ROOTS 12, no. 2 (2024): 123-137.
DOI: 10.24193/ROOTS.2024.2.8

The Resurrection of the Body and the Immortality of the Soul in the Light of the Old Testament Writings and the Work of Philo

Abstract

Suppose the hope of the Hellenistic world regarding survival in the afterlife can only be reduced to the belief in the soul's immortality (Plato), which has nothing to do with the belief in bodily resurrection. We can say that the only place where we can find the foundation of the belief in the resurrection of the first Christians is the Jewish world; only here the belief in the resurrection could have any chance of being accepted. The Old Testament texts to which we will refer in this article are Is 26:19; Ez 37:5,10,14; Dn 12:2; 2 Mac 7. A great exponent of Alexandrian Judaism who attempted to create a synthesis between the Mosaic faith and Greek philosophy was Philo of Alexandria. Since he does not refer to the bodily resurrection of the dead in his writings, Philo of Alexandria can support the thesis of the soul's immortality.

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Keywords
Resurrection, Immortality, Body, Soul, Philo of Alexandria

Death and the afterlife in the writings of the Old Testament

Whereas the ancient pagan world's hope for survival in an afterlife can be reduced to the idea of the immortality of the soul and that it has nothing to do with bodily resurrection. We can say that the Jewish environment is the only place to find the basis of the early Christians' belief in resurrection. It is precisely for this reason that when the Apostle Paul writes to the Corinthians about the resurrection of Jesus, who

"was raised on the third day according to the Scriptures" (1 Cor 15:4), he is referring to the Old Testament, the Holy Scriptures of the chosen people.

Then we ask what the Old Testament says about death and what comes after death? In the Old Testament, death is presented as a natural fact; the reality of death is linked to the very constitution of man (Gn 3:19; Eccl 12:7). In the Judaism of the patriarchal period, two different anthropological schemes were used when speaking of man: concerning the living man, we speak of בָּשָׂר (*basar*) [1], נֶפֶשׁ (*nephesh*) [2] and רוּחַ (*ruach*) [3]; regarding the deceased, the Jews distinguished between corpses buried in graves and רְפָאִים (*refaim*) [4] surviving in שְׁאוֹל (*Sheol*). The Rephaim were perceived as shadows of the whole man, not as a separation between soul and body (Pozo 1986, 195-206).

Everyone is born to die with death; therefore, true life ends, and everyone descends into שְׁאוֹל (*Sheol*, *Hell*) [5], the kingdom of the dead, a dark existence in which the human being is in a situation that no longer allows him to praise God (Ps 6:5; 113:25-26; Is 38:18); it is far from God, but God is also far from it (Ps 87:5-7). Thus, starting from the words of King David on the occasion of the death of his first son [6], we can say that death in specific pages of the Old Testament is a one-way street; one goes only forward without the possibility of turning back [7].

The Hebrew concept of שְׁאוֹל, as the eternal abode of the dead, expresses a certain kind of survival after death, for the Israelite's death was not the total end. For example, in the Old Testament, the expressions "he passed to his fathers" and "he was added to his people" indicate an ancient cult of the dead and a specific survival or coexistence with ancestors in the afterlife. However, large sections in the Old Testament do not support the existence of an afterlife. The emphasis is on earthly life, which is identified with longevity and prosperity (Ps 143:12-15 – LXX), with many descendants and offspring (Gn 25:7-8). The place of God's blessing, joy, and praise is in this world. According to D. Ø. Endsjø, YHWH's promise of salvation in the earliest texts of Scripture translates into the survival of the Jews as a people, not the immortality of the individual, and this promise has a collective rather than an individual dimension.

According to G. Lohfink, the Israelites' lack of faith in the afterlife for a certain period is due to the diversity of worldviews and Godviews. For example, in many ancient Eastern peoples surrounding Israel, death was endowed with its divine power; there was a god of death (in the Canaanite religion, the god of death was called Môt). The practice of necromancy (evocation of the dead) was widespread in Israel,

necromancy was also practiced in Israel (1 Sam 28:3-25), but this practice was forbidden. Unlike these beliefs and practices of the surrounding peoples, the God of Israel was the God of the living, the creator of the world, who would not abandon his creation, a God faithful to his people, who felt safe in his hands. For this very reason, the people of Israel have for centuries maintained their rejection of an afterlife, distancing themselves from various beliefs about the afterlife.

