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THE DIVINE NAME AT QUMRAN, IN THE MASADA SCROLL,  
AND IN THE SEPTUAGINT

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Accepted usage for one referring to the Deity in writing or (so far as can be discerned) in speech, among Jews and later also among Christians in the period c. 150 B.C. to c. 250 A.D., first in Palestine and later in Egypt, is a matter that could do with some pulling together of scattered contemporary evidence. Here the evidence from Qumran, Masada, and early Greek manuscripts will be sifted to illumine early and developed stages of that usage. The following is as complete as the present writer could make it, for the materials it attempts to incorporate. If it can soon be outdistanced, he will be the more pleased.

I. Qumran and Masada Manuscripts

*The Scribe of 1QS and 4QSam<sup>c</sup>.* For the usage regarding divine names at Qumran,\* as to the manner of writing them and as to what can be inferred about spoken utterance, a helpful witness is the scribe active sometime between 100 and 80 B.C. from whom there are extant 1QS with its appendices (1QSa,b) and certain additions to 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, plus the "Testimonies" page 4Q175, and 4QSam<sup>c</sup>. The *Serek* text which he transmits was certainly prepared to be read and quoted within the

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community. It contains no occurrence of Yhwh and none of Elohim simply.<sup>1</sup> Any other divine name the scribe has no hesitation about writing out in his own hand and in the normal form of his script; he nowhere resorts to paleohebrew letters. For Yhwh when the name is called for by his text, he ordinarily substitutes four dots. In 1QS the unique instance is VIII.13-14, an allusion to Isa 40:3 followed by formal citation of that text: פְּנֹנֶה שֵׁם אֱלֹהֵי דֶרֶךְ הַרְוֵהוּא<sup>2</sup> כְּאֲשֶׁר . . . כְּחֹרֵב בְּמִדְבַר פְּנֵי דֶרֶךְ . . . The other cases of the four-dot device by this scribe are in נִשְׁבַּח בְּרוּא . . . כִּל רִוּחַ in the supplement to Isa 40:7 of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, col. XXXIII, above line 7; in 4QSam<sup>c</sup> fragment 1, line 3, in the text of 1 Sam 25:31, an col. III, line 7, twice in the text of 2 Sam 15:8;<sup>3</sup> and in 4Q175, lines 1 and 19, in quotations of Exod 20:21b (in its expanded Palestinian [= later Samaritan] form) and of Deut 33:11.

A passage in 1QS itself, though broken (VI.27; VII.1), suggests the reason for this usage. "Whoever invokes the glorious Name in a statement" (אֲשֶׁר יִזְכִּיר דְּבַר בְּשֵׁם הַנִּכְבֹּד) — under certain circumstances for which the text is not preserved—is subject to one (also lost) of a number of penalties for wrongdoing; "but if he has uttered a curse either because he was shaken by some crisis, or whatever may have prompted him to it, then reads from the Book or offers a blessing, they shall exclude him from the community." There is, therefore, at a minimum, a range of circumstances under which the divine name is not to be pronounced; to avoid possible misuse, the scribe we have been observing will not

even write the name Yhwh in passages of Scripture which explicitly call for it.

*1QS; 1QSa,b; 4QTestim.* Turning from the scribe to the sectarian works he set himself to copy (1QS and its appendices) the choice of divine names is instructive. When God is to be spoken *about*, He is regularly—over 50 times—called El, occasionally with qualifications: אל ישועות I.19; אל תדעון III.15; אל ישראל III.24. The address to God occurs once (XI.15). Scripture quotations may presume the Yhwh name, but it does not appear (see n. 2 above, at end); Elohim does not occur (see n. 1). Elyon is an acceptable variant on, or parallel to, El (IV.22; X.12-13; XI.15). In 1QSa II.4 בַּקְהָל אֵלֶּה (אל יברוא) is a transparent copyist's error<sup>4</sup> for אל בַּקְהָל, and the clause is derivative from Deut 23:2-4, so that here El provides a spoken substitute for the scriptural Yhwh. In 1QSB V.25 רוח דעה ויראח אל occurs in a long paraphrase of Isa 11:1-5, so that again the substitution for Yhwh is unmistakable. In V.27-28 occurs a mix of scriptural allusions from Num 24:17, Isa 14:5, Ezek 19:11-14, in כִּי־אֵל הַקִּימְכָה לִשְׁבַט לְמוֹשֵׁיִם; El here may go back to Num 24:16. In 1QSB V.8 וְאֵדוּן occurs, without context. When God is invoked as the source of blessing in 1QSB, it is as אֵדוּנִי. Restored from an *alep* in I.3 יְבִרְכֶכֶּה אֵדוּנִי, this name is fully present in II.22 יְחֹנְכָה אֵדוּנִי (*sic!*) and in V.23 אֵדוּנִי לְרוּם עוֹלָם [ישאכה] (the verb is supplied: compare 1QH III.19-20). The chain of citations which is nearly the total content of 4Q175 presents, with Num 24:16, both Elyon and Shaddai in addition to El.

*1QH.* 1QHodayot transmits a composition of the mid-2nd century B.C.<sup>5</sup> Its two scribes, however, were at work toward the mid-1st century A.D. Its hymnic character calls for direct address to the deity, and for this אֵדוּנִי is used, always in the ordinary script, some 20 verifiable times, usually in the formulas אֵדוּנִי אֵדוּכָה אֵדוּנִי or אֵדוּנִי אֵדוּכָה אֵדוּנִי. Of special interest is 1QH VII.28 מִי כְמוֹכָה בְּאֵלִים אֵדוּנִי introduced as the to-be-spoken substitute for Yhwh.<sup>6</sup> The frequent use of El as a divine name conforms to the practice of 1QS but goes beyond it in the number of occasions on which אל, אֵלִי, אֵל תְּדַעוֹן, and several similar expressions are used in direct address to God. Both scribes regularly write these names or forms of address in their usual script, but the first scribe also conforms four times to the spreading practice of his day by writing אל (I.26; XV.25; DJD I, 1Q35, frg. 1, line 5) and אֵלִי (II.34) in a paleohebrew script as steady and practiced as his normal hand. Of other names, לֵאל עֲלִירֵן occurs twice (IV.31; VI.33). If frg. 17, line 4 (juxtaposed by Lohse<sup>7</sup> with line 1 of the truncated col. XIII), ]לְעוֹלָמִי עַד אֵחָה הוּא, is to be taken as one complete clause, it may relate to the usage in 1QS VIII.13 (cf. note 2 above). Neither Yhwh nor Elohim is anywhere to be found.

*1QM.* Far less homogeneous in its origins, and surely later in its final literary form than either the *Serek* or the *Hodayot* is the War Scroll. The copy we have of it in 1QM dates from the last thirty years of the 1st century B.C. (cf.

CBQ 40 [1978] 603), and the present writer would not put the dreamer who whipped up this soufflé any more than thirty years before that. In any case, his practice with respect to the divine names is well within the lines suggested by 1QS and 1QH, whether or not he was himself an Essene: no occurrence of Yhwh; אלוהים normally written (X.4,7), but nowhere Elohim. El is the accepted name of God throughout, with the same practiced Herodian script employed for it as for the rest of the text. The angelic hosts are called, among other things, אלים; for God, אֵל ישראל is a preferred form. One passage in XII.8-9 from a hymn that partly recurs with some variation in col. XIX, is unique and needs to be quoted: כִּי־אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ וְיֵשׁוּעָא וְיֵשׁוּעָא... רַבְרַבִּי הַמְלַחֵמָה בְּעֵדְתָנָהּ וְצַבָּא כִּי־אֵלֵינוּ אֵלֵינוּ וְיֵשׁוּעָא וְיֵשׁוּעָא. A reflective reading of Ps 99:9 and of Ps 24, especially vv 6-9, cannot but show that this lone occurrence of אֵלֵינוּ is introduced as a surrogate for Yhwh, to be spoken instead of that name. No other divine names, no exceptional script.

