Prep	3	M	P	
וַיָּקָם	R/V	קָם	Rise	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w.cons				
מִהָאָרֶץ	R/R/N								אָרֶץ	Land	Noun	Abs	F	S	מִן הַ	To The	Prep Article				
וַיֵּשֶׁב	R/V	יָשַׁב	Sit	Qal	Imperf	3	M	S							ו	And	w.cons				
אֶל־הַמִּטָּה	R/R/N								מִטָּה	Couch	Noun	Abs	F	S	אֶל הַ	To The	Prep Article				
וּלְאִשָּׁה	R/R/N								אִשָּׁה	Woman	Noun	Abs	F	S	ו לְ	And To	w.cons prep				
עַגְל־מִרְבֵּק	N/N								עַגֹּל	Calf	Noun	Con	M	S							

									מַרְבֵּק	Stall	Noun	Abs	M	S							
בַּיִת	R/N								בֵּית	House	Noun	Abs	M	S	ב	In	Prep				
וַתַּמְהֵר	R/V	מָהֵר	Hasten	Piel	Imperf	3	F	S							ו	And	w.cons				
וַתִּזְבַּחַהּ	R/V/N	זָבַח	Slaughter	Qal	Imperf	3	F	S							ו	And	w.cons	3	M	S	
וַתִּקַּח קִמּוֹחַ	R/N/V	לָקַח	Take	Qal	Imperf	3	F	S	קִמּוֹחַ	Flour	Noun	Abs	M	S	ו	And	w.cons				
וַתִּלְשֵׁל	R/V	לָוַשׁ	Knead	Qal	Imperf	3	F	S							ו	And	w.cons				
וַתִּפְהֹוּ	R/V/N	אָפַהּ	Bake	Qal	Imperf	3	F	S							ו	And	w.cons	3	M	S	
מִצוֹת	N								מִצָּה	Unleavened bread	Noun	Abs	F	P							
וַתִּגַּשׁ	R/V	גָּשׁ	Bring	Hiph	Imperf	3	F	S							ו	And	w.cons				
לְפָנֵי שְׂאוּל	R/N								פָּנֵה שְׂאוּל	front Saul	Noun P.noun	Con	M	P	ל	By	Prep				
וּלְפָנָי	R/N								פָּנֵה	Front	Noun	Con	B	P	ו ל	And To	w.cons prep				
עֲבָדָיו	N/N								עֲבָד	Servant	Noun	Con	M	P					3	M	S
וַיֹּאכְלוּ	R/V	אָכַל	Eat	Qal	Imperf	3	M	P							ו	And	w.cons				
וַיִּקְמוּ	R/V	קָוַם	Rise	Qal	Imperf	3	M	P							ו	And	w.cons				
וַיֵּלְכוּ	R/V	הֵלֵךְ	Go	Qal	Imperf	3	M	P							ו	And	w.cons				
בַּלַּיְלָה	R/N								לַיְלָה	Night	Noun	Abs	M	S	ב	In	Prep				
הוּא	R/N								הוּא	He	Pron	3	M	S	ה	The	Article				