"The peculiarity of the Old Testament lies not so much in the idea of *Sheol* – present elsewhere – but rather in the assertion, with great determination, of God's foreignness to the world of death and hell. God's sphere and the sphere of death have nothing to do with each other. In this way, death is devoid of any sacred and divine character. It is here, at this very moment, that the estrangement of the surrounding peoples and their religious systems from Israel has its deepest roots." (Lohfink 2020, 74)

However, in contrast to this conception of earthly life as the only true and real one, the ancient Israelites know of a curious typology of survival that escapes the common mortal destiny, namely, the possibility of avoiding death through a rapture to heaven. In the Old Testament, the cases reported are not many, two or three, but significant enough. The first case is that of Enoch (Gn 5:23-24); the second is that of Elijah (2 Kg 2:11); the third possible case is the uncertain fate of Moses after his death ("no one has known to this day where his tomb is" – Dt 34:6b). All these miraculous raptures have given rise to apocryphal writings of the apocalyptic kind. As for the type of existence into which these characters were abducted, we have no information.

If we find information about the afterlife absent in some Old Testament passages, this does not mean that the chosen people would be without a firm hope in the God of Israel. At some point, the Jews begin to think about the afterlife in new terms. YHWH's faithfulness and steadfast love for his people give rise in Israel's heart to the conviction that this experience cannot be limited to earthly life alone but can continue into an afterlife.

It isn't easy to pinpoint the exact starting point of the reflection on the eternal life and resurrection of the chosen people. For example, theologians N. T. Wright and G. Ancona [8] identify the origin of this hope of restoration in the encounter between robust faith in God (source of life and faithful to His promise) and Israel's experience of suffering and persecution.

According to E. Noffke, belief in the resurrection of the dead finds its original expression in the prophetic literature of the Old Testament. He identifies two elements

underlying the Jews' hope in the resurrection: the idea of the "holy remnant," indicating that part of the people survived divine punishment (Is 10:20-22); the second element highlights the change of perspective until the Babylonian exile attention was paid to the destiny of the people, with the experience of suffering in exile, they also began to reflect on individual responsibility (Jr 31:29-30; Ez 18:1-20). Theologian N. T. Wright (2006, 157-8) argues that the primary moment in which Israel hoped that their God would do for a human being, an individual, what he had promised to do for all his people, is found in Isaiah's chapters on the suffering Messiah (chapter 53).

The response of the God of Israel to the suffering, martyrdom, and persecution of the exile was the promise of the national restoration of His people, expressed metaphorically with the idea of the bodily resurrection of human beings (Acosta 1996, 177) (Is 26:19; Ez 37:5,10,14; Dn 12:2; 2 Mac 7). In conclusion, we can say that in the early pages of the Old Testament, there was no hope of life after death, then at some point (probably beginning in the Babylonian exile) [9]. The people of Israel begin to believe that YHWH's love and power cannot be defeated even by suffering and death. As this faith matures, it comes to confess hope in bodily resurrection.

"If the books of the Old Testament deny the possibility of eternal life in itself, it is equally true that it is precisely there that we find some elements that in the Jewish environment will develop between the end of the Persian era and the Hellenistic era, precisely to affirm it."

In line with the above, one can admit an evolution in Jewish thinking about the afterlife. If, in early Judaism, *sheol* was perceived as a standard and undifferentiated place for all the dead, the fate of the righteous was no different from that of the wicked. At some point (in prophetic literature), *the sheol* ceases to be an undifferentiated place, the righteous are separated from the evil, who go to the abyss of hell (Is 14:15; Ez 32:22). A new and important step in evolution is outlined in the so-called mystical psalms: 15:9-10; 48:16; 72, where the psalmist expresses the hope that YHWH will deliver him from the grave. Assuming this faith in God's power over the grave as well (Am 9:2; Ps 139:8; Dt 32:22; Job 14:12-15; 26:6; Ps 15:11), deliverance from hell takes on the form in Ps 15:9-10 of hope in the bodily resurrection, which points to the deliverance of the body itself. According to F. Manzi (2019, 36), although the psalmist did not specify how he imagined that God would bring him out of hell, he hoped he would not remain forever forsaken by God in the pit, a place of corruption.

