Understanding Death
To my husband, Zsolt (1945–2010)
Understanding Death

An Introduction to Ideas of Self and the Afterlife in World Religions

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Contents

Preface ix

Acknowledgments xiii

1 Understanding Death 1
   Return from the Dead 4
   Debates and Definitions 9
   Death and the Self 14
   Ritual and Transformation 19
   Notes 22
   References and Further Reading 22

2 Primal Perspectives on Death 25
   Soul Theories of Primal Peoples 28
   The Destiny of Souls 34
   Afterlife among the Warao 35
   Rituals of Departure 40
   A Conversation on Understanding Death 44
   References and Further Reading 46

3 Death in the Ancient World 49
   Egypt 51
Contents

Rituals of Departure 156
A Conversation on Understanding Death 159
Notes 161
References and Further Reading 162

7 Hindu Perspectives on Death 165
Feeding the Ancestors 166
The First Sacrifice 168
Death, the Immortal 173
The Inner Controller 174
In the House of Death 180
The Three Paths to Liberation 182
Rituals of Departure 187
A Conversation on Understanding Death 192
Notes 194
References and Further Reading 195

8 Buddhist Perspectives on Death 197
The Life and Death of the Buddha 198
The Noble Truths 201
Karma, Self, and the Wheel of Becoming 204
Nirvana: The Deathless 211
Rituals of Departure 214
A Conversation on Understanding Death 225
Notes 227
References and Further Reading 228

9 Daoist Perspectives on Death 229
The Ancestors 230
Soul Theories 235
The Nameless Way 237
Transformations of the Self 239
The Search for Immortality 242
Rituals of Departure 245
A Conversation on Understanding Death 250
Notes 252
References and Further Reading 253

Index 255
The meaning of the word “death,” like so many other important words in our vocabulary – life, self, mind, body, love, respect, dignity, honor, grief – differs from culture to culture, from past to present, and even from person to person within one community. The field of death studies, which encompasses academic research, popular literature on death and dying, as well as the teaching of courses on death in colleges and universities, has its roots in a modern North American movement spurred on by the now famous 1969 publication by Elizabeth Kübler-Ross of *On Death and Dying*. The movement has resulted in worldwide studies that investigate and theorize death and dying from numerous perspectives: historical, ethical, psychological, sociological, philosophical, theological, and literary. As an introduction to the views and practices of various religions regarding death and life after death, this book offers the opportunity for a comparative reading in the hope that the reader will gain insight from what Arvind Sharma calls “reciprocal illumination” – the idea that we may find greater understanding of one tradition in the light of others (Sharma, 2005).

One’s first encounter with death may result in childhood puzzlement, shock, or a deep feeling of irrevocable loss. The experience is
Preface

intimately related to thoughts and emotions that shape our identity and revolve around a sense of what we intuitively hold to be self or the essence of life. Almost always there are questions. What exactly happened? Why? What do we do now? The book begins with an exploration of the questions that death evokes and that religions aim to answer. Subsequent chapters take the reader through the main responses of several religious traditions. There are nine chapters including one on death in religions of antiquity and seven on living religions. This is not a book on world religions; discussions related to the general belief systems of each religion are oriented towards those aspects that inform perspectives on death. The emphasis in each chapter, therefore, towards history, philosophy, or ritual will vary in order to reflect what is important in understanding the meaning of death in that religion. Throughout, however, notions regarding the self or soul and its trajectory through life and death, as well as the goal or culmination of this journey, will be highlighted. Each chapter will also describe some of the death rituals related to the religion. The ways in which each tradition conceives of the “person” who lives and the “person” who dies will form the central theme and primary organizing principle for the book, whether the discussion relates to primal religious beliefs in many souls, the Biblical view of the person as a holistic body/breath entity, the Hindu concept of \textit{atman} – the undying, immortal soul – or the Buddhist idea of “no-soul.” Furthermore, self-conceptions are a crucial element in understanding the varied rituals of closure and farewell that are intrinsic to the way in which individuals and human societies deal with the end of life.

The book is organized so that each religion is treated as a discrete unit. It has been my experience that a thematic approach is useful in a classroom context when students are already familiar with the religions in question, otherwise the various texts and teachings are easily confused. I have also found that the interest of students in this subject is very much tied to their interest in the religions themselves. In other words, they want to know specifically what Judaism or Buddhism or Islam teaches about the process of dying, what are the beliefs regarding the afterlife in that tradition, and what rituals are performed for the dead. The conversations recorded at the end
of each chapter are intended to provide the reader with a glimpse of the personal views of people who live and work in the scientific industrialized environment of North America. They come from all walks of life and from all parts of the world. The only criterion for the conversation was that the person be someone who identifies with his or her religion and actively engages with it. Throughout this book, it will become apparent that religion, as it is expressed in texts and canonical interpretations, is diverse and contradictory – how much more so when it is combined with the diverse and contradictory nature of individuals who engage with the textual tradition. Among the interviewees are converts, life-long adherents, devout believers, as well as those who doubt. The conversations are there to offer a personal counterpoint to the abstract concepts and principles discussed in the chapters, and to underscore for the reader that just as human beings live life in a multitude of ways, death is not merely a common event that happens to all; death is interpreted, constructed, one might even say lived, in equally various forms.

I hope that this book will draw the readers’ attention to differences and similarities among religions, as well as to the varieties of expression that can be found within one religious tradition. I aim to highlight the manifold conceptions of self and world that inform the way humans interpret life and personal continuation beyond death, as well as our shared human struggle to discover the meaning of, or assign meaning to, the phenomenon of death – a struggle that is renewed with each personal encounter.

**Note**

As this book is intended for a general audience diacritical marks have not been used and non-English terminology has been kept to the minimum necessary. Unless otherwise stated, quotations are drawn from the following translations:

Preface


Reference and Further Reading

This book has been many years in the writing, and after the death of my husband in 2010, it likely would never have been completed but for the patience and understanding of the editorial and publishing team at Wiley Blackwell who gave me the time to recover myself and encouraged me not to abandon the project. I extend my deepest thanks to them all.

Over the years, many people have read the drafts, assisted me with research, and offered good editorial advice. Among those I would like to thank especially are Ryszard Cimek, Gilles Comeau, Claire Belanger, and Nalini Devdas. Finally, I would like to thank my students, whose questions and abiding interest in the subject provided me with the incentive to begin and the energy to finish this work.
Life surrounds us. Wherever we find ourselves, we are conscious that countless other living things exist alongside us – animals, plants, insects, microbes, as well as strange combinations of not-quite-animal, not-quite-plant life, like sea anemones. Death surrounds us. From the mosquito unconsciously slapped on an arm to the daily news stories that are of passing notice, to a loved one whose loss brings prolonged grief and mourning. In general, however, we tend to think deeply of death only when it becomes part of our emotional experience, and even then, the business and busyness of life is like a river that carries us along past the numerous moments of other deaths until our own moment arrives. One feels helpless in the face of inevitable death – what can one do about it, really? It is easy, therefore, even in the midst of death to avoid contemplating death, to turn to life where we can have some kind of control, where we can do something about it. I invite you to consider this book as a space in which you can take the time to consider questions like: What is
Understanding Death

dead? Who dies? Where do we go from here? Do we go anywhere? And, as you will discover, these questions are much the same as asking: What is life? Who lives? Are we going anywhere now? In the complex symbol system that is language, however, words like “life” or “love” or “death” are bound up with feelings, emotions, and ideas that are very complicated; those that surround death have a long and complex history – you might think of it as the history of becoming who and what we are. When we look at the sacred stories of various cultures and religious traditions that aim to explain death and how it came into the world, we find that at the same time they tell of how we became human, how we became mortal. Take, for example, the Biblical story of Adam and Eve. Their life in the Garden of Eden is one of innocence and joy in the presence of God. Without work or toil, they enjoy the fruit of all the trees, but tempted by the serpent, they disobey God’s commands and eat of the forbidden fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil.

Now the serpent was more crafty than any other wild animal the Lord God had made. He said to the woman, “Did God say, ‘You shall not eat from any tree in the garden?’” The woman said to the serpent, “We may eat of the fruit of the trees in the garden; but God said, ‘You shall not eat of the fruit of the tree that is in the middle of the garden, nor shall you touch it, or you shall die.’” But the serpent said to the woman, “You will not die; for God knows that when you eat of it your eyes will be opened, and you will be like God, knowing good and evil.” So when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was a delight to the eyes, and that the tree was to be desired to make one wise, she took of its fruit and ate; and she also gave some to her husband who was with her, and he ate. Then the eyes of both were opened and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together and made loincloths for themselves. (Gen. 3:1–7)

Due to this transgression, God banishes them from the Garden. They must make their way in the wilderness beyond, working hard for their food, the woman experiencing pain in childbirth, and eventually they must return to the earth from which God made them.
But this is not only a story of temptation, disobedience, punishment, and the suffering and death that are an inevitable part of the human condition, it is also a story that acknowledges human powers of reasoning and judgment, the attraction of wisdom, thirst for knowledge overcoming rules and regulations, and the responsibility and danger that come with the knowledge of good and evil. Ultimately, the story points to an understanding of humankind as partaking of divinity in that knowledge.

Then the Lord God said, “See, the man has become like one of us, knowing good and evil; and now, he might reach out his hand and take also from the tree of life, and eat, and live forever” – therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from which he was taken. He drove out the man; and at the east of the garden of Eden he placed the cherubim, and a sword flaming and turning to guard the way to the tree of life. (Gen. 3:22–24)

The immortality that was denied to humans in the Garden of Eden, eternal life in the presence of God becomes a primary goal of Biblical traditions. Stories such as this relate the mythic events of our past and tell us why we must die; they also look to the future and tell us where we go when this life is finished.

Throughout human history, there have been many who claimed to have made the journey, many who believed that they received a glimpse of that future; a life beyond life in a time beyond time and a place beyond place. One of the earliest literary accounts of what would be now called a “near-death experience” comes from the Greek philosopher Plato (427–347 BCE). It is the story of Er, a soldier who died in battle and returned to life on his funeral pyre:

He [Er] said that when his soul departed, it made a journey in the company of many, and they came to a certain demonic place, where there were two openings in the earth next to one another, and, again, two in the heaven, above and opposite the others. Between them sat judges who, when they had passed judgment, told the just to continue their journey to the right and upward, through the heaven; and they
attached signs of the judgments in front of them. The unjust they told to continue their journey to the left and down, and they had behind them signs of everything they had done. And when he himself came forward, they said that he had to become a messenger to human beings of the things there, and they told him to listen and to look at everything in the place. (Bloom, 1968, pp. 297–298)

Such reports have inspired faith among some, disbelief or skepticism among others. In the last century, the personal accounts of those who have been declared dead or appeared dead but revived have received increasing attention both from the spiritually thirsty and from scholars who seek to analyze and understand the nature of these experiences. Carol Zaleski (2006) notes that in comparison with ancient and medieval stories of afterlife journeys, the theme of judgment and the fear of death as a prelude to hell have mostly disappeared from modern accounts, as they have from the following memoirs of another soldier who was also felled on the battlefield more than 2,000 years after Plato.

Return from the Dead

It is 1915 and 20-year-old Vaughan Ivan Milton Henshaw is a Canadian soldier on the frontlines of World War I. What follows is his personal account recorded by his granddaughter, Linda Henshaw.

On the first of September, it started to rain and the rain never stopped day and night and what were trenches turned into canals – the water waist deep. The dugouts were the same; we’d put stuff under our heads at night to keep our head and shoulders out of the water. We had no protection standing around in the rain, at night we’d sleep in the mud and rain. On November 6th the rain stopped and turned to sleet, great walls of sleet swept in on 20–25/hour winds. That was the day we were to leave for a 6 day so-called rest.

That was also the morning that Henshaw was scheduled to escort the colonel and the doctor on a morning inspection tour of the
When we first saw you, your face was just as black as my shoe but in about a minute or two, suddenly your eyes closed and you turned as white as a sheet and one of the boys said, “he’s gone,” and I don’t mind telling you many tears were shed over your doggone frame.

But for Henshaw, something else was happening:

As for me, when that happened apparently that was when I thought I was being airlifted. I thought the boys had picked up the pole and started to carry me on. Instead in a split second I was in a great concourse of people stretching away as far as I could see to left and to the right. I call them people but later I discovered that they weren’t people at all…However, what caught my attention almost immediately was a wall, like a blanket or sheet, a white covering of some sort and behind it was a bright light, the brightest light I ever could see. There was something about that light that was different from any ordinary light. It seemed to fill me full of the greatest desire to penetrate that sheet or whatever it was and see what that white beautiful bright light was all about. When I had a chance to look, I couldn’t move my head or my hands or anything at all because of the people – later I thought they were not really people, they seemed more like objects or shapes, all black in long lines; they were moving forward as if they were on an escalator only there was no escalator – we were just drifting forward. I was so impatient I felt like brushing them all out of my way to get to that wall and see what that
Understanding Death

bright light was all about. I could hardly contain myself. Then I watched these black shapes; when they reached this so-called wall, they entered one by one. They just seemed to fade through. I could see them as far as about a foot and a half into the wall and then just barely make them out, and then they would dissolve. That went on all the while we were drifting forward. I don’t know how long it was before I reached that transparent white wall. What it was made of, I don’t know, but it was plain to be seen that those black figures weren’t solid because they made no motion at all when they went through – if it had been any solid body passing through, there would be some commotion in the hole where they went through but that wall never moved. Finally it came pretty close to my line with only one line ahead of me, but even then I couldn’t see how the line ahead of me could pass one by one through the same place in that wall without a ripple and yet not hold up my line or the lines behind. How that could be done, I couldn’t understand. The line passed through one by one, and we were still drifting forward with no hesitation whatsoever and finally it came my turn. I was just ready to dive head first through that beautiful white wall, but when I attempted to do it, in one split second I found myself floating back to earth about 40 feet in the air. I saw my comrades standing off to one side talking. I saw the great walls of sleet blowing in making the puddles and ponds of water into foam. Then I saw a man lying in the mud and I thought “how pitiful! That poor fellow far miles from home lying there dead in the mud. What a place to die!” and by then I was getting a little closer and to my amazement I found I was looking at myself. I couldn’t understand how I could be in two places at once – one dead and one seemingly alive. All the while I was drifting down and then presently I saw myself more plainly – but how can I see myself when my eyes are closed? And then a feeling of utter desolation swept over me so deadly that in the next second I was home and opened my eyes, and that feeling of utter desolation was so great that two tears were rolling down my cheeks, something that had never happened before in the wide world – my tear ducts had dried up long ago. Well, I heard one fellow cry out in a voice so full of excitement. In a loud, loud voice he yelled “He ain’t dead yet.”

Although the term near-death experience (NDE) would not appear in popular literature for another 60 years,2 Vaughan Henshaw’s experience is a classic example of this phenomenon. Moving through darkness, encountering other beings, visions of light, feelings of joy
Understanding Death

or excitement, a sense of dying, observing one’s own body from a distance, and finally the return to the body and to life are all standard features of NDEs documented by researchers studying the experiences of people who were assumed or declared dead but later revived. In this account, Henshaw, a soldier grounded in the physical realities of life and death, struggles to make sense of the immateriality of a world that, nevertheless, appears physically external to him. He is confounded by the fact that even while perceiving his own dead body, he is experiencing himself as alive. As we will see in future chapters, other cultures interpret similar experiences as an aspect of the dying process. For example, in Tibetan Buddhist literature, the newly dead experience themselves as existing in another “in-between” state that intersects with this world. They are, therefore, thought to be confused about what is happening to them and in need of help to understand that they are indeed dead, as well as guidance in learning how to negotiate this new reality.

According to a 1997 survey, over 15 million American adults claim to have had a near-death experience (Carr, 2006, p. 235). But what does that mean? Have these people encountered an objective reality beyond the hallucinations and psychological projections of a dying brain? Does this constitute proof of survival after death? Is this what happens to all of us when we die? Perhaps for those who have been profoundly affected and altered by their experience, for those who no longer fear death because of it, such questions, and their answers, do not matter; do not change the event or what it means to that individual. Nevertheless, in the face of spiritualist or transcendentalist interpretations, scientific researchers and theorists have proposed various explanations for the thousands of anecdotal descriptions that feature NDE. Most of these take a biological or psychological approach.

Thomas Carr provides the following breakdown of these differing interpretations. On the psychological side, NDEs manifest (a) an emotional response to the shock and trauma of death resulting in a state of depersonalization or detachment from the body; or (b) represent fantasy and wish-fulfillment in the face of the horror of death; or
(c) result from *mythological archetypes* buried in the brain that surface under extraordinary circumstances and are of evolutionary survival value in creating calm in the person facing death. On the biological side, NDEs can result from (a) *metabolic disturbance*, i.e. severe imbalances in the body arising in the process of dying or sickness, for example due to lack of oxygen or high fever; (b) *drug overload*, of anesthesia, for example, during surgery – many NDEs come from those who report what they heard and saw while undergoing surgery; (c) *endorphins*, a tranquillizing substance released by the brain during times of shock or exertion that results in feelings of calm and happiness, experienced for example by long-distance runners; (d) *limbic lobe seizure*, the seizing up of the area of the brain that controls mood and memory; (e) *visual cortex hyperactivity*, which explains the sensation of a bright light approached through darkness or a dark tunnel due to the hyperactivity of the area of the brain responsible for processing visual stimuli (Carr, 2006, pp. 235–236).

Scientific research concludes that NDE relates to the nature and functioning of the physical brain and its relation to the body and perception. Nevertheless, despite decades of study and many theories regarding the exact nature of the relationship between ourselves as creatures of body and creatures of thought or mind, most of us are still as mystified as Vaughan Henshaw was by the how and why of consciousness and its connection to bodies that live and die. This book does not propose any answer to those questions; I raise the issue of NDE here because it represents an enduring theme of return from the dead – underpinned by diverse human experiences and formalized in the death teachings of many religions.

Regardless of the narrative content, whether it comes from contemporary reports of NDE or medieval Christian accounts of visitations to hell or the reports of those the Tibetans call *delok* (“returned from the dead”), a crucial aspect of the narrative is that the person has returned to this world to act as a living witness to the experience of dying and the encounter with what lies beyond death. However, from another perspective, if death is defined as a state of no return, then perhaps such people have not died at all.
Debates and Definitions

Death from which there is no return would appear to be a different matter altogether. How do we know when that death takes place? What happens then? These are questions that raise many debates among scientists and theologians. In the past, the clues that indicated a state of death were related to the condition of the physical body. Does it move, breathe, or have a heartbeat? Does it emit heat? Is it in a state of decay? At a certain level of physical destruction, the condition of death is not ambiguous – whether we are talking about a goldfish floating belly up in a fish tank or distressing television pictures of victims of violence, there is no confusion as to who is living and who is dead. However, before decay or destruction is apparent, there are living states that can be mistaken for death. In Victorian times, the fear of being buried alive was so widespread that safety coffins were developed in which a bell was attached by a cord to the hand of the person who could ring it as an alarm upon awakening.

Although the final condition of death is not ambiguous, the moment when that which is alive becomes that which is dead is a lot vaguer, a lot more confusing and subject to error because death is both process and event. As an event, it marks the beginning of preparations to dispose of the body, the final physical separation from the living. The weightiness and mystery of death lie in that physical absence. In modern western cultures, prior to the technology that allows us to keep the body “alive,” dying was understood, as it still is by most ordinary people today, to be a passage, a process, the ending of life, which both culminates in the event of death and transforms into the processes of burial, grieving, and remembrance. Mistakes were certainly made in the past, based on the traditional determination of death as the cessation of breath and heartbeat, but when developments in technology and expertise opened up a new frontier of possibilities, such as transplanting the organs of the dead to give life to others, then the magnitude of the error of mistaking that which is alive for that which is dead became even greater, the
Understanding Death

interconnection between life and death more difficult to disentangle, more crucial to separate. The organ to be transplanted must be living but the person from whom it is taken must be declared legally dead, otherwise the procedure constitutes murder. You can see, then, how urgent the need would be for the medical establishment to identify more exactly when death had taken place, both for the one who waits for a life-giving transplant and for the one whose death allows for it.

Other technologies developed in the mid-twentieth century required not only a definition of death but a definition of life. Mechanical respirators and electronic pacemakers meant that the physical body could be kept functioning like a machine without any brain activity or apparent conscious activity – a boon for those who pray that a loved one will eventually awaken from a death-like coma, or for those who seek for an organ transplant to provide a chance at continued life, but an ethical dilemma of profound proportions for those who must consider the question of whether or not the costly machinery is merely animating a corpse. The decision to remove someone from life support depends on whether or not we consider “life” or “death” to be present, and if life is present, then is it the kind of life that is to be maintained? Is death always an evil to be suppressed at all cost? Is life always a value to be promoted at all cost?

The first response to these dilemmas came from the Ad Hoc Committee of the Harvard Medical School. It should be noted that they did not set out to define death; as the chairman of the committee stated: “Only a very bold man, I think, would attempt to define death” (Bleich, 1996, p. 29). They proposed to define irreversible coma by establishing the characteristics of a permanently non-functioning brain. This would replace the traditional criteria of death as cessation of breath and heartbeat. A person could be declared dead if brain function was irreversibly lost even though heart–lung activity was present due to mechanical support. The confirmation that all brain activity had permanently ceased was assisted, though not determined, by the use of an electro-encephalograph (EEG). This became known as “brain death” and passed into
popular culture in any number of hospital and medical television shows that dramatize the moment of death as a flat line on the EEG monitor – your grandmother passed away at 11:52 p.m. But is brain activity more definitive of life than respiration and blood circulation? Must all brain activity be permanently lost to declare death or only the higher-brain functions that support consciousness, sensation, and mental factors like thought? Is it life that we seek to define or human life? These questions remain unresolved; they continue to fuel religious, philosophical, and legal debates. In his book *Death, Dying, and the Biological Revolution*, Robert Veatch provides the following general definition: “Death means a complete change in the status of a living entity characterized by the irreversible loss of those characteristics that are essentially significant to it” (1976, p. 25). The question then is this: what is essentially significant to a human person, so much so that when it is lost – that is called death? Veatch suggests four possible answers.

1. Irreversible loss of the flow of vital fluids and functions such as blood circulation, heartbeat, and breathing – this refers to the traditional heart–lung definition of death. Since machines can maintain these functions for the body, then according to this definition, for however long heart–lung capacity is maintained, the person is alive.

2. Irreversible loss of soul – for many cultures, life-force is encompassed in the notion of soul; death results from the permanent departure of the soul. This definition would depend on being able to scientifically determine exactly what the soul consists of, where it leaves the body, and how one would know when it has left.

3. Loss of the capacity of the body to regulate its own vital activities due to the irreversible loss of whole brain functions, called “brain death.” This definition is challenged by those who regard human life as more than simply body functions.

4. Loss of capacity for social function due to the irreversible loss of higher-brain functions. (1976, p. 30 ff.)
The last answer seeks to establish that what makes us human is our capacity for social interaction with our world, but this definition depends on our understanding of “capacity for social interaction.” Simply because a person in a deep coma has no capacity for interaction that we can perceive, are we convinced that such a person is unaware of his or her environment at every level of consciousness? Is consciousness to be exactly equated with the physical activity of the brain?

What should be considered essentially significant to human life? Breath? Soul? Brain? Or the conscious ability to communicate and interact with one’s environment? When does the loss that constitutes death take place and the process of dying become the event of death? That may appear to be a biological question, since we are accustomed to thinking of ourselves, at least in part, as biological organisms, but does it have a biological answer? Or, in the last analysis, is death a social construction, a condition that is so when we agree that it is so? What exactly is the relationship between mind and body?

In considering the body–mind relationship, Ornella Corazza refutes the dualism inherent in concepts of mind and body, a dualism that leads to confusion when body and mind appear to be separated as in near-death experiences. In her explanation of NDE, she draws on the work of Japanese philosophers and theorists who propose a vision of the human body as extended in space, and who explore what it means to be a body. According to this view, “Our use of tools creates a semi-definite body-space around us, while our visual and tactile perception extends this dimension still further until it reaches the immensity of space” (Corazza, 2008, p. 1). In other words, I not only have a body, I am my body, and “from within” my body-space is indefinite, and as vast as the universe. Still, the question remains: who or what is this “I,” this “person” that has a body or is a body; that has a mind or is a mind? Who dies? This question was raised by Richard Zaner (1988) in his critique of the whole-brain criteria for death. According to Zaner, if we are to determine when the death of a person has taken place, surely there is a prior need to establish the meaning of “person” relative to the death that takes place. The debate turns on where we place the emphasis; emphasis on the
Understanding Death

loss of physical body functions underlies strictly defined biological
definitions of death, emphasis on the loss of personhood underlies
a “societal” or “ontological” approach that seeks to define death as
the loss of what makes a person a person.

In her review of the issues, Margaret Lock (2004) points out that
the biological approach is criticized because it presumes that a per-
son is identified solely with the body; the societal approach is criti-
cized because personhood is culturally constructed, therefore subject
to varying interpretations, and could be easily manipulated accord-
ing to the interests of the society without attention to the interests of
the individual. However, Lock also highlights the fact that the body
is equally a cultural construction when it is regarded as “prechural,
an aggregation of natural facts amenable to rational experiment and
manipulation” (Lock, 2004, p. 95). In other words, even the physical
body is not simply a “given” fact understood in the same way by
all peoples; different cultures conceive of the body and its mean-
ing in different ways. For example, among the Wari’ of the Western
Brazilian rainforest, the word for flesh or body is the same as the
word for custom or habit. They explain personality and behavior not
with reference to mind but as located in the body. “Peoples’ habits,
eccentricities, and personality quirks are explained in phrases such
as ‘His flesh is like that’ . . . or ‘That’s the way her body is’” (Conklin,
2004, p. 248). For the Wari’, the body does not become a mere corpse
or shell upon death. The dead body still retains the personal identity
of the deceased, which is transformed through their funeral rites
into the “body” of an ancestor. The Wari’ believe that their dead
ancestors live in an underworld beneath the rivers and lakes where
there is no hunting or fishing because all animals have human forms
there. However, to feed their children, the ancestors emerge from
the water and return to life in the human world as peccaries (a type
of wild pig) that are hunted as food for the community. The pecca-
ries, then, are kin who are roasted and eaten by humans. This was
symbolically reflected in the mortuary cannibalism practiced by pre-
contact tribes. In a very formal, solemn, and sad ceremony the corpse
was dismembered, roasted, and eaten by the relatives of the dece-
ased. In the eating of their dead, the Wari’ affirmed the relationship