ADDENDUM 2: SYNTACTICAL ANALYSIS

MASORETIC					TRANSLATION			
ACCENTS		COLON	VS	Lin	Type	KERNEL SETANCE	Type	
Dem	Acc							
Zaq 2	Pas	וּשְׁמוּאֵל מָת וַיִּסְפְּדוּלוֹ כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל	3a	1	Tri	וּשְׁמוּאֵל מָת	State	And Samuel was dead
						וַיִּסְפְּדוּלוֹ כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל	State	and all Israelites had mourned him
Atn 1	Tip	וַיִּקְבְּרֵהוּ בְרָמָה וּבְעִירוֹ	b			וַיִּקְבְּרֵהוּ בְרָמָה וּבְעִירוֹ	State	and had buried him in Ramah, his own City
Sil 0	Tip	וְשָׁאֵל הַסִּיר הָאֲבֹת וְאֶת־הַיְדֻעָנִים מִהָאָרֶץ:	c			וְשָׁאֵל הַסִּיר הָאֲבֹת וְאֶת־הַיְדֻעָנִים מִהָאָרֶץ:	State	And Saul had chased the mediums and spiritists from the land
Atn 1	Tip	וַיִּקְבְּצוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיָּבֹאוּ וַיַּחֲנוּ בְּשֻׁנֵם	4a	2	Mo	וַיִּקְבְּצוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים	State	And Philistines had gathered
						וַיָּבֹאוּ	State	and came
						וַיַּחֲנוּ בְּשֻׁנֵם	State	and camped in Shunem,
Zaq 2	Pas, yet	וַיִּקְבֹּץ שָׁאֵל אֶת־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל	4b	3	Bi	וַיִּקְבֹּץ שָׁאֵל אֶת־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל	State	And Saul gathered all Israelites
Sil 0	Tip	וַיַּחֲנוּ בְּגִלְבָּעַ:	c			וַיַּחֲנוּ בְּגִלְבָּעַ:	State	and encamped in Gilboa.
Atn 1	Tip	וַיִּרְא שָׁאֵל אֶת־מַחֲנֵה פְּלִשְׁתִּים	5a	4	Bi	וַיִּרְא שָׁאֵל אֶת־מַחֲנֵה פְּלִשְׁתִּים	State	And Saul saw the camp of the Philistines
						וַיִּרָא	State	and trembled
Sil 0	Tip	וַיִּתְרַד לְבוֹ מֵאֵד:	b			וַיִּתְרַד לְבוֹ מֵאֵד:	State	and fear greatly in heart
Zag 2	Pas, yet	וַיִּשְׁאַל שָׁאֵל בַּיהוָה	6a	5	Tri	וַיִּשְׁאַל שָׁאֵל בַּיהוָה	State	And Saul asked from Yahweh
Atn 1	Tip	וְלֹא עָנָהוּ יְהוָה	B			וְלֹא עָנָהוּ יְהוָה גַּם בְּחֻלְמוֹת גַּם בְּאוּרִים גַּם בְּנְבִיאִים:	State	And Yahweh not answered him neither in dreams nor via Urim or Prophets
Sil 0	Tip	גַּם בְּחֻלְמוֹת גַּם בְּאוּרִים גַּם בְּנְבִיאִים:	c					
Reb 3	Ger	וַיֹּאמֶר שָׁאֵל לְעַבְדָּיו	7a	6	Tri	וַיֹּאמֶר שָׁאֵל לְעַבְדָּיו	State	And Saul said to his servants
Zaq 2	Pas	בְּקִשְׁוֹלִי אִשָּׁת בַּעַל־תְּאוֹב	b			בְּקִשְׁוֹלִי אִשָּׁת בַּעַל־תְּאוֹב	Com	find me a woman who is a necromancer
Atn 1	Tip	וְאֵלְכָה אֵלֶיהָ וְאִדְרַשְׁתִּיהָ	C			וְאֵלְכָה אֵלֶיהָ	Res	so I'll go to her
						וְאִדְרַשְׁתִּיהָ	Purp	and inquire from her

Zaq 2	Pas	וַיֹּאמְרוּ עֲבָדָיו אֵלָיו	7d	7	Bi	וַיֹּאמְרוּ עֲבָדָיו אֵלָיו הִנֵּה אִשָּׁת בְּעֵלְת־אֹב בְּעֵין דּוֹר:	State	And his servants said to him: Behold! There is a woman, a necromancer, in Endor
Sil 0	Tip	הִנֵּה אִשָּׁת בְּעֵלְת־אֹב בְּעֵין דּוֹר:	e					
Zaq 2	Pas	וַיַּחַחפֵּשׂ שָׂאֹל וַיִּלְבַּשׂ בְּגָדִים אֲחֵרִים	8a	8	Tri	וַיַּחַחפֵּשׂ שָׂאֹל	State	And Saul distinguished himself
						וַיִּלְבַּשׂ בְּגָדִים אֲחֵרִים	State	and put on other clothes
Zaq 2	Pas	וַיֵּלֶךְ הוּא וּשְׁנֵי אַנְשֵׁים עִמּוֹ	b			וַיֵּלֶךְ הוּא וּשְׁנֵי אַנְשֵׁים עִמּוֹ	State	and he went, and other two went with him
Atn 1	Tip	וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶל־הָאִשָּׁה לְיִלְהָ	C			וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶל־הָאִשָּׁה לְיִלְהָ	State	and they went to the woman at knight
Zaq 2	Pas	וַיֹּאמֶר קְסָמִי־נָא לִי בָאֹב וְהַעֲלֵי לִי	8d	9	Bi	וַיֹּאמֶר (קְסוּמִי־)	State	And he said:
						קְסָמִי־נָא לִי בָאֹב	State	please, consult me a spirit
						וְהַעֲלֵי לִי	Com	and bring to me
Sil 0	Tip	אֵת אֲשֶׁר־אֹמַר אֵלֶיךָ:	e			אֵת אֲשֶׁר־אֹמַר אֵלֶיךָ:	state	the one I'll name to you.
Reb 3	Ger	וַתֹּאמֶר הָאִשָּׁה אֵלָיו	9a	10	Qua	וַתֹּאמֶר הָאִשָּׁה אֵלָיו	State	And the woman said to him:
Zaq 2	Pas, yet	הִנֵּה אַתָּה יָדַעְתָּ אֵת אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה שָׂאֹל	b			הִנֵּה אַתָּה יָדַעְתָּ	Inter	behold: You know
						אֵת אֲשֶׁר־עָשָׂה שָׂאֹל	Inter	what Saul did
Atn 1	Tip	אֲשֶׁר הִכְרִית אֶת־הָאֹבֹת וְאֶת־הַיִּדְעָנִי מִיַּהֲרָצִין	C			אֲשֶׁר הִכְרִית אֶת־הָאֹבֹת וְאֶת־הַיִּדְעָנִי מִיַּהֲרָצִין	Inter	when he cut off necromancers and spiritists out of the land?
Sil 0	Tip	וְלָמָּה אַתָּה מִתְנַקֵּשׁ בְּנַפְשִׁי לְהַמִּיתֵנִי:	d			וְלָמָּה אַתָּה מִתְנַקֵּשׁ בְּנַפְשִׁי	Inter	And what makes you sat a trap in my life
						לְהַמִּיתֵנִי:	state	to be killed?
Zaq 2	Pas	וַיִּשָּׁבַע לָהּ שָׂאֹל	10a	11	Tri	וַיִּשָּׁבַע לָהּ שָׂאֹל בַּיהוָה	State	And Saul swore to her by Yahweh
Atn 1	Tip	בַּיהוָה לֵאמֹר	b			לֵאמֹר	state	by saying
Sil 0	Tip	חַי־יְהוָה אֲסִינְקֶרֶךְ עִוֹן בְּדָבָר תְּהִי:	c			חַי־יְהוָה אֲסִינְקֶרֶךְ עִוֹן בְּדָבָר תְּהִי:		“By the life of Yahweh if you are punished for this thing!”
Zaq 2	Pas	וַתֹּאמֶר הָאִשָּׁה	11a	12	Tri	וַתֹּאמֶר הָאִשָּׁה	State	And the woman asked
Atn 1	Tip	אֶת־מִי אֶעֱלֶה־לְךָ	b			אֶת־מִי אֶעֱלֶה־לְךָ	Inter	Who to bring up to you?
Sil 0	Tip	וַיֹּאמֶר אֶת־שְׂמוֹאֵל הַעֲלֵי־לִי:	c			וַיֹּאמֶר	state	And he said:

						את-שמואל העלילי: 12 ותרא האשה את-שמואל	Com	Bring up to me Samuel
Zaq 2	Pas, yet	12a	13	Tri		12 ותרא האשה את-שמואל	State	And when the woman saw Samuel.
Atn 1	Tip	b				ותצעק בקול גדול	State	she cried out in a big voice
Sil 0	Tip	c				ותאמר האשה אל-שאול לאמר לקמה רמיתני ואתה שאול:	state	and the woman said to Saul: by saying
						לקמה רמיתני ואתה שאול:	inter	why did you deceive me? so you are Saul?
Atn 2	Tip	13a	14	Mo		13 ויאמר לה המלך אל-תיראי כי נה ראי	State	And the King said to her:
						אל-תיראי	Neg	nothing to fear
						כי נה ראי	Inter	what do you see?
Zaq 1	Pas, yet	13 b	15	Bi		ותאמר האשה אל-שאול	State	And the woman said to Saul:
Sil 0	Tip	c				אלהים ראיתי	State	a god I see!
						עלים מן-הארץ:	State	Coming from the ground
Zaq 2	Pas, yet	14a	16	Tri		14 ויאמר לה מזה תארו	Inter	And he said to her: in what form?
Zaq 2	Pas, yet	b				ותאמר	State	And she said:
						איש זקן עלה	State	an old man coming out
Atn 1	Tip	c				והוא עטה מעיל	State	and he is wrapped himself in a robe
Zaq 2	Pas	14 d	17	Bi		וידע שאול כי-שמואל הוא	State	And Saul knew that it was Samuel.
Sil 0	Tip	e				הוא ויקד אפים ארצה	State	And he bowed down his face on ground
						וישתחו: ם	State	and prostrated himself
Zaq 2	Pas, yet	15a	18	Bi		15 ויאמר שמואל אל-שאול	State	And Samuel said to Saul:
Atn 1	Tip	b				לקמה הרגזתני להעלות אתי	Inter	Why disturbed me
						להעלות אתי	Inter	by bringing me up?
Reb	Leg,	15c	19	Qua		ויאמר שאול צר-לי מאד	State	And Saul said: I am in great distress