*The Masada Sirach.* For the matter at hand, the medieval MSS of Sirach can yield no trustworthy evidence. Limited as the 7 extant columns of the Masada Sirach are, they do afford a precious complement to the indications seen thus far from Qumran. Written in the 1st half of the 1st century B.C., this MS maintains its normal Hasmonean script with no paleo-hebrew inserts into its text. The first two fragmentary columns preserve no instances of divine names. In cols. III-VII, Sir 41:2-44:17a, the name most often surviving is Elyon (41:4b, 8b; 42:2a, 18c; 43:2b; 44:2a); El is found in 42:15a,

42:15a; 43:12b. No Yhwh, no Elohim. There remain 5 passages, none of them in direct address, in which God is אֵלֵינוּ (without the expanded Qumran orthography). 42:15cd reads: וְיֵשׁוּעָא וְיֵשׁוּעָא // וְיֵשׁוּעָא וְיֵשׁוּעָא. Despite the versions and Cairo MS B, the אֵלֵינוּ in this is the infinitive, and the line a two-part temporal clause: "When the Lord commanded/bespoke his works, and they received [as their charge] the doing of his will..." (cf. *Bib* 57 [1976] 273). Even to syntax, the first colon is the event of Gen 1:1-2, *bərē'ēt bərō' (sial) 'ēlōhīm...wayyō'mer*; and אֵלֵינוּ here stands for Elohim, which the Masada scribe—it is not likely that Ben Sira himself did this—deliberately avoided. Cairo MS B evinces an awareness of this: with אֵל in 42:15a, it reads אֵלֵינוּ in 15c. In the next line, 42:16b reads וְיֵשׁוּעָא וְיֵשׁוּעָא מִלֵּא מְעִשֵׁי. The LXX fully reflects this Masada form of the colon. In the light of Isa 6:3, the reading of יְיָ in Cairo MS B here reflects יְהוָה as the presumptive original reading. Two lines later, Masada's 42:17cd reads: וְיֵשׁוּעָא וְיֵשׁוּעָא לְפָנֵי כְבוֹדוֹ // וְיֵשׁוּעָא וְיֵשׁוּעָא; *immēg* is *pi'el* pf. Again Cairo MS B has אֵלֵינוּ, and in view of Pss 103:21 and 148:2 one might wonder whether Yhwh did not earlier stand in this passage. In 43:5a, the Masada MS reads וְיֵשׁוּעָא וְיֵשׁוּעָא: "for great is the Lord, its (מְאֹרָה = the sun's) Maker." Here the Greek and the Syriac (*kyrios, maryā'*) coincide with Masada's אֵלֵינוּ, whereas Cairo MS B again has יְיָ. Finally, in 43:10a Masada has וְיֵשׁוּעָא וְיֵשׁוּעָא; the subject is כְּלוֹכָה. Cairo MS B reads אֵל here, which is unlikely because that name ends the preceding line; the Greek and the

Syriac suppose קדוש ישראל—also unlikely: Cairo B's קדוש ישראל (50:17) and שם הקדוש [but שם קדוש] (39:35), with no support in these places from either the Greek or the Syriac, are the only occurrences attested in Hebrew in the book.

The book of Ben Sira comes from a period and a milieu in which Yhwh was certainly still pronounced in the Jerusalem temple (Sir 50:20-21). This text seems to make not only the blessing, but also the pronouncing of the Name, a special privilege of the high priest.<sup>8</sup> Hesitancy to write the name Yhwh, or even Elohim, would seem to account for the use of אדני by the copyist of the Masada MS, and the solution he accepted foreshadows a wide range of developments in the centuries that followed, including Kyrios for Yhwh in LXX and elsewhere.

## II. Development in Qumran Manuscripts

*Prehistory.* Simple avoidance of the name Yhwh, and at times also of Elohim, in composition and thus in utterance, has of course a prehistory before 200 B.C. The Elohistic Psalms, as regards Yhwh, are a case in point. The poetry of Job avoids Yhwh absolutely:<sup>9</sup> אדני appears only in the post-script to the poem on wisdom, 28:28. Elohim appears in the poetry only in 5:8 (Eliphaz), 20:29 (Zophar), 28:23 (the wisdom poem) and 34:9 (Elihu). Occurrences in 32:2-3 (prose narrative; in 3, אדני is a scribes' emendation for אלהים) and 38:7 (in the phrase בני אלהים) are hardly relevant. In the Song of Songs, the שלהכחיה of 8:6 is a well-known crux. Its Yah comes from the Massoretes and is their solution to a defect by haplography, in which two words are missing:

šalhăbôt x (šalhăbôtêhă).<sup>10</sup> Neither Yhwh nor Elohim is present. Qoh avoids Yhwh altogether but uses Elohim quite freely. The editing of Esther into its received form with no divine name anywhere can probably not be shown to antedate the Qumran settlement (in which the book was avoided, almost surely with intent).<sup>11</sup> Proverbs would, by contrast, be unthinkable without Yhwh, so that there were at least two streams of influence continuously in wisdom circles.

(1) *Names in Normal Script.* A further development in Qumran practice regarding divine names is perhaps best illustrated by the *pesher* MSS. The oldest of these<sup>12</sup> is 4Q163 (pap4QpIsa<sup>c</sup>), which Strugnell sees as more or less contemporary with 1QSerak, early in the 1st century B.C. Fragmentary as its tatters of papyrus are, it is clear that both in lemmas and in running commentary the two scribes represented write יהוה, אדני, אלוהי משפט, קדוש ישראל in their normal hand; no unusual script is employed anywhere. Some later *pesher* MSS continue this practice: 4Q162 (4QpIsa<sup>b</sup>), pre-Herodian, writes יהוה normally (col. II.3, 7, 8). 4Q166-170 range from late Hasmonean/ early Herodian (169 [the Nahum *pesher*], 170) to later Herodian hands that should be of the 1st cent. A.D. (166-168). Though the evidence is sometimes scant, they share the feature that none of them shows any tendency to a special script: 4QpNah II.10 writes יהוה צבאות normally; 4Q170, the same for יהוה. The two Hosea *pesherim* (166, 167) in a limited area present only El, which they write normally. The Micah *pesher* (168) has

יהוה in normal script (Mic 4:10) in the lemma of Mic 4:8-12, which is all that remains of this scroll. These MSS therefore combine with, for example, 4Q158, a paraphrase of Torah text in the expanded Palestinian form known earlier only from the Samaritans; early Herodian or slightly pre-Herodian in date (so Strugnell), it shows no hesitation in presenting יהוה and אֱלֹהִים in the normal script, and nowhere offers indications of a special script for any purpose. The bulk of the strictly Biblical MSS from Qumran, from the earliest to the latest, have the same characteristic: among them 4QJer<sup>a</sup> (c. 200 B.C.),<sup>13</sup> both 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (c. 125-100 B.C.)<sup>14</sup> and 1QIsa<sup>b</sup> (1st cent. A.D.), and 4QPs<sup>c</sup> (between 50 and 68 A.D.).<sup>15</sup>