National restoration and individual resurrection in prophetic writings

The context of persecution and suffering during the Babylonian exile caused Israel's faith in YHWH to mature. Hoping in his faithfulness and omnipotence, the people of Israel could not accept that the righteous had been abandoned into the hands of the wicked.

If it is not easy to find elements of eschatology in the Pentateuch (Ska 2022: 55-75) [10], this is confirmed by the Sadducees of the Saviour's time (Mt 22:23; Mk 12:18; Lk 20:27; Acts 23:8), who rejected the idea of resurrection from the dead precisely because, according to them, this idea is not present in the five books of the Pentateuch only these were considered by them to be inspired. However, in the books of the prophets, we can find a creative fluidity between the national restoration of exiled Israel and the new creation or bodily resurrection of the dead.

Such a text can be considered that of Is 26:19: "Your dead shall live, and their bodies shall rise! Awake, sing for joy, you who dwell in the dust! For Your dew is the dew of light, and out of the bosom of the earth the shadows shall rise (רְפָאִ֔ים)." This verse should be read in chapters 24-27, the so-called apocalypse of Isaiah. According to B. Childs (2005, 190) and A. Mello (2012, 174), these chapters belong to the apocalyptic genre because they focus on the cosmic judgment of the world and its final restoration by God but lack explicit historical references. The first part of these chapters deals mainly with the destruction of an unspecified "desolate city" (Is 24:10), and the second part deals with the building of the "strong city" (Is 26:1).

The alternation of possessives: "Your dead" (מֵתֶ֙יךָ), "their bodies" (נְבֵלָ֖תִי) creates difficulty in understanding who the speaker is: is it God or is it the Jewish community? In the context of chapters 26 and 27, is v. 19 the conclusion of the previous word, in which Israel speaks, or is it the beginning of the next one, in which God speaks? [11] If the confession of faith in v. 19 is attributed to an individual or the entire prayer community, then the dead are Israel's. If, however, God speaks, we are looking at a promise in answer to the community's prayer.

Another issue raised by v. 19 is whether it is a metaphor for the restoration of the exiled people of Israel (Johnston 1988, 80; Levenson 2006, 200; Beuken 2007, 383; Finney 2016, 32) or whether it affirms individual resurrection (Young 1992, 227; Blenkinsopp 2000, 371; Kaiser 2002, 263). According to B. Childs (2005, 209), the distinction is entirely irrelevant to understanding the function of the promise in chapter 26. The meaning of verse 19 is not to be reduced to a mere promise of an end to

persecution and suffering; its content emphasizes God's promise that life extends beyond the end of earthly existence. God's extraordinary intervention in his creation is expressed through another metaphor, the "bright dew". Resurrection as the work of God's "luminous wheel" is denied for some (v. 14) and affirmed for others (v. 19).

According to P. S. Johnston, this is probably more than just a national restoration of the people of Israel. Both vs. 14 and 19 refer specifically to "shadows" and "dead," i.e. deceased individuals. The application may be national, but the image implies a concept of individual resurrection of at least some of the Israelites, the righteous.

Another prophetic text that is similar to Is 26:19 is that of Ez 37:1-14. In an extraordinary vision, Ezekiel, at God's command, prophesies to the spirit to raise the multitude of dry bones scattered on a plain. The vision is immediately explained: "These bones are the whole house of Israel. [...] And I will put my spirit within you, and you shall rise" (v. 11.14). The exiled Israelites have lost hope, but the Lord will open their graves and repatriate them, and they will live. Israel's condition in exile is comparable to that of the dead; without a breath of life, only YHWH's miraculous intervention can restore hope to the exiled people. The vision of resurrected bodies points to a restored people. According to J. D. Levenson (2006, 165), for the Jews of that time, the resurrection of the dead is always and inextricably linked to the restoration of the people of Israel.

The Prophet uses a suggestive metaphor, resurrection, to convey to the people the hope of a "return to life." This metaphor does not have a precise and explicit eschatological character, but it is nonetheless possible that the image of the return to life (Hos 6:1-3; Ez 37:1-14) implicitly contains a projection of the eschatological bodily resurrection.

