

# The Inverse World of Mourning in the Hebrew Bible

Paul Kruger

## 1. Introduction

The Hebrew Bible describes a vast array of rituals connected with almost every sphere of life. One such rich source of rituals is mourning customs and, on glancing through the many items customary on such occasions, a remark made by Bojanovsky-Stubbe seems particularly pertinent to Ancient Israel, namely that „Die menschliche Fähigkeit zur Trauer unendlich vielgestaltig (ist) ...“<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, what is striking about this repertoire of mourning practices is the widely divergent nature of the gestures mentioned,<sup>2</sup> some of them seeming to have no logical connection at all (according to our modern perceptions) with the others. What mostly happens in scholarly literature or exegetical commentaries is that these different occurrences are simply mentioned and very seldom is any attempt made to explain the specific nature of the rituals, or to indicate how they could possibly relate to one another.

Various hypotheses have been advanced to explain the significance of these ceremonies, of which the following may be the most important:

- (a) Among the earliest interpretations was the view that these gestures were *expressions of fear* on account of the fact that the dead could harm the living.<sup>3</sup>
- (b) Another suggestion is to take these gestures as *signs of solidarity* of the living with the dead: „Wer sich als Trauernder die Haare schert, nimmt sich für eine bestimmte Zeit das Leben, um am Totenzustand eines Betrauernden in einem Akt von ganzheitlichem ‚Mitleiden‘ zu partizipieren. Wer als Trauernder seine Kleider ablegt, solidarisiert sich für eine bestimmte Zeit ‚körperlich‘ mit dem Verstorbenen, der im Begriff ist, seine leiblichen Hüllen abzulegen.

---

<sup>1</sup> Bojanovsky / Stubbe, *Mensch* 92; cf. also Stubbe, *Trauer* 527f.: „Der biblische Mensch trauert gleichsam von ‚Kopf bis Fuss‘ und ‚von innen nach aussen“.

<sup>2</sup> For lists of these practices, cf. e.g. Mueli, *Entstehung* 92ff.; Scharbert, *Schmerz* 55ff.; de Vaux, *Israel* 93ff.; Kutsch, *Trauerbräuche* 25ff.; de Ward, *Customs*; Gruber, *Aspects* 401ff.; Alster, *Mythology* 6ff.; Spronk, *Afterlife* 244ff., and Lang / Hentschel, *Trauerbräuche* 918f.

<sup>3</sup> Morgenstern, *Rites* 114ff., and the literature cited by Spronk, *Afterlife* 34f., supporting this viewpoint.



Haarschur und Entblössung sind Riten der Devitalisierung und Depotenziierung: sie töten einen Trauernden rituell für die Zeit der Trauer.“<sup>4</sup>

- c) Still another perspective is to regard these gestures as „Selbstminderungsriten“<sup>5</sup> expressive of “the *humiliation* and pain at having got into close touch with death.”<sup>6</sup>
- (d) Over and against the popular view that such rituals are aimed at consolidating the solidarity between the dead and the living (cf. [b] above), some scholars look at these practices the other way round and regard them as strategies addressing the needs of those performing the rituals. According to this line of thought, the primary objective of such practices is “... um Position und Funktion der Hinterbliebenen neu zu regeln ...”<sup>7</sup>

## 2. The Phenomenon of Symbolic Inversion

A cultural phenomenon rarely considered in interpreting the particular nature of these mourning gestures is that of symbolic inversion (*mundus inversus*, „umgekehrte Welt“).<sup>8</sup> “Symbolic inversion” is a universal human phenomenon<sup>9</sup> which can be defined as: “... any act of expressive behavior which inverts, contradicts, abrogates, or in some fashion presents an alternative to commonly held cultural codes, values, and norms be they linguistic, literary<sup>10</sup> or artistic, religious, or social and political.”<sup>11</sup> An ancient Near Eastern domain where this phenomenon of a “topsy-turvy world” is especially prominent is in social movements where existing socio-political structures are

<sup>4</sup> Hasenfratz, Tod 133; see also Spronk, Afterlife 244ff. Robertson Smith, Lectures 322, regards the object of such ceremonies as “communion with the dead.”

<sup>5</sup> Kutsch, Trauerbräuche 34: „Wer sie vollzieht, gibt damit zum Ausdruck, dass er gebeugt ist, eine Minderung erfahren hat.“

<sup>6</sup> Pedersen, Israel 494 (my emphasis).