(2) *Substitution of Paleohebrew.* By contrast, 4Q171 (4QpPs<sup>a</sup>, Herodian) and 1QpHab (early 1st cent. A.D.) introduce the practice of systematic substitution of paleohebrew characters for all occurrences of certain divine names: at the minimum, for Yhwh; as time goes on, for other divine names as well. In 4QpPs<sup>a</sup> Allegro (DJD V. 43) reconstructs Elohim in the normal script in col. I, four lines from the bottom; Strugnell (p. 212, see n. 10) excludes this, no doubt correctly. Yhwh regularly (7 cases extant in whole or in part) appears in a good paleohebrew script. Ps 37:31 הוֹרָה אֱלֹהֵי is written in the scribe's regular script; אֱלֹהֵי is in the normal script in col. III, line 16; col. IV, lines 9, 14, 21. In the last instance, the commentary is resuming the language of Ps 37:40 where the corresponding subject (not extant in the fragmentary column) is Yhwh. The scribe of 1QpHab uses אֱלֹהֵי frequently (22 instances extant), in his normal script; but

in the 4 extant cases where his text calls for Yhwh he uses a tortured paleohebrew script with an irrelevant flourish at the tops of *he*, and with *waw* truncated as to its staff. From cave 1, 1Q14, 15 (1QpMic, 1QpZeph) write the archaic script for Yhwh; 1QpMic frg. 12 adds paleohebrew El in its *pesher*.

(3) *Spread of the Substitution Process (11QPs<sup>a</sup>).* The spread of the substitution process to scrolls that are wholly, or almost wholly, copies of the biblical text is shown in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>,<sup>16</sup> where again only the tetragrammaton is involved. The paleohebrew script for Yhwh in this copy is a secondary development: 11QPs<sup>b</sup>, a contemporary copy of the same compilation,<sup>17</sup> writes everything including Yhwh (in the *samek* line of the Plea for Deliverance) in the normal script. There is also the presence of an alphabet acrostic in the apocryphal Ps 155 (11QPs<sup>a</sup> col. XXXIV) running from *'alep* to *pe*,<sup>18</sup> except for *'alep*, all else is accounted for—until one sees that the paleohebrew Yhwh, with which the piece begins in the scroll, must stand for an original אֱלֹהֵי. In col. V, line 1, the phrase "the man who fears the Lord" from Ps 128:4 shows Yhwh in paleohebrew letters, but in the same line the next verse, with its blessing formula, "May the Lord bless you," has אֱלֹהֵי written thus. Twice more in the first 10 lines of the same column, where the received text has Yhwh, as commonly in these pilgrimage Psalms, אֱלֹהֵי appears instead: Ps 129:4, אֱלֹהֵי צַדִּיק, and Ps 130:1, אֱלֹהֵי in direct address to open the Psalm. This lapse from his usual style shows clearly what the scribe of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> was pronouncing when

he encountered the divine name. In Ps 119:68, "Good art thou, Lord," occurs in the scroll with אֲדֹנָי (LXX has Kyrie, here) where no Yhwh is present in MT: was there no written source to prompt the copyist to write the Name in paleohebrew at this point?

"Yah" could apparently be said: the scribe's expanded form for the beginning of Ps 135 goes, "Praise, you servants of Yhwh; praise the name of Yhwh: Praise Yah, and exalt Yah, you who stand in the house of Yhwh...." With Yhwh in paleohebrew as usual, יה is written normally in the "Aramaic" script. So are El and Elyon, which incline to be more frequent in the scroll than Pss 101-150 would suggest, because of the other compositions introduced in which the names of God tend to be those of 1QS and 1QH. Again within Ps 135, we have at v 6 the acclamation:<sup>19</sup> "There is none like Yah; there is none like Yhwh; and there is none who does as (does) the King of 'gods.'" Both יה and אֱלֹהִים are written normally here, as is אֱלֹהִים also when it means "God": Ps 145:13c (col. XVII, lines 2, 3), "Faithful is God in his words...." In this last, Yhwh is not used because the line, missing in MT, has been restored for the acrostic pattern of the Psalm, but again the copyist had no written source to prompt him to write Yhwh; LXX has the line in question and does show Kyrios.

An oddity that helps show the adventitious character of the archaic script for Yhwh in this line of transmission is that כִּי־יְהוָה in the acclamation in Ps 135, לִי־יְהוָה in Ps 136:1, and בִּי־יְהוָה in col. XVI, line 4, are given with the inseparable

prefix in the normal lettering of the scroll, though the four letters of the Name are in paleohebrew—but שִׁי־יְהוָה in Ps 144:15 becomes אֲשֶׁר followed by the archaic Yhwh form.

Not everything can be neatly solved. In transmitting Ps 144 (col. XXIII) the scribe of 11QPs<sup>a</sup> begins vv 3, 5 with אֱלֹהִים as a vocative in places where the Yhwh of the received text is scarcely subject to challenge: Ps 144 is anthological, and the sources for these two verses are in Pss 8, 17, and 104, all of which are Yahwistic Psalms. One might have expected to see paleohebrew Yhwh both times?

*Development in the More Fragmentary MSS.* More fragmentary MSS further illustrate the divergent usages sketched thus far. For the use in the early 1st cent. B.C. of four dots for Yhwh, as in 1QS, the known parallels are in 4Q176, largely a concatenation of Isaiah passages. Following Strugnell's analysis, there are two scribes; both avoid writing Yhwh by this same device, with a slight variation as to how the dots are aligned (two clusters of two dots each for the second scribe). The date should be close to that of 1QS. At fragments 1-2, col. II, line 2, נַחַם אֱלֹהִים [ים], the Elohim is a substitute for Yhwh of Isa 49:13 in the hand of the second scribe; he also slips once, and writes יְהוָה [יה], frg. 3, line 1, Isa 43:1. In 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> the missing Yhwh from 42:6 אֲנִי קְרוּחִיכָה קְרָאחִיךְ (the scroll reads אֲנִי קְרוּחִיכָה) is supplied by a hand other than that of 1QS with five dots above the line (to be read, presumably, אֲדֹנָי, allowing for the full orthography of this period!).

1Q11, which should be of the 1st half, 1st century A.D., has paleohebrew Yhwh in its text of Pss 126-128. The MS is likely not a copy of the 150-Psalms collection exclusively: Barthélemy and Milik both relate the hand to that of 1Q30, prayer fragments.

4QPs<sup>f</sup> is a combination of canonical Psalms with other hymnic materials,<sup>20</sup> different from 11QPs<sup>a,b</sup>, and written about 50 B.C. (Starcky). It has in common with Sanders' Psalms scroll the "Apostrophe to Zion" piece, which does not contain a divine name. 4QPs<sup>f</sup> presents, however, no change of script anywhere, with יהוה written normally both in the canonical Psalms and in a composition about the land of Judah (Starcky's col. X, line 13).

The "Temple Scroll," published by Y. Yadin,<sup>21</sup> dating from the mid-1st century A.D., keeps to its quasi-scriptural character by writing Yhwh in its normal hand: col. XVIII, lines 13-14 ליהוה (twice); col. XXXIV, line 14, לפני יהוה; col. LIII, line 8 אני יהוה אלוהיכם; col. LIV, lines 12-14 יהוה אלוהי אבותיכם... יהוה אלוהיכם.