The resurrection metaphor will be transformed into an accurate and precise eschatological concept. Texts almost contemporaneous with those mentioned that testify to faith in the bodily resurrection are Dn 12:1-3 and 2 Mac 7. These two texts interpret realistically the expectations of Ez 37 and Is 26:19.

Both texts are dated to the 2nd century BC. Specifically, they describe the persecution and the era of the Maccabean revolt against the Hellenization program of Palestine initiated by the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes (215-164 BC) in the second half of the 2nd century BC.

These two texts have elements in common: the suffering of the martyrs has a redemptive function for the people of Israel; the people's faithfulness will be rewarded,

while the God of justice will punish the brutality of the persecutors; and the new life, the bodily resurrection they await, is the gift of the Creator God.

Dan 12:2-3 is probably the most explicit text in the Old Testament that speaks of the bodily resurrection, and it has become a staple. At the same time, it gives us one of how some older texts (in which similar imagery and terms are present) were read in the 2nd century BC. According to G. Ancona (2007, 39), "the announcement of the future resurrection in Daniel, besides taking on a more universal perspective, manifests a qualitatively new depth from an eschatological point of view."

"And at that time, Michael, the great prince who protects the sons of your people, will arise, and there will be a time of trouble that has not been since the beginning of time, even until now. But in that time, your people will be saved, whoever is found written in the book. And many of those who sleep in the dust of the earth will rise, some to eternal life, and some to eternal shame and disgrace. And the wise shall shine as the brightness of heaven, and those who have guided many in the way of righteousness shall be as the stars forever and ever."

In 2 Mac 7, King Antiochus IV Epiphanes arrests and forces seven brothers and their mother to eat the forbidden pork. To achieve his goal, the king subjects them to torture. Before being tortured, they take the opportunity to confess their belief in the resurrection. For example, the second son addresses the king: "But you, wicked one, are putting us out of this life, but the King of the world, we who die for his laws, will rise again with the resurrection of eternal life" (7:9). The fourth, in turn, says: "It is good to put off the hope of men and wait for the hope of God, for we shall rise again through him, and to you there shall be no resurrection to life" (7:14). Finally, the mother with manly courage says: "The Creator of the world, who has built man from his birth, will give you as a merciful One spirit and life again" (7:23).

Immortality of the soul

In passages 2:23-3:10 of Wisdom of Solomon, the author highlights the contrast between the righteous' hope of immortality and the wicked's belief that death has the final word on human existence. These hopes will be fulfilled on the day of judgment, when it will be shown that man is made in the image of God, i.e., unholy.

The book Wisdom of Solomon was written probably around 30 BC by a Jew of Hellenistic origin (probably Alexandria in Egypt), with the use of the concept of immortality (*ἀθανασία*) and also of non-destruction (*ἀφθαρσία*) introduced a

significant novelty into the biblical eschatological context. The book's author probably uses these new terms to express the content of the Jewish faith because he was in a different cultural environment from the Jewish one. Although the author prefers to emphasize that souls will survive after death (immortality of the soul), his view of life, death, and the afterlife remains firmly rooted in biblical revelation (7:1-6).

According to the assumption that the Greeks believed in the immortality of the soul and the Jews in the resurrection of the body, the explicit teaching of the Wisdom of Solomon on the immortality of the soul would exclude bodily resurrection after death. Such an interpretation of Wisdom is still prevalent among theologians, according to N.T. Wright (2006, 204), the concepts of "resurrection" and "immortality" are not antithetical per se. The concept of "immortality," if not reduced to the Platonic perspective (a pre-existing immortal soul imprisoned in a body for some time until death releases it), does not exclude bodily resurrection. In reality, resurrection is a form or type of "immortality."

For the author of The Wisdom of Solomon, the soul is not immortal by nature (according to Platonic and Stoic conceptions) but can attain immortality through wisdom; it is an immortality that will consist of a renewed bodily life when the soul will receive a body that corresponds to it (9,15). According to theologians F. Manzi, N.T. Wright, and A. F. Segal, although the term "resurrection" is not mentioned in the book of Wisdom of Solomon, the concept of "immortality of the soul" also implies bodily resurrection.