<sup>7</sup> Sundermeier, Todesriten 250; see also Radcliffe-Brown, Structure 146; Podella, Şom-Fasten 76; idem, Totenrituale 542ff.

<sup>8</sup> See, however, Podella, Şom-Fasten (especially the paragraph: „Trauer als Spiegel jenseitiger Ordnung“ 78ff.), and Andersen, Time 49ff.; for a general anthropological understanding cf. Stubbe, Trauer 527f.; Stubbe, Formen, particularly the paragraph „Trauerverhalten als Übergangsritus“ 329ff.

<sup>9</sup> Kenner, Phänomen, traces the first instances of this cultural phenomenon back to the ancient Near East, see also Brunner-Traut, Tiergeschichte 12f., and Flores, World, who draw attention to some of these occurrences in Egyptian art.

<sup>10</sup> The genre of the satire could be regarded as a literary strategy of constructing such an “inverse world”; see Lazarowicz, Welt 1963.

<sup>11</sup> Babcock, World 14. The discipline of philosophy could actually be added to this list; see e.g. Keulartz, Welt 12, who regards the “Metapher der Umkehrung” as the guiding principle in Habermas’ philosophy.



attacked or undermined. The Egyptian prophet Neferti (c. 1950 BC), for example, saw a world which is characterised in this manner: "I show thee the land topsy-turvy. The weak of arm is (now) the possessor of an arm. Men salute (respectfully) him who (formerly) saluted. I show thee the undermost on top ..."<sup>12</sup>

Another cultural sphere where the conception of inversion is likewise universally important is the one that marks the boundary between normal life and life after death: life after death is in many instances the direct reverse of ordinary life.<sup>13</sup> And since rituals of mourning are so closely associated with the phenomenon of death, it is not unexpected that such rites most often display similar symbolic inversions.<sup>14</sup>

One of the most innovative attempts to account for this "anti-structure" of many cultural items in human life, and especially those associated with the phenomenon of death / mourning, is the well-known book of Arnold van Gennep *Les rites de passage* (1909)<sup>15</sup>. In it he analyses the ceremonies which characterise the individual's "life crises" and points out: "The life of an individual in any society is a series of passages from one age to another ... For every one of these events there are ceremonies whose essential purpose is to enable the individual to pass from one defined position to another."<sup>16</sup> These passages are associated with those critical transition phases of life, such as birth, initiation, marriage, parenthood and death. Structurally the following three stages can be isolated: separation, transition (or a *liminal*

<sup>12</sup> The translation is by Wilson, Prophecy 445; for a more recent translation, cf. Shupak, Prophecies; for a discussion of other literary passages where the same phenomenon occurs (e.g. "The Admonitions of Ipuwer", etc.), cf. Luria, Ersten; Assmann, Stein 260ff. Hebrew Bible texts manifesting a similar pattern, include Isa 24:1-2 and Prov 30:21-23; see Van Leeuwen's discussion, Proverbs 30:21-31, of the latter passage; cf. also Schorch's recent attempt, Propheten, to interpret the Israelite *marzeach* feast along similar lines; for a literary appreciation of some of these „Umkehrungs-Sprüche“ cf. Strauss, Motiv.

<sup>13</sup> Durkheim / Mauss, Classification xxxix; see also Lévy-Bruhl, Soul 303ff.; Mühlmann, Mythologem 614; Sundermeier, Todesriten 252.256; Stolz, Religionswissenschaft 98ff.; Jebens, Welt 323ff.; Janowski, Konfliktgespräche 259.

<sup>14</sup> „Der Geist des Verstorbenen befindet sich in der ‚anderen‘ Welt und die rituelle Aktivität des Trauernden besteht darin, sich ihm anzugleichen ... also muss alles anders, ‚umgekehrt‘ geschehen“ (Stubbe, Trauerverhalten 202). For a similar explanation, cf. Feldman, Defilement 95; cf. also Herodotus, who already observed that in times of mourning "... the Egyptians, who shave at all other times, mark a death by letting the hair grow both on head and chin" (Histories 2,36); the translation is by Marincola, Herodotus 109; see also Stubbe, Formen 243.

<sup>15</sup> Translated in 1965 with the title: The Rites of Passage.