1Q22, styled by Milik "Dires de Moïse," perhaps early Herodian, has three exceptional readings in normal script, as follows: col. II, line 1 אלוהי [אלוהי]ך; line 6 אלוהי [אלוהי]נך; col. III, line 6 ל[א]ל [רוהי אלוהיכם]ם. Moses is the speaker, in a style patterned on Deuteronomy, and the three instances reinforce each other as to how the gaps must be filled. In view especially of the last instance, for which the background is Deut 15, Milik is no doubt right in

supposing that אלוהי (*'ēlōhay*) each time, on Moses' lips, is put forward as a substitute for Yhwh of the biblical text.

1Q34<sup>22</sup> is an early 1st cent. A.D. collection of prayers; in its fragment 1, lines 4, 6, the phrases ברוך אדוני and זכור אדוני parallel the usage in 1QHodayot. The opening lines of 4Q180, Herodian copy of a sectarian document,<sup>23</sup> have El in a good paleohebrew script, whereas the scribe of the related 4Q181 writes the same name in his normal Herodian hand. 4Q183 is a fairly late Herodian copy of another sectarian writing, and it exhibits both El and Yhwh in a somewhat stylized paleohebrew script; "fragment 3" of the publication belongs with 4Q171 and its different paleohebrew hand. Strugnell's *Planche* IIIa shows the join. 4Q179, in the genre of Lamentations, is late Hasmonean and writes El normally. 4Q173, frg. 5, a stray bit in a hand of the 1st cent. A.D., includes a citation of Ps 118:20 with לאל substituted for ליהוה and written in distorted, unnatural paleohebrew lettering. 4Q165 (4QpIsa<sup>e</sup>), early Herodian, in quoting (frg. 6) Isa 32:6 leaves for the name Yhwh a space that was never filled. 4Q174, 177 are early Herodian copies of what seems one same work, on David and on the incipits of Pss 1-17 at the least. They write Yhwh and all else in their normal hand. If 4Q174, fragment 21, belongs with frgs. 1-3, col. I, line 3, where Strugnell puts it, it testifies to a variant יהוה for the אדני in MT of Exod 15:17.

Among the MSS from the Minor Caves, four illustrate the use of paleohebrew for divine names. 2Q3 is texts from Exodus, Herodian in script, with Yhwh in paleohebrew;

M. Baillet leaves open the question whether the scroll was directly biblical or an anthology or reworking of some kind. 3Q3 is fragments of Lamentations, stichometric by the full line, with Yhwh in paleohebrew. (5Q13 is a sectarian writing, dated 1st cent. A.D. by Milik, that has אלהים יהוה in its usual script.) 6Q15,18 are the Damascus Covenant and a hymnic text, both in Herodian hands; they have in common that they write El in paleohebrew and that their script for this purpose is mildly absurd.

The end of the line in such developments is 4QIsa<sup>c</sup>, a strictly scriptural scroll with fragments preserved from all parts of the book, written some very few years before the destruction of the Qumran settlement in A.D. 68.<sup>24</sup> It has Yhwh, Elohim, Adonay (5 letters), *šēbā'ôt*, and phrases like *byhwh* and *'lwhynw* regularly written in a respectable, though quite angular, paleohebrew script. For its scribe, the initial purpose of avoiding unwarranted utterance of the divine name by his readers has given way to a kind of partly reverential, partly decorative, fetish.

### III. Development in Greek Manuscripts

It is against this background from Palestine that the present writer views the much mooted question of divine names in Greek copies of the Scriptures—the "Septuagint" to begin with, and the various reworkings of it, leading ultimately to Aquila, Symmachus and the Hexapla. There is evidence of four early stages.

(1) IAΩ (4QLXXLev<sup>b</sup>). The first stage is represented by 4QLXXLev<sup>b</sup>, dated by C. H. Roberts to the late 1st cent. B.C.

or the opening years of the 1st cent. A.D.<sup>25</sup> It has, in Lev 4:27, the unmistakable reading των εντολων Ιαω; at Lev 3:12 the final *omega* and enough of the preceding *alpha* are present in the fragments to preclude any other reading there. The four broken papyrus columns within which this occurs reconstruct well throughout with the same reading of the divine name (sometimes with the appropriate Greek article to introduce it). The hand of this scroll has from the first reminded all observers of the best represented hand in P. Fouad Inv. 266 in Cairo (to be discussed below). The latter is the earlier scroll, still in the 1st cent. B.C. The priority here assigned to the Qumran fragments is typological: the MS which allows for the pronunciation, or at least a pronounceable and normal writing, of the Yhwh name in the same hand employed for the rest of the text, derives from a period of LXX transmission prior to all texts which in written form warn against utterance of the Name.

In the 1st cent. B.C., Diodorus of Sicily<sup>26</sup> (I,94,2) tells us that Moses referred his laws to τον Ιαω επικαλουμενον θεον. Thereafter, our most significant witness to this first stage is Origen.<sup>27</sup> Not that he ever used IAΩ in his Hexapla (see below); from the biblical text it had already been banished before his day. Indeed, if we can trust the Migne text of Origen's Commentary on Ps 2:2 (PG 12:1104), his own chosen transcription of Yhwh was Ιαν (two occurrences). But in his Commentary on John 1:1 (GCS *Origenes* 4:53) he gives, apropos of divine names, the equation Ιερεμιας... μετεωρισμος Ιαω. That this was an entry in an onomasticon of



Hebrew names in LXX which he employed as a reference work becomes clear from other sources: the only one that is a biblical MS is the 6th cent. codex Marchalianus (Q),<sup>28</sup> in the margin of which at Ezech 1:2 the name Ιωακειμ is explained by Ιωω ετοιμασμος; and at Ezech 11:1 Βαβατου is glossed by οικοδομη η οικος Ιωω. Related to this are two documentary papyri, each a fragment reemployed on the verso to carry a list of LXX names interpreted on an identical pattern with the foregoing; both are from the turn of the 3d/4th centuries A.D. One was published by A. Deissman in 1905:<sup>29</sup> out of 24 names it presents 9 with ΙΑΩ included in the interpretation, 2 more with ΙΩ. The other was published by D. Rokeah in 1970<sup>30</sup> as P. Oxy. 2745; its 3 fragmentary columns contain by happy coincidence, out of 19 interpretations preserved, 9 such with Ιωω; for example, AB12 Ιωωδαβ Ιωω εκουσιότης; AB17 Ιωωαδε Ιωω γνωσις. When Rokeah in his comparative material cites such witnesses as Hesychius of Jerusalem (PG 29:931C; the authorship by H. is certain) for Ιωωδαβ...θεου εκουσιότης, Jerome for *Joiade Domini cognitio*, and a Vatican onomasticon for Ιωωδα αρατου γνωσις, one must agree with E. G. Turner (quoted by R., p. 3) "It...becomes necessary to ask...whether this text is a copy of part of an onomasticon compiled by Origen." Origen must indeed be mentioned, but the list must have been already archaic in his time: materials that suppose the ΙΑΩ name freely used come from an earlier period of Jewish practice. Rokeah himself carries the quest farther back and sees the compilation as an anonymous work of the 3d/2d cent. B.C. He makes the point that not merely the

names expounded, but also the diction of the interpretations, are clearly drawn from the text of LXX, and the whole was meant to be a companion to that version. In the other direction, we may note above how the ΙΑΩ of earlier times was "edited out" from the later Christian lists—a process completed much earlier still in the LXX text itself. Of Yhwh, St. Jerome (Comm. in Ps 8:2, CC Lat. 72:191) later says *legi potest IAHO*: which is surely the same tradition.