Although the author uses the linguistic infrastructure of Greek-Platonic thought (e.g. the contrast between the "immortal and incorruptible soul" and the "mortal and corruptible body"), the content of the message remains consistent with the whole biblical tradition. Chapters 1 to 5 are a classic Hebrew narrative: the Creator God is the God of life, who created human beings in his "image and likeness" (Gn 1:26; Sol 2:23b), and their destiny is an endless existence. It is precisely for this reason that the entrance of death into the world cannot be attributed to God (Sol 1:13-14) but to the serpent of Genesis (Sol 2:24a). For the Judeo-Alexandrian author, death does not have a liberating role as for the Greeks. Still, it intrudes in the good and beautiful creation the Creator desires (Sol 1,12-15).

The hope of the author of the Wisdom of Solomon is in harmony with the prophets' hope: God will not leave the righteous in the hands of the wicked. The righteous persecuted and killed by the wicked do not disappear forever as they suppose

(Sol 3:2); their souls are safe, "in the hands of God" (Sol 3:1), and their hope is a life without death; it is immortality (Sol 3:4).

Perhaps the author of the Wisdom of Solomon uses the concepts of "immortality" and "incorruption" of souls (Sol 2:23; 6:19) and not bodily resurrection because the recipients of the book included pagans.

The immortality of the soul in the writings of Philo of Alexandria

A great exponent of Alexandrian Judaism who tried to create a synthesis between the Mosaic faith and Greek philosophy was Philo of Alexandria (25 BC – 40 AD). According to H.A. Wolfson, two tendencies on the afterlife of the individual emerged in Judaism at the time of Philo: one that held the thesis of the resurrection of the body (specific to Palestinian Judaism) and another that had the thesis of the immortality of the soul (specific to Hellenistic Judaism).

Since he does not refer to the bodily resurrection of the dead in his writings, Philo of Alexandria can be considered a proponent of the theory of the soul's immortality. Philo's position on the soul's immortality differs from that of all philosophers who hold this position. For example, unlike the Platonic doctrine that the soul of both the righteous and the wicked is immortal by nature, Philo admits the soul's immortality only for the righteous and virtuous as a gift or grace from God. Instead, the souls of the wicked are doomed to eternal death. For Philo, the soul's immortality is a reward reserved only for the righteous but denied to the evil. Unlike the Stoics, who admitted the survival of the soul of the wise for a certain period, Philo held that the immortality of the soul of the righteous is eternal. The text quoted by Philo as an argument for his thesis is Genesis 15:15: "And you shall pass to your fathers in peace and be buried in happy old age." Referring to this verse, he states: "For when someone says to a dying person, 'You will pass to your parents,' what else does it mean but to represent another life without a body, which only the soul of the wise should live?" (Philo, *Quaestiones et solutiones in Genesim* III,11).

What is similar but simultaneously distinguishes Philo from the apostle Paul is the theory of the two. Philo developed his two-man theory based on the two accounts of the creation of man present in the book of Creation (1:26-27; 2:7). According to Philo, God created two categorically different types of man: a "heavenly man" (*οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος*), made in the image of God (Gn 1:26-27) and an "earthly man" (*γήϊνος ἄνθρωπος*), fashioned from the dust of the earth (Gn 2:7). Describing the two-man theory, Philo

states: "There are two kinds of people, one is the heavenly man and the other is the earthly man. The heavenly man, as created in the image of God, does not partake of a corruptible and generally earthly substance, while the earthly man was taken from a scattered matter, which Moses called dust. Therefore, he says that the heavenly man was not *fashioned* but rather *fashioned in the image* of God, and the earthly man is a fashioned being and not generated by the Master." (Philo, *Legum allegoriae* I 31. Mondésert 1962, 59).