<sup>16</sup> Van Gennep, Rites 2-3.



phase) and incorporation into a new phase. Not all these phases are applicable to all rites of passage to the same extent. In the case of funeral (mourning) rites, for example, the liminal phase acquires a certain autonomy.<sup>17</sup> In this phase the characteristics of the ritual subjects are ambiguous: they "... constitute a special group, situated between the world of the living and the world of the dead."<sup>18</sup>

The phase of liminality is most brilliantly expounded by the anthropologist Turner,<sup>19</sup> who focuses attention on the ambiguous nature of the ritual "passengers" during this "betwixt and between" state. He points out that this stage is characterised by homogeneity among the participants (a kind of *communitas*, as he calls it), which stands in direct opposition to the "status system."<sup>20</sup> The properties of this liminal position are manifested in a series of binary opposed states. The application of some of these inversions to the rich source of mourning gestures in the Hebrew Bible can be most illuminating.<sup>21</sup> In this (liminal) phase of mourning the following socio-cultural properties of inversion are most prominent:

- (i) Acceptance of pain and suffering versus avoidance of pain and suffering;
- (ii) Disregard for personal appearance versus care for personal appearance;
- (iii) Nakedness or uniform clothing versus distinctions of clothing;
- (iv) Humility versus pride of position;
- (v) Absence of rank versus distinctions of rank.

### 3. Properties of the liminal position

#### 3.1 Acceptance of pain and suffering (as inverse behaviour)

This notion is well illustrated by, among others, the following mourning gestures:

- (a) Gashing the body (Lev 19:27-28; Deut 14:1; Jer 16:6; 41:5; 47:5; 48:37), pulling out beard and hair (Ezra 9:3), beating the breast (Isa 22:12; Jer 6:26; Micah 1:8);
- (b) Tearing the garments (Gen 37:34; 2Sam 1:11; 3:31; 13:31; Job 1:20);
- (c) Staying without food (2Sam 3:35; 12:17; Ezek 24:17; Neh 1:4);
- (d) Abstinence from sex (2Sam 12:24);

<sup>17</sup> Van Gennep, Rites 146.

<sup>18</sup> Van Gennep, Rites 147.

<sup>19</sup> Turner, Forest 93ff.; Turner, Process 94ff.

<sup>20</sup> Turner, Process 106.

<sup>21</sup> For the examples supplied here cf. Kruger, Communication 153ff.



- (e) Suspension of any social interaction (Job 2:13<sup>22</sup>);
- (f) Suspension of any activity: sitting / lying<sup>23</sup> on the ground (2Sam 13:31; Neh 1:4);
- (g) Walking around restlessly.<sup>24</sup>

### 3.2 Disregard for personal appearance (as inverse behaviour)

The following gestures may be connected with this property:

- (a) Putting earth on the head (Josh 7:6; 1Sam 4:12; Ezek 27:30; Job 2:12), rolling the head (Job 16:15), or the whole body in the dust ( Jer 6:26; Ezek 27:30; Micah 1:10), or sitting in ashes (Isa 47:1; Jonah 3:6);<sup>25</sup>
- (b) Refrain from wearing a turban (Ezek 24:17) and let the hair hang loose (Lev 10:6);
- (c) Refrain from washing, using anointments (2Sam 12:20; 14:2) or attending to the toenails and moustache (2Sam 19:25<sup>26</sup>); remaining dirty and untidy in the mourning garb (see the passages cited under קָרַר in KBL).

### 3.3 Nakedness or uniform clothing (as inverse behaviour)

The sackcloth serves as the universal garment worn by all participants, irrespective of rank or social status: Jacob (Gen 37:34); Joab's followers (2Sam 3:31); Ahab and the kings of Samaria and Nineveh, respectively (1Kgs 21:27; 2Kgs 6:30; Jonah 3:6); Mordecai (Esth 4:1).

<sup>22</sup> Apart from this notion expressed here by the gesture "sitting without saying a word", something similar is hinted at elsewhere by using slightly different phraseology: to "sit alone" (ישב בדרד; Lam 1:1; 3:28), "to sit and to remain silent / to sit and to be appalled" (ישב דמים / שמים; Ezek 26:16; Lam 2:10; Ezra 9:3); see Lohfink, Testament.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. also the ingenious explanation of Heinisch, Trauergebräuche 37, of this gesture: „Bei grossem Unglück ... ist das seelische Ergriffensein so gross, dass der Körper versagt und der Mensch zusammensinkt; er muss sich dort niederlassen, wo er gerade steht, ohne noch einen Sessel suchen zu können.“ Haulotte, Symbolique 128, takes the posture of sitting as imitating the descent to the Sheol; cf. also Gruber's reference, Aspects 461, to Jewish customs during times of mourning which have also to do with the postures of "lying" and "sitting," viz. the "overturning of the bed," or "the changing of the seat in the synagogue."