That, however, is hardly the whole story. Rokeah quotes Turner with reference to Origen, and he refers to the Heidelberg list. Is it of no interest that that strip of papyrus begins with 3 names starting with *alpha*, but that the first has no interpretation, and instead the space is filled with ΙΗΘΥΣ ΙΩ ΕΩΤΗΡΙΑ? Or that lines 7-8 have been made to receive the pattern-breaking entry ΗΑΙ ΗΑΙ ΞΑΧΘΑΝΙ ΘΕ ΜΟΥ ΘΕ ΜΟΥ ΕΕ ΤΙ ΜΕ ΕΝΚΑΤΕΛΙΝΕΣ?<sup>31</sup> Deissman did not fail to make the obvious remarks about this slightly bizarre reflection (a generation after Origen) of Matt 27:46. Whatever the failings of the scribe, in this case the proximate source of his list will indeed have been Origen, to whose activity most, if not all, of the surviving traces of the onomasticon in question are attributable.

(2) "Aramaic" Script in Greek MSS (P. Fouad Inv. 266).

The second stage for which evidence is at hand is the writing in Greek copies of the Torah of the Hebrew name Yhwh in the contemporary Jewish ("Aramaic") script. The oldest LXX scroll fragment (p. Ryl. iii.458, 2d cent. B.C., Deut.) yields no instance of the name; at so early a date we might

have expected ΙΑΩ? Under the general label P. Fouad Inv. 266 there are now known to be included 3 distinct MSS: some bits of Genesis with no divine name occurring; some bits of a 1st cent. A.D. Deuteronomy (added to the Rahlfs' *Verzeichnis* listings as no. 847),<sup>32</sup> and numerous fragments of the 1st cent. B.C. Deuteronomy (848) that has been known since 1944<sup>33</sup> to present Yhwh repeatedly in a normal Jewish script for the time. The phenomenon is not isolated: the Mercati palimpsest containing extensive portions of the Hexapla of Psalms<sup>34</sup> carries repeatedly across all its columns, including the 2<sup>a</sup>, otherwise filled with Greek transliterations, a stylized form of the tetragrammaton that reflects the Jewish script. Other testimony to the practice includes Jerome's reference (CSEL 54:219) to a HIII deformation of the name by those reading from Greek MSS that contained it, plus the consistent use of *Pypy* in Syriac script to represent it in the Syrohexaplar version. In the *gemara* to *y. Nedarim* XI,1 there is reference to someone held bound by an oath in which he included Popi as a substitute for the divine name. None of this has anything to do with paleohebrew script, which, however deformed it might become, could never suggest HIII. In Hebrew MSS the paleohebrew Yhwh was used to differentiate the name from the rest of the text; in a Greek MS Aramaic script would do that much.

(3) *Paleohebrew Script in Greek MSS (W. Khabra XII κατ'ε)*. Paleohebrew script for the Name in a Greek text is the third stage. The oldest witness for it is the Greek Minor Prophets

scroll published by D. Barthélemy.<sup>35</sup> These fragments of what has come to be known as the κατ'ε recension of LXX were discovered in a cave in the Wadi Khabra in the Judean desert of Palestine. There were two scribes, working at about 50 A.D. Barthélemy gives two plates, showing both hands and their manner of indicating the tetragrammaton. He says of their *yods* that they are quite recognizable (!) and allows himself (p. 168) a warranted reference to *ces tétragrammes de fantaisie*. With or without fantasy, perhaps more often with, this practice also extended to texts of Aquila and of Symmachus, and both Origen (PG 12:1104) and Jerome (*Prolog. in libros Regum*) report it. From Qumran practice we can see the impetus for a spread of this usage as a phenomenon of the 2d half of the 1st cent. B.C., continuing through the following century until the fall of the settlement in A.D. 68. The intrusion of paleohebrew script into strictly biblical MSS was, as indicated above, relatively limited among the ± 166 such MSS from Qumran (excluding 12 other biblical MSS that are wholly in the older script). What the proportions may have been in LXX MSS through the period after 50 B.C. in Jewish circles we are scarcely in a position to judge; the evidence from Origen indicates that both the paleohebrew and the Aramaic options remained open. P. Oxy. vii.1007, a 3d century parchment codex of Genesis, has twice the abbreviated form: two paleohebrew *yods*, with the horizontal stroke in the middle continuous through both. A. S. Hunt, who published this in 1910, indicated that the shape of the *yods* in the MS resembled that of coins "of the second century B.C."

The reference would seem to be to the Hasmonean coinage now dated mainly, if not altogether, to the 1st century B.C. He did not say that the abbreviation as such appeared on any coin, nor does it.

(4) *KYPIOC* (*Copies of LXX*). The fourth stage, of course, is the arrival of Kyrios in at least the Christian copies of LXX as a replacement for  $\text{I}\alpha\omega/\text{יהוה}$ . Whether this practice had its roots in a corresponding usage in Jewish LXX scrolls continues to be asked; clear indications one way or the other are hard to find. C. H. Roberts' recent<sup>36</sup> acceptance ("most probably") of P. Kahle's contention that p. Oxy. iv.656, from a 2d cent. papyrus codex (1) of Genesis, is a Jewish text, if adhered to more generally by papyrologists, will go far to fill the gap. In the part of Genesis that is extant, one possible Kyrios (or:  $\text{יהוה}$ ) is simply omitted. In its line 17 a blank was at first left; then Kyrios was entered in full, without the conventional abbreviation for *nomina sacra*, by a second hand. In lines 122 and 166,  $\kappa$  and  $\omega$  appear on the right margin, where in the first case there would be no room for the complete word, and in the second instance, though no line for abbreviation is present, it seems clear the word did *not* continue. Roberts also has an Appendix II (pp. 78-81) in which he reexamines the dating of p. Chester Beatty VI (Num-Deut), and concludes to 2d/3d cent. This MS has of course Kyrios along with other *nomina sacra* in contracted form as part of the regular systematization that came to prevail in copies by Christian scribes.

#### IV. Greek Texts of the Prophets

*Light from Hebrew MSS.* From the direction of Palestine, the Qumran and Masada scrolls show a widespread exclusion from speech, and a less extensive exclusion from appearance in everyday script, of the Yhwh name. Occasionally they give insights as to what was spoken instead: within the Scriptures, 3 times Elohim (1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, see n. 14); when pressed, once  $\text{h}\dot{\alpha}\dot{\alpha}$  (see n. 2); attributed to Moses, Elohay (1Q22); alluding to known scriptural passages, El (1QSa,b; 4Q171 at Ps. 37:40; 4Q173 frg. 5), and once Elohim (4Q176); in language of prayer and blessing, Adonay (1Qsb, *Hodayot*, 1Q34). Outside of direct address or invocation, the Masada scroll of Ben Sira shows Adonay in written use when Yhwh, and also Elohim, are being avoided. That Adonay was read for Yhwh in the Scriptures by the copyist of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> is a solid inference from his scribal habits (see n. 14).