According to Philo, the soul is not immortal in itself; it becomes immortal only through the divine spirit given by God: "breathed the breath of life and man became a living being" (Gn 2:7b). The one who breathes is God; the one who receives is the intellect; and what is breathed is the spirit. Philo indicates in some of his writings that human beings pre-existed as pure, ethereal minds before their life in the body (Philo, *De Gigantibus* 12. Cf. Mosès 1963, 27; *De Somniis* I,135-138. cf. Savinel 1962, 81-3), and, with the end of earthly life, will return to that form of existence (Philo, *Questiones et Solutiones in Genesis* 3,11; *Legatio ad Caium* 1,105; 2,77. cf. Pelletier 1972, 135; *De Cherubim* 114. cf. Gorez 1963, 73; *De Sacrifciis Abelis et Caini* 5). According to Runia, the two-man theory highlights the contrast between life in the body and life as a disembodied mind. Philo conceives of the afterlife only regarding the soul's intellect, abrogating man's somatic dimension.

According to Stefan Nordgaard (2011, 355), Philo's theory of the two men can be summarized as follows: the heavenly man can be defined as a man as he is before and after his earthly existence, i.e., as a pure and bodiless mind, enlivened and illuminated by the spirit of God (for Philo the intellect was "the sovereign element of the soul" – cf. *De opificio mundi* 69), and the earthly man as he is during his earthly life, i.e. a compound of body and mind, animated and illuminated by the breath of God.

If for Philo, who admits a double creation, the first man is the heavenly, ideal, immortal, created in the image of God (Gn 1:26-27), and the second is mortal, composed of body and soul (Gn 2:7); for the apostle Paul the first man, Adam, became a living being, and the last Adam (Christ) became a life-giving spirit (1 Cor 15:45). It is important to note that the emphasis in 1Cor 15 is not on earthly and spiritual things in general, but on the fleshly (*σῶμα ψυχικόν*) and spiritual (*σῶμα πνευματικόν*) bodies. In 1 Cor 15, the emphasis is on the body; the apostle Paul means that only eschatologically, the Spirit of God will influence the body to such an extent that the body will become a pneumatic body. Only then will we bring to full fruition the image of the heavenly man

who is the eschatological man (1Cor 15:49). Victory over death and the spiritualization of the bodily dimension of man are given to man through the Lord Jesus Christ "the beginning of the dead" (1 Cor 15:20,57).

Conclusions

Man has always tried to understand the mystery of life, death, and possible survival in the afterlife. For this reason, this article has aimed to analyse some Old Testament texts that highlight the hope of the chosen people in the afterlife. From the earliest writings of the Old Testament, we can see that the hope of the chosen people is limited to the conquest of the promised land, prosperity, and the multitude of descendants without a clear perspective on the afterlife.

According to most exegetes, the experience of persecution, suffering, exile, and especially martyrdom suffered by Israel contributes to the maturation of the faith of the chosen people in the God of justice who, remaining faithful to his people, will not leave the righteous of Israel in the hands of the enemies. Initially, victory over death has a collective dimension (Ez 37:1-14; Is 26:19), but then this collective hope becomes an individual hope (Dn 12:2-3; 2 Mac 7). We can see a shift from the hope of national restoration to the affirmation of personal resurrection.

If, in the Hellenistic cultural context, a clear distinction was made between soul and body (dualistic anthropology), survival after death was described only in terms of the soul's immortality, denying the possibility of resurrection from the dead. In the Jewish context, however, a unitary, holistic anthropology prevails. Consequently, resurrection from the dead becomes part of the hope of the people of Israel (Dn 12:2-3; 2 Mac 7).

Philo of Alexandria, a contemporary of the apostle Paul, tried to create a synthesis between the Mosaic faith and Greek philosophy; as regards the eschatological dimension of man, he remained faithful to the Platonic theory of the immortality of the soul, excluding the resurrection of the body, even though he was a Jew. However, as Plato claimed, for Philo, the soul is not immortal by nature but is a gift from God to the righteous. For Philo, the resurrection of the body is not conceivable, only the immortality of the soul of the righteous; instead, both the doctrine of the resurrection from the dead and the doctrine of the immortality of the soul are articulated in the writings of the Old Testament (especially in the Book of Wisdom of Solomon).