3	Ger	וּפְלִשְׁתִּים גְּלַחְמִים בִּי				וּפְלִשְׁתִּים גְּלַחְמִים בִּי	State	for the Philistines are against me.
Reb 3	Ger	וְאֱלֹהִים סָר מֵעָלַי וְלֹא־עֲנֵנִי עוֹד	d			וְאֱלֹהִים סָר מֵעָלַי	State	and God has turned away from me
Zaq 2	Pas	גַּם בִּידֵי־נְבִיאִים גַּם־בְּחֻלְמוֹת	E			וְלֹא־עֲנֵנִי עוֹד גַּם בִּידֵי־נְבִיאִים גַּם־בְּחֻלְמוֹת	Neg	And no longer answer me by Prophets nor by dreams
Sil 0	Tip	וְאֶקְרָא לְךָ לְהוֹדִיעַנִי מָה אַעֲשֶׂה: ס	f			וְאֶקְרָא לְךָ לְהוֹדִיעַנִי מָה אַעֲשֶׂה: ס	Res	So I called you
						לְהוֹדִיעַנִי	State	to make known to me
						מָה אַעֲשֶׂה: ס	State	what to do.
Atn 1	Tip	¹⁶ וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁמוּאֵל וְלָמָּה תִּשְׁאַלְנִי	16a	20	Bi	¹⁶ וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁמוּאֵל	State	And Samuel said:
						וְלָמָּה תִּשְׁאַלְנִי	Inter	Why do you ask me?
Sil 0	Tip	וַיְהִי כִּי סָר מֵעָלַיךָ וַיְהִי עָרְדִּי:	b			וַיְהִי כִּי סָר מֵעָלַיךָ	Inter	now that Yahweh has turned against you
						וַיְהִי עָרְדִּי:	Inter	and become your enemy?
Zaq 2	Pas, yet	¹⁷ וַיַּעַשׂ יְהוָה לּוֹ	17a	21	Bi	¹⁷ וַיַּעַשׂ יְהוָה לּוֹ	State	And Yahweh did to you
Atn 1	Tip	כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר בְּיָדִי	b			כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר בְּיָדִי	State	what he said through me
Zaq 2	Yet, pas	וַיִּקַּרַע יְהוָה אֶת־הַמַּמְלָכָה מִיָּדֶיךָ	17c	22	Bi	וַיִּקַּרַע יְהוָה אֶת־הַמַּמְלָכָה מִיָּדֶיךָ	State	So Yahweh has torn the kingdom out of your hands,
Sil 0	Tip	וַיִּתְּנָהּ לְרֵעֶךָ לְדָוִד:	d			וַיִּתְּנָהּ לְרֵעֶךָ לְדָוִד:	State	And gave it to your neighbour , to David.
Zaq 2	Pas	¹⁸ כַּאֲשֶׁר לֹא־שָׁמַעְתָּ בְּקוֹל יְהוָה	18a	23	Bi	¹⁸ כַּאֲשֶׁר לֹא־שָׁמַעְתָּ בְּקוֹל יְהוָה	Res	because you did not obey the voice of Yahweh
Atn 1	Tip	וְלֹא־עָשִׂיתָ חֲרוֹן־אָפוֹ בְּעַמְלֶק	b			וְלֹא־עָשִׂיתָ חֲרוֹן־אָפוֹ בְּעַמְלֶק	Neg	nor carry out
						חֲרוֹן־אָפוֹ בְּעַמְלֶק	State	His fierce anger against Amelekites
Zaq 2	Pas	עַל־כֵּן תִּדְבַר הַיּוֹם	18c	24	Bi	עַל־כֵּן תִּדְבַר הַיּוֹם עַשְׂתָּ־לְךָ יְהוָה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:	Res	Therefore this thing has caused Yahweh to do this thing to you today
Sil 0	Tip	עָשִׂה־לְךָ יְהוָה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:	d					
Zaq 2	Yet, Tip	¹⁹ וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה גַּם אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל עִמָּךְ בְּיַד־פְּלִשְׁתִּים	19a	25	Bi	¹⁹ וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה גַּם אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל עִמָּךְ בְּיַד־פְּלִשְׁתִּים	State	Therefore Yahweh will give both Israel and you in the hands of the Philistines
Atn 1	Tip	וּמָחָר אַתָּה וּבָנֶיךָ עִמָּי	b			וּמָחָר אַתָּה וּבָנֶיךָ עִמָּי	State	yes tomorrow you and your sons will be with me