*LXX Ezekiel (pap. 967).* In the light of that background material, a new look at the divine names in papyrus 967 of LXX Ezekiel seems called for.<sup>37</sup> The names (to describe them as they are dealt with in the tradition)  $\text{אדני יהוה}$  in combination in that order occur in Ezekiel some 205 times in a pattern of first person speech on the part of the prophet which cannot be altered without destroying a deliberate, comprehensive structure essential to the book.<sup>38</sup> That structure makes sense when  $\text{יהוה אדני}$  is understood as "My Lord, Yahweh," with "lord" not a title or name, but a personal claim by the prophet that he is servant of the Lord for whom he speaks.<sup>39</sup>

Yet before 100 B.C., to judge by the *Hodayot* and 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, Adonay was both a name that might be used in prayer by any Israelite, and the name regularly spoken as the substitute for Yhwh in reading the Scriptures. On the other hand, it is firmly established that in the earliest extant form of LXX Ezechiel, represented by 967, almost all יהוה readings in MT have as their equivalent only the single name Kyrios. The codex certainly had a Christian scribe: he transcribes "spirit" as ΠΝΑ, besides using ΚΣ and a limited range of other abbreviations for *nomina sacra*. The only variant he presents for ΚΣ alone, in the places where MT has יהוה—between Ezek 11:25, where the extant folia begin, and the end of the book in 48:35, with quite limited lacunae—is ΚΣ Ο ΘΣ.<sup>40</sup>

Of this longer form there are 15 occurrences<sup>41</sup> that tend to appear in clusters; the later MS tradition knows nothing of them,<sup>42</sup> and they do call for an explanation. This Christian copy cannot be far from a Jewish prototype, and it shows no trace of the almost universal reworkings that yield for יהוה יהוה combinations like αδωναι ΚΣ and ΚΣ ΚΣ in these places. Whether from the original translator or from later retouchings (such as Ziegler would put in the 1st cent. A.D.), we have in its 15 ΚΣ Ο ΚΣ readings evidence of a Jewish source that judged the best reflection of יהוה יהוה in a translation to be one that followed the Palestinian *qêrê* Adonay Elohim. This presupposes that the same source was satisfied that Kyrios in the text was a proper reflection of Hebrew יהוה; and it betokens acceptance also of the

practice whereby Kyrios elsewhere in the translation stood (some 217 times in the book) for Yhwh occurring alone—on the basis, clearly, of the same Adonay as *qêrê*.

LXX *Isaias*. The use in the Ezechiel translation of a single Kyrios only, at least 190 times, to reflect the combination<sup>43</sup> of Adonay and the unutterable name Yhwh is on a par with the usage in LXX *Isaias*. Of the 17 places where MT has יהוה יהוה in *Isaias*, it may be said that the first two (7:7; 25:28) show the translator with as yet no established pattern for rendering the combination. The following 15, however, without exception, read (following Ziegler) a single Kyrios only. The fuller expression יהוה צבאות occurs in *Isaias* 8 times. Of these, LXX omits 2 (at 3:15 and 22:14) not necessarily, as is often affirmed, because the clause in which they stand was not present in a prototype: each is immediately followed, at the beginning of the next verse, by another formula announcing divine speech (22:15 in the very wording of 22:14); and though 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> already provides section divisions in both places, at any stage of translation or transmission these heapings up of names in short sequence could have led to an abridgement. (A characteristic of the LXX translator of *Isaias* is that where synonymous parallelism is at work in the poetry he not uncommonly renders only 3 cola for 2 bicola of the Hebrew.) At 10:23 LXX *Isaias* renders 'צ' 'י' 'א by θεος alone (var., ΚΣ); in the other 5 cases the rendering is ΚΣ Σαβαωθ, in which the use of Kyrios matches the 15 cases cited above.

*LXX Duodecim Prophetae.* The Minor Prophets in the received Hebrew have 23 occurrences of אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה, of which 19 are in Amos. Of these, 9 (7 in Amos) are rendered in LXX by Κυριος ο θεος (LXX Amos has 6 additional occurrences of this phrase, which with ο Παντοκρατωρ = צַבְאוֹת added—borrowed from 3:13—is used once more in 9:15 for MT's יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ to end the book). The vocative appears in 2 cases as  $\overline{KE} \overline{KE}$  (Amos 7:2, 5); the other 12 instances have Kyrios once only.<sup>44</sup>

*Summary for Greek MSS.* A large part of the LXX prophetic corpus, therefore, with Jeremiah as the exception, comes to hand with its earliest attainable stage showing leanings toward Κυριος ο θεος as an equivalent for אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה, in accordance with the Palestinian *q̄erê*. Also, as far back as it is possible to go, the Kyrios term is employed in these books for both יְהוָה and אֲדֹנָי, on the basis of the spoken Adonay that stood for either separately; and there is a wide acceptance of one single Kyrios to stand in the place of the combined names. This cannot have come about as exclusively the work of Christian scribes. Whatever earlier incidence of ΙΑΩ or יְהוָה there may have been in these prophetic books—compare the *κατ'ε* reworking of the Twelve from Wadi Khabra<sup>45</sup>—the option of translating only the *q̄erê*, and doing it with more or less consistency, would seem to have been selected by sources familiar with Hebrew and not connected with the work of Origen.

## NOTES

\*Bibliography in J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Major Publications and Tools for Study* (SBL SBS 8; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1975), and see note 27 below.

<sup>1</sup>Suffixed forms of Elohim occur in the normal script: at V.25 אֱלֹהֵיהֶן as an error for אֱלֹהֵיהֶן (1); at VIII.15 אֱלֹהֵיהֶן in a quotation of Isa 40:3. In 1QSB IV.25 the same scribe writes [יהוה] צבא אלהי normally, in a prayer; in his supplement to the text of Isa 40:7-8 in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> he writes אֱלֹהֵיהֶן normally. In 4QSam<sup>c</sup> he writes normally the phrase אֱלֹהֵיהֶן [מלאך האל] at 2 Sam 14:20. Those are all the occurrences. A. M. Habermann in his *Edah we-Eduth* of 1952 and again in his *Megillot midbar Yehuda* of 1959 arbitrarily introduces אֱלֹהֵיהֶן [ואנ] שים into 1QS I.1.

<sup>2</sup>Thus הָאֱלֹהִים (= the pronoun הוּא) is put forward to be a spoken substitute for the divine name; the abnormal orthography הוּאֵהָא suggests that this can hardly have been a routine practice for the scribe. Indeed, in the poetic section which concludes 1QS, a bicolon in X.18 reads: // כִּי־אֵל מִשְׁפַּח כֹּלֵל חַי כִּי־אֵל מִשְׁפַּח כֹּלֵל חַי, so that הוּאֵהָא, this time spelled normally for the two syllable pronunciation, is offered as a parallel of sorts to אֱלֹהִים; and both in Essene prayer, Ps 155:7-8 (11QPs<sup>a</sup> col. XXIV), and for the ultimate source of this in Ps 143:2, the divine name to be associated with this turn of thought is Yhwh. There is thus room for sporadic occurrences (see also CD IX.5 quoting Nah 1:2); but as will be seen, the literature of the period does not point to הוּאֵהָא as a widely favored device. In this exact place [VIII.13], 4QSe avoids the difficulty by reading הוּאֵהָא (אֵהָא דָרָךְ); see J. T. Milik's list of variants in *RB* 67 (1960) 413. Milik also (*ibid.*) identifies the Isaiah reference and quotation as an expansion on the original text of the *Serek*.