Notes

[1] According to Hans Walter Wolff, the term basar appears in the OT 273 times, referring only to man and animals, never God. He identifies four possible meanings of this term: a) flesh (Is 22:13; Lv 4:11; Nm 19:5); b) the whole body (Lv 19:28; Nm 8:7; Ps 38:4); c) affinity (Gn 37:27; Lv 18:6; Is 58:7; Ez 11:19); d) weakness (Ps 56:5; 65:3; Jr 17:5,7; Job 34:14) (Wolff 2002, 40-7; Cavedo 1988, 309-11; Lipinski 1995, 368-9; McCasland 2000, 451).

[2] The diversity of meanings of the term nephesh is evident from the fact that of the 755 occurrences in the Old Testament, in only 600 passages in the Septuagint is it translated with the Greek term ψυχή. The same author, Wolff, hypothesizes seven possible meanings of this term: (a) greed (Is 5:14; Ps 107:9; Nm 21:5b); (b) gluttony (Ps 44:26; Ps 115:18; Jer 4:10); (c) desire (Gn 34:2; Hos 4:8; Ps 23:2); (d) soul (Ex 23:9; Job 19:2; Jr 13:17); e) life (Lv 24:17; Dt 24:6; Prov 8:35; 19:8); f) person (Gn 2:7; Lv 17:10; 23:30; 18:29; Nm 19:18); g) pronoun (Gn 12:13; 19:19; Nm 23:10; Ps 54:6; 103:1) (Wolff 2002, 18-39; McKenzie 1975, 59-61; Lipinski 1995, 115-6; Russell 1991, 187-90; Barr 1992, 36-47; Moncuso 2007, 55-71; Pleijel 2019: 194-206).

[3] According to Wolff, the term ruach refers more often to God (136 times) than humans, animals, and idols (129 times) and should be described primarily as an anthropological concept. He identifies six senses of the term: a) wind (Gn 1:2; 8:1; Ex 10:13); b) breath (Is 42:5; Ez 37:6,8,10.14; Jr 2:24); c) power of life (Ex 15:8; Ps 33:6; Is 42:1); d) spirit (2 Sam 19:7; Nm 11:29; 27:16); e) state of soul (1 Sam 10:5; Job 15:13; Prov 18:14); f) strength of will (Jr 51:11; Ps 32:2) (Wolff 2002, 48-57; Russell 1991, 190-4).

[4] For the concept of remapping, see McKenzie 1975, 804; Schnell 1993, 35; Lipinski 1995, 1092; and O'callaghan 2011, 79-80.

[5] Gn 37:35b: "Weeping, I will go down to the grave to my son"; Gn 42:38; 44:29,31.

[6] 2 Sam 12:23: "But now he is dead; why should I fast? Can I bring him back? I will go to him, and he will not return to me."

[7] On the concept of Sheol and, in general, on the afterlife in the OT, see Fenasse 1971, 549-53; McKenzie 1975, 912-4; Lewis 1992, 101-5; Bernstein 1993, 140-6; Jarick 1999, 22-32; Tábet 2010, 11-24.

[8] "The particular experience of exile not only strengthens the people's hope in a redemptive renewal of YHWH on their behalf but also contributes to the emergence of a new eschatological perspective." (Ancona 2007, 49).

[9] For example, B.B. Schmidt identifies radical changes in Jewish beliefs about death and the afterlife during this period, listing several possible causes for this transformation: "In the period following the Babylonian exile of 586/587 BC, the Jewish people were in a state of exile. C. there were significant transformations in Israelite/Jewish beliefs

about death and the afterlife. Notions of bodily resurrection, ascension, and immortality seem to have roots in Jewish traditions of this period. This has been explained as the result of a combination of factors: foreign religious influence – Persian, Greek or other – social and individual crises, and the inadequacy of traditional constructs of theodicy." (Schmidt 2000, 96).

[10] In his article, the author distinguishes three phases in the history of research on biblical eschatology: Wellhausen and his school, which limits eschatology to the post-exilic period; a renewed interest in eschatology beginning with Klaus Koch, Otto Plöger, and Paul Hanson; and the current situation. The author prefers to speak of eschatology as "reflection on the final destiny concerning the individual and the whole people" (Ska 2022: 68).

[11] Most authors, with whom we agree, describe v. 19 as a confession of faith by the praying community: Kaiser 2002, 265; Beuken 2007, 380-5; van der Woude 2013, 154-63; Childs 2005, 205; Goldingay 2014, 51).

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