Zaq 2	Yet	גם את־מחנה ישראל	19c	26	Bi	את־מחנה ישראל יתן יהוה ביד־פְּלִשְׁתִּים: גם	State	And Yahweh will give Israel and you to the hands of the Philistines
Sil 0	Tip	יתן יהוה ביד־פְּלִשְׁתִּים:	d					
Zaq 2	Pas	וַיִּמְהַר שָׁאוּל מִלֵּא־קוּמְתוֹ אֶרְצָה	20a	27	Bi	וַיִּמְהַר שָׁאוּל	State	And Saul hurried
						וַיִּפֹּל מִלֵּא־קוּמְתוֹ אֶרְצָה	State	And fell full length on the ground
Atn 1	Tip	וַיֵּרָא מְאֹד מִדְּבַרְי שְׁמוּאֵל	b			וַיֵּרָא מְאֹד מִדְּבַרְי שְׁמוּאֵל	State	And he was filled with fear because of Samuel's words
Zaq 2	Pas	גַּם־כֹּחַ לֹא־הָיָה בּוֹ	20c	28	Tri	גַּם־כֹּחַ לֹא־הָיָה בּוֹ	State	Also much power was not in him
Zaq 2	Pas, yet	לֹא אָכַל לֶחֶם	d			כִּי לֹא אָכַל לֶחֶם כָּל־הַיּוֹם וְכָל־הַלַּיְלָה:	Res	Because he had not eaten food the whole day and the whole night
Sil 0	Tip	כָּל־הַיּוֹם וְכָל־הַלַּיְלָה:	e					
Zaq 2	Pas, yet	וַתָּבוֹא הָאִשָּׁה אֶל־שָׁאוּל	21a	29	Bi	וַתָּבוֹא הָאִשָּׁה אֶל־שָׁאוּל	Circ	And when woman came to Saul,
Atn 1	Tip	וַתֵּרָא כִּי־נִבְתַּל מְאֹד	b			וַתֵּרָא	state	And she saw
						כִּי־נִבְתַּל מְאֹד	State	that he was greatly disturbed.
Zaq 2	Pas, yet	וַתֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו הִנֵּה שָׁמְעָה שִׁפְחָתְךָ בְּקוֹלְךָ	21c	30	Qua	וַתֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו	State	And she said him:
						הִנֵּה שָׁמְעָה שִׁפְחָתְךָ בְּקוֹלְךָ	Time	Behold! You maidservant obeyed your voice
Zaq 2	Pas, yet	וְאָשִׁים נִפְשִׁי בְּכַפִּי	d			וְאָשִׁים נִפְשִׁי בְּכַפִּי	State	and I have put my life in my hands,
Zaq 2	pas	וְאֲשַׁמַּע אֶת־דְּבָרֶיךָ	e			וְאֲשַׁמַּע אֶת־דְּבָרֶיךָ	State	and I hear you words
Sil 0	Tip	אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ אֵלַי:	f			אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ אֵלַי:	Time	when you speak to me!
Zaq 2	Yet	וְעַתָּה שְׁמַע־נָא גַם־אֶתְּךָ בְּקוֹל שִׁפְחָתְךָ	22a	31	Bi	וְעַתָּה שְׁמַע־נָא גַם־אֶתְּךָ בְּקוֹל שִׁפְחָתְךָ	Com	And now I beg you listen to the voice of your maidservant.
Atn 1	Tip	וְאֲשַׁמָּה לְפָנֶיךָ פַת־לֶחֶם וְאָכַל	b			וְאֲשַׁמָּה לְפָנֶיךָ פַת־לֶחֶם	state	And let me put before you some food,
						וְאָכַל	Com	and eat.
Zaq 2	Pas, yet	וַיְהִי בְךָ כֹּחַ	22c	32	Bi	וַיְהִי בְךָ כֹּחַ	Res	So that you may have strength in you

Sil 0	Tip	כי תלך בדרך:	d			כי תלך בדרך:	Time	when you go on the way.
Zaq 2	Pas	וַיִּמָאן וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא אֶכַל ²³	23a	33	Tri	וַיִּמָאן	State	And he refused
						וַיֹּאמֶר	State	and said:
						לֹא אֶכַל	Neg	I'll not eat.
Zaq 2	Pas, yet	וַיִּפְרְצוּבוּ עֲבָדָיו וְגַם הָאִשָּׁה	b			וַיִּפְרְצוּבוּ עֲבָדָיו וְגַם הָאִשָּׁה	State	And urged him his servants joining a woman
Atn 1	Tip	וַיִּשְׁמַע לְקֹלָם	C			וַיִּשְׁמַע לְקֹלָם	State	and he listened to their voices,
Zaq 2	Pas	וַיָּקָם מִהָאָרֶץ	23 d	34	Bi	וַיָּקָם מִהָאָרֶץ	State	and stood up from the ground
Sil 0	Tip	וַיֵּשֶׁב אֶל־הַמִּטָּה:	e			וַיֵּשֶׁב אֶל־הַמִּטָּה:	State	and sat on the couch
Zaq 2	Pas, yet	וְלֵאשָׁה עֵגֶל־מֵרֶבֶק בַּבַּיִת ²⁴	24a	35	Tri	וְלֵאשָׁה עֵגֶל־מֵרֶבֶק בַּבַּיִת ²⁴	Circ	So the woman had a fattened calf in the house
Atn 1	Tip	וַתַּמְהַר וַתִּזְבַּחְהוּ	b			וַתַּמְהַר	State	and she hurried
						וַתִּזְבַּחְהוּ	State	and slaughtered it
Sil 0	Tip	וַתִּקְחָקֶמֶת וַתִּלְשׁ וַתַּפְּהוּ מִצֹּת:	c			וַתִּקְחָקֶמֶת	State	and she took flour
						וַתִּלְשׁ	State	and kneaded it
						וַתַּפְּהוּ מִצֹּת:	State	and baked him unleavened bread.
Atn 1	Tip	לִפְנֵי־שָׁאוּל וּלְפָנַי עֲבָדָיו וַתִּגַּשׁ וַיֹּאכְלוּ ²⁵	25a	36	Bi	וַתִּגַּשׁ לִפְנֵי־שָׁאוּל וּלְפָנַי עֲבָדָיו	State	And she put before Samuel and his servants
						וַיֹּאכְלוּ	State	and they ate
Sil 0	Tip	וַיִּקְמוּ וַיֵּלְכוּ בַלַּיְלָה הַהוּא: פ	B			וַיִּקְמוּ	State	and they rose
						וַיֵּלְכוּ בַלַּיְלָה הַהוּא: פ	state	and go in the same night