<sup>24</sup> This is a characteristic often associated with mourners; see Barré, Wandering; Kselman, Wandering; Kruger, Depression. For Hebrew Bible evidence of this practice cf. 1Kgs 21:27; Ps 42:10; 55:3; Job 30:28.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. also Podella, Şom-Fasten 74, who interprets this corporeal-symbolic rite and related ones (self-mutilation, tearing of the clothes, etc.) as practices aimed at „eine Veränderung des Äusseren der ausführenden Person“; see also Elhorst, Trauerritten 117; De Waard, Customs 8.

<sup>26</sup> See McCarter, 2Samuel 413.



### 3.4 Humility of position (as inverse behaviour)

This idea is best illustrated by the homogeneity in “vertical” position: all the participants are “sitting” or “lying” on the ground. No distinction is made between royal persons and ordinary folk: David (2Sam 12:16; 13:31); the virgin daughter of Babylon (Isa 47:1); princes (Ezek 26:16); Job and his friends (Job 1:20; 2:13); Nehemiah (Neh 1:4).

### 3.5 Absence of rank (as inverse behaviour)

Apart from the property referred to at 3.4 above, the equality in status is very nicely demonstrated by the so-called “royal mourning” gestures. During times of mourning royal figures have to perform an “extra” gesture in order to reach the same “low” position characteristic of ordinary people or slaves: they have “to descend” (יָרַד) from their thrones and have “to sit” (יָשַׁב) on the ground (Isa 47:1-2; Ezek 26:16, Jonah 3:6),<sup>27</sup> for in mourning all are of equal rank.<sup>28</sup>

## Summary

Various interpretations have been offered to explain the significance of mourning gestures in the Hebrew Bible, viz. to regard them as gestures signalling stances of fear, humility or solidarity, etc. Although such suggestions may apply to a greater or lesser extent, this contribution deals with the wide array of mourning practices as likewise expressive of the universal cultural phenomenon of “symbolic inversion” („umgekehrte Welt“). In terms of Turner’s theoretical framework on liminality, Hebrew Bible evidence on mourning practices is representative of the following categories of “inverted behaviour”: (1) gestures demonstrative of the property: acceptance of pain and suffering versus avoidance of pain and suffering, (2) customs pointing to: disregard for personal appearance versus care for personal appearance, (3) practices relating to: nakedness or uniform clothing, (4) gestures expressive of: humility versus pride of position, and (5) rituals suggestive of the property: absence of rank versus distinctions of rank.

<sup>27</sup> See Taylor, *Thing*; Kruger, *Slave*. For a Ugaritic text where the same pattern is evident cf. KTU 1.5.VI 11-22 and Anderson’s discussion of it (*Mourn* 60ff.).

<sup>28</sup> „Der Trauernde selbst ‚stirbt‘ einen sozialen Tod, deshalb auch seine Ähnlichkeit mit den im sozialen Raum an unterster Stelle Stehenden ...“ (Stubbe, *Trauerverhalten* 202). Note also that when the period of mourning / penitence has come to a definite conclusion, the properties of the “normal world” are restored again, e.g. David after the death of his and Batshebah’s son: “Then David *rose from the ground, and washed and anointed himself, and changed his clothes ...* and he went into his house ... and they set food before him and *he ate*” (2Sam 12:20).