<sup>3</sup>Knowledge of these instances I owe to the kindness of E. C. Ulrich, by whom they are being published at about this time in *BASOR* 235 (1979) 1-25. The two cases in 2 Sam 15:8 are on either side of a lacuna, so that in fact only 3 of the 4 dots survive in each place.

<sup>4</sup>So J. T. Milik in *DJD* I.117. He notes that אֱלֹהִים occurs in II.1 and again later in II.4.

<sup>5</sup>In this it is being accepted that the *Moreh ha-šedeq* is the author of the *Hodayot* poems. For a fairly recent discussion, cf. M. Delcor in *DBSuppl* IX, fasc. 51 (Paris: Letouzey, 1978) cols. 861-864; 897-900 (this is continuous text; the intervening column numbers are on a series of plates).

<sup>6</sup>Of course, in MT אֲדֹנָי occurs also as a parallel to Yhwh in Ex 15:17.

<sup>7</sup>E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran*<sup>2</sup> (Munich: Kösel Verlag, 1971) 160.

<sup>8</sup>That the occasion represented in Sir 50 is not an annual occurrence on the Day of Atonement, but the daily recurrent morning sacrifice, on a day when the high priest officiated in person, has been argued with good reason by F. Ó Fearghail, "Sir 50:5-21: Yom Kippur or the Daily Whole Offering?" *Bib* 59 (1978) 301-316.

<sup>9</sup>For Job 12:9, dependent in MT on a harmonizing with Isa 41:20, see M. H. Pope, *Job*<sup>3</sup> (AB 15; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1973) xxxix, 91.

<sup>10</sup>M. H. Pope, *Song of Songs* (AB 7C; 1977) 653, 670-671 is so uncomfortable with this that he takes the surviving word to be a gloss. The second missing word (x) may indeed be Yah (cf. 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, above, p. 24, lines 6-11).

<sup>11</sup>This writer cannot resist affirming that the מַמְקוֹם אַחֵר of Esth 4:14 is a cipher for מַהֲשֵׁמִים.

<sup>12</sup>Discussion by J. Strugnell in his indispensable critique of J. M. Allegro's 1968 *DJD V* publication, in "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,'" *RQ* 7 (1969-1971) 163-276, see pp. 188-189, 191. Relative datings and types of script for the 4Q *peshtarim* are specified in his comments on 4Q161-173.

<sup>13</sup>Cf. G. Janzen, *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah* (Harvard Semitic Monographs 6; Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1973) Appendix D, pp. 174-181; see also his p. 9.

<sup>14</sup>There is a fully intelligible pattern to the names יהוה and אֲדֹנָי as they are dealt with by the scribe of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>. He has no problem with the name Yhwh as such, which he writes in his ordinary script. He always has a problem with the name אֲדֹנָי; and when that name occurs in close conjunction with Yhwh, a secondary problem arises for the tetragrammaton. He is writing at dictation, and both he and his reader pronounce Adonay for both יהוה and אֲדֹנָי. When he hears Adonay, unless somehow warned, he automatically writes יהוה. For אֲדֹנָי alone the received text has 22 instances. In 13 of these, 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> has אֲדֹנָי correctly; in 2 others, 3:18 and 8:7, he writes יהוה, then corrects to אֲדֹנָי above the line. (In 3:18 the אֲדֹנָי is clearly a correction and not an addition: there are 4 dots beneath the יהוה to indicate it is being replaced. At 8:7 the leather is broken away just below the tops of the letters of יהוה, so that any dots for those letters are lost.) 5 cases have יהוה written and left uncorrected (6:11, 7:14; 9:7; 21:16; 28:2). There are 2 false corrections; unfortunately for readers' impressions, the first, in 3:17, is the most botched. Warned that אֲדֹנָי occurred in the verse (the combination יהוה צבאות had occurred in 3:15, for which see below), the scribe wrote it correctly; then within

the same verse and the same line of script, where יהוה should occur, he wrote אֲדֹנָי. Learning (from the 2 אֲדֹנָי in one verse) that he had made an error, he "corrected" the first אֲדֹנָי by writing יהוה above it and placing 5 dots below it. He thus left both names wrong. The other place is 49:14, where he correctly wrote אֲדֹנָי; then because יהוה immediately precedes, he "corrected" אֲדֹנָי to וְאֵלֹהִים, employing a device familiar from the Massorettes to avoid the sequence 'āddōnāy wa'dōnāy: he had no *athnah* keeping his words apart!

In 17 places the reading יהוה אֲדֹנָי is found in the received text, and the scroll adds one, in 49:7. In 10 of these 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> transcribes correctly in its own orthography: אֲדֹנָי יהוה. In 6 others, hearing Adonay, the scribe writes יהוה only. Of these, he supplements 3 (28:16; 30:15; 65:13) with an אֲדֹנָי correctly placed above the line to provide the normal reading; the other 3 remain uncorrected (49:22; 52:4; 61:1). There are 2 unusual cases. In 50:5 אֲדֹנָי is correctly written but יהוה is substituted for by the familiar qēre written out as אֵלֹהִים (compare 49:14 above). At 61:11 for יהוה אֲדֹנָי the scribe heard Adonay Elohim (with the qēre for both words) and wrote יהוה אֵלֹהִים as the equivalent (1QIsa<sup>b</sup> introduces the same qēre form at 61:1). The still fuller reading יהוה צבאות אֲדֹנָי occurs 8 times, and 6 times the scribe has it correctly. In 3:15 he first wrote יהוה צבאות and then corrected with אֲדֹנָי placed above to be read at the head of the phrase. In 28:22 the same error stands uncorrected. In all these cases, of combined names, the scribe will have had a warning when Adonay Elohim, or Adonay Elohim/ Elohe Sabaoth was read—but not necessarily before he had begun to write יהוה. He would then finish writing that name and leave the problem for the correction stage. A reluctance to substitute for יהוה once written, to say nothing of erasing the Name, will account for the nature of his corrective attempts. An intrusive יהוה before אֵלֹהִים in 54:6 he simply left. The unique combination יהוה אֵל in 42:5 (MT) he seems to have found confusing; the אֵלֹהִים with which (instead of יהוה) he resolves it he has borrowed from the nearly unique (cf. 37:16) occurrence of אֵלֹהִים in a related context at 45:18. The scribe seems not to have copied Isaiah before, and for that reason his beginning (3:15-18) includes the highest proportion of error and attempted revision.

<sup>15</sup>For the script of this as yet unpublished MS see Fig. 2, line 8 (p. 139) of F. M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Albright *Festschrift*) ed. G. E. Wright (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961) 133-202, and Cross' note there. It is also available as line 15 in the same chart, enlarged as plate 885 (cols. 883-886) with the "Qumran" article in fasc. 51 of *JSJ Suppl* (Paris: Letouzey, 1978).

<sup>16</sup>Of this Psalms scroll, published by J. A. Sanders in *DJD IV* (1965) and again in *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*,

(Ithaca, NY: Cornell, 1967), the present writer has by now formed the following estimate: it is a copy, from the 1st half of the 1st cent. A.D., of an instruction book for budding Levite choristers at the Jerusalem temple in the time of the Oniad high priests, c. 200 B.C. It is based on the last third of the canonical Psalter (Pss 101-150) with added materials, of which a limited amount was introduced during its reemployment among the Essenes at Qumran. Such an origin accounts for the emphasis on David ("author" of the Psalms), plus the various traces of liturgical adaptation and regrouping (cf. *CBQ* 35 [1973] 195-205; also "Qumran and Old Testament Criticism," in *Qumrân: sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, ed. M. Delcor, Leuven/Gembloux: Duculot, 1978, pp. 171-172). Finally, it explains how Ps 119, which occupies 8 columns of the scroll, could be functional in this anthology.