ADDENDUM 3: SEGMENTATION AND STRUCTURE OF 1 SAMUEL 28:3-25

SAGMENTATION AND STRUCTURE OF 1 SAMUEL 28:3-25								
Sta	Stro	Accents		Colon	Vs	Translation		
1	1	1	Zaq 2	pas	וּשְׁמוּאֵל מֵת וְיִסְפְּדוּלָּו כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל	3a	<i>And Samuel was dead, and all Israelites had mourned him</i>	
			Atn 1	tip	וַיִּקְבְּרֵהוּ בְרָמָה וּבְעִירוֹ	b	<i>and had buried him in Ramah, his own city.</i>	
			Sil 0	Tip	וּשְׂאוּל הִסִּיר הָאֲבוֹת וְאֶת־הַיִּדְעָנִים מִהָאָרֶץ:	c	<i>And Saul had chased the mediums and the spiritists from the land.</i>	
			Atn 1	tip	4 וַיִּקְבְּצוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיָּבֹאוּ וַיַּחֲנוּ בְּשֻׁנֵם	4a	<i>And the Philistines had gathered and came and camped in Shunem.</i>	
			Zaq 2	Pas, yet	וַיִּקְבֹּץ שְׂאוּל אֶת־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל	4b	<i>And Saul gathered all Israelites</i>	
			Sil 0	Tip	וַיַּחֲנוּ בְּגִלְבֹּעַ	c	<i>and encamped in Gilboa.</i>	
		2	Atn 1	Tip	5 וַיֵּרָא שְׂאוּל אֶת־מַחֲנֵה פְּלִשְׁתִּים	5a	<i>And Saul saw the camp of the Philistines</i>	
			Sil 0	Tip	וַיִּרָא וַיַּחְרַד לְבוֹ מְאֹד	b	<i>and he was afraid and his heart trembled greatly.</i>	
			Zaq 2	Pas, yet	6 וַיִּשְׂאֵל שְׂאוּל בַּיהוָה	6a	<i>And Saul asked from Yahweh,</i>	
			Atn 1	Tip	וְלֹא עָנָהוּ יְהוָה	b	<i>but Yahweh did not answer him –</i>	
			Sil 0	Tip	גַּם בְּחֻלְמוֹת גַּם בְּאוּרִים גַּם בְּנְבִיאִים	c	<i>neither in dreams, nor via the Urim or the prophets.</i>	
		2	1	Reb 3	Ger	7 וַיֹּאמֶר שְׂאוּל לְעֲבָדָיו	7a	<i>And Saul said to his servants:</i>
				Zaq 2	Pas	בְּקִשְׁוִילִי אִשָּׁת בַּעַל־תְּאוֹב	b	<i>“Find me a woman who is a necromancer</i>
				Atn 1	Tip	וְאֵלְכָה אֵלֶיהָ וְאִדְרֹשְׁהָ	c	<i>so I’ll go to her and inquire of her.”</i>
Zaq 2	Pas			וַיֹּאמְרוּ עֲבָדָיו אֵלָיו	7d	<i>And his servants said to him:</i>		

			Sil 0	Tip	הנה אשת בעלת-אוב בעין דור	b	<i>“Behold! There is a woman, a necromancer, in Endor.”</i>	
2	1	1	Zaq 2	Pas	8 ויתחפש שאול וילבש בגדים אחרים	8a	<i>And Saul disguised himself and put on other clothes,</i>	
			Zaq 2	Pas	וילך הוא ושני אנשים עמו	b	<i>and he went, and two other men with him,</i>	
			Atn 1	Tip	ויבאו אל-האשה לילה	c	<i>and they went to the woman at night.</i>	
			Zaq 2	Pas	ויאמר קסמירנא לי באוב	8d	<i>And he said: “Please consult for me a spirit,</i>	
			Sil 0	Tip	והעלי לי את אשר-אמר אליך	e	<i>and bring up to me the one I’ll name to you.”</i>	
		2		Reb 3	Ger	9 ותאמר האשה אליו	9a	<i>And the woman said to him:</i>
	Zaq 2			Pas, yet	הנה אתה ידעת את אשר-עשה שאול	b	<i>“Behold! You know what Saul did</i>	
	Atn 1			Tip	אשר הכרית את-האבות ואת-הירדני מן-הארץ	9c	<i>when he cut off the necromancers and the spiritists out of the land!</i>	
	Sil 0			Tip	ולמה אתה מתנקש בנפשי להמיתני	d	<i>Why are you setting a trap for my life to bring about my death?”</i>	
		3		Zaq 2	Pas	10 וישבע לה שאול	10a	<i>And Saul swore to her</i>
	Atn 1			Tip	ביהנה לאמר	b	<i>by Yahweh saying:</i>	
	Sil 0			Tip	חיהנה אסוקרך עון בדבר הזה	c	<i>“By the life of Yahweh if you are punished for this thing!”</i>	
		4		Zaq 2	Pas	11 ותאמר האשה	11a	<i>And the woman asked:</i>
	Atn 1			Tip	אתמי אעלה-לך	b	<i>“Who to bring up to you?”</i>	
	Sil 0			Tip	ויאמר את-שמואל העלילי	c	<i>And he said: “Bring up to me Samuel!”</i>	
	Zaq 2			Pas, yet	12 ותרא האשה את-שמואל	12a	<i>When the woman saw Samuel</i>	

