

Table of Contents

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----|
| Acknowledgements..... | V |
| List of Tables and Figures..... | XIV |
| Abbreviations..... | XV |

| | |
|--|----------|
| Chapter 1: A Consensus without Sufficient Conclusions: Isaiah 24-27 in Recent Research..... | 1 |
|--|----------|

| | |
|--|-----------|
| <i>A. Unity.....</i> | <i>3</i> |
| <i>B. Historical Background and Date of Composition.....</i> | <i>4</i> |
| <i>C. Genre.....</i> | <i>6</i> |
| <i>D. A New Consensus for Interpreting Isaiah 24-27.....</i> | <i>10</i> |
| <i>E. Unresolved Issues.....</i> | <i>11</i> |
| <i>F. Previous Investigations Concerning Ugaritic Backgrounds to Isaiah 24-27.....</i> | <i>12</i> |
| <i>G. The Need for Further Research.....</i> | <i>14</i> |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Chapter 2: The Ba'al Myth in its Ugaritic Context..... | 17 |
|---|-----------|

| | |
|--|-----------|
| <i>A. The Ba'al Myth as Royal Legitimation.....</i> | <i>19</i> |
| <i>B. Seasonal Interpretations of the Ba'al Myth.....</i> | <i>20</i> |
| <i>C. Cosmogonic Interpretations of the Ba'al Myth.....</i> | <i>23</i> |
| <i>D. The Ba'al Myth as Theodicy.....</i> | <i>25</i> |
| <i>E. Conclusions about Interpreting the Ba'al Myth in its Ugaritic Context.....</i> | <i>28</i> |

| | |
|--|----|
| Chapter 3: מָוֶת and Ancient Near Eastern Underworld Deities..... | 30 |
| A. מָוֶת in the Hebrew Bible..... | 31 |
| 1. Personified or Demythologised מָוֶת | 32 |
| 2. Occurrences of מָוֶת as a Locale..... | 33 |
| 3. Conclusions about Personified or Demythologised מָוֶת | 34 |
| B. <i>Mesopotamian Underworld Deities</i> | 35 |
| 1. Nergal (or Erra)..... | 35 |
| 2. Ereshkigal..... | 41 |
| 3. Mūtu..... | 45 |
| 4. Mesopotamian Underworld Deities and the Biblical מָוֶת | 47 |
| 5. Mesopotamian Underworld Deities and מָוֶת in Isaiah 25:6-8..... | 49 |
| C. <i>Egyptian Underworld Deities</i> | 50 |
| 1. Osiris..... | 52 |
| 2. Anubis..... | 55 |
| 3. Ammut..... | 56 |
| 4. Egyptian Underworld Deities and the Biblical מָוֶת | 57 |
| 5. Egyptian Underworld Deities and מָוֶת in Isaiah 25:6-8..... | 58 |
| D. <i>The Ugaritic Underworld Deity</i> | 59 |
| 1. The Epithets of Mot..... | 59 |
| 2. Mot and the Underworld..... | 61 |
| 3. Mot in Relation to the Ugaritic Pantheon..... | 62 |
| 4. Mot in Conflict with Ba'al and Others..... | 64 |
| 5. The Ugaritic Underworld Deity, the Biblical מָוֶת and Isaiah 25:6-8..... | 67 |
| E. <i>Conclusions about מָוֶת and Ancient Near Eastern Underworld Deities</i> | 68 |
| Chapter 4: Isaiah 25:6-8 and Banqueting Traditions in the Ancient Near East..... | 69 |
| A. <i>Isaiah 25:6-8</i> | 69 |
| 1. Isaiah 25:6-8 in the Context of Isaiah 24-27..... | 69 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 2. Literary Features of Isaiah 25:6-8..... | 71 |
| Repetition..... | 71 |
| Alliteration..... | 72 |
| Lexical Rarities..... | 73 |
| Purposes of the Literary Features of Isaiah 25:6-8..... | 74 |
| 3. The Mountain Setting of the Banquet in Isaiah 25:6-8..... | 74 |
| 4. The Menu: A Banquet of Succulent Food..... | 77 |
| 5. The Menu: A Banquet of Excellent Wine..... | 79 |
| Wine Production in Ancient Israel and the שמרים..... | 79 |
| The Meaning of שמרים in Isaiah 25:6..... | 83 |
| The משחה שמרים in Isaiah 25:6..... | 84 |
| 6. The Enigmatic Coverings and the Swallowing of Death..... | 84 |
| 7. Comforting All Peoples: The Twofold Removal of Tears and Reproach..... | 86 |
| 8. Conclusions Regarding Isaiah 25:6-8..... | 88 |
| B. Comparing Ancient Near Eastern Banqueting Practices with Isaiah 25:6-8..... | 89 |
| 1. Mesopotamian Banqueting Traditions..... | 89 |
| 2. Egyptian Banqueting Traditions..... | 90 |
| 3. Ugaritic Banqueting Traditions..... | 92 |
| The Ugaritic Banquet Theme and Isaiah 25:6-8..... | 93 |
| The Formula of Preparation and Isaiah 25:6-8..... | 94 |
| The Formula of Feasting and Isaiah 25:6-8..... | 96 |
| The Formula of Feasting and Isaiah 25:7c..... | 97 |
| Conclusions about the Formula of Feasting in Isaiah 25:7c..... | 100 |
| 4. General Conclusions..... | 101 |
| Chapter 5: The Ugaritic <i>Marzēah</i> and Isaiah 25:6-8..... | 102 |
| A. Defining the <i>Marzēah</i> in Ugarit..... | 102 |
| 1. Texts Referencing <i>mrzhl/mrz'</i> | 103 |
| 2. Common Features of the <i>Marzēah</i> in the Ugaritic Texts..... | 104 |
| 3. Some Additional Texts Possibly Involving the <i>Marzēah</i> | 105 |
| KTU 1.3 i 2-26..... | 106 |
| KTU 1.15..... | 107 |
| KTU 1.17..... | 107 |
| KTU 1.20 and 1.22..... | 108 |
| KTU 1.108..... | 109 |