17J. van der Ploeg, "Fragments d'un manuscrit de Psaumes de Qumran (11QPs<sup>b</sup>)," *RB* 74 (1967) 408-412; pl. xviii.

18Cf. the present writer's "A Broken Acrostic and Psalm 9," *CBQ* 27 (1965) 1-5, reprinted in *CBQMS* 1 (1971) 46-51.

19Discussed in the writer's "A Liturgical Complex in 11QPs<sup>a</sup>," *CBQ* 35 (1973) 195-205, on p. 198.

20The extra-canonical texts have been published by J. Starcky, "Psaumes apocryphes de la grotte 4 de Qumran (4QPs<sup>f</sup> VII-X)," *RB* 63 (1966) 353-371; Planche XIII.

21Y. Yadin, *Megillat ha-Miqdaš* (The Temple Scroll), Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1977, 3 vols. + supplementary plates (Hebrew edition).

22DJD I, 136, 153-155; photos in DJD I, Plate XXXI, plus J. C. Trever's "Completion of the Publication of Some Fragments from Qumran Cave I," *RQ* 5 (1966) 323-344, see plate IVd.

23Called by J. T. Milik "Peshar on the (Book of the) Periods," cf. *JJS* 23 (1972) 110-124.

24The writer first described this scroll in *CBQ* 17 (1955) 162.

25Most recently in his 1977 Schweich Lectures, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (London: British Academy, 1979) p. 30, n. 1. See earlier P. Kahle, "The Greek Bible and the Gospels: Fragments from the Judaean Desert," *Studia Evangelica* I, ed. K. Aland et al. (TU 73; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959) 613-621.

26Ed. C. H. Oldfather, *Diodorus of Sicily, I* (Loeb Classical Library; New York: Putnam's Sons, 1933) 321.

27On this and the following, extensive background materials and bibliography are gathered in J. A. Fitzmyer's lately expanded study of "The Semitic Background of the New Testament *Kyrios-Title*," in *A Wandering Aramaean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (SBLMS 25; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979) 115-142.

28Cf. the preliminary description of 4QLXXLev<sup>b</sup> by the present writer in "The Qumran Manuscripts and Textual Criticism," *Volume du Congrès: Strasbourg, 1956* (VTSup 4; Leiden: Brill, 1957) 148-160, on p. 157 reprinted in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text*, ed. F. M. Cross and S. Talmon (Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1975): see there p. 221.

29*Die Septuaginta Papyri...*, Heidelberg: Winter, 1905, 86-93; Tafel 57C.

30*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XXXVI, ed. R. A. Coles et al. (London: British Academy, 1970) 1-6.

31This transplant of the Gospel/Psalm text, with uncertainty in the copy we have as to whether Aramaic or Hebrew is to be favored (but with a leaning to the 'āsabtānī of the Hebrew Ps 22:2, which Origen presumably opted for), into an onomastic of Hebrew names has had a strange afterlife. It is this that accounts for the form of the Gospel verse in codex Bezae in Mt., the African Old Latin Bobbio codex in Mk., and a scattering of Old Latin MSS in both Gospels, plus the ζαβαθαυι (ι) of codex B in Mk. The influence reaches from the Bobbio Gospels (k) into the *Confessio* of St. Patrick; in a forthcoming article on this last association the present writer had mentioned Origen, without awareness of the Heidelberg papyrus reading.

32The announced publication of Z. Aly, *Three Rolls of the Early Septuagint, Genesis and Deuteronomy... Plates and Notes... in Collaboration with the Association Internationale de Papyrologie*, which would include 847, the present writer has not seen.

33W. G. Waddell, "The Tetragrammaton in the LXX," *JTS* 45 (1944) 158-161.

34J. [=G.] Card. Mercati, *Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae*, I (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Vaticana, 1958).

35*Les devanciers d'Aquila* (VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963); the fragments were already described by B. in *RB* 60 (1953) 18-29.

36*Manuscript, Society and Belief*, especially pp. 33-34 and Appendix I, pp. 76-77, but see also the Index.

<sup>37</sup>The presumptions on which E. H. Kase, Jr., based his treatment of these names no longer hold for matters of dating because of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>. See: *The John H. Scheide Biblical Papyri: Ezekiel* (Princeton Studies in Papyrology 3), ed. A. C. Johnson, H. S. Gehman, and E. H. Kase, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938) 48-52(n.); 56-62.

<sup>38</sup>So with J. Lust, "'Mon Seigneur Jahweh' dans le texte hébreu d'Ezechiel," *ETL* 44 (1968) 482-488, following L. Cerfaux and J. Herrmann.

<sup>39</sup>By contrast, the systematic appraisal of יְהוָה as an "addition" to the text throughout Ezekiel in the apparatus to *BHS*, appealing to 967 as the evidence, does not make sense.

<sup>40</sup>Kase's discussion (p. 58) included 9 anarthrous instances (ΚΕ ΘΕ) drawn from codex B of Ezek 45-48 before these chapters were recovered in the Cologne acquisition of that part of 967. See for the present status J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Paris: Sorbonne, 1976) no. 315, pp. 115-117 and D. Fraenkel's Appendix to J. Ziegler, *Ezechiel* (Septuaginta XVI, 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht) in printings from 1977 on.

<sup>41</sup>16:8,19,43,62; 17:9,16,19; 24:3,9; 34:17; 39:5,29; and (following ch. 39) 37:3,5,9.

<sup>42</sup>MS 62 at 16:8 derives its one agreement with 967 from Aquila; 449\* in 37:3 and Latin witnesses in 4 cases only (3 are from Jerome) must be presumed coincidence.

<sup>43</sup>p. Ant. i.10 (988), 4th cent., supports 967 in reading a single Kyrios only, at 34:20, in such an instance.

<sup>44</sup>For Isaiah and the Minor Prophets as well as for Ezekiel, the figures given are based on the text as established by J. Ziegler for the Göttingen *Septuaginta*.

<sup>45</sup>None of these passages seems to have survived in the scroll fragments from the Wadi Khabra in Palestine.

KAIGE AND OTHER RECENSIONAL DEVELOPMENTS  
IN THE GREEK TEXT OF JUDGES

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This article was first conceived as a summary of my revised dissertation, entitled *The Greek Text of Judges: Recensional Developments*.<sup>1</sup> It will constitute such, but with the addition of some new results and further reflection.

The major emphasis of this study has been an examination of the textual affiliation of the Vaticanus family of Judges, which consists of Birua<sub>2</sub> and efsz as the primary witnesses, with jm(o)q joining in secondarily.<sup>2</sup>

When this family is tested against the now quite extensive body of published *kaige* characteristics,<sup>3</sup> the results are conclusive. It clearly stands within this recension for the whole of Judges.<sup>4</sup> Of the thirty characteristics which are applicable to Judges, sixteen positively support the identification, with twelve of these resting on a base of at least three and normally many more examples.<sup>5</sup> Those which could be considered negative evidence come to five at the most, and three of these are questionable as to their validity.<sup>6</sup> Of the remaining nine, eight are neutral,<sup>7</sup> and one is mixed in Judges.<sup>8</sup>