			Atn 1	Tip	ותזעק בקול גדול	b	<i>she cried out in a great voice.</i>
			Sil 0	Tip	ותאמר האשה אל-שאול לאמר למה רמותני ואתה שאול:	c	<i>And the woman said to Saul: “Why did you deceive me? You are Saul!”</i>
		5	Atn 1	Tip	13 ויאמר לה המלך אל-תיראי כי מה ראית	13a	<i>And the king said to her: “Do not fear! Indeed, what do you see?”</i>
		6	Zaq 2	Pas, yet	תאמר האשה אל-שאול	b	<i>And the woman said to Saul:</i>
		7	Sil 0	Tip	אלהים ראיתי עלי מן-הארץ:	c	<i>“A divine being I see coming out of the ground!”</i>
			Zaq 2	Pas, yet	14 ויאמר לה מה-תארו	14a	<i>And he said to her: “What is its form?”</i>
			Zaq 2	Pas, yet	ותאמר איש זקן עלה	b	<i>And she said: “An old man is coming up,</i>
			Atn 1	Tip	והוא עטה מעיל	c	<i>and he is wrapped with a robe!”</i>
			Zaq 2	Pas	וידע שאול כי-שמואל הוא	14d	<i>And Saul knew that it was Samuel.</i>
			Sil 0	Tip	ויקד אפים ארצה וישתחו	e	<i>And he bowed down his face on the earth and prostrated himself.</i>
3	1	1	Zaq 2	Pas,yet	15 ויאמר שמואל אל-שאול	15a	<i>And Samuel said to Saul:</i>
			Atn 1	Tip	למה הרגזתני להעלות אתי	b	<i>“Why have you disturbed me by bringing me up?”</i>
		2	Reb3	Leg,ger	ויאמר שאול צר-לי מאד ופלישתים נלחמים בי	15c	<i>And Saul said: “I am in a great distress for the Philistines have a war against me,</i>
			Reb3	Ger	ואלהים סר מעלי ולא-ענני עוד	d	<i>and God has turned away from me and no longer answers me –</i>
			Zaq 2	Pas	גם בנבואים וגם בדקלמות	e	<i>neither through the prophets, nor by dreams,</i>
			Sil 0	Tip	ואקראך לך להודיעני מה אעשה:	f	<i>so I have called upon you to make known to me what to</i>

						<i>do.”</i>
2	1	Atn 1	Tip	16 וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁמוּאֵל וְלָמָּה תִּשְׁאַלֵנִי	16a	<i>And Samuel said: “So why do you ask me?</i>
		Sil 0	Tip	וַיִּהְיֶה סָר מֵעֲלֶיךָ וַיְהִי עֶרְבֹךָ	b	<i>Yahweh has turned against you and became your enemy.</i>
		Zaq 2	Pas, yet	17 וַיַּעַשׂ יְהוָה לִּי	17a	<i>And Yahweh did to you³⁰⁵</i>
		Atn 1	Tip	כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבַּר בְּיָדִי	b	<i>what he had said through me:</i>
		Zaq 2	Yet, Pas	וַיִּקַּרַע יְהוָה אֶת־הַמַּמְלָכָה מִיָּדֶיךָ	17c	<i>Yahweh has torn the kingdom out of your hands</i>
		Sil 0	Tip	וַיִּתְּנָהּ לְדָוִד	d	<i>and given it to your neighbour – to David.</i>
		Zaq 2	Pas	18 כַּאֲשֶׁר לֹא־שָׁמַעְתָּ בְּקוֹל יְהוָה	18a	<i>Because you did not obey the voice of Yahweh,</i>
		Atn 1	Tip	וְלֹא־עָשִׂיתָ חֲרוֹן־אַפּוֹ בְּעַמְלֵק	b	<i>and did not carry out his fierce anger against the Amelekites,</i>
		Zaq 2	Pas	עַל־כֵּן הִדְבַּר הַזֶּה	18c	<i>therefore this thing</i>
		Sil 0	Tip	עָשָׂה־לְּךָ יְהוָה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה	d	<i>Yahweh has done to you this day.</i>
		Zaq 2	Yet, Pas	19 וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה גַּם אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל עִמָּךְ בְּיַד־פְּלִשְׁתִּים	19a	<i>Yahweh will give both Israel together with you in the hand of the Philistines.</i>
		Atn 1	Tip	וַיִּמָּחַר אִתָּהּ וּבְנֵיךָ עִמִּי	b	<i>Yes, tomorrow you and your sons will be with me,</i>
		Sil 0	Tip	גַּם אֶת־מִחְנֵה יִשְׂרָאֵל יִתֵּן יְהוָה בְּיַד־פְּלִשְׁתִּים:	c	<i>also the army of Israel Yahweh will give to the hand of the Philistines.”</i>
1	1	Zaq 2	Pas	20 וַיִּמְחַר שָׁאוּל וַיִּפֹּל מִלֵּא־קוּמָתוֹ אַרְצָה	20a	<i>And immediately Saul fell full length on the ground,</i>
		Atn 1	Tip	וַיִּהְיֶה מְאֹד מִדְּבָרֵי שְׁמוּאֵל	b	<i>and he was filled with fear because of Samuel’s words.</i>