| | |
|--|---------|
| KTU 1.161..... | 109 |
| Conclusions About the Texts Involving the <i>Marzēah</i> | 111 |
| <i>B. The Debated Funerary Nature of the Marzēah</i> | 111 |
| 1. The <i>Rpum</i> and the <i>Marzēah</i> | 112 |
| 2. Conclusions on the Funerary Aspect of the <i>Marzēah</i> | 113 |
| <i>C. The Marzēah Tradition in Isaiah 24-27</i> | 115 |
| 1. Archaeology and the <i>Marzēah</i> in Israel..... | 115 |
| 2. The <i>Marzēah</i> in Isaiah 25:6-8..... | 117 |
| The <i>Marzēah</i> as a Feasting and Drinking Institution..... | 117 |
| Meeting in a Private Home (or Temple in the Case of a Deity)..... | 118 |
| A Formal Leader and Divine Patron..... | 118 |
| A Limited Social Group..... | 118 |
| Funerary Occasion Considerations..... | 119 |
| LXX Amos 6, LXX Isaiah 25:6-8 and the <i>Marzēah</i> | 120 |
| 3. Conclusions about the <i>Marzēah</i> and Isaiah 25:6-8..... | 121 |
| 4. The <i>Marzēah</i> and Isaiah 25:9-12..... | 122 |
| 5. The <i>Marzēah</i> in Moab..... | 123 |
| 6. The <i>Marzēah</i> and Isaiah 27:2-6..... | 126 |
| <i>D. Conclusions</i> | 127 |
| Chapter 6: Leviathan Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Isaiah 27:1..... | 129 |
| <i>A. Dragons and Serpents in Mesopotamia</i> | 130 |
| 1. The Tell Asmar Cylinder Seal..... | 130 |
| The Identity of the Dragon in the Tell Asmar Cylinder Seal..... | 132 |
| The Identity of the Warrior in the Tell Asmar Cylinder Seal..... | 134 |
| The Slain Heroes and the Seven-headed Beast of the Ningirsu Myths..... | 135 |
| The Identity of the Two Auxiliary Figures in the Tell Asmar Cylinder Seal..... | 137 |
| Conclusions about the Tell Asmar Cylinder Seal..... | 139 |
| 2. Tišpak, Nergal and Serpents of the Ocean..... | 139 |
| 3. Tiamat and Her Monstrous Hordes..... | 139 |
| 4. Syncretism with Leviathan in Hellenised and Talmudic Mesopotamia..... | 141 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| 5. Conclusions about Leviathan in Mesopotamia..... | 141 |
| <i>B. Mehen and Apophis (or 'Apep) in Egypt.....</i> | <i>142</i> |
| 1. Mehen and Apophis in the Pyramid Texts..... | 144 |
| 2. Mehen and Apophis in the Coffin Texts..... | 145 |
| 3. Mehen and Apophis in the New Kingdom..... | 147 |
| 4. Mehen and Apophis after the New Kingdom..... | 149 |
| 5. Conclusions about Mehen and Apophis..... | 150 |
| <i>C. Litan in Ugarit.....</i> | <i>151</i> |
| 1. Parallels between KTU 1.5 i 1-3 and Isaiah 27:1..... | 151 |
| 2. Differences between KTU 1.5 i 1-3 and Isaiah 27:1..... | 152 |