## Zusammenfassung

Verschiedene Interpretationen wurden angeboten, um die Bedeutung von Gesten der Trauer in der hebräischen Bibel zu erklären, nämlich sie als Gesten zu sehen, die Furcht, Demut oder Solidarität usw. ausdrücken. Obwohl solche Vorschläge in einem größeren oder kleineren Ausmaß zutreffen mögen, behandelt dieser Beitrag das breite Spektrum von Trauerpraktiken auch als Ausdruck des universellen kulturellen Phänomens der „umgekehrten Welt“ („symbolic inversion“). Im Sinne von Turners theoretischen Rahmen bezüglich „Liminalität“ fallen die Belege über Trauerpraktiken in der hebräischen Bibel in folgende Kategorien von „umgekehrtem Verhalten“: (1) Gesten, die auf Eigenschaften verweisen: Annahme von Schmerz und Leid versus Vermeidung von Schmerz und Leid, (2) Bräuche, die hinweisen auf: Vernachlässigung der persönlichen Erscheinung versus Aufmerksamkeit auf die persönliche Erscheinung, (3) Praktiken in Bezug auf: Nacktheit oder uniformierte Bekleidung versus Unterscheidungen durch Bekleidung, (4) Gesten zum Ausdruck von: Demut versus Stolz auf eine Position, und (5) Rituale bezüglich der Eigenschaft: Fehlen von Rang versus Unterscheidung durch Rang.

## Bibliography

- Alster, B., *The Mythology of Mourning: Acta Sumerologica* 5 (1983) 1-16.
- Anderson, G.A., *A Time to Mourn, a Time to Dance: Expressions of Grief and Joy in Israelite Religion*, University Park, Pennsylvania 1991.
- Assmann, J., *Stein und Zeit*, München <sup>3</sup>2001.
- Babcock, B.A., *The Reversible World. Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society*. London 1978.
- Barré, M.L., “Wandering About” as a Topos of Depression in Ancient Near Eastern Literature and in the Bible: *JNES* 60 (2001) 177-187.
- Bojanovsky, J. / Stubbe, H., *Der depressive Mensch*, Stuttgart 1982.
- Brunner-Traut, E., *Altägyptische Tiergeschichte und Fabel*, Darmstadt 1974.
- De Vaux, R., *Ancient Israel*, New York 1961.
- De Ward, E. F., Mourning Customs in 1, 2 Samuel: *JJS* 23 (1972) 1-27 145-166.
- Durkheim, E. / Mauss, M., *Primitive Classification*. Translated by R. Needham, London <sup>2</sup>1963.
- Elhorst, H.J., Die israelitischen Traueritten, in: Marti, K. (Hg.), *Studien zur semitischen Philologie und Religionsgeschichte*. Julius Wellhausen zum 70. Geburtstag (BZAW 27), Giessen 1914, 117-128.
- Feldman, E., *Biblical and Post-Biblical Defilement and Mourning*, New York 1977.
- Flores, D., The Topsy-Turvy World, in: Knoppers, G.N. (Hg.), *Egypt, Israel, and the Mediterranean World. Studies in Honor of Donald B. Redford*, Leiden 2004, 233-255.
- Gruber, M.I., *Aspects of Nonverbal Communication in the Ancient Near East*, Rome 1980.
- Hasenfratz, H-P., Zum sozialen Tod in archaischen Gesellschaften: *Saeculum* 34 (1983) 126-137.
- Haulotte, E., *Symbolique du vêtement selon la Bible*, Lyon 1966.