³⁰⁵ I follow the suggestion in BHS’ textcritical note (following the Septuagint) that לך should be read in stead of לו.

		Zaq 2	Pas	גַּם-כֹּחַ לֹא-הָיָה בּוֹ	20c	<i>Also strength was not in him,</i>
		Zaq 2	Pas, Yet	כִּי לֹא אָכַל לֶחֶם	d	<i>because he had not eaten food</i>
		Sil 0	Tip	כָּל-הַיּוֹם וְכָל-הַלַּיְלָה	e	<i>the whole day and the whole night.</i>
1	1	Zaq 2	Pas, Yet	21 וַתָּבוֹא הָאִשָּׁה אֶל-שָׁאוּל	21a	<i>And when the woman came to Saul</i>
		Atn 1	Tip	וַתֵּרָא כִּי-נִבְהַל מְאֹד	b	<i>and saw that he was greatly disturbed,</i>
		Zaq 2	Pas, Yet	וַתֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו הֲנֵה שָׁמְעָה שְׁפָחָתְךָ בְּקוֹלְךָ	21c	<i>she said to him: “Behold! Your maidservant has obeyed your voice,</i>
		Zaq 2	Pas, Yet	וְאֲשִׁים נַפְשִׁי בְּכַפִּי	d	<i>and I have put my life in my hand,</i>
		Zaq 2	Pas	וְאֲשָׁמַע אֶת-דְּבָרֶיךָ	e	<i>and I obeyed your words</i>
		Sil 0	Tip	אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ אֵלַי	f	<i>when you spoke to me.</i>
		Zaq 2	Yet	22 וְעַתָּה שְׁמַע-נָא גַם-אֶתָּה בְּקוֹל שְׁפָחָתְךָ	22a	<i>And now please listen even you to the voice of your maidservant,</i>
		Atn 1	Tip	וְאֲשָׁמָה לְפָנֶיךָ פַת־לֶחֶם וְאֶכֹּל	b	<i>and let me put before you some food and eat,</i>
		Zaq 2	Yet, Pas	וַיְהִי בְךָ כֹּחַ	22c	<i>so that in you may be strength</i>
		Sil 0	Tip	כִּי תֵלֵךְ בַּדֶּרֶךְ	d	<i>when you go on the way.”</i>
	2	Zaq 2	Pas	23 וַיִּמָּאֵן וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא אֶכַּל	23a	<i>But he refused and said: “I will not eat!”</i>
		Zaq 2	Pas, Yet	וַיִּפְרְצוּ-בּוֹ עַבְדָּיו וַגַּם-הָאִשָּׁה	b	<i>And his servants joined the woman in urging him,</i>
		Atn 1	Tip	וַיִּשְׁמַע לְקֻלָּם	c	<i>and he listened to their voices,</i>
		Zaq 2	Pas	וַיָּקָם מִהָאָרֶץ	23d	<i>and he stood up from the ground,</i>

		Sil 0	Tip	וַיֵּשֶׁב אֶל-הַמִּטָּה:	e	<i>and he sat on the couch.</i>
1	1	Zaq 2	Pas, Yet	24 וּלְאִשָּׁה עִגְל־מֵרֶבֶק בַּבַּיִת	24a	<i>The woman had a fattened calf in the house,</i>
		Atn 1	Tip	וַתְּמַהֵר וַתִּזְבְּחֶהּ	b	<i>and she hurried and slaughtered it,</i>
		Sil 0	Tip	וַתִּקַּח קִמּוֹחַ וַתִּלֶּשׁ וַתַּפְּהוּ מִצּוֹת	c	<i>and she took flour and kneaded it and baked him unleavened bread.</i>
		Atn 1	Tip	25 וַתִּגֵּשׁ לְפָנֵי-שָׂאוּל וְלְפָנֵי עֲבָדָיו וַיֹּאכְלוּ	25a	<i>And she put before Saul and his servants and they ate.</i>
		Sil 0	Tip	וַיִּקְמוּ וַיֵּלְכוּ בַלַּיְלָה הַהוּא	b	<i>Then they rose and went in the same night.</i>