| 3. Conclusions about Isaiah 27:1 and KTU 1.5 i 1-3..... | 154 |
| 4. More on the Translation of KTU 1.5 i 1-8..... | 155 |
| <i>ktmḥs. ltn. bḥn. brḥ</i> (KTU 1.5 i 1)..... | 155 |
| <i>tkly. bḥn. 'qltn. [-]</i> (KTU 1.5 i 2)..... | 156 |
| <i>šlyṭ. d. šb't. r. šm</i> (KTU 1.5 i 3)..... | 157 |
| The Meaning of <i>šlyṭ</i> | 157 |
| The Referent of <i>šlyṭ</i> in KTU 1.5 i 3..... | 158 |
| <i>tḥḥ. ttrp. šmm. krs</i> (KTU 1.5 i 4)..... | 160 |
| Litan, Mehen and Apophis..... | 163 |
| Litan, Job 3:8 and Job 26:13..... | 164 |
| KTU 1.5 i 4 in the Light of Egypt, Job 3:8 and Job 26:13..... | 165 |
| 5. KTU 1.5 i 5-8..... | 165 |
| 6. Litan and the Tell Asmar Cylinder Seal..... | 166 |
| 7. Conclusions about Litan in Ugarit..... | 166 |
| <i>D. Isaiah's Leviathan in the Light of the Ancient Near East.....</i> | <i>168</i> |
| Excursus: Cultural and Religious Influence Involving Egypt and Ugarit..... | 171 |
| <i>A. Egypt and Ugarit in Diplomacy and Trade.....</i> | <i>171</i> |
| <i>B. Evidence of Egyptian Influence in the Ba'al-Mot Myth.....</i> | <i>173</i> |
| <i>C. Evidence of Ugaritic Influence in Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride.....</i> | <i>174</i> |
| <i>D. Conclusions about Ugaritic-Egyptian Influence.....</i> | <i>176</i> |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Chapter 7: Lexical Evidence of the Ugaritic Background to Isaiah 24-27 | 177 |
| <i>A. Ugaritic Word Pairs Occurring in Isaiah 24-27</i> | 178 |
| <i>B. Conclusions</i> | 184 |
| Chapter 8: Additional Evidence of a Shared Tradition in KTU 1.1–1.6 and Isaiah 24-27 | 186 |
| <i>A. KTU 1.4 vii–viii and Isaiah 24:1–25:8</i> | 186 |
| <i>B. The Ugaritic Background to Isaiah 26:1-21</i> | 192 |
| <i>C. The Ugaritic Background to Isaiah 27:2-13</i> | 193 |
| <i>D. Isaiah 24-27 and Yamm in the Ba'al Myth</i> | 195 |
| <i>E. Conclusions</i> | 196 |
| Chapter 9: Isaiah 28: Its Integration and Continuity with Isaiah 24-27 | 198 |
| <i>A. Lexical Evidence</i> | 198 |
| <i>B. The Deir 'Allā Inscriptions and Isaiah 28:20</i> | 202 |
| <i>C. The Covenant with Death</i> | 203 |
| <i>D. Isaiah 28 and the Marzēaḥ</i> | 206 |
| <i>E. Conclusions</i> | 207 |
| Chapter 10: Isaiah 24-27: Isaiah's Kingship Polemic | 208 |
| <i>A. Summary</i> | 208 |
| <i>B. The Process of Influence and the Question of Dating the Chapters</i> | 213 |
| <i>C. Implications</i> | 217 |

| | |
|-------------------------------|------------|
| Bibliography..... | 219 |
| Index of Sources..... | 237 |
| Index of Names..... | 250 |
| Index of Subjects..... | 252 |