- Heinisch, P., Die Trauergebräuche bei den Israeliten: *Biblische Zeitfragen* 13, 7 / 8 (1931) 1-100.
- Janowski, B., *Konfliktgespräche mit Gott. Eine Anthropologie der Psalmen*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 2003.
- Jebens, H., *Verkehrte Welt*, in: Cancik, H. u.a. (Hg.), *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe* 5, Stuttgart 2000, 323-327.
- Kenner, H., *Das Phänomen der verkehrten Welt in der griechisch-römischen Antike*, Klagenfurt 1970.
- Keulartz, J., *Die verkehrte Welt des Jürgen Habermas*, Hannover 1995; a translation by Inge van der Art: from the Dutch original: *De Verkeerde Wereld van Jürgen Habermas*, 1992.
- Kruger, P.A., "Nonverbal Communication" in the Hebrew Bible: A Few Comments: *JNWSL* 24, 1 (1998) 141-164.
- Kruger, P.A., *Depression in the Hebrew Bible: An Update* (forthcoming in *JNES* 64 [2005]).
- Kruger, P.A., *The Slave Status of the Virgin Daughter Babylon in Isaiah 47:2. A Perspective from Anthropology*: *JNWSL* 23, 1 (1997) 143-151.
- Kselman, J.S., "Wandering About" and Depression: More Examples: *JNES* 61 (2002) 275-277.
- Kutsch, E., „Trauerbräuche“ und „Selbstminderungsriten“ im Alten Testament: *ThSt* 78 (1965) 25-42.
- Lang, B. / Hentschel, G., *Trauerbräuche*, in: Görg, M. / Lang, B. (Hg.), *NBL* 3, Düsseldorf / Zürich 2001, 918-919.
- Lazarowicz, K., *Verkehrte Welt. Vorstudien zu einer Geschichte der deutschen Satire*, Tübingen 1963.
- Lévy-Bruhl, L., *The "Soul" of the Primitive*. (Translated by Clare, L.A.), London 1928.
- Lohfink, N., *Enthielten die im Alten Testament bezeugten Klageriten eine Phase des Schweigens?: VT* 12 (1962) 260-277.
- Luria, S., *Die Ersten werden die Letzten sein*: *Klio* 22 (1929) 405-431.
- Marincola, J., *Herodotus. The Histories*, London 2003.
- McCarter, P.K., *2 Samuel (AB 9)*, New York 1984.
- Morgenstern, J., *Rites of Birth, Marriage, Death and Kindred Occasions Among the Semites*, Chicago 1966.
- Mühlmann, W.E., *Das Mythologem von der verkehrten Welt*: *KZS* 13, 4 (1961) 614-624.
- Mueli, K., *Entstehung und Sinn der Trauersitten*: *SAVK* 43 (1946) 91-109.
- Pedersen, J., *Israel, its Life and Culture*, London 21946.
- Podella, T., *Şom-Fasten: Kollektive Trauer um den verborgenen Gott im Alten Testament (AOAT 224)*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1989.
- Podella, T., *Totenrituale und Jenseitsbeschreibungen – zur anamnetischen Struktur der religionsgeschichte Israels*, in: Assmann, J. / Trauzettel, R. (Hg.), *Tod, Jenseits und Identität*, München 2002, 530-561.
- Radcliffe-Brown, A.R., *Structure and Function in Primitive Societies*, London 21963.
- Robertson Smith, W., *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, London 21901.
- Scharbert, J., *Der Schmerz im Alten Testament*, Bonn 1955.
- Schorch, S., *Die Propheten und der Karneval: Marzeach – Maioumas – Maimuna*: *VT* 53 (2003) 397-415.



- Shupak, N., The Prophecies of Neferti, in: Hallo, W.W. u.a. (Hg.), *The Context of Scripture I*, Leiden 2003, 106-110.
- Spronk, K., *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East (AOAT 219)*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1986.
- Stolz, F., *Grundzüge der Religionswissenschaft (UTB 1980)*, Göttingen <sup>2</sup>1997.
- Strauss, H., Motiv und Strukturen von Umkehrungsprüchen in Ägypten und im Alten Testament: *ZAW* 115 (2003) 25-37.
- Stubbe, H., *Formen der Trauer. Eine kulturanthropologische Untersuchung*, Berlin 1985.
- Stubbe, H., Trauer, in: Auffarth, C. u.a. (Hg.), *Metzler Lexikon Religion* 3, 2000, 526-530.
- Stubbe, H., Trauerverhalten und das Phänomen der verkehrten Welt: *ZE* 113 (1988) 199-205.
- Sundermeier, T., Todesriten und Lebenssymbole in den Afrikanischen Religionen, in: Stephenson, G. (Hg.), *Leben und Tod in den Religionen. Symbol und Wirklichkeit*, Darmstadt 1980, 250-259.
- Taylor, J.G., A First and Last Thing to Do in Mourning. KTU 1.161 and Some Parallels, in: Eslinger, L. / Taylor G., (Hg.), *Ascribe to the Lord. Biblical and Other Studies in Memory of Peter C. Craigie*, Sheffield 1988, 151-177.
- Turner, V.W., *The Forest of Symbols. Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*, Ithaca 1967.
- Turner, V.W., *The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-Structure*, Chicago 1969.
- Van Gennep, A., *The Rites of Passage*, London <sup>2</sup>1965.
- Van Leeuwen, R.C., Proverbs 30:21-23 and the Biblical World Upside Down: *JBL* 105 (1986) 599-610.
- Wilson, J.A., The Prophecy of Neferti, in: Pritchard, J. B. (Hg.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton 1969, 444-446.

Prof. Dr. Paul Kruger  
Dept. of Ancient Studies  
University of Stellenbosch  
Private Bag X1  
Matieland 7602  
South Africa – pak@sun